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FALL OF POLAND;

CONTAINING

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AN ANALYTICAL AND A PHILOSOPHICAL ACCOUNT OF
THE CAUSES WHICH CONSPIRED IN THE RUIN
OF THAT NATION,

TOGETHER WITH

A HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY FROM ITS ORIGIN.

BY

L. C. SAXTON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER XVI.

SOCIETY.

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SECTION I.

ANCESTORS OF THE POLES.

HUMBOLDT is mistaken in supposing that the origin of the inhabitants of a country is not within the limits prescribed by history. Such a proposition may be entitled to the dignity of a literary abstraction, and possibly may have some application to mere narrative history; but it has no bearing upon philosophical history. You might as well write the biography of a man without enquiring into his origin and parentage, and pass by all his associates in profound silence, as think of recording the history of a fallen nation without investigating the ancestral races from which they descended, or noticing the neighboring nations with

whom they associated, and from whom they derive their manners, customs, and social institutions.

Polish society, in its origin and progress, presents a most interesting panorama of the whole social world. The blood of every nation and every race has flowed in Polish veins. The great diversity of social races and social classes who have mingled their blood in the plains of Sarmatia—including the primeval, ancestral, and associate races of Poland—from their earliest antiquity to the present day, has been one of their greatest calamities. The society of Poland was the nursery of all their evils, the source of their overwhelming misfortunes, and one of the principal causes of their national ruin. The social condition of a people may ever be regarded as an invariable index of their individual and national condition, and the unerring prophecy of their future prosperity or adversity.

In studying the society of Poland, we become more intimately acquainted with their character and institutions, and learn more accurately the causes of their national dissolution. With all their other calamities, the Poles had the misfortune never to have a homogeneous society. No nation, ancient or modern, was ever afflicted with so many social evils—with so many discordant, conflicting, heterogeneous materials, as Poland. Every nation, tribe, kindred, caste, and dignity of the whole human family, with their numerous antagonistical interests, were congregated and represented in the society of that unfortunate people. In order to appreciate the social condition of Poland, it will be necessary to examine it in its origin, progress, and decline; the laws by which it was controlled; the social classes into which it was divided; the several races by which it was distinguished;

the manners and customs they pursued ; together with its effects on the nation, and the individuals who composed it.

The social condition of a people is commonly the result of circumstances, sometimes of laws, but more frequently of these two causes combined. But whatever causes may contribute to the organization of civil society, wherever it exists, it may safely be considered as the source of almost all the laws, the usages, and the ideas which regulate the conduct of nations ; producing and modifying all their civil and religious institutions, and controlling the very existence of the body-politic. If we would learn the true character and condition of individuals, we must trace their history in consecutive order, not only back to their birth, but we must frequently extend our researches anterior to nativity, and trace the parentage as far into antiquity as we can safely penetrate ; and having done this, it is then necessary to consider their contemporaries and associates. So, in studying the character and social condition of nations, we find they all bear some marks of their origin ; exhibiting the circumstances which preceded their birth—clustering round the nativity of their existence, contributing to their rise, and affecting their history through life.

When an individual wrecks his character and fortune, or closes his life disastrously by vice, folly, or misfortune, we are naturally led to inquire into his history. The superficial observer is generally contented with learning his birth, his infancy, his childhood, youth, age, occupation, the amount of his money, and the ostensible cause of his ruin. But if we would profit by the monitions of example, we must go much farther, and examine the minutiae of his life more extensively, before we are able to pronounce a just and safe verdict on his virtues and vices, his merits and demerits. We must not only learn his parentage, and the com-

parative advantages and disadvantages which have descended to him from his ancestry ; but we must watch the infant in his mother's arms ; we must carefully note the budding existence of the helpless innocent. Nor is this all. We must not overlook the first images which the external world casts upon the dark mirror of his thoughtless mind—the first occurrences which he notices—the first smiles which play on his ruby cheeks and light up his placid countenance—and the first sad tears which fill his fascinating eyes. Nor can we safely stop here. It is equally necessary to note the first and progressive developments of his intellectual, moral, and physical powers. Having done this, we must follow the young adventurer in his childhood, in his manhood, in his studies and associations. We must learn his principles; his disposition, his virtues, and his vices ; mingling in his sports, participating in his joys, and sympathizing in his grief. And, in fact, everything in history that enters into the composition of his moral character, with his prosperity and adversity, with his good and ill fortune, must be carefully investigated, before we can determine whether his catastrophe has been caused by misfortune beyond his own control, or by his own vices and follies, or by the conduct of others, or by all in greater or less proportions.

The character of nations, like individuals, is complicated, and in many respects analogous. They all bear characteristic marks of their origin ; and the circumstances which accompanied their birth, and contributed to their rise or fall, will continue to affect their future existence. Were we able to go back as far in the annals of antiquity as the elements and origin of states, and examine the first monuments of their history, we should discover the primary causes of the prejudices, the habits, the ruling pas-

sions, and all the ingredients of national character. We should there find satisfactory solutions of those strange customs which are now at variance with the prevailing manners of the age. We should be able to explain those social laws which are in daily conflict with the established principles of individual, social, and national existence, and should no longer be ignorant of the origin of such incoherent and conflicting opinions, as are found in different classes of society.

These antiquarian researches might explain more clearly the destinies of Poland, and other fallen nations, which seem to have been borne along by unknown causes, to ends which they never anticipated. But unfortunately researches of this kind are sadly deficient in facts. The spirit of inquiry has slumbered too long; modern enterprise has awakened too late; until time had entombed in perpetual oblivion the materials for comparing the early history of nations, and left us to the sport and delusion of truth-concealing fables, and imaginary romance. Of course, all we can do now is to lament the misspent opportunities of the past, and improve, to the best advantage, the few materials which are left us.

We shall use the term *race*, in its broadest sense; including not only the several larger varieties of the human family, as distinguished by their complexion, physical structure, local origin, languages and dialects; but also as comprehending those distinctions in human society, found in the lineage of a family, or continued series of descendants, from a parent who is called a stock, as well as a generation or a family of descendants.

It has ever been a standing charge against Poland, alike derogatory to fact and philosophy, especially in the mouths of their victors, that they were a heterogeneous race of beings.

having an origin exclusively their own, and so different from other human races and their neighboring nations generally, that they never could be civilized nor Christianized, except by powder and steel; and therefore they ought to be deprived of their national existence, and become the slaves of tyrants. This argument, if well founded, is of such vital importance to the future prospects of the unfortunate Poles, that we deem it no departure from our theme, so far as unity of design or interest is concerned—the only unity for which the historian is responsible—to pause a moment at the threshold of this chapter and examine this Russian logic. And, were the digression admissible in this work, it might be satisfactorily proved from various sources of learning, that the physiology, natural history, and tradition of the human family—so far from conflicting with the history of the Bible, which declares all men to have had a common origin in Eden—harmonize and sustain the Sacred Record.

Human society had its origin in the Garden of Eden. By a miraculous display of Divine Power, Adam and Eve, our first parents, were created; and from them descended the whole human family. At least four thousand years previous to the Christian Era, God formed man of the dust of the ground,—breathed into his body the breath of life, or immortality,—and hence he became a living soul. Adam being created subject to social law, “it was not good that he should remain alone;” and, therefore, Eve was formed from his side, while Adam was rendered insensible by a deep sleep, which his Creator had caused for that purpose. After the creation of woman, the happy couple were joined in matrimony by the institution of marriage, established by the Supreme Being. Immediately after their creation, Adam and Eve, the first human pair, were placed by the Deity in the Garden of Eden, with

instructions to keep and dress it. They were liberally allowed the free use of all the fruit of the garden, with one reservation only; which was designed as a trial of their obedience. The penalty of death was threatened if they should transgress the command of their Maker. The tree, the fruit of which Adam and Eve were forbidden to eat, is called the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; which seems to intimate, that by abstaining from this fruit, the knowledge of good would be enjoyed; but, by eating it, the knowledge of evil would be fatally experienced. The Garden of Eden was probably situated in the vicinity of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, a few miles from the Persian Gulf, not far from a town now called Bassora. Created in the image of their Maker, perfectly holy, the innocence and felicity of our first parents were of very short duration. They violated, with daring impiety, the law of their God, probably within a few days after their creation; and by this transgression, they and their posterity were ever afterwards sensibly affected, in their temporal and spiritual happiness.

In the first year of the world, after the creation of man, Cain was born; the first begotten of the human family 4004 years before Christ. The next year Abel was born. These two brothers followed different occupations; the elder a farmer, and the younger a shepherd,—possessing widely different moral characters. In these two children their parents experienced the bitter fruits of their own disobedience, in the murder of Abel by Cain; and in the punishment of Heaven pronounced against the murderer, “a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.” After the perpetration of this crime, Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden. He built a city in the land of his exile, which he called

Enoch,—the first instance on record of urban society. His family and descendants were distinguished for their knowledge in the useful arts ; but probably were not eminent for morals and religion.

The murder of Abel occurred, it is generally supposed, but a short time previous to the birth of Seth ; or about 130 years after the creation of Adam. As Adam and Eve, in the meantime, had probably other children, the human family was, no doubt, greatly multiplied during this 130 years ; and, therefore, the events as recorded by Moses in connection with the murder of Abel, are easily accounted for, without the absurd presumption of more than one human pair, from whom all the inhabitants on the earth were descended. After the death of Abel, Adam and Eve had many other children ; the eldest of the sons was Seth, whose descendants, from their morals and piety, were called “ the children of God,”—in opposition to the descendants of Cain,—who were styled “ the children of men.” These two classes at length associated together, and finally degenerated into the degraded vices which afterwards prevailed. Adam lived 930 years, in the society of a numerous posterity,—and must have been conversant with many who survived till near the time of the Deluge ; to whom he acted as teacher, patriarch, governor, and law-giver, daily imparting his knowledge and wisdom, which he had received directly from God, and learned by the experience of more than 900 years. As we have reason to believe that Adam and Eve repented of their transgression in Eden, and afterwards led a pious life, they must have been greatly affected in viewing the general wickedness which prevailed among their family and descendants, by means of their pernicious example.

The descendants of Seth at first were virtuous ; but ultimately,

by intermarriage with the family of Cain, became exceedingly vicious. From these intermarriages, sprang the giants of those times, of great strength, stature, and wickedness ; and were distinguished as heroes, conquerors, and chieftains.

The Creator, justly provoked at the vices of the human family, determined to punish them for their transgressions by a universal deluge ; and after repeated admonitions from his servant Noah, for a period of 120 years, which were rejected with contempt,—he destroyed the whole race, except Noah and his family, who were saved by the ark,—built by them under the direction of the Deity.

Jubal was “ the father of all such as handle the harp and organ ;” and his brother Jabal was “ the father of such as dwell in tents ” Both sacred and profane history agree, that music must have been early known among mankind, and its performers were among the first civilizers of the world. Tubal-Cain was “ an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron.” He probably first discovered the art of working in these metals, which is the foundation of mechanical arts. The most remarkable fact, in the history of antediluvian society, was their longevity. Adam lived 930 years—Seth 912 years—Jared 962—Methuselah 969 years, and Noah 950 years. Methuselah must have lived to the very year of the flood, and enjoyed the instructions of those who were contemporary with Adam, and received his tuition.

Immediately after the flood, human society was limited to the domestic circle of Noah and his family ; consisting of Noah and his wife, and his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, with their wives. Noah was 600 years old when he entered the ark with his family, and lived 350 years after the deluge ; making his entire life 950 years. These three sons of Noah were the first founders

of national society ; and from this family descended all the races of men, and all classes of society, subsequent to the fatal deluge. These sons of Noah peopled the several quarters of the globe. Shem and his descendants inhabited the east and south of Asia ; Ham emigrated to Syria, Arabia, and Africa ; and Japhet settled the north and west of Asia, and also Europe.

From Shem arose the Elamites or Persians, the Assyrians and the Lydians. From Joktan, the fourth in descent from Shem, the uttermost parts of the eastern continent were peopled ; and probably the aboriginal Indians of America ; who resemble the Asiatic descendants of Shem, in their complexion, character, manners, religion, and tradition. Joktan had thirteen sons ; and the Sacred Record avers that Joktan's posterity "was from Mesha, as thou goest up to Sephar, a mount in the East." The remembrance of the three sons of Noah, the first founders of the nations of the earth after the deluge, has been preserved among the several nations descended from them. Japhet, who peopled the greater part of the West, continued long famous under the name of Japetus. Ham has long been revered as a Deity, by the Egyptians, under the title of Jupiter Hammon. The name of Shem has always been venerated by the Hebrews, from whom they descended, and derived their name from his son Heber.

From the sons of Ham—who is supposed to be the Chronos of the Greeks—descended the Ethiopians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Colchians, the Philistines, the Lybians, the Canaanites, the Sidonians, the Phœnicians, and others.

From the sons of Japhet, arose the Cimbri, the Gauls, the Germans, the Scythians, the Tartars, the Medes, the Ionians, the Iberians, the Muscovites, the Thracians, the Poles, and other tribes.

From the creation of man to 101 years after the Deluge, or

2247 years before Christ, or until the confusion of languages at the building of Babel, probably the Hebrew language or Samaritan, which was the same as the Phœnician, was the only language used by man ; and this was used by Adam. About one hundred years, or as some writers say, from one hundred to two hundred years after the Deluge, the descendants of Noah being very numerous at the foot of Mount Ararat, and in the plain of Shinar, extending along the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris ; and finding at length that the country was not extensive enough to contain them much longer, and therefore they must soon separate, they agreed to build a very high tower, which might be a beacon and signal of union, if they should ever desire to return to their native country. When they had raised the tower to a certain height, God being displeased with their work, and their motives for doing it, by a miraculous display of divine power, confounded their language ; and suddenly the numerous workmen perceived that they did not understand the words of each other, and that all spoke different languages. Consequently it was impossible to longer continue the work ; and they dispersed in different directions. And hence arose different languages and nations, and the dispersion of the human race over the habitable globe.

Notwithstanding the numerous varieties and races of the human family, numbering at least one thousand millions of souls, scattered over the surface of the earth ; yet they all have a common origin, and are all the offspring of common parents—Adam and Eve.

In analyzing the complicated subject of Polish society, it will be necessary to examine

1. The ancestral society of the Poles, as it existed among the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Tartars, and the Caucasians.
2. The associates of the Poles, as found in the society of the Slavic nations, the Germans, the Teutonic race, the Goths, the Huns, the Finns, the Scandinavians, the Hungarians, the Saxons, the Russians, the Austrians, and the Turks.
3. The Polish races—known as the Leches or Poles Proper ; the Lithuanians, the Cossacks, the Prussians, the Livonians, the Courlanders, the Bohemians, the Gipsies, and the Jews.
4. The several social classes of Poland.
5. The manners and customs of Polish society, and
6. The social laws which controlled them.

SECTION II.

SCYTHIAN SOCIETY.

The Scythians are said to be the ancestors of the Sarmatians. The equal character of both nations, and more particularly their warlike, wandering habits, leave little or no doubt of their intimate relation. Each in their turn, with their arms and horses, with their flocks and herds, with their wives and families, wandered over the immense plains which extended from the Caspian Sea to the Vistula, from the confines of Persia to the regions of Germany.

Scythia is the general name given by the ancient Greeks and Romans to a large portion of Asia ; and divided by them into *Scythia intra* and *extra Imaum*, or Scythia on either side of Mount Imaus. Some writers teach us that the Scythians are the same as the Gomerians—the descendants of Gomer, the eldest

son of Japhet. Some derive their name from the Teutonic *scheten* or *schuten*, or the Gothic *skiuta*, meaning "to shoot," as they were distinguished archers. Others consider it equivalent to the Latin *potatores*; while another class of orientalists derive it from *shakhaa*, "a quiver;" and a fourth class deduce the term from the Persian *ssagh*, "a dog," a supposed epithet of contempt. To say nothing of the speculations of Sir William Jones and others, Von Hammer appears to give the most satisfactory account of the origin of this interesting people. This learned orientalist informs us that the Eastern authors, and particularly the work entitled *Schahnameh*, refer the Grecian history concerning the incursion of the Sacæ to the Turks and *Ssakalib*. These Turks are the same with the Turanians, and with the *Ssakalab* of the *Schahnameh*; and this name *Ssakalib*, from *Ssaklib* or *Scoklob*, corresponds with what Herodotus writes concerning the Scythians, who called themselves *Scoloti*. The same similarity which Herodotus describes between the Sacæ and Amyrgii, is supposed to exist in the *Schahnameh*, between the Turks and the *Ssakalib*. The term *Slavi* may be derived from the same word, *Ssakalib*, and the Saxones may be derived from the Sacæ. Without making any farther use of these recondite materials, there is no doubt that the earliest authentic records of the Scythian race are found in Herodotus, and that they called themselves *Scoloti*, as before mentioned. The name Scythians originated among the Greeks of the Euxine, whose primitive seats were in the vicinity of the Caspian; and being driven from these homes by the Massagætæ, they migrated to the countries around the Tanais, and north of the Euxine, where the head settlement of the race was located between the Tanais and Borysthenes. A few of the tribes only followed agricultural

pursuits and had fixed habitations ; while the greater part lived a nomadic life, and roamed over the northern forests, travelling, eating, sleeping, and living in their rude wagons, as their only mansions and abodes ; subsisting on the produce of their flocks and herds. Herodotus divides them into three general classes ; Royal Scythians, Nomadic Scythians, and Agricultural Scythians. Besides these, there were other tribes living on the west of the Borysthenes, and separated from the principal race ; such as the *Callipodæ* and *Alazones*. The Scythians were little known until the time of Ptolemy, except from the narrative of Herodotus. In the days of Ptolemy, Scythia, as described by Herodotus, had changed its name to Sarmatia ; and the northern part of Asia, above the Sacæ, and beyond Sogdiana, extending indefinitely towards the east, was now called Scythia. Mount Imaus and its range divided this extensive region into two parts ; and hence arose the two divisions of *Scythia intra Imaum*, and *Scythia extra Imaum*, or Scythia within and without the range of Imaus. The former of these grand divisions was bounded on the north by unknown regions ; on the east by Imaus ; on the south by the Sacæ, Sogdiana, and Margiana, as far as the mouth of the Oxus, and the Caspian Sea to the mouth of the Rha ; and on the west by Asiatic Sarmatia. *Scythia extra Imaum* had the following boundaries : on the north by unknown regions ; on the west by Imaus ; on the south by a part of India ; and on the east by Serica. The Scythians made several irruptions into the more southern provinces of Asia, and particularly in 624 B. C., when they remained in possession of Asia Minor for nearly thirty years.

The term Scythians was a name used very vaguely by ancient writers. They sometimes applied it to a particular people, and

at others to all the nomadic tribes, which wandered over the vast regions to the north of the Black and the Caspian seas, and to the far distant countries east of the latter. The old writers, and several of the more modern authors, use the term Scythia in the same indefinite manner; sometimes for the country of the Scythians, and sometimes for those now called Mongolia and Tartary. The Scythians may be divided into Asiatic and European Scythia. The former division included a great number of northern nations and races, whose origin was unknown to the ancients. For a long time they ruled Asia, and are considered as the progenitors of the Turks, Tartars, and Manchoos; and the ancients considered the Persians, Parthians, and Bactrians, as their descendants, though Malte Brun seems to be of a different opinion. The European Scythians in the time of Herodotus inhabited the country from the Ister or Danube to the sources of the Dniester and the Dnieper, in the neighborhood of the Don; and along the northern shore of the Black sea. That portion of these widely-extended regions, reaching from the Danube to the city of Carcinitis, was called Old Scythia; and the peninsula Taurida, as far as to the Borysthenes, was known as Little Scythia, which, in Strabo's time, embraced the country as far as the Danube; formerly occupied by the Thracians; and, therefore, composed Old Scythia. The original Scythians of Herodotus lived between the Danube and the Palus Mæotis, within a square of four thousand stadia, or four hundred Roman miles.

In every age, the extensive plains of northern Asia and Europe have been more or less inhabited by Scythians, or their successors and offspring, the Tartars. Their uniform character in history shows them to be vagrant tribes of hunters, shepherds, warriors, and robbers, whose indolence refused the pleasures and

profits of agriculture, and disclaimed all confinement—equally ignorant of the happiness of home, and the pleasures of retirement. In every age the world has been filled with their fame; equally renowned for their courage and unrivalled conquests. These barbarous shepherds of the north have repeatedly overturned the thrones of Asia; and their rude arms have carried terror, devastation, and death, throughout the fertile plains and powerful nations of Europe. In the northern climates of Asia and Europe, the nomadic tribes, in the absence of corn, rice, and other nutritious vegetables, which constitute the ordinary food of civilized life; and deprived of the spontaneous and alimental fruits of the tropics, must necessarily depend almost exclusively on their flocks and herds for subsistence. In the Scythian tents of antiquity, we find a perfect panorama of Polish society, as it existed previous to the fifteenth century. Their oxen and sheep, slaughtered by the same hands from which they received their daily food, by their women and children or in their presence, were hastily served on their tables, with very little preparation; and frequently while the mangled limbs were dripping with blood, and trembling with the last spasms of expiring life.

The exclusive use of animal food was highly favorable to the military life. For, while the more civilized troops of Rome and other nations were compelled to use corn, a bulky and perishable commodity, which was slowly and expensively transported by the labor of numerous men and horses, in large magazines, the flocks and herds which followed the march of the Scythians, relieved them from all these heavy burdens, and furnished them cheap and ample supplies. The flesh and milk of these useful animals furnished their table with food; from their skins they manufactured their clothing, with their bones they pointed their weapons, from their

hoofs they made their cuirass,—and their horns served them as trumpets for sounding the notes of war. These hardy cattle of the north generally found sufficient forage; where browse was plenty in winter, and the vegetation of grass was quick and luxuriant in summer. These limited supplies were well adapted to the civilization of the Scythians; which could be easily multiplied and prolonged, by their undistinguishing appetite and patient abstinence. Nature had so tempered their appetites and strengthened their digestive organs, that they feasted with equal delight on the flesh of those animals which had been slaughtered for the table or had died of disease.

Horse flesh, which in every age and nation has been proscribed by the civilized nations of the world, was considered a delicious feast, a choice dessert among the Scythian tribes. Their cavalry is always followed in their marches and incursions by a large number of spare horses, for the purpose of change, in increasing their speed, or to satisfy their hunger in cases of necessity. When the forage in the vicinity of their camp was nearly consumed, they slaughtered the greater part of their flocks and herds, and preserved the flesh, either by smoking, or drying it in the sun. When the tocsin of war sounded suddenly and unexpectedly for a hasty and forced march, the only provision they carried with them consisted of a sufficient quantity of little balls of cheese, made of hard curd, that they dissolved in water; on which these invincible warriors subsisted in their full vigor for several days. After victory had perched on their standards, and their foe had fallen or fled, their almost total abstinence, a grace which poets sing and stoics covet, was usually succeeded by a most voracious appetite, which they indulged in every luxury at their command. Their ungovernable thirst for intoxicating

liquors was satisfied, either by wines, which they had plundered from their vanquished enemies, or received as presents; or by an inebriating drink, which they had made of mares' milk.

The pastoral society of the Scythians, to some extent, seems to unite the different advantages of nomadic simplicity, and civilized refinement; together with the facilities of urban enterprise, and the pleasures of rural retirement. All the individuals of the same race, tribe, or nation, were ever assembled; but they were convened in a martial camp, surrounded by their war-wagons; and not in a city surrounded by walls. The people associate, not as the merchants and bankers of London, Paris, or New York, for the purposes of commerce and the mutual acquisition of wealth; but as the dauntless shepherds of the northern wilderness, for the purpose of cheering each other's spirits in the work of ruin and death. The houses of the wandering Scythians consisted of small oval tents, the only home for the promiscuous youth of both sexes—the cold and filthy habitation of licentiousness and intemperance. Even the aristocratic palaces of the rich were nothing more than wooden huts, so constructed that they could be conveniently fixed on large wagons, and drawn by a team of twenty or thirty oxen.

The flocks and herds are early taught to retire with the setting sun, within the protection of the camp, after carelessly and quietly grazing all day in the adjacent pastures; and at the earliest dawn of day to return to their wonted fields. The rudiments of law, under the control of the military art, regulate the duties, rights, and responsibilities of the promiscuous and perpetual concourse of men and animals, so far as to prevent confusion, and protect the rights of all; a system of jurisprudence which generally goes hand in hand with the military art among barbarous

racés. When the forage of their local district is nearly consumed, the army of shepherds again take up their line of march, in martial order, to distant and fresh pastures; and there, by right of possession, a system of land-law, well known to the simple jurisprudence of pastoral society, they acquire title in allodial fee to the new territory during their occupancy; a principle of law from which the modern states of Europe and America have derived their doctrine of adverse possession. Their choice of stations was governed principally by the difference of the seasons. In the summer they marched towards the north, and pitched their vernal tents on the banks of a river, or in the vicinity of a running stream, where their families and cattle could enjoy a supply of water. But in the winter they returned to the south, where they could shelter and warm their camp, by a more genial climate; or took refuge behind some mountain, which would shield them from the humid and chilly winds of the icy regions of the north.

These manners and habits of life of course educated the Scythians only for emigration, war, and cruelty; in violation of all those social laws which bind a people to their native country and homes, where civilization prevails. Their native country was the camp, and not the soil—a people without a country, and without any other associations than the conflicts of war and the embraces of assassins. Within the narrow limits of his camp the Scythian has concentrated around him his family, his associates, his property, his school, his mansion, his temples, his gods, and everything dear to him; which follow him in his most fatiguing and distant marches. Their only incentives were the thirst of rapine, the fear or resentment of injury, the impatience of servitude, which continually urged them to wander from country to country;

and fearlessly invade the rights and territory of the surrounding nations, in quest of more fertile fields, and more limpid waters, where they could find a more plentiful subsistence, or a less formidable enemy.

These wandering tribes of the North frequently extended their lawless revolutions to the South ; and the hostile nations, in their desolating conflicts—alternately as victors and victims—conquered and were conquered, each in their turn, during their fleeting moments of victory or defeat, from the regions of China on the east, to those of Germany on the west ; and from the icy mountains of Siberia on the north, to the coral strands of India on the south. The physiology of the country of the ancient Scythians, and more modern Tartars, was peculiarly favorable for their rapid marches, and the transportation of their numerous camps. The winter of these regions was much more severe than might reasonably be expected in the midst of the temperate zone, in consequence of the height of the plains, which rise sometimes more than half a mile above the level of the sea. In a country like this, where the soil is deeply impregnated with saltpetre—where a plain in the Chinese Tartary, only eight leagues from the great wall, rises over three thousand geometrical paces above the level of the sea—where, in the winter season, the broad and rapid rivers that discharge their waters into the Euxine, the Caspian, or the Icy sea, are deeply frozen, and the wide-spreading fields are covered with a bed of snow—the fugitive tribes can securely and rapidly traverse with their families, wagons, cattle, and camps, the smooth and hard surface of the immense plains of snow and ice, with unparalleled secrecy and agility.

The pastoral life of the Scythians was a life of wanton idleness ; and as the most honorable shepherds of the race carelessly

consigned to their oppressed and jealous slaves—the captives of their victories—the entire management of their domestic affairs, and the care of their flocks and herds, the masters were relieved from all anxiety, and left free to indulge in licentiousness and intemperance, when not actually engaged in their barbarous wars, or the rude sports and sanguinary exercises of the chase. The strong and serviceable breed of horses, which roam wildly in numerous herds over the fertile and wide plains of ancient Scythia, were easily trained for the purposes of war and hunting, and thus furnished every facility for the erratic occupations of these nomad tribes. From the earliest history of the Scythians they have been celebrated as bold and skilful riders; and the fair sex not unfrequently rivalled their lords in this their favorite profession. By long and continued practice these children of the forest—very similar to many Indian tribes in America—carried the art of horsemanship to such unrivalled perfection, that it is said they performed the ordinary duties of life, by eating, drinking, and sleeping, without dismounting from their steeds.

They not only excelled in the art of horsemanship, but they were unrivalled in the dexterous management of the lance, and in the skilful bending of the bow. The long Scythian bow, drawn with a nervous arm, under the guidance of a far-seeing and unerring eye, with a weighty arrow directed to the heart of its doomed object, with fatal aim and irresistible force, whether pointed against the harmless animals of the desert, or the hearts and heads of a hostile foe in the battle-field, was sure to do its work of death. The sports of the Scythian hunters were not limited to the destruction of timid or innoxious beasts—such as the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the stag, the elk, and the antelope; but they boldly encountered the angry wild

boar—fearlessly assailed the enraged bear in the presence of her cubs—and recklessly provoked the fury of the tiger, roused from his slumbers in the thicket. The vigor and patience of both the horses and their riders, were continually exercised and improved by the fatigues of the chase and the marches of war, until their physical powers and athletic feats placed them so far beyond the competition of the more southern and civilized nations, that they became the terror of both man and beast. It was the boast of the Scythians, in the chase and in the battle-field, that their greatest danger was their greatest glory.

Their mode of hunting constituted the military school in which the Scythian youth exercised their valor, and learned the arts of war. The general and stated hunting matches, which were the pride and delight of the warriors, were instituted as disciplinary schools for the cavalry, where they exercised and improved their skill in military tactics, and performed their rude evolutions, charges, and various modes of attacking the enemy. On these occasions a circle was drawn by the troops many miles in circumference, for the purpose of encompassing the game of an extensive district; while the surrounding forces that formed the circle regularly advanced, each in a separate radius, to the common centre, where the unsuspecting captive animals, surrounded on every side, were forced to abandon themselves to the fatal darts and lances of the savage hunters. In these hunting excursions, which frequently continued for many days, the cavalry were obliged to climb lofty hills and mountains, swim deep and rapid rivers, wind through narrow ravines, and cross wide valleys, without deranging or interrupting their concentric line of march. In these hardy sports the leaders drilled their troops to the habit of directing their eyes and their steps steadily to a remote object,

each in his own proper radius, while all carefully preserved their respective intervals—at the same time suspending or accelerating their march according to the motions of the troops on their right and left ; attentively watching and repeating the signals of their leaders. And here, in this rude military school of barbarians, were taught the fundamental principles of the tactics which are now adopted by the modern nations of both hemispheres. In these normal schools, the children of the forest first taught the most important lessons of the military art—the prompt and accurate judgment of ground, distance, and of time ; and the only modification which modern generals have introduced, is to employ against a human enemy the same patience and valor, the same skill and discipline, while surrounding a foe, by changing the amusements of the chase to the conquest of nations.

Unlike the political society of the ancient Germans, which consisted of a voluntary alliance of independent warriors, the Scythian hordes assumed the patriarchal form of a numerous and increasing family ; both of which forms of government, in the course of many successive generations, have descended from the same primeval stock. The most degraded and ignorant of the barbarous race, cherish with great national pride their genealogy, and cultivate a profound respect for the first founder of the tribes—the common patriarch of the whole family. The custom very early prevailed of adopting the bravest and most faithful of the captives, and thereby opening wide the door for ambition and talent, to elevate its humble votaries to the apex of national glory, through the bloody march of military fame—a principle which modern nations cherish with peculiar care. The haughty Scythians yielded a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head

of their race ; and their chief, or *mursa*, as the representative of their great progenitor, discharged the duties of a judge in peace, and a general in war ; and the same principle prevailed in the government of Poland, from the origin of the nation to the partition and conquest of the republic. In the original state of pastoral society in Scythia, each of the *mursas* acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family, who gradually fixed the boundaries of their several territories by superior force, or mutual consent. At length, the vagrant hordes were compelled by their conflicting and local interests, and for the purpose of protecting themselves from the invasions of surrounding nations, to unite into national communities or states, under one great political confederation, with one supreme head ; and thus were formed the ancient and modern nations of the world.

In the early organization of nations, the weak were desirous of support, and the powerful were ambitious of dominion ; and soon the divided forces of the adjacent tribes were subjected to the rising kingdom ; either from the fear of its power or the attractions of its parental protection. And where the vanquished were freely admitted to share the spoils of victory, the most valiant chiefs hastened to enroll themselves and their followers under the standard of a confederate nation. The most successful of the Scythian princes assumed the military command, to which he was entitled by his superiority of merit or of power. He ascended the throne by the acclamation of his equals, under the title of *Khan*, or some other term synonymous in meaning, which expresses, in the language of the north of Asia and Europe, the full extent of royal power. As a general rule, which has very few exceptions, the right of hereditary succession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy ; and even at

the present day, all the Khans who reign from Crimea to the wall of China, are the lineal descendants of the famous Zingis. According to the laws of the Scythians and Tartars, it was the duty of the sovereign to lead his armies into the field in person; and hence arose the almost uniform rule of disregarding the claims of an infant monarch during his minority; while his royal kinsman, distinguished by his age and valor, wields the sword and sceptre of his predecessor.

In their political economy, two distinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes,—one for the support of their national monarch, and the other for the maintenance of the chief of each tribe; each amounting to the tithe, both of their property, and of their spoils of war. A Scythian sovereign received the tenth part of the wealth of his subjects; and by means of his tithes, and the rapid increase of his flocks and herds, he maintains the rustic splendor of his court; rewards the most meritorious or the most favored of his partisans; and, by the silent influence of corruption, secures the obedience of those refractory followers, who with difficulty yield to the stern mandates of regal authority. The manners and tastes of both king and subjects, who had been educated from infancy to blood and rapine, readily excused in the eyes of these barbarians, such cruel acts of tyranny, anarchy, and political faction, as frequently resulted in the homicide of both the innocent and the guilty; and a similar state of society was transmitted from the Scythians to the Sarmatian tribes, and from them to the Poles; where it continued under the form of the *liberum veto*, and diets under the buckler, during their national existence, and finally ruined the republic.

The power of absolute despotism was never universally acknowledged in the Scythian dominions; and the jurisdiction of

each Khan was confined within the limits of his own tribe. This state of society ultimately suggested the principle of moderating the royal prerogative, by the institution of a national council. The Diet was regularly held twice a year—in the spring and autumn—in the midst of a plain ; where the princes of the reigning family and the mursas of the several tribes, assembled on horseback, attended by their martial and numerous trains ; where the ambitious monarch was compelled to review the strength, and consult the interests and wishes of his armed subjects ; and from this national assembly of Scythians and Tartars, the Poles derived their system of legislation on the plains of Volo. The rudiments of a feudal government may be early discovered in the organization of the Scythian and Tartar nations, and perhaps generally among the northern nations of Asia and Europe ; although the almost perpetual conflict of those hostile states sometimes terminated in the establishment of a powerful and despotic empire. Sometimes, the bloody victor, crowned by the suffrages of his conquering troops, and enriched by the tribute and fortified by the arms of vanquished or dependent kings, has gradually extended his conquests over Europe or Asia ; until the shepherds of the north have submitted to the restraints of arts, the regulations of law, and the influence and commerce of cities ; and finally, after the introduction of luxury, and the destruction of the people's freedom, the throne has been undermined, and the king and his kingdom have found a common grave.

Our knowledge of the Scythians is derived from their intercourse with the more civilized nations of the south—the Greeks, the Persians, and the Chinese. The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine, and established their colonies along the sea coast, first discovered Scythia ; extending from the Danube and the confines

of Thrace, as far as the frozen regions of Mæotis, the seat of eternal winter ; and Mount Caucasus, which the poets describe as the utmost boundary of the earth. The ancient poets and historians, charmed with the imaginary bliss of the pastoral life of the northern barbarians, celebrate by history and song, with unlimited credulity, the supposed virtues of those lawless tribes. But the revolutions of the tented field, the sting of their poisoned arrows, and the fatal wounds of their lancers, soon taught the southern nations of Asia and Europe to entertain a rational apprehension of the strength, the numbers, and barbarities of these ruthless warriors. In the thirteenth book of the Iliad, Jupiter modestly turns away his eyes from the bloody fields of Troy, to the more peaceful and happy plains of Thrace and Scythia ; but he soon discovered his mistake, in supposing that peace and happiness prevailed in the hostile plains of the north. Even the haughty chiefs of Scythia did not hesitate to contemptuously insult the renowned Darius, the son of Hystaspes ; and when he advanced into the Moldavian desert, between the Danube and the Niester, with his immense victorious army, the king of the Scythians sent him a mouse, a frog, a bird, and five arrows,—an ominous allegory, and an outrageous insult.

The Persian monarchs having extended their western conquests to the banks of the Danube, and the confines of European Scythia, the eastern provinces of their empire were exposed to the Scythians of Asia, who inhabited the plains beyond the Oxus and the Jaxartes—the two large rivers which roll their waters towards the Caspian sea. The continued and sanguine quarrel of Iran and Touran, has long been the theme of romance, history, and song ; and the famous valor of the Persian heroes, Rustan and Asfendiar was immortalized in defending their country from

the hordes of the north ; and on the same ground, the unconquerable barbarians resisted successfully the victorious arms of Cyrus and Alexander.

According to the imperfect geography of the Greeks and Persians, ancient Scythia was bounded on the east by the mountains of Imaus or Caf, while the other and more distant regions of Asia were limited only by the imagination of the most learned nations of antiquity. Here, in the bosom of these widely-extended regions, where the Scythian and Tartar hordes wandered, plundered, and revelled for centuries,—we find the Chinese Empire, the ancient residence of a powerful and civilized nation ; which traces back its origin by a probable tradition, into the regions of antiquity more than forty centuries ; and by well-authenticated history more than two thousand years before Christ. The early history of Scythia seems to be lost in the ancient annals of China ; and the primeval inhabitants of both nations possess numerous affinities in manners, customs, and laws. The original cradle of the Chinese nation and race appears to have been in the north-west part of the Empire, in the provinces of Chensi and Chansi. During the two first dynasties, the principal town or city was only a movable camp ; the villages were thinly scattered ; vastly more land was used for pasture than for tillage ; the business of hunting was ordained a regular profession,—for the triple purpose of sustenance, of clearing the country from wild beasts, and for cultivating the art of war. Petcheli, the place where Pekin now stands, was then a desert ; and the southern provinces were inhabited by Indian savages. The dynasty of the Han, two hundred and six years before Christ, gave the Empire its form and extent.

We can very clearly trace in the early history of China, a similar state of society and revolutions to those of the pastoral tribes of

Scythia, and their more modern offspring, the Poles and Tartars. From the mouth of the Danube to the Sea of Japan, the whole longitude of Scythia is nearly one hundred and ten degrees, which in that parallel exceed five thousand miles. Though these extensive deserts cannot, at this late day, be accurately measured, yet from the fortieth degree, which reaches to the wall of China, we may safely extend the measurement more than a thousand miles to the north, until we reach the impassable snows and ice of Siberia; where instead of the pastoral life and animated picture of a Scythian or Tartar camp, we meet with nothing but the smoke that issues through the snow from the subterraneous dwellings of the Tongouses and the Samoides. Here the want of horses and oxen is imperfectly supplied by the use of the reindeer and large dogs; where the Scythian nation and the conquerors of the earth insensibly degenerate into a degraded, half-starved, and half-frozen race of deformed and savage dwarfs, who tremble at the sound of arms, ignorant of their use.

Strange as it may sound in the ears of modern civilization, after this revolting picture of Scythian society, the worst feature of the race, as found in the female character, still remains to be described. The Amazons, a nation of female warriors, according to all reliable authors, were of Scythian origin. According to Justin, two Scythian princes wandering from their own country, reached the river Thermodon, in Cappadocia, where they settled with their followers. In the course of time, as the colonies increased and began to reveal their more ancient and powerful neighbors, the new comers provoked the anger of the aboriginal inhabitants; which gave rise to one of the most sanguine wars ever known in history, and ended in the extermination of nearly all the male population. The women, including the maids, wives,

and widows, enraged at this solemn and unexpected invasion of their vested rights in the male sex, unanimously resolved in future to pursue a life of single blessedness, and deny themselves the bliss of associating with gentlemen. The fair heroines immediately took up arms, and putting the few surviving males to death, as a relief from all further encumbrance, elected two of their sweetest, fairest, and bravest maidens as queens, who, in turn, commanded their armies in the field, and conducted the affairs of state at home. The sequel of their extraordinary history tells us that by the unrivalled success of their arms, and the superior wisdom of their government, they soon extended their conquests far and near, and founded many cities in Asia Minor; among which are embraced Ephesus, Smyrna, Cumæ, and others. Different authors locate this fair nation in so many different places in Asia Minor, that their residence becomes doubtful to modern research. Their chief seat, however, was Themiseyra, on the river Thermodon, near the southern coast of the Euxine Sea.

According to Diodorus, a tribe of Amazons settled in Lybia, long before those who located themselves on the Thermodon. The student in Greek and Latin poetry, will readily recognize the familiar names of Antiope and Hippolyta, whose tomb was shown at Megara, in the time of Pausanias; also Penthesilea and Thalestris, all of whom were celebrated females of Amazonian memory. The Amazons were engaged in a long and severe war with Hercules and Bacchus. In the time of Theseus, they invaded Attica, under the command of Hippolyta; and the bloody battle between the Amazons and Athenians was painted at Athens, in the celebrated portico called Pœcile (the painted). After the death of Hector, Priam fought for the Trojans against the fair army; and yet the Amazons readily came to the assist-

ance of the Trojans against the Greeks, under the command of Penthesilea, who was slain by Achilles.* Although these female monsters professedly lived a life of celibacy, yet in addition to all their other vices, they continued to propagate their race, and recruit their army from their own illegitimate offspring, by murdering their male infants, and raising only the females, whom they educated only in the arts of war. In addition to all their barbarous customs, they disfigured their bold and athletic persons by amputating and scarring their right breast, that it might not interfere with the free use of the arm in drawing the bow and other military duties. They are usually painted, or figured in medallions and other representations, as bold, dashing heroines, wearing a short mantle, reaching to the knee, with the left breast bare. The celebrated orator, Lysias, informs us that they were the first cavalry who fought on horseback, known in the history of war, and used iron weapons before their neighbors employed them. Their weapons were a semi-circular or crest-shaped shield, bows and arrows, and the double-edged battle-axe; the latter being their peculiar and most formidable instrument of destruction. The same weapons were used by the Scythians, the Tartars, and the Sarmatians; and the Poles wielded them most successfully in battle, as late as the reign of John Sobieski.

Diodorus and Curtius both agree in their statement that Thalestris, the queen of the Amazons, courteously visited Alexander in Hyrcania. Plutarch says that the Amazons fought bravely with the Albanians against Pompey. According to Strabo, the Amazons at one period had their principal seat in the mountains of Albania, on the banks of the Caspian Sea. The history of

* Virgil's *Æneid*, book I., line 490-493; see Anthon's note to the same, p. 344.

the Amazons is not confined to Asia. Alvarez, who visited Abyssinia as late as 1520, found a similar female race south of Damot, who possessed similar characters, warlike habits, and domestic relations, and fought with similar weapons, mounted on bullocks.

Such is human nature, and such the degraded condition of female society when left to savage life; under the control of unbridled licentiousness, stimulated by the false ambition of war and plunder; in violation of all the pure and wholesome laws of social life. And surely, if the Poles had one drop of the blood of these female fiends flowing in their veins, they are entitled to the humanity of all the world, the forgiveness of Heaven, and a full restoration to all their national rights and possessions.*

SECTION III.

SARMATIAN SOCIETY.

The immediate ancestors of the Poles were the Sarmatians. The early society of Poland is known both in history and song as Sarmatia. The Slavonians, and all other nations who inhabited the northern parts of Europe and Asia, were all called by the ancients, Sarmatians. European Sarmatia comprehended Poland from the Vistula, Prussia, Courland, Livonia, Russia, European Tartary, and the Crimea. Asiatic Sarmatia embraced Asiatic Russia, Siberia, and Mongolia. The Sarmatians were all nomadic tribes, and were probably the remote descendants of the ancient Medes, who originally inhabited Asia, between the

* Malte Brun, b. 33, p. 422; Penny Cyclopædia, I., 418; Anthon's Classical Dict., 1205; American Encyclopædia, XI., 291; Gibbon's History of Rome, III., 3-14.

Don, the Wolga, and Mount Caucasus, and the more recent offspring of the Scythians. They were allies of king Mithridates VI. of Pontus, who were then settled on the west of the Don, and afterwards spread themselves over the country between the Don and the Danube. They were frequently the terror of the Asiatic kings, the most remarkable of whom were the Jazyges and the Roxolani, who carried on, for a long time, a fierce and bloody war against the Romans. A part of them, with other barbarians, entered Gaul in the year 407, and the remainder were conquered by Attila; but after his death they submitted to the emperor Marcian, who gave them a residence on the Don. Here they subsequently united themselves with the Goths and formed with them one powerful nation, who subsequently swarmed from this northern hive, and overran and conquered Rome and all Europe.

The Sarmatians are described in history as conquering tribes, that invaded Scythia or southern Russia, the greater portion of the Ukraine, Galicia, and Moldavia, and ruled these countries nearly three centuries. The conquered nations were not expelled from their homes, but the victors, like the Turks, changed the names of the vanquished and tributary states. According to Herodotus, the first Sarmatians found in history were descendants from young Scythians and Amazons; the latter was a race of warlike women.* The father of history considers the Sarmatians as Scythian colonists, who possessed the country on the east of the Tanais, probably between the lower Wolga and Caucasus, and who spoke a Scythian dialect, corrupted by the language of their Amazonian mothers, who spent their lives in the battle-field, armed with two-edged axes. Hippocrates, a contemporary of Herodotus,

* Herodotus, chap. xiv. 110-117.

mentions the Sarmatians as a Scythian race, differing from the other Scythians only by their warlike women using the bow and javelin ; but in all other respects, his descriptions of both are substantially the same. They are represented by him to be a people of swarthy complexion, short and fat in stature, relaxed and phlegmatic in their temperament ; their women were not fruitful, but their female slaves were the mothers of nearly all the children of this savage people.

Their small and lively eyes, deep-sunk in the head, struck such terror into the Greeks, that they compared them to snakes and lizards ; and hence probably arose the incorrect etymology of their name, which was corrupted into Sauromatæ. The Roman authors, who had much better opportunities of observing the nation, and by sad experience were more intimately acquainted with them, rejected the Greek name, and called them Sarmatæ. The names of several Sarmatian tribes, including the *Thisomatæ*, *Iaxomatæ*, and others, are distinguished by the same final syllables.

It seems to be generally conceded, that the Sarmatians are descendants of the Medes ; and the various words by which the former are designated in early history, having a common signification ; and the meaning of *Madai* or Medes, is so obvious, and occurs so frequently in the ancient languages of Media and Persia, as to leave very little or no doubt of the relation between the Medes and the Sarmatians. The ancients, who were most intimately acquainted with nations, uniformly considered the Scythians and Sarmatians to be of Median origin. The Scythian words which have been retained in their language probably belonged to the Zend, or a dialect connected with it. The tribes who were subject to the Scythian empire, or exposed to their

invasions and ravages, among whom were the Slavonians and Finns, purchased their peace and protection by paying tribute; although they were then unknown in history by their present names.

Mithridates, the Asiatic Hannibal, being inspired with a revolutionary spirit and the love of conquest, formed the ambitious project of invading Italy by the north-east; an enterprise which was accomplished at a later period by the Cimbrian and Gothic nations. This famous Asiatic general finally excited the Sarmatians to cross the Tanais, and conquer the Scythian empire. They commenced their migrations about eighty-one years previous to the Christian era, and continued their erratic life for more than a century. These Sarmatian hordes overran, laid waste, and partly conquered all the countries included within a line drawn from the Tanais to the Transylvanian mountains; and by another line extending from the Tanais, and terminating near the mouth of the Vistula. The Slavic races between the Oder and the Vistula—the Lygii in the Polish plains—the Mugilones on the hills—the Naharvali in the marshy lands—the Carpi, Biessi, and other tribes on the Carpathians—the Venedi or Wends in Prussia and Lithuania—the Fenni in Polesia and Black Russia—and the other Finnic hordes in central Russia, all retained their national existence, their languages and customs, subject to the Sarmatian empire. Such was the condition of Sarmatia at the time of the Pannonian invasion in the year 375.

This once powerful and savage nation was finally conquered by the Roman general Theodosius, and forced to invoke the clemency of the Emperor Valentinian. When the deputies were presented to the Roman sovereign, the prince, after hearing their request, asked indignantly, why better-looking men had not been sent.

The ugly Sarmatian ambassadors answered, that they were the best and most comely, and had been selected from the chosen men of their nation. "O unfortunate Rome," exclaimed Valentinian, "when such abortions dare invade it!" At the same time the thoughts of the extreme sufferings of his country, which these wretched, insignificant-looking Sarmatian savages had caused by their hostile invasions; the thousands of treasure and precious lives which it had cost Rome to subdue them, produced such a paroxysm of rage, that he struck his hands and groaned loudly, while his eyes, his voice, his color, and his gestures expressed the violence of his ungovernable fury, and his whole frame trembling like a leaf with convulsive passion, a large blood-vessel burst, and Valentinian fell speechless and lifeless in the arms of his attendants.*

The Sarmatian race seems to form the connecting link between the barbarians of Asia and the savage hordes of Northern Europe. This remarkable people, always in war, but never in peace, were ever on the wing like hornets, ready to sting everybody and everything which came in contact with them. According to the various accidents of war, as they conquered or were conquered, they sometimes confined themselves to the banks of the Tanais, and at others spread themselves over the immense plains which lie between the Vistula and the Volga. Their wandering marches were guided by the care of their numerous flocks and herds, the fortune of war, and their thirst for plunder. The cities and towns of this nation, their houses, their palaces, their firesides and cradles, consisted of movable camps and large wagons, drawn by oxen, and carried in the form of tents. The military force of the nation was composed of cavalry, distinguished for their custom

* Gibbon, II., 166.

of leading in their hand one or two spare horses, which enabled them to advance or retreat with a secrecy and agility that bid defiance to the most powerful foe. The scarcity of iron and other necessary metals taught them to invent a sort of cuirass, which was proof against swords and javelins, which their rude industry had manufactured of horses' hoofs, cut into thin and polished slices, ingeniously laid over each other in the form of scales or feathers, and strongly sewed upon an under garment of coarse linen.

The principal arms of the Sarmatians were short daggers, long and heavy lances, and a heavy bow, with a quiver of numerous arrows. Their poverty and ignorance of metals compelled them to use fish-bones for the points of their arrows, which they dipped in a venomous liquor, for the purpose of poisoning the wounds they inflicted on their enemies in battle—a barbarous custom, which affords the highest evidence of their savage manners, their want of humanity, and ignorance of successful and civilized warfare. The venom was commonly extracted from poisonous vegetables; but that used by the Scythians was drawn from the viper, and mixed with human blood. The use of poisoned arms, which at different periods has prevailed among the savages of both hemispheres, never has been able to preserve a barbarous foe from the arms of a disciplined army.

The appearance of these barbarous Sarmatians thus accoutred for war was most terrific. When they issued from their ambush and deserts in quest of prey, with their swarthy, short, corpulent, and unwieldy persons; covered with their shaggy beards and uncombed locks; clothed with furs, panthers' and bears'-skins, from head to foot; all surmounted with feathers and horse-tails, and other similar ornaments; through which were seen their

fiery eyes, and fierce countenances, expressive of the cruelty which reigned within, with their savage yells, struck may into the more civilized Roman heroes, more terrific than Milton's army of fiends. Ovid gives a very thrilling description of these northern barbarians. After spending his happy youth in the enjoyment of fame and luxury, he was suddenly compelled to meet the frowns of fortune, and was condemned to a hopeless exile on the frozen and dreary banks of the Danube, where, defenceless and exposed to the fury of these human monsters of the wilderness, he learned by sad experience the character, manners, and customs of these savages. In his nine books of Poetical Epistles, which he composed during the seven first years of his melancholy exile, he describes in the most lively colors the dress and manners, the arms and wars, of the Getæ and Sarmatians, who united their forces for the purposes of destruction. A part of the Sarmatians at least were probably the Jazygæ, one of the most numerous and warlike tribes of the nation. The Sarmatian Jazygæ were settled on the banks of Pathissus or Tibiscus; when Pliny, in the year seventy-nine, published his natural history. In the time of Strabo and Ovid, sixty or seventy years before, they lived beyond the Getæ on the coast of the Euxine. With the hopes of relieving their wants by the enjoyment of plenty in a more fertile land, they left their barren regions for a more permanent establishment on the frontiers of the empire.

Not long after the reign of Augustus, they compelled the Dacians, who then subsisted principally by fishing on the banks of the river Teyss, or Tibiscus, to leave their peaceful homes in the valleys, and retire to the mountains for their future residence; and by this means the Sarmatians obtained possession of the fertile plains of Upper Hungary, which are bounded by the

course of the Danube and the semi-circular enclosure of the Carpathian mountains. In this more advantageous situation they carried on their predatory warfare, and devastated the surrounding country, according as they were provoked by injury, appeased by presents, or checked by conquest. Here they gradually improved in the arts of war, and acquired the skill of using their poisonous and most dangerous weapons ; while they occasionally assisted their eastern and western neighbors, the Goths and Germans, with the most formidable cavalry of the day.

Their only government was the irregular and tyrannical aristocracy of their military chieftains, until after their alliance with the fugitive Vandals ; and yielding to the extensive Gothic power, they probably chose a king from their new associates. A series of the most sanguinary battles now followed, from the enmity which existed between the subjects, on the confines of warlike and independent nations. The limpid waters of the Maros, a small river tributary to the Teyss, were stained with the warm blood of the contending barbarians, under the command of the Vandal princes, who were stimulated by fear and revenge on the one side, and the Gothic kings on the other, who were ambitious to extend their dominion from the Euxine to the frontiers of Germany. After the fortune of war had taught them the superior strength and numbers of their adversaries, the Sarmatians invoked the protection of the Roman monarch, who had already become alarmed by the success of the Gothic arms, though pleased with the exterminating wars of the northern tribes.

No sooner had Constantine manifested his partiality for the Sarmatians, who were the weaker party, than the victorious Alaric, king of the Goths, without waiting for the attack of the Roman legions, fearlessly crossed the Danube and spread terror

and destruction through the province of Mæsia. This bold and haughty attack stimulated the emperor to take the field in person, in opposition to the invading Goth. After several severe and well-fought battles on both sides, in which the northern hordes and the Roman legions were alternately successful, the Goths were finally vanquished on every side, and driven into the mountains; where, during a severe campaign, above a hundred thousand perished by cold and hunger. The victorious and magnanimous Constantine at length granted peace in answer to the humble supplications of the vanquished Goths; and the eldest son of Alaric was given as the most valuable hostage. The Roman general displayed his usual virtues, by endeavoring to convince the conquered chiefs of the forest, with liberal distributions of honors and rewards, that the friendship of the Romans was far preferable to their enmity.

The faithful Chersonites, who had aided the emperor in achieving this signal victory, shared liberally in the royal munificence. Their national pride was not only gratified by the splendid decorations bestowed on their magistrate and his successors; but a perpetual exemption from all duties was granted to their vessels, which traded to the ports of the Black Sea; and a regular subsidy was stipulated of iron, corn, oil, and every supply necessary in peace or war. The royal bounty, conferred on the Sarmatians, was more stinted, for reasons best known to the benefactor. This neglect so exasperated them, that, unmindful of the former clemency of Rome, they soon violated their plighted faith, and reckless of impending danger, they again commenced their hostilities. Constantine, provoked at their renewed and repeated inroads on the territory of the empire, left them to their fate; while the ambitious Geberic, a famous warrior, who had recently ascended the

Gothic throne, advanced upon Wisumar, the Vandal king ; who, alone and unaided, defended his waning dominions with undaunted courage, until he was vanquished and slain in a decisive and fatal battle, which entombed the flower of the Sarmatian youth.

The shattered and feeble remnant of the once powerful Sarmatian nation, now falling back on their treacherous slaves, as a last resort, finally embraced the desperate and hopeless expedient of arming them. This hardy race of hunters and herdsmen at first battled with success, and expelled the enemy from their country. But slavery, true to its moral sense of injustice at the hands of their masters, soon taught its oppressive lords that they had exchanged a foreign for a domestic enemy—more dangerous and implacable. Elated by their recent success, and enraged by the thought of servitude, and now conscious of their superior strength and numbers, the slaves, under the name of Limigantes, usurped the possession of the government and country they had so recently saved.

Their masters, no longer able to withstand the fury of their slaves, preferred the worst fate of exiles to the tyranny of their long-insulted servants. Some of the Sarmatian masters fled to the hostile standard of the Goths for protection ; a more numerous band fled for their lives beyond the Carpathian mountains and joined themselves to the Quadi, their German allies ; while the greater part of the ruined nation sought an asylum from the foaming rage of their victorious slaves, in the more civilized provinces of Rome. The latter fugitives, imploring the forgiveness and protection of the emperor, solemnly pledged their lives and their all as a sure guarantee for their future obedience—as subjects in peace, and soldiers in war. According to the humane maxims and laws of Probus and his successors, the prayer of the

barbarians was heard and granted; and an ample portion of lands in the provinces of Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Italy, was immediately assigned to them, as the future habitation for three hundred thousand fugitive Sarmatians.

Although the slaves, afterwards known in history as the *Limigantes*, were subsequently, with great difficulty, subdued by the Roman arms, and a part of the Sarmatian nation for a short time was restored; yet the Sarmatians, in fact, never recovered from the victory of their slaves. In the history and character of the Sarmatians we can clearly trace all the most odious features of the Polish character. Always engaged in war and wandering from country to country in quest of plunder, they cherished slavery as an elementary principle of government and wealth; and like all other slaveholding nations, this viper, which they had so long and so eagerly cherished in their bosom, at last struck its poisonous fangs into the very heart of the body politic, and national death was the invariable result.*

SECTION IV.

TARTAR SOCIETY.

Many of the inhabitants of Poland are of Tartar origin. The Tartars, who are of Scythian descent, may with propriety be regarded both as an ancestral and associate race of the Poles. Their blood was early mingled in the veins of their ancestry; and ever since the first organization of the Polish government under Piast, and even long anterior to that event, the Tartars and

* *Am. Encyclo.* XI. 207. *Malte Brun* IV. 273. *Anthon's Class. Dictionary* 1195. *Gibbon's Hist. Rome* II. 166.

Poles have been associated as friends or foes, in peace or war, until their history, character, manners, and customs have become so intimately blended, that it is difficult in many instances to distinguish them. The Tartars are undoubtedly descendants of the ancient Scythians. Their pastoral life, their society, their laws, government, religion, physical organization, character, manner of life, and history, all prove their ancestral relations.

Modern Tartary is an immense region, embracing nearly all the central part of Asia. It extends from the Caspian Sea to the Pacific Ocean; with Siberia on the north, and China, Thibet, Hindostan, Cabul, and Persia, on the south. This extensive territory measures four thousand miles in length, and from one thousand to fourteen hundred in breadth, containing an area of nearly four millions of square miles; with a population numbering from fifteen to twenty millions.

The ancient historians and geographers divided Tartary into European or Little Tartary, and Asiatic or Great Tartary. The former included all those countries round the Black Sea which were occupied by the Nogay Tartars, and the Budshiac Tartars, or Bessarabians, and a part of the country between the Dnieper and the Dniester. Since these districts were annexed to Russia in 1784, the Tartar names have gone out of use; and they constitute the modern governments of Taurida, Cherson, and Ekaterinoslav, containing several commercial cities; and are inhabited by many Russian, Greek, German, and Jewish colonists, besides the Tartar population.

Asiatic Tartary, which from its extent is called Great Tartary, borders on the Asiatic provinces of Russia, on Persia, Thibet, and the Chinese empire. The northern part, known as Dschagatai, or Zagatai, or Independent Tartary, contains extensive

steppes, and is partly occupied by nomadic tribes, which are governed by separate khans or princes, some of whom are under the protection of Russia, differing very much in their character and manners. The southern part is called Great Bucharia, in which, among other commercial cities, is Samarcand, formerly the residence of Timour. Little Bucharia, which is subject to China, comprises the three provinces of Central Asia called Bucharia Proper, Samarcand, and Balkh; corresponding to the country of the ancient nomad Scythians, Sogdiana, and Bactriana. It now forms the south-eastern part of Tartary, sometimes called Usbeckistan, and is principally occupied by the Usbeck Tartars. The original inhabitants are a Persian colony called Tanjiks, who are handsomer than the Tartars, and still speak the Persian language. They live in cities, and carry on trade with Russia, China, Hindostan, and Persia by means of caravans. The Bucharians live a frugal life, on food consisting chiefly of rice, wheat, millet, fruits, and melons; and, like their Scythian ancestors, are extremely fond of horse flesh. Their principal drink is tea and wine, flavored with anise. They use unfermented bread, and intoxicate themselves with opium. The government, as in other Mahommedan states, is despotic.

The whole of Central Asia, to the west of Dschagatai, is sometimes erroneously styled Chinese Tartary. This mistake arises probably from the confusion of the Mongul and Mantchoo tribes, who roam over these regions with the Tartars, being different races. The Tartars divided into numerous branches, and assuming different names, have from time immemorial occupied an extensive territory in Europe and Asia. Their true name, according to classical usage, is *Turks*, or *Turcomanns*. The name of Tartar, according to some authors, is a Chinese term, applied

to all the nomadic tribes of Central Asia ; but by other authorities, it is the name of a Mongol tribe. The numerous Tartar tribes of Asia and Europe were formerly the terror of all the East. Possessing some remains of their ancient, but partial civilization, they are now principally the vassals of foreign despotic masters. Some of the tribes being in regions too barren, remote, and inaccessible to excite the ambition of conquerors, still maintain their wild independence. The Tartar population in Russia numbers about three millions of souls, who are principally agriculturists, residing chiefly in the southern provinces, in stationary dwellings, cultivating habits of peace and industry. Some Tartar tribes are distributed among the Russian villages in the governments of Orenburg, Kasan, and Tobolsk, while several hordes remain independent allies of Russia.

The Polish and Russian Tartars consist of several branches ; the Tartars proper, the Nogays, the Bashkirs, the Kirghises, Yakoutes, and Teleutes. The Tartars proper have descended from the two great hordes which the successors of Gengis Khan established in Siberia and on the Volga ; comprising the tribes of Kasan, Astrachan, and Taurida, who still retain their peculiar national physiognomy. The aboriginal Tartar is well-formed, of middle size, and slender, having small, but lively and expressive eyes, and of graceful and dignified demeanor. He is also frank, kind, hospitable, peaceful, courageous, fond of learning, agriculture, and mechanical industry. Nor are the females by any means destitute of the natural grace and beauty of their sex. About one-fifth of the modern Tartars have embraced the Christian religion, and the rest still remain Mohammedans. The general features of their country is that of plains almost boundless in extent, covered with herbage more or less abundant, and

inhabited by wandering, pastoral tribes, whose camps, like travelling cities, move continually over its surface. Some of them still live in tents, and lead a wandering life, very similar to the American Indians.

The Siberian Tartars have intermingled with other races, and lost much of their national character. Some of them are stationary in their habits of life, and cultivate the soil; but the most of them are still nomads, without civilization, and either heathens or Mohammedans in religion. The Nogay Tartars who dwell on the Cuban and the Volga, and several other districts, are Mohammedans, and lead principally a wandering life. In civilization and personal appearance they are much inferior to the Tartars proper.

The Bashkirs are still lower in civilization, and in a much more degraded condition. They wander in summer, living and sleeping in the open air, frequently without any other covering than the canopy of heaven, without any other lights than the sun, moon, and stars; with the occasional and dim blaze of the aurora-borealis. In the winter they confine themselves chiefly to their wooden huts and nomadic villages, living on their acorn, roots and horse-flesh. They are probably of Nogay origin, and descended from a tribe which the Bulgarians admitted among themselves; and their country is a part of the ancient Bulgaria. Formerly they roamed about, under their own princes, in Southern Siberia. For the purpose of avoiding the Siberian khans, they settled in their present territory, and extending themselves along the Volga and the Ural, finally submitted to the khan of Kasan. After this state was overthrown by Ivan II., they voluntarily submitted to the Russian sceptre; where, by their restless spirit, and frequent revolts, they have prevented their increase, and still

remain in a weak and miserable condition. As late as in 1770, their census contained 27,000 families, residing in the governments of Ufa and Perm. Their religion is Mohammedan, their arms are bows and arrows, with lances; and their living depends on hunting, raising cattle, and bees. With very little civilization, they very early became addicted to the lowest habits of intemperance, by means of their favorite and intoxicating beverage called *kumiss*, which their rude art manufactures from mares' and camels' milk.

The Kirghises inhabit the great steppe of Orenburg, live in tents, and are Mohammedans in religion, where they lead a pastoral life, occupy themselves in hunting and in raising cattle, and resemble the true Tartars more nearly than the Bashkirs. This Tartar tribe, called by the several names of Kirghises, or Kirguis, or Kirgese, or Kirguses, or as they please to call themselves, Sara-Kaisaki—or Cossacks of the steppes—have become a numerous and widely-extended people of Independent Tartary, occupying the greater part of the southern frontier of Asiatic Russia. They are the descendants of the most ancient race of Mongols, who formerly dwelt in the neighborhood of the Chinese wall. They were first discovered when Russia conquered Siberia, where they inhabited Upper Yenesej. Since that time they have uniformly been known to the surrounding tribes and nations as a restless and most dangerous people. They now inhabit the wastes between the Ural and the Irtisch, which the Russians call the *Kirghise steppes*. These barren regions, so long neglected and desolated by the Tartars and their Scythian ancestors, though generally capable of tillage, are bounded west by the Caspian Sea and the province of Caucasia, north by the governments of Ufa and Tobolsk, and east by Kolivan. Their principal divisions

have long been known as the Great, the Middle, and the Little Hordes. The first, from the earliest accounts we have of them, protected by their valor and the inaccessible mountains which they inhabit, maintained their national independence until their sultan, in 1819, acknowledged the sovereignty of Russia. The Middle and Little Hordes remained in their wild independence from their earliest history, until they unanimously submitted to the Russian sceptre in 1731; but they have always shown themselves faithless to their new sovereign, and take more pleasure in pillaging his dominions than in obeying his laws; on which account the Czar has found it necessary to establish lines of small fortresses along the streams of their frontiers.

The Little Horde, occupying the western position, still amuse themselves by wandering over the plains south and east of the Ural, and between the Caspian and Aral. The Middle Horde reside farther east, on the extensive plain north of lake Aral. These three hordes still retain their primeval Scythian habits, subsisting entirely on their flocks and hunting, without agriculture or the mechanical arts. The Great Horde live still farther to the east and south on the Sirr, beyond the Aral; some of whom retain their pastoral habits, while a considerable proportion cultivate the fertile lands which abound in this wild and well-watered country.

The Little and Middle Hordes comprise about thirty thousand tents or families, each having about ten persons, amounting to nearly six hundred thousand souls. Their government is founded on a free and independent constitution, although the khan of the Little Horde, who possesses very little power, is appointed by Russia. The Russian government exact no tribute from them, but on the contrary they pay regular pensions to all the principal

chiefs, as a purchase of peace, on condition that these savage warriors will no longer continue their depredations on the Russian frontiers. The Kirghises adopt Mohammedanism for their religion, polygamy for their morals, and tents for their dwellings. Their productions and commerce are confined to cattle, furs, leather, and coverlets of felt.

The Yakoutes and Teleutes, who are few in numbers, pursue the wandering life of their ancestors, worship idols, and have a low state of civilization, very similar to the Polish tribes previous to their conversion to Christianity. The Bucharians of Russia live in cities and villages, and are generally industrious workmen.

The predominant feature of this vast territory is that of widely extended plains, covered with herbage more or less abundant, with a soil capable of almost every variety of agricultural productions, with good husbandry, arched with lofty mountains, and washed by numerous rivers. Tartary is occupied for the most part by various independent states, inhabited almost exclusively by several uncivilized wandering tribes, of pastoral habits, and subject principally to the governments of Russia, China, and Turkey. As near as can be ascertained, the entire population of Tartary numbers from fifteen to twenty millions. With a few exceptions, for the want of civilized culture, the country is poor, and scarcely affords a comfortable subsistence for its own miserable population. The warlike tribes can no longer gain immense wealth by their depredations, and the conquest of surrounding nations, though the plunder of the caravans and the booty of their extensive marauding expeditions, still form the chief sustenance of many of the petty chiefs and sovereigns. In some of the more civilized districts, the inhabitants are stationary, and

cultivate the lands ; but the general aspect of Tartary is that of a pastoral region, the same as it has existed for more than eight-hundred years.

Their horses form the principal wealth and strength of the country. Though they are not equal in speed and elegance to the Arabian charger, yet the Tartar horse possesses great powers of endurance—capable of performing immense journeys without rest or fatigue, and thereby wears out and exhausts their more fleet adversaries. These powerful animals are generally used for war-horses by the cavalry of the neighboring states ; and for this purpose are annually exported in great numbers to Persia and India. The Mongolian horse inhabits the great desert of Cobi, roaming in wild troops, of from twenty to one hundred individuals. They run with extraordinary speed, and resemble a mule in appearance. The Tartars hunt them for their flesh, of which they are extravagantly fond, but very seldom succeed in taming them. In the central regions of Tartary is found the great desert of Cobi or Shamo, which extends wholly across its surface, and reaches about two thousand miles from south-west to north-east : dividing like a vast inland sea the regions upon which it borders. The surface of the desert is covered with short thin grass, which, owing probably to the saline qualities of the soil, feeds a greater number of cattle than could otherwise be expected. The other quadrupeds of this country are the domestic ox, camel, goat, and fat-rumped sheep ; one species of which is distinguished for having sometimes four, five, and six horns. In the southern districts are found the yak or Tartar ox, the musk deer of Thibet, and the Tartarian roe or deer, noted for having no tail. The northern regions abound with various fur animals, similar to those of Siberia.

The vegetable productions of Tartary are similar to those of Europe. In the southern and middle districts are raised wheat, barley, and millet, while oats are almost the only grain found in Mantchouria and the less fertile and cultivated districts. Rhubarb, a useful medicinal plant, and ginseng, much used in China and Tartary for food and medicine, are found on the declivities of the Altay mountains.

Manufactures are unknown among the Tartars; though the women produce some coarse fabrics for family use, consisting principally of felt for tents, coarse woollens, and skins variously prepared. The limited rude commerce of this vast uncivilized region, is carried on by means of caravans, formed of camels and horses. These wide and open plains have, in all ages, been a thoroughfare between Eastern and Western, and Northern and Southern Asia. Though the journey has ever been beset with numerous obstacles and dangers, yet the persevering and undaunted merchants have never failed to drive their caravans through all impediments, and exchange the products of Persia and Hindostan for those of China and Tartary. They travel in large bodies, well armed, and purchase the protection of the princes through whose territories they travel. In modern times the Russians have commenced to send annual caravans from Orenburg to Bokhara, which sometimes consist of from fifteen to thirty thousand men, horses, and camels; and occasionally visit the fairs of Yarkand and Thibet.

The Mongols and Turks, the two leading races who inhabit the immense region of Tartary, are different races, and distinguished by numerous peculiarities. The Mongols have a yellow complexion, with small, keen, black eyes, pointing towards the nose. Their visage is broad and flat, with high cheek-bones, and thick

lips ; having a spare, muscular, and active person. The Turks are a much handsomer race, having short and stout persons, small eyes, but not twisted ; black hair, and a clear ruddy complexion.

The favorite food of the Tartars, unlike all other nations, is horse-flesh. These animals are regularly fattened and killed for the tables of the rich, as oxen are in civilized nations. The same animal furnishes them with their most delicious beverage—the milk of the mare, which they ferment into an intoxicating drink, called *koumiss*. The Tartars also gratify their thirst for intemperance, by a thin acid liquor made from grain, called *bousa*, which is much used by Tartars, Arabs, and Africans.

The Tartars are divided by two systems of heathen religion. The people of the Eastern regions embrace the Shaman doctrines and the divinity of the Grand Lama ; but the countries of Independent Tartary and Little Bucharia have worshipped the Sonneite religion, the strictest sect of the Mussulman creed, for more than a thousand years. In all the regions of Tartary, learning is scarcely known, though in all the Mohammedan States some of the first elements of knowledge are considerably diffused ; and the principal cities contain colleges for the instruction of the Koran, military tactics, and a few elements of science allowed by their religion.

The only and regular abodes of all the pastoral tribes are tents, framed of wicker-work, and covered with felt. They are frequently large and lofty, and when placed on wagons, and conveyed from place to place through the country, look like a moving city. A regular Tartar camp, called *Onool*, contains from twenty to fifty tents. The chief towns and camps are decorated with handsome edifices after the Persian style ; but none have reached much

distinction. The national head-dress is a large white turban, wound round a calpack, or pointed cap. All classes and sexes wear boots; the women plait their hair into a long queue, like the Chinese, and manifest a child-like fondness for toys and gold and silver ornaments.

The Scythians of the ancient world, and their descendants, the Tartars of modern times, have maintained in all ages the same unchanged pastoral habits and character. In war or peace they have ever been the terror of the world, the scourge of God and the curse of all nations. Jenghis Khan, Tamerlane or Timour, and other Tartar conquerors have each in his turn, at different periods, nearly overrun the whole of Asia, and the northern and eastern parts of Europe.

The military forces of the Tartar tribes and States consist of cavalry, which, for hardihood, endurance of fatigue, valor, and perseverance, are scarcely equalled in any part of the world; though they are destitute of the organization and discipline of European troops, and could not withstand their charging squadrons. The Tartars are a bold and energetic race, fond of liberty; yet they are governed by a despotism as cruel and complete as that of any Eastern nation. Although the chiefs are in many cases chosen by the body of the people, yet they always retain absolute power. The tribes, subject to the Chinese government, are generally ruled with mildness and beneficence; while the government checks the internal interests and predatory marches of the roving pastoral tribes, and aims at their improvement in order, industry, and civilization. Many of the Tartar provinces have from one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand slaves, who sometimes outnumber their Tartar masters, two and three to one;

the most of whom were originally captives in their warlike and plundering expeditions, very similar to Polish slavery.

The Kalmucks have a better form of government than any of the other Tartar nations in this region. The Khans of the different tribes meet in a general council to elect the great Khan of the Kalmucks. Their society is distinguished by some peculiar features. Their marriages are celebrated on horseback. The preliminary courtship being closed, on the day appointed for the nuptials, the bride, mounted on a fleet and elegant horse, rides off at full speed, while her lover pursues with all his energies; and if the love-sick swain is so fortunate as to overtake his dear one, she becomes his wife without further ceremonies; but if the damsel's love is diminished towards her pursuer, she never suffers him to overtake her, if the fleetness of her steed can prevent it.

SECTION V.

CAUCASIAN SOCIETY.

The Poles also claim a Caucasian origin, and their best blood undoubtedly came from the veins of this most distinguished race.

This was the cradle that rocked the noble and comely ancestors of Copernicus, Kosciusko, Sobieski, and other splendid heroes, statesmen, and scholars of Poland—the nursery of all the female charms and enchanting beauty, for which the daughters of unfortunate Sarmatia were so justly celebrated. The Caucasian countries embrace the regions bounded by the Caspian Sea on the east, on the south by the rivers Kur and Rione or Phasis, on the west by the Black Sea, and the Palus Mæotis, or Sea of

Azof, and on the north by the rivers Manitch and Kooma, forming a kind of isthmus, which connects Europe with Western Asia, over which Mount Caucasus extends, surmounting the whole region like an immense stone wall. The breadth of this rock-bound isthmus, according to the best authorities, is about four hundred miles between the mouths of the Don and the Kooma ; nearly seven hundred and fifty-six between the Straits of Caffa and the Peninsula of Absheron ; and about three hundred and fifty miles between the mouths of the Phasis and the city of Derbend. The etymology of the name Caucasus, so celebrated in poetry and history, is involved in some doubt ; but the general and most probable conclusion is, that it is a compound of a Persian word, *Caw*, signifying " a mountain," and a Scythian term, *Cas-pi*, or " a white mountain." This etymology is sustained by Erastosthenes, where he says that the natives of Caucasus called it Caspios. But Pliny informs us that the primeval name was Graucasus, which comes from the Gothic language. The modern Caucasian nations, having no general denomination, reflect no additional light on this subject.

The great distinguishing feature of this classical and interesting country is the great mountain chain of Caucasus ; which, in height and variety of aspect, is surpassed but by few in Asia, and even in the world. Its greatest elevation is Mount Elburz, which rises eighteen thousand feet above the level of the ocean. The highest of these celebrated mountains are clothed with perpetual snows ; while the lower declivities contain a number of well-watered, picturesque valleys, forming rich pastoral districts, and presenting the most enchanting scenery ; yielding an abundance of Indian corn, millet, barley, and other valuable products. The ancients compared Caucasus to the Alps, from their resem-

blance in height, and the eternal glaciers and snows which cover their most lofty summits. On the south Caucasus joins the numerous chains of Mount Taurus, which extend through Western Asia; to the north it borders nearly upon the vast plains where the Sarmatians once wandered, and where the Cossacks and Kalmucks now roam and plunder; on the east its rugged and rocky precipices bound the narrow plain which divides it from the beautiful Caspian Sea; and towards the west the high chain terminates abruptly towards Mingrelia, by the dreary mountains which the ancients called the *Montes Ceraunii*. The inferior chains stretching along the east of the Black Sea form the low mountains, which divide the Circassians from the Abassians, known to the ancients as *Montes Coraxici*.

Mount Caucasus was celebrated by the ancients for its two principal passages, called the Caucasian and Albanian gates. The first, which is the defile leading from Mosdok to Tiflis, forms the narrow valley of four days' journey, where, according to Strabo, the river Aragon, the modern Arakui, flows. Nature, in constructing this enormous and surprising work, has cut a long opening through the rocks, with such marvellous art, that it might be closed by an iron gate. Through this natural passage, this public highway of nature, the northern barbarians made their ravaging descents upon Persia and Rome. The strong castle which commands this passage, now called Dariel, assumed different names among the ancients. Tradition is quite uniform and prevalent among the natives of these regions, that a great wall in early times had defended Caucasus from the invasions of the northern hordes. This great work, which by some is attributed to Alexander, and by others to Nooshyrvan, still presents the remains of a wall, though it is not certain whether it originally

traversed all the isthmus, or only formed a part of some local fortifications.

The Caucasian countries were celebrated in the annals of antiquity, for their rich mines of gold, silver, and iron; and the poets have lavished their songs in commemoration of the rivers which roll down in their limpid waters gold dust mingled with the sand, until it is caught in the wool of the sheepskins deposited for that purpose—the golden fleece of eastern fable. The granite mountains of Caucasus form one of the most interesting regions of the globe, both for its civil and natural history. It combines every climate of Europe, every kind of soil, every variety of plants, and every species of animals known in the temperate zones. The central regions are fanned by the cool and refreshing breezes of eternal ice and barren rocks; while the picturesque forests echo with the music of an almost infinite number of feathered songsters of the sweetest note. The northern hills are covered with fertile fields of corn, waving in the gentle summer breezes of the mountains; while the fine Circassian horses are sporting in the rich pastures. On the south are found magnificent valleys and plains, clothed with all the luxuriance of an Asiatic vegetation, variegated with all the beauty and wealth of European botany, breathing the most salubrious and redolent atmosphere. The western, eastern, and southern declivities of the mountains are covered with cedars, cypresses, savins, red junipers, beech trees, and lofty oaks. The almond, the peach, and the fig, abundantly adorn the valleys, under the sheltering care of the fertilizing rocks; while the beautiful landscape is tastefully shaded with the quince, the wild apricot, the willow-leaved pear tree, and the amorous vines, holding in their embraces the thickets and woods, curtaining the forests with the drapery of nature, festooned

with the most redolent flowers, and tasselled by the most delicious fruits. The mildness of the temperature is fully attested by the presence of the indigenous date tree, the jujube, and Christ's-thorn. The low, marshy grounds are carpeted with almost every variety of grass, flowers, and plants; the coasts of the Caspian Sea are embellished with the cultivated and wild olive trees, together with male and female laurels; and the high valleys are perfumed by the syringa, the jessamine, and several species of the sweetest and most beautiful lilies, adorned with the Caucasian rose—the queen of flowers.

Thus it would seem that all nature had contributed and combined all the beauties, sweets, and excellences of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, in the Caucasian regions, for the purpose of developing and perfecting the Caucasian race—the most splendid, powerful, and enterprising people of the globe. No wonder the poets have mistaken this country for the garden of Eden! And no marvel that the proud Poles should boast of their Caucasian blood!

The modern inhabitants of the Caucasian isthmus contain a great number of small nations, some of whom are the remains of Asiatic hordes, which, in the great migrations of the eastern continent, passed and repassed these rocky mountains; while the great majority of them have ever been the indigenous and primitive tribes of the Caucasian regions. The Caucasian race, as well as their soil, seems to form the connecting link between Asia and Europe; each of these tribes preserves its own peculiar language, whose idioms can be traced back to the earliest period. Both the Caucasian physiology and physiognomy combine the characteristic features of the principal races of Europe and Western Asia. The domestic animals and cultivated plants of

these two extensive regions of the world are numerously represented in Caucasus and its environs. The united testimony of the inspired writings of Moses, the thrilling allegory of Prometheus among the Greeks, the famous expedition of the Argonauts, and numerous traditions of the Scandinavians and the Slavic nations, leave no reasonable doubt, that the Caucasian country was one of the very early places from which the human race extended itself over a great part of the globe.

The Caucasian nations are generally divided into seven great classes or races, corresponding to the seven principal languages which they speak. The first of these grand divisions comprises the Georgians, who are subdivided into the Georgians Proper, the Imeritians, the Gurians, the Mingrelians, and the Suanes. The second class embraces the Abassians, who are subdivided into several tribes. The third class consists of the Tcherkesses, or Circassians, embracing the Circassians of Kuban, and those of Kabardin. The fourth general division comprises the Ossetes, who are divided into different tribes. The fifth class comprehends the Kistes, or Tchetchenzes, with the Ingooshes, and other tribes. The sixth race is composed of the Lesghians, who are divided according to their eight dialects. The seventh class embraces the remains of the Tartars, Mongols, Huns, and other foreign races scattered over the Caucasian regions.

The Georgians, formerly called Iberians, and a native people of Caucasus, speak a language radically different from all other known languages, in which numerous historical and poetical works were composed in the twelfth century. The Georgians claim to be descendants from the Armenians. They are generally very handsome, well proportioned and active, possessing naturally good mental and physical powers; but selfish and addicted to

intemperance. They generally use the Persian costume, because their nobles were frequently educated at the Persian court, where the people served as guards to the Persian kings. The Georgians, like the Poles of former times, seldom left their toilets without their arms; and, in the fields and daily avocations, carry by their sides their guns and daggers, always in readiness to attack the robbers of the neighboring mountains. Like all other countries, where the people are generally engaged in wars and revolutions, this beautiful and fertile region has ever been in a wretched condition; poor, ignorant, and without commerce. Their women are not excelled in beauty by the fair sex of any nation, although their skin is not so white, nor their figure so graceful, as the Circassians; and it is greatly to be regretted, that the licentious state of society has reduced them to the lowest degradation—where the girls are sold as slaves, and some become the miserable victims of their beauty. The men have ever been distinguished for their athletic strength, and the women for their superior beauty. The latter have long commanded the highest prices as domestic slaves, throughout Asia and Africa. In Egypt the offspring of those unfortunate slaves gave rise to the celebrated race of Mamelukes, who finally usurped the power of their Turkish masters.

A considerable portion of the Georgians live in huts that are half sunk in the earth. In Kacheti, a province better civilized, their houses are formed of a slight wooden frame, having walls made of bundles of osiers, plastered over with a mixture of clay and cow-dung, and covered by a roof of rushes. These houses, or rather hovels, and their furniture, consist of a room thirty feet long and twenty broad, where the only window for the admission of light is the door; containing a floor upon which they dry their

small crop of madder ; with a little hole in the middle of the apartment where they kindle a fire, over which a copper cauldron is suspended by a chain, enveloped with a dense and suffocating smoke, which can escape only through the door or ceiling.

Towers of defence are found in nearly all the villages, to which the women and children flee for protection at the approach of the Lesghian hordes. The capital of the country is Teflis or Tbilisi, containing from twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. They worship in twenty Georgian churches, fifteen of Armenian faith, one Catholic, and a Persian Mosque. Their manufactures are few and of the simplest kind. Mzcheti, the ancient residence of the kings, contains a magnificent cathedral, founded more than nine centuries ago. The whole population of Georgia is estimated at three hundred thousand, about two thirds of whom are indigenous, and belong to the Grecian Church ; the remaining inhabitants are principally Armenians and Jews.

Georgia, previous to its accession to Russia, was from time immemorial a feudal monarchy. The royal family, according to some writers, descended from Bagrat, a Jew ; while others equally reliable derive their origin from a Persian nobleman, named Pharnabazes. The Georgian princes, many of whom were distinguished for their talents and excellence, strove in vain for centuries to consolidate the empire and introduce a regular orderly government. In Georgia, as in Poland, the kings and nobles formed two distinct, jealous, and antagonistical classes. The princes were exempt from taxation, but, during war, they with their slaves were obliged to follow their king. The king was the commander-in-chief of the army, and the supreme judge in all matters of jurisprudence. The nobility paid certain taxes to the king and princes. The aristocracy generally dwelt in thatched

cottages, and their pride, poverty, ignorance, and vice were without a parallel. The people were cursed with the most abject slavery, and were sold and pawned the same as their domestic animals. All were soldiers who were capable of bearing arms, where each nobleman commanded his own vassals ; while the king either commanded the whole army in person, or appointed a commander-in-chief. A fifth part of all the productions of the vineyards, fields, and gardens—the duties upon all exports and imports, with the produce of the mines, constituted the revenues of the sovereigns. Georgian society contains a true portrait of the social condition and government of Poland, and was undoubtedly the nursery where the latter were taught the principles of their government and political institutions.

The Imeritians, who derive their name from the Iberians, join the Georgians on the north-west, and speak the Georgian dialect. They wear little caps peculiar to themselves ; long hair, a shaved chin, mustaches very much turned up, clothes scarcely reaching the knees, and forming great folds upon the hips, with ribands rolled round the calves of their legs, and large girdles about their loins. From twenty to twenty-five thousand families live under the authority of a hereditary czar, who is the acknowledged vassal of Russian despotism. They inhabit the sides of rivers and the forests, where the country, on account of its elevated situation, remains for a long season covered with snow. The Imeritians excel all the other countries of Caucasus in the culture of cattle, bees, and silkworms. Though a single vine in this fertile soil supplies a whole family with wine, yet the indolence and vices of the inhabitants allow the rich gifts and fruits of the country to perish for the want of ordinary industry. In this salubrious climate, where in ancient times the Rione or Phasis was covered by

one hundred and fifty bridges, all loaded with a continual transfer of merchandise, forming a united commercial intercourse with the river Cyrus, the Caspian, and Black Seas, the former is now crossed only in small rude boats made of hollow trees. The villages of the plains are extensive, and those of the mountains are built in close connection with each other. The mansions of the higher classes are generally made of hurdles of osiers, and some are constructed of boards.

The Gurians inhabit the country bordering on the Black Sea, to the south of the Phasis. Crushed by the oppressions of the neighboring pashas, they neglect navigation and fishing, and sacrifice all the facilities of nature for the acquisition of wealth. Guria is distinguished for its healthy temperature; a fertile soil well adapted to agriculture and grazing, with a climate where lemons, olives, and oranges flourish; the only country in all the Caucasian regions where these choice fruits ripen naturally and abundantly. Time has mingled this people and their language with several foreign nations, and particularly with the Turks, Tartars, Armenians, and Jews.

The Lazians occupy the coast of the Black Sea, below the Gurians; and are supposed to be the remainder of the ancient Lazi, who, in the time of the Byzantines, were settled in Colchis.

The Mingrelians possess the country beyond the Gurians, by the side of the Imeritians, and the same country which the Colchians formerly possessed, and afterwards the home of the ancient Lazians. Mingrelia now presents the miserable, disgusting picture of ancient cities in ruins, of Turkish and Russian fortresses upon the border of the sea, vessels loaded with thousands of slaves—combining all the manly and beautiful qualities of both sexes—bound for Turkey; princes and nobles who mur-

der and pillage wherever they go; women who betray their husbands; civil wars between all villages, and almost continual foreign wars. The costume of this extraordinary people consists of a small cap of felt, their feet either bare or covered with skins, which afford very little protection from the mud of this damp soil; with shirts and clothes seldom clean and generally ragged. Their society is composed of men of such appearance, surrounded by women who lead a life of debauchery, eat with their fingers, and educate their children to falsehood, robbery, idleness, and vice. The principal business of the Mingrelian noblemen is the pursuit of war and the kidnapping of slaves. These inhuman slave merchants, during a sudden attack or a precipitate retreat, watch such of the enemy as they can dismount and make prisoners; and with a cord attached to the girdle, bind the miserable victims as soon as they are unhorsed. The slave trade of this ill-fated country is continued both in war and peace; where the master sells his servant, the father his son, the mother her daughter, and the brother his sister. Here the Turks purchase slaves, silk, calico, furs, and honey, in exchange for sabres, bows and arrows, ornaments for horses, clothes, coverlids, copper, and tin.

Like all the northern tribes and races, the Mingrelians are an ignorant, superstitious people. As late as the seventeenth century, the Christian missionaries labored in vain to suppress a religious *fete* which was celebrated in honor of an ox, similar to the worship of Apis. The prince of Mingrelia, though he does not own a vessel or even a boat of any kind, assumes the title of Dadian, or master of the sea. He generally moves about with his suite from place to place; and both his court and camp are the abode of poverty and licentiousness. The noblemen spend

their time in the ravages of war or the sports of the chase ; and their favorite art consists in training birds of prey, which they use to kill game. Their moral science is all embodied in an old and favorite proverb—"that human happiness consists in the possession of a good horse, a good dog, and a good falcon."

The Suanes, a people who live near the Elboors, the last summit of the Caucasus, are separated from the Mingrelians by a large river running from south to north. The Suanes, who derive their name from a word in their language which means "the inhabitants of the high mountains," are at present free, and have no connection with the Georgians, except in their dialect. Their state of society is very degraded ; and their want of cleanliness, their rapacity, ignorance, licentiousness, and intemperance, reduce them nearly to a level with their domestic animals. The women cover their heads with a handkerchief of red linen, so dexterously that only one eye can be seen ; and this is probably the origin of the fabulous nation of one-eyed people, called Monommati. According to Strabo, the progenitors of the Suanes were the Phthirophagi, or the eaters of vermin, who early inhabited the same country. They are protected from the depredations of the surrounding nations and tribes by the almost inaccessible mountains of slate, which separate them from the countries of the Abasses and Basians. Their population consists of about five thousand families, who live there without a chief or a prince. They were formerly a terror to the Byzantine empire, and famous for their savage valor and tall, commanding figure. They can use the musket, manufacture powder, and all kind of weapons, for which their mines contain ample materials.

The Abasses, or Abasgians, live above the Suanes and Mingrelians, in a country situate at the foot of the Caucasus, near

the north-west extremity, upon the borders of the Black Sea ; where are found several forts and fortifications belonging to the Turks. Some of the inhabitants are so oppressed by the neighboring Circassians, that they are obliged to live in the defiles and caves of the mountains. The Abassians are a well-made, hardy, active race, with a very remarkable national physiognomy ; consisting of an oval face, a head very much compressed on each side, a short chin, large nose, and hair of a deep chestnut color. They were well known to the ancient Greeks, as a most formidable band of pirates, by the name of Aschæi. They are equally famous among the Byzantines for their cruel slave trade. The Circassians were so exasperated by their depredations, that they resolved to punish them by fair means or foul ; and consequently resorted to the stratagem of inviting the Abassian princes to a festive assembly, where they murdered them. Since that disaster, the Abassians have abandoned themselves to war and robbery, and have lost the little civilization which they received from Constantinople ; except a faint glimmering of their former Christianity found in their rude celebrations of the Sabbath. Some of them content themselves by wandering peaceably through their beautiful forests of oaks and alders, which cover the country, in quest of roots, nuts, and game ; while a few gain their support by a limited and rude agriculture ; but they are generally a ruthless, lawless horde of robbers, and sell each other to the slave merchants. The language, manners, and customs of the Abassians resemble those of the Circassians.

The commerce of the Abassians consists principally in cloth and felt, skins of foxes and polecats, in honey, wax, and boxwood, which they sell to the Turkish and Armenian merchants ; who are obliged to be well armed, and constantly on their guard

against the robberies and attacks of these perfidious savages. Abassia is generally covered with luxuriant forests, containing as great a variety of plants and vegetation, sustained by as rich a soil, and fanned by as salubrious a climate, as can be found in America. The Abassians are divided into a great number of distant and conflicting tribes—a state of society ever peculiar to savage life—among whom, the Beshilbai, the Shapsiches, and the Natuchashes are the most noted. The first inhabit those inaccessible mountains near Little Abassia. The Shapsiches dwell farther towards the west, who elect for their chief the most successful and barbarous robber; but the Natuchashes, the strongest and most numerous tribe, dwell near the coast. In the deserts bordering on the mouths of the Kuban river, flowing from the central part of Caucasus, are found the Tchernomorskoi Cossacks, or the Cossacks of the Black Sea, a warlike tribe, and the remains of the celebrated Zaporogian Cossacks, who will be described in a subsequent article.

All the lower regions which extend to the east of the country of the Tchernomorskoi Cossacks and to the north of the Kuban and the Terek, form the government formerly known as the province of Caucasia, and now belong to the Russian empire. This territory is now inhabited by different tribes of Cossacks and of Nogaian Tartars. The latter, wandering from pastures to pastures, live in hordes under the protection of Russia, and subsist on the produce of their cattle, a little millet, and occasional plunder. When detected in their crimes of robbery and murder, they are sometimes punished by the public authorities with the immediate amputation of an arm or a foot; a most savage punishment, which spreads universal terror among these wretched beings. Yet notwithstanding the low grade of society which exists among these

miserable savages, the natural humanity of our race is manifested by the acts of kindness which the relations show to these mutilated criminals. Destitute of a medical profession, they immediately staunch the blood by bathing the wound in warm milk, and then carry them to their huts, where they receive every attention their scanty subsistence and medical skill can afford. The Cossacks rule all the inhabitants of these regions, of which the Grebenski are the principal tribe.

Passing over the Kuban or the Terek, we meet on the northern sides of Mount Caucasus the world-famed nation of Circassians, sometimes called Tcherkes. They are divided into two classes, the Circassians of Kuban and the Circassians of Kabardia, sometimes called Kabardinians. It is very probable that the Lyges of Strabo, the Lichees or Leches of the Byzantine authors, were a Circassian tribe ; for *Lyg*, in Circassia, means a man. They are still called Kasache, by the Ossetes, answering to the Kasaches of the Byzantine authors, and the annals of Nestor, inhabiting the environs of Caucasus in the tenth century. As additional authority, the similarity in the sound of Kerketes in Strabo, to the Tcherkes, induced Pallaz and Reineggs to regard that tribe as the true and primeval stock of the ancient Circassians, who are well known to be the original inhabitants of these countries.

The Temirgoi are the most celebrated of all the Circassian tribes of Kuban, and inhabit more than forty strongly-fortified villages, with an armed force of two thousand men. On the east of the Temirgoi, is found another horde who lead a life of indolence and vice, called the Besbenes. Their more civilized neighbors are the Meuschoks, who are good agriculturists, breed large herds of cattle, and carry on extensive fisheries in their numerous

rivers. Below the Turkish fortress of Anapa, are settled the Shagacki, under the government of a prince, who owns a few ships on the Black Sea. The Circassians of Kabardia, a half civilized nation, occupy a fertile country situated near the middle of Caucasus, on the northern side of that mountainous range, bounded on the north by the river Terek, and on the east by the country of Kistes-Tchetchentzi, and is divided into Great and Little Kabardia.

The great personal beauty and elegance of the Kabardian Circassians distinguish them from all the Caucasian races and from all other people of the globe. The men are famous for their Herculean stature, their small feet, strong wrists, and wonderful dexterity in wielding the sabre.

Their women, who are the most celebrated for their beauty, possess great natural delicacy, have a pleasing and graceful form, adorned with a white skin and large flowing locks of brown or black hair, contrasted with regular and agreeable features; who pay every attention to personal cleanliness, which greatly heightens their beautiful attractions, and highly improves the sweetness of their charms. This female race have ever been the admiration of the world; the sweetest theme for poetry, painting, and song; and whoever has seen Du Buffe's picture of the Circassian slave will not fail to appreciate both the powers of the artist and the enchanting beauty of the Circassian girls. The Circassian and Polish nobility were similar in their chivalry and martial habits. The Circassian prince or noble, a term which includes all who are not slaves and who possess a horse, is always armed with a poniard and a brace of pistols; and very seldom goes out without his sabre and his bow, with the belt of the sabre fastened round his body, and a helmet and cuirass covering his head

and chest. This picture of a Circassian nobleman is in truth a faithful representation of a knight of the tenth or eleventh century. The entire population of Kabardia can furnish an army composed of fifteen hundred of these cavalry, called Usden, and ten thousand slaves; a most formidable foe, were they not weakened by their continual hostilities among themselves.

The excellent soil of Kabardia is well adapted to every branch of agriculture; while the salubrious climate harmonizes with the laws of health. Though the winters are severe, and the extreme heat of summer is of short duration, yet the average temperature is so well adapted to the culture of health of both man and beast, that the inhabitants are unrivalled in health and personal beauty. Notwithstanding all these superior natural gifts, which a kind Providence has so liberally bestowed upon them, the people live and die in culpable negligence of all their superior advantages; deriving very little advantage from the fine forests of oaks, elms, alders, and vines, which cover their rich hills and fertile valleys, and make very little use of their valuable mines of iron, brass; and other metals, except for arms.

Their houses are constructed of a slight wooden frame and hurdles, painted white. They have some knowledge of hydraulics, by means of which they convey the water from the nearest rivulets, with considerable skill, in canals. The inns are kept with much cleanliness and comfort. The slaves are occupied in farming and taking care of the cattle. They use large ploughs, drawn by six or eight oxen harnessed together. Hemp grows in abundance, and of superior quality, as a natural production of the soil. The chief wealth of the Circassians consists of their numerous goats, sheep, horses, and oxen, which roam over the fields and forests of the lords in large flocks and herds, very

similar to those of Poland. Their horses are highly valuable, and distinguished for their great agility, strength, and beauty. Each nobleman or prince marks his thorough-bred cattle when young, with a hot iron; and it is a capital offence, in all cases punishable with death, for any one to profane the aristocratic mark, or place it on a common horse.

Their feudal system is peculiar, and in some of its remarkable features differs from all other nations. Every vassal who belongs to a noble is his absolute property, as much as his horse or his ox, whether he became so by purchase or conquest, and performs for his master all kinds of personal services, though he pays no contribution. The nobility maintain order among the people, and render military service to their prince, who keeps a public table; to the expenses of which, all the herdsmen who own herds contribute *pro rata*.

The marriage contract is a question of dollars and cents; and marriages are contracted according to the riches and birth of the parties. A poor nobleman, who absconds with a princess of rank and fortune, incurs the penalty of death, and exchanges his life for his fair. On the birth of a prince or princess, a nobleman is appointed by law to take charge of the child's education; and the father and mother immediately banish the nurselings from their society, until the son is old enough to become a warrior, and the daughter is marriageable. Under the instruction of his tutor the youth is educated for the chase, for war, and pillage; and the booty is divided between the teacher and his pupil. In a similar school the young Achilles was educated by the centaur Chiron. A princess is brought up on light diet, which tends to improve and preserve that graceful and slender form, for which the Circassian girls are so celebrated; and their education consists princi-

pally in the cultivation of those numerous nameless graces, which constitute the irresistible charms peculiar to the sex. She is taught to embroider, to sew, to plait straw and manufacture it into small baskets, to dance, and the mysterious art of producing the greatest effect on the hearts of her admirers, by the influence of her personal appearance and surpassing beauty. In this mirror of human nature, we can clearly see what female excellence is in its highest perfection, surrounded with all the fascinating charms of the sex, in the absence of civilization, education, and Christianity.

SECTION VI.

ASSOCIATES OF THE POLES.

It is an ancient and wise proverb, that a man is known by the company he keeps; and this philosophy is equally applicable to nations. If it be true, as has been previously shown, that the Poles were unfortunate in their ancestry, the sequel will show it is equally true, that their associates were no better previous to the fifth century, and remained nearly the same as late as the fifteenth century, with the exceptions of Greece and Rome, and the countries improved by their civilization. Without any material variation from historical truth, the reader may now consider himself acquainted with the social condition of all the nations, races, and tribes of northern Asia and Europe, previous to the tenth century; as found in the society of the Scythians, Sarmatians, Tartars, and Caucasians—already described in previous sections. We deemed it a matter of no ordinary importance in studying Polish society, first to become thoroughly acquainted

with the social condition of their ancestors, and examine well their nurseries, their cradles, and the homes where they were born and educated. We have, therefore, wandered longer with the Scythians—lingered longer in the plains of Sarmatia—tarry longer in the tents of the Tartars, and gazed much longer on Caucasian beauty, than we otherwise should have done, even at the hazard of criticism for digression, for the purpose of giving the reader, at once, a panoramic view of Northern society and pastoral life throughout the world, as a necessary and useful introduction to Polish society.

The principal associates of the Poles from their earliest history—which it will be necessary now to notice—were the Slavonians, the Germans, the Teutonic tribes, the Goths, the Vandals, the Huns, the Fins, the Cimbri, the Scandinavians, the Hungarians, the Saxons, the Austrians, the Turks, the Russians, the Greeks, and the Romans; besides those races and tribes that more particularly belonged to Poland at different periods, which will be described among the Polish races in the next section.

The principal races of ancient Europe were the Pelasgian or Grecian races, including Asiatic Greece—the Etruscan, Italian, or Roman races—the Slavonian or Slavic races, including the Poles—the Teutonic races—the German races—the Celtic races—the Iberian races—the Celto-Latins—the Sarmatians—the Gothic races, and Gallic races.

The people of Europe at the present day are divided principally into five great branches, which differ essentially in language, political situations, and habits of life. These are the Slavic, the Teutonic, the Romish, and the Grecian races; besides certain ancient races, called the Gael, the Cymri, and the Basques—the descendants of the Celts—the most ancient inhabitants of western

Europe, who first inhabited the chief part of Ireland, and the highlands of Scotland. The Cymri occupied a part of Wales, the west and south of France, and the north of Spain, where they are called Basques. They all number probably about seven millions, of which the Gaels amount to 4,650,000, the Cymri to 1,700,000, and the Basques to 650,000.

With these several nations, races, tribes, and people, the Poles for more than two thousand years wandered over the mountains, the plains, the steppes, the forests, and lawns of Northern Asia and Europe, pursuing the same wanton and idle pastoral life, living in similar tents, having similar homes, practising the same military arts, and fighting the same battles. Previous to the fall of Rome, in the fifth century—and even for a long time after they became acquainted with Grecian and Roman civilization—their pastoral habits, their savage warfare, their lawless government, Pagan religion, and barbarous society, remained nearly the same. These lawless, barbarous hordes, century after century, like the dark and turbid waves of creation's chaos, rolled and dashed to and fro over Europe and Asia, until the civilization of Greece and Rome was almost entirely engulfed in their turbid waters.

It will not be necessary to describe the social condition of these several northern nations separately, for the reason that we shall find nothing essentially new or different from Polish society, as already delineated in their own social state, and that of their ancestors, the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Caucasians, and the Tartars; in connection with what follows in the social races, social classes, and manners and customs of the Poles. The reader may consider it as a well-settled historical fact, that, previous to the fifteenth century, the social condition of Poland was

every way equal, and in many instances better, than the society of the northern and western nations of Europe, with the exception of some parts of France, England, and Germany, where Roman civilization and the Christian religion had made the difference.

The ancient Slavi was a powerful race in Sarmatia, extending from the Dniester to the Tanais, and sometimes called by the name of Antes. Uniting with the Venedi, they moved towards Germany and the Danube, and engaged themselves in war with the Franks that dwelt north of the Rhine. During the reign of Justinian they crossed the Danube, invaded Dalmatia, and finally settled in and about the surrounding territories of what is now called Slavonia. To the Slavic race of that day belonged the Bohemani, the Maharenses, the Sorabi between the Elbe and Saale, the Silesii, the Poloni or Poles, the Cassuli, the Rugii, &c. The origin of the Slavic races is involved in uncertainty. Although the striking analogy between their language and the ancient Sanscrit leaves very little or no doubt that they originated from India, yet it is impossible at the present late day to determine with certainty when they first migrated to Europe. It is very probable, however, that some of the tribes came from India into Europe as early as seven or eight centuries previous to the Christian era, from the dense population in the regions of the Ganges. Herodotus describes a race which he called Krovyzi, who lived on the Ister; and a similar tribe is now found in Russia, who bear the same name, whose tradition gives them an Asiatic origin. Frenzel, who wrote about the close of the seventeenth century, considers the Slavi as a Hebrew tribe, and their language of Hebrew origin. Some modern German and Italian authors derive the Slavic language from the Thracian,

and regard the Slavi as the direct descendants from Japhet ; while others again treat them the same as the ancient Scythians.

We find the Slavic nations occasionally mentioned in early history by Tacitus, Strabo, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and other oriental writers. But the first reliable intelligence concerning them, which reflects much light on the subject, is not older than the middle of the sixth century. The first authors who describe them with any accuracy are Jordan, or Jornandes, subsequent to 552 ; Procopius in 562 ; Menander in 594 ; and the abbot John of Biclar, previous to 620. The ancient name of the *Slavi*, according to the decided balance of authorities, is derived from *slava*, glory ; a derivation highly gratifying to the natural pride of these nomad races. It is very probable that its more immediate derivation comes from the word *slovo*, meaning word or speech. The changing of *o* into *a* is very common in the slavic languages ; thus *slava* comes from *slovo*. This change was probably produced by foreigners—the Byzantines, Romans, and Germans. It is common in the latter language, in words of Slavic origin to change *o* into *a*. The radical syllable *slov* is still retained in the names of the Slavic nations generally, and their kindred races—as Slovenzi, Slovaci, Slovane, Sloveni, and others. The Russians and Servians did not substitute the *a* for the *o* until the seventh century. The *Slovaks* and the *Slovenzi*, which touch each other on the banks of the Danube, are the only two Slavic branches who still retain their original national name in its purity ; while all the other Slavic races have relinquished their original national names, and adopted their modern names—Russians, Poles, Silesians, Czekhes, Moravians, Sorabians, Servians, Morlachians, Czernogortzi and Bulgarians.

As early as the middle of the sixth century we find the Slavic

nations in multitudinous hordes traversing the Danube, and settling on both banks of that river. From that time they frequently appear in Byzantine history, under the names of Slavi, Sarmatæ, Antæ, Vandales, Veneti, and Vendes. History, pursuing them through all their varied fortunes, with alternate prosperity and adversity, shows them involved in war with the Roman empire and its subdivisions; sometimes appearing as allies, and sometimes as conquerors, but more frequently as vassals; ever wandering as emigrants and colonists; and driven from their own countries by the gradual advances of the more powerful and warlike German or Teutonic tribes. The first of the foregoing names is purely of Slavic origin; the second is more ambiguous; and the remaining four are later and principally geographical, and were transferred to the Slavic nations from those who had previously occupied the country where the Romans first made their acquaintance.

The world is indebted to the indefatigable and learned Dobrovsky of Prague, who first brought light and order out of the chaos and darkness which prevailed in the classification of the early historians and philologists, concerning Slavic nations. The classification of this author, and subsequently adopted by the distinguished Kopitar, Adelung, and others, is founded on a thorough examination of all the different dialects of the Slavic races; and divides all the Slavic tribes into two great branches, called the *North-Western* and *South-Eastern* stems. But on a full review of the authorities, we prefer the more modern, natural, and classical arrangement in "Talvi's Literature of the Slavic Nations," a work of great merit and interest. The division adopted by this author classifies the Slavic nations into two general branches, called the *Eastern* and *Western* stems.

The Eastern stem embraces three branches; 1, The Russian Branch; 2, The Illyrico-Servian Branch; 3, The Bulgarian Branch. The Russians, who are of Slavic origin, compose the principal part of the population of Russia in Europe. All the middle provinces of this extensive empire are inhabited almost entirely by people of Slavic origin; and the numerous Slavic tribes in Asiatic Russia are of the same race. They all belong to the Greek Church. The Russian government is so anxious to abolish all distinction of race, and introduce Pan-Slavism, that it is difficult to determine the number of inhabitants of Slavic origin, though Schaffarik, in his *Slavic Ethnography*, gives the number of Russians proper at 38,400,000. The Russniaks or Ruthenians, sometimes called Russianians and Malo-Russians, were found principally in Malo-Russia, in the south of Poland, in Galicia, in Ludomeria or Red Russia, in the Bukovina, and also occupy the north-eastern part of Hungary, and are scattered over Wallachia and Moldavia. The Cossacks or Kozaks, especially the Zaporogueans, belong chiefly to this race; but the Cossacks of the Don are more mixed with pure Russians. Their census amounts to over thirteen millions. In religion they belong to the Oriental or Greek Church, though a part of them are Greek Catholics, or adherents of the United Church.

The Illyrico-Servians proper—sometimes called Rascians or Raitzi—embrace the Servians, the Bosnians, the Montenegrins, the Slavonians, and Dalmatians. The Servians in Servia, situated between the rivers Timock, Drina, Save, the Danube, and the Balkan mountains, and, as a Turkish province, is called Serf-Vilayeti, number at least a million of inhabitants. About the close of the seventeenth century, and previous, many of them emigrated to Hungary, where between three and four hundred

thousand of them now reside. The Bosnians, from four to five hundred thousand, are settled between Dalmatia, the Balkan mountains, and the rivers Drina, Verbas, and Save. The most of them, like their brethren the Servians, belong to the Greek Church. About one hundred thousand are Roman Catholics, and many of them are Mohammedans, who still retain their language, and most of their ancient Slavic customs.

The Montenegrins, or Czernogortzi, are the Slavic inhabitants of the Turkish province, Albania, in the mountains of Montenegro. They extend from Bosnia to the sea-coast, as far as Antivari, and have never yet been fully subjugated by the Turks. They have a stratotic government, with a sort of military-republican freedom, similar to the Cossacks; and their principal chief is a bishop, with very limited power, subject to the Turkish government. Their population, varying from eighty to one hundred thousand, belong to the Eastern Church. The Slavonians are the inhabitants of the Austrian kingdom of Slavonia and the duchy of Syrmia, lying between Hungary on the north, and Bosnia on the south. They number over half a million, and about equally divided in their religious faith between the Greek and Romish churches. The Dalmatians inhabit the country along the Adriatic, between Croatia and Albania, together with the adjacent islands, known as the kingdom of Dalmatia, and belonging to the Austrian empire. This territory, including the Iстриan shore north of it, contains about six hundred thousand inhabitants, half a million of whom belong to the Slavo-Servian race. About eighty thousand of them are in the Greek Church, and the remainder are Roman Catholics.

It is necessary to distinguish the Austrian kingdom of

Croatia of the present day—situated between Styria, Hungary, Slavonia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and the Adriatic—from the ancient Croatia of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, for the reason that they are not the same. The modern Croatia, together with the Croatian colonists in Hungary, and the inhabitants of the Sandshak Banialouska, contains over eight hundred thousand souls, two hundred thousand of whom belong to the Greek Church, and the remainder are Catholics. The Croats are divided in their language into two classes, one of them being related to the Servians and Dalmatians, and the other to the Slovenzi of Carniola and Carinthia. The Slovenzi, or Vindes, comprise the Slavic inhabitants of the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; the two latter forming the kingdom of Illyria, together with those tribes who inhabit the banks of the rivers Raab and Muhr in Hungary. They call themselves Slovenzi, but are described by foreign writers under the name of Vindes. Their population is over one million, and are all Catholics, except a few Protestants.

The Bulgarian Branch of the eastern stem of the Slavic races includes the Turkish province Sofia Vilayeti, between the Danube, the Euxine, the Balkan, and Servia. They are the remnant of what was anciently a great and powerful nation, but now reduced to three and a half millions of souls; besides nearly eighty thousand scattered through Bessarabia, and the other provinces of South Russia. About seven thousand of them are Austrian subjects, living in Hungary, that great nursery of nations. The Bulgarians principally associate with the Greek Church.

The great *Western stem* of the Slavic nations comprehends three general branches: 1. The Czekho-Slovakian branch; 2.

The Polish or Leckian branch ; 3. The Sorabian-Vendish branch. The Bohemians and Moravians, or Czekhes, as they are sometimes called, are the Slavic inhabitants of the kingdom of Bohemia and the Margravate of Moravia ; both subject to the Austrian empire. They number nearly five millions, including about fifty thousand of the Slavic inhabitants in Prussian Silesia, who belong to this race. They are generally Catholics, except about one hundred thousand Protestants. Nearly all the northern part of Hungary is inhabited by the Slovaks, who are also scattered through the whole of that country, speaking different dialects, numbering in all between two and three millions.

The Polish, or Leckian branch, comprises the inhabitants of the present kingdom of Poland, embracing a part of what are called the Russian-Polish provinces, since 1772 ; and also the duchy of Posen, and of Galicia and Ludomeria. The mass of the people in this latter country are Russniaks, or Ruthenians. In those Russian provinces called White Russia, Black Russia, and Red Russia, which were formerly conquered by the Poles, the slaves or peasantry are Russians and Russniaks ; but in Lithuania we find a race of a different family of nations, called Lithuanians, or Lettones. Throughout all these countries the Polish inhabitants are principally confined to the nobility and inhabitants of the cities, including those who are really Poles, or the Slavi of the Leckian race. The Polish population of Silesia and the Kassubes—an isolated tribe in the Prussian province of Pomerania—belong also to the same Slavic race. The Slavi of the Leckian race number between ten and twelve millions, all of whom are Catholic, except about half a million of Protestants.

The Sorabian-Vendish branch comprise the remnant of the old Sorabæ, and several other Slavic races in Lusatia, and some parts of Brandenburg. Their number is limited to about two millions, who are Catholics and Protestants in nearly equal proportions.

Besides these three general branches of the Slavic races, there are other tribes of the same blood scattered through Germany, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and probably through the whole of Turkey. Recent discoveries in philology have proved that the Tchaconic dialect, spoken in the eastern part of ancient Sparta, and not understood by the other Greeks, is of Slavic origin. Kastanica, Sitina, Gorica, and Prasto, are found to be Slavic names; and Leake in his *Researches* observes, that Slavic names of places are found throughout all Greece.

The principal distinctions between the Slavic races, as well as other races of the human family, depend on their different languages; and the philological tests are the surest guides in tracing the origin and progress of nations and their various tribes. By examining the Slavic languages, and comparing them with others, we find certain affinities which furnish an unerring guide in searching for the origin of the nations which have at different periods used them. The analogy between the Slavic and the Sanscrit languages can be very distinctly traced, and particularly in the similar sound of a great number of words. The construction of the Slavic languages is pure European, and in this respect resembles the Greek, Latin, and German, and have all been derived probably from the same source. The affinity of the Slavic and Greek languages have recently filled several learned volumes. Some of the most profound philologists contend that a knowledge of the Slavic language is necessary to a clear understanding of the Greek. Dankovsky, among other historical

proofs of the common origin of these two tongues, gives a vocabulary of more than three hundred words which are substantially the same in both. "Of three sisters," he observes, "one kept faithful to her mother—the Slavic language; the *second* gave to that common heritage the highest cultivation—the Greek language; and the *third* mixed the mother tongue with a foreign idiom—the Latin language." The Greek priest, Constantine, in his learned work on philology, gives eight hundred pages of Russian and Greek words corresponding in sound and meaning, and substantially the same in both languages. Levesque, in his History of Russia, considers the Latins as a Slavic colony. Solarick derives all modern languages from the Slavic.*

Scandinavia is the ancient name of the region now comprehending the three northern kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. These early tribes were known to the ancient nations of the south of Europe only by vague rumor. Tacitus describes the Suiones, or Swedes, as a naval people. Pliny mentions a peninsula called Nerigon or Norway, in Swedish *Norige*, in Danish *Narge*. Iceland is supposed to be the *Thule* of the classic authors. We meet with the name *Danus* for the first time in Gregory of Tours, in the sixth century, A. D. Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Jutland, were inhabited at an earlier period by the Teutonic race, and the nomads of the Finnish tribes. The Scandinavians, and the people south of Germany, probably have a common origin with the Indian, Persian, and Pelasgian tribes. The Romans found a most formidable enemy in the nations of Jutland and Sleswick, more than one hundred years before the Christian era, known as the Cimbri. The fabulous history of

*The reader will find a very clear statement of the general features of the Slavic language in Talvi's Literature of the Slavic Nations, pages 13—23.

Odin, Othin, or Woden, commenced two hundred and fifty years before Christ. As late as the middle of the ninth century, Scandinavia was little known until the victorious invasions of the nations into the southern and western parts of Europe, and the introduction of Christianity in the year 1000 A. D., made known these northern warriors throughout the Eastern continent. At this period the inhabitants of Scandinavia were divided into hordes like the Tartars, and in the ninth and tenth centuries they were distinguished as pirates.

They were known to the Eastern historians under the title of Danes and Normans; in the English annals of that period they are called *Easterlings*; the Russians called them *Varangians*; and the Hispano-Arabic writers styled them *Mantchoos*. These barbarous adventurers, in company with the ancient Poles, sailed from Sweden, Norway, the Danish islands, from Jutland and Sleswick—far and wide—to near and remote harbors, within and without the Baltic, to Novgorod, Kiev, and Plotzk, and also to England, Ireland, Holland, Germany, France, Spain, and Italy; plundering, destroying, and founding new States as they advanced.

The Scandinavians appear in history as the ancestors and associates of the ancient Poles. Those barbarous nations of the north who conquered the Roman empire, and from whom many of the present European nations are descended, are worthy of great consideration in tracing the origin and progress of Polish society. The union of Sarmatian, Slavonian, Scandinavian, Scythian, and Gothic blood, still flows in the veins of their Polish descendants. The manners and institutions of these tribes are curious and important objects of inquiry, from their great influence on the constitutions and national character of most of the modern king-

doms of Europe. The inhabitants of these States, including the Poles, are a mixed race, compounded of the Goths, the Sarmatians, Slavonians, Scandinavians, and Scythians, with other nations they subdued ; and consequently the manners, laws, and institutions of the conquerors and the conquered, would naturally descend to their successors. The Gothic or Scandinavian nations are the Goths, properly so called, the Gepidæ, the Lombards, the Heruli, and the Vandals.

Other savage tribes from the north of Asia or Europe were the Huns, the Alains, the Bulgari, the Suevi, the Burgundians, the Franks, the Alemani, the Normans, the Saxons, and others. The principal characteristics of these tribes or nations were common to them all. Their habits, manners, and education, formed them for a brave and warlike race. Their large, athletic, bodily frames were invigorated by the climate in which they lived, and inured to danger and fatigue by habitual occupation in war, influenced by a heathen religion which taught them that the loss of life in battle was the sure and only passport to their heaven—the halls of their Odin. The Scandinavian and Scythian nations probably had the same origin. The numerous institutions, religion, and laws, of all these northern nations possess striking similarities, and evidently had a common origin. Their life was spent in hunting, pasturage, fishing, and predatory war. They cherished a high respect for their beautiful females, despised education, and for many ages had no other records or literature than the rude songs of their bards. There was also a great similarity between the manners of the Scandinavians and those of the ancient Germans ; although the latter may have sprung from a different origin.

The Germans and the Gauls are by some supposed to be branches of the Celtæ—a great original nation, who, at a very

early day, inhabited most of the countries of Europe south of the Baltic, before they were invaded by the Scandinavian tribes. The religion of the Celtæ differed in some respects from that of their northern neighbors, though it contained substantially the same principles.

The theology of the Scandinavians was an invariable index of their manners and customs. To be intrepid in fight, and thirst for blood, was one of the fundamental articles of their pagan religion. They believed the world to be the work of some superior intelligence, regulated and fixed by an unchangeable destiny. Their religious notions held the supreme control over their national manners and individual conduct. The Scandinavian's chief and only delight was the field of carnage. He entertained an absolute and reckless contempt of danger and of death; and the larger the number of his enemies slain in battle, and the more cruel and inhuman their death, the more highly was he honored and esteemed by the others. The only solace of his expiring moments, and the highest bliss which this world could afford his departing spirit, was the recital of his deeds of daring, and his numerous acts of brutal carnage. His only god—the great god of all the northern hordes previous to the tenth century—was Odin, a heathen deity, clothed with robes of terror, delighting in war, revenge, and human butchery.

They imbibed also much of the Druidical religion of the Celtic nations. They usually performed their superstitious devotions in sacred groves, woods, or forests. Horses were the most acceptable sacrifices to their deity; but their idolatrous altars, like those of barbarous nations, were sometimes sprinkled with human blood. The warriors of old Scandinavia, after their conquest of the Roman empire, soon lost much of their native ferocity and

barbarism, under the reforming and refining influences of Roman civilization. Not far from this time, they embraced Christianity and its kindred morality.

The origin of the Hungarians is involved in some doubt. They were formerly called Magyars, by the Slavic nations. The majority of the old writers consider them to be descendants from the Huns. Others represent them as of Finnish origin; while some are of the opinion that they descended from the Parthians, and others trace them to the east side of the Caspian sea. On balancing all the authorities on this doubtful question, it appears the Hungarians migrated from Asia into Europe some time during the latter part of the seventh century; and after occupying the country between the Don and the Dnieper for two hundred years, they were gradually driven forward by the Petchenegues; and in 894, they entered Hungary under the command of Almus, their prince. This country was then occupied by the Bulgarians, Slavonians, Walachians, Moravians, Germans, Italians, Croatians, Szeklers, and Dalmatians; who were finally conquered by the Hungarians, under Arpad, the son of Almus. At first, the conquered territory was distributed only among the chiefs of the tribes; but the duke soon after assumed the right of rewarding the valor of his soldiers by giving them the lands, regardless of their rank. The Hungarians, or Magyars, as they were then called, like all the northern Asiatic and European pastoral tribes, being fond of roving, war, and plunder, soon extended their predatory incursions into the neighboring countries, and advanced to the north as far as Hamburg and Bremen, while on the west they entered Provence, on the south Otranto, and marched eastward as far as Constantinople.

They were generally considered by all nations with whom they

fought, as the most formidable warriors then known in the field of battle; and it was regarded by the best generals of the day as a hopeless undertaking to attack their invincible cavalry. For the first time in their history, they were defeated by Henry I., the German emperor, at Merseburg, in 933. Undaunted by their misfortunes, they then invaded Franconia, in 937, and overran Saxony in 938; but were again defeated at Stederburg, and in the Drommling, on the Ohra. In their last invasion into Bavaria, in 954 and 955, they were conquered on the Lech, by Otho I., king of Germany. The Slavonians and Germans, whom they had from time to time conquered, gradually taught them civilization and the arts of social life. The Hungarians for a long time strenuously resisted the introduction of Christianity; but finally abandoned paganism under the mild but persevering reforms of Stephen, who finally succeeded in organizing the kingdom of Hungary in the year of our Lord one thousand. According to the civil policy of that day, he endeavored to strengthen his government by the power of the hierarchy and aristocracy. In furtherance of his object, he established ten richly-endowed bishoprics, and divided the whole empire into seventy-two counties, each being under the government of an officer, who was responsible only to the king, and invested with full military power. These officers and the bishops composed the senate of the nation, who concurred with King Stephen in giving the people a constitution, the fundamental principles of which continue to the present day, and have recently been most shamefully violated by Austria and Russia.

On the death of Stephen I., Hungary again relapsed into a state of discord and rebellion almost equal to anarchy. The doubtful tenure of the crown, the unlawful and ambitious inter-

ference of neighboring princes, the dictation of the Roman court, the inveterate hatred of the Hungarians or Magyars against the foreigners, who were the favorites of Peter—the impolitic successor of Stephen—the death-struggles of paganism in the grasp of Christianity, the arrogance of the aristocracy, and the sufferings of slavery, all conspired for a long time, in preventing the progress of Hungary in civilization, science, and religion.

In many respects history records a striking similarity between the fate of Poland and Hungary. With a strong natural love of liberty, the people have passed through the various fortunes of war ; sometimes tributary to each other, and sometimes to Turkey, ever groaning under the oppressions of an insolent aristocracy and tyrannical monarchy, and palsied by the curses of slavery and ignorance. The social and political relations of Poland and Hungary were sometimes hostile and sometimes friendly, sometimes paradoxical and sometimes beneficial. Sometimes we find them fighting each other's battles side by side ; and then within the short period of a few months they are arrayed against each other in deadly fight. The same king ruled over both empires ; and princesses were frequently exchanged by the respective monarchs, to grace the palaces of the kings with their queenly charms. Lewis, king of Hungary, was elected king of Poland, on the death of Casimir III., in 1570, whose reign was extremely disastrous to the Poles.

Hungary never equalled Poland in civilization, literature, religion, or national glory ; and after a varied history of misfortunes for more than eighteen hundred years, struggling and battling for liberty, bleeding at every pore in the cause of freedom, both nations now lie low in the same tomb, murdered by the same ruthless tyrants—Russia and Austria.

The Turkish empire, sometimes called the Ottoman empire, Otto-

man, or Sublime Porte, was one of the first and last enemies of Poland, and the most inhuman, cruel foe that Polish society ever encountered. The Turks are a mixed people, composed of Tartars, robbers, slaves, and kidnapped Christian children; and are the only barbarians who have reduced civilized nations to their yoke, without mingling with their blood, without adopting their language, their religion, their sciences, their arts, or their manners and customs. For more than five hundred years they have disgraced and ruled the finest countries of the globe; including Thrace, Greece, Asia Minor, Colchis, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt; together with the classical islands of the Archipelago and spicy Arabia; and, like tigers, have grasped in their fatal claws the commercial channels which connect Asia and Africa with Europe, and unite the east with the west. This nation, originally a horde of robbers, pirates, and assassins, by conquests at different times in their history, have spread terror through the eastern continent; and for four centuries sacrilegiously trampled on the graves of the Saviour, the patriarchs, the prophets, and apostles, and blasphemed the holy Christian religion. For centuries they have disgraced with Asiatic despotism and savage cruelty the classic soil of Athens, Sparta, Corinth, and Thebes, where, two thousand and five hundred years ago, was maintained the independence of Europe; where civil freedom and the refinement of polished life flourished; on the very ground where Homer sang, where Solon legislated, and the eloquence of Demosthenes thundered. That a band of ruthless robbers from the steppes of Northern Asia, should have been permitted to pitch their savage camps in the gardens of Asia Minor and Greece, where they violated the graves of the venerable dead, revelled in the halls of ancient literature, and finally

annihilated all that is dear to the memory of the scholar, the Christian, and the statesman, is one of those mysteries of Providence, to which the mind can only be reconciled by the consoling reflection that there is a God in heaven who will overrule all these things for the good of the faithful. But so it is; and submission is both a Christian virtue and a Christian duty.

This heaven-daring, earth-desolating, and nation-devouring race of Turks and Tartars, fearless of God and regardless of man, and unworthy of heaven or earth, after overrunning Asia and Africa; after desecrating the tombs of Abraham, David, Solomon, and the ashes of the pious dead of the Holy City; after ravaging the cities and fields of Egypt, where Pharaoh reigned, where Cleopatra charmed, and where Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon conquered, at last buckled on their armor, and sharpened their lances and sabres for the conquest of Europe. Fortunately for Christendom, these lawless hordes selected Poland for their battle-ground. Year after year, battle after battle, campaign after campaign, and century after century, passed away, while the brave Poles met these lawless robbers on the plains of Sarmatia, where millions of Polish heroes fought and fell in defending their country, their wives, and children, and the Christian world from the deathful grasp of these human monsters. Poland has shed more precious blood, and consumed more treasure in their wars with the Turks and Tartars, than with any, or perhaps all other nations with whom they came in conflict. Thus run the chronicles of Poland with the Turks; until finally Heaven's day of reckoning came, until the great general of the north took the field. Sobieski, who had been raised by the God of Hosts to defend His church from the disgrace of the crescent, struck two fatal blows—one at the battle

of Chocim, and the other at the victory of Vienna, and crushed the Ottoman power for ever. Such is a portrait of the associations of Poland with Turkish society; an acquaintance equally disgraceful, injurious, and deplorable.

Thus far in tracing the ancestral and contemporaneous society of Poland, we have found all their associations the most unfortunate and unprofitable. From their ancestors they inherited neither civilization, learning, Christianity, property, government, nor laws; but only the disgraceful legacy of pastoral life, Scythian freedom, Tartar warfare, Sarmatian barbarity, and Caucasian beauty mingled with vicious deformity. Nor were their contemporaries more useful. Slavic society was equally fruitful with discord and faction; while with the Goths, Huns, Vandals, and Finns, they wandered over Europe for their plunder, where many of them found their graves. Always in war with Russia, Turkey, Prussia, Austria, Saxony, Hungary, Germany, and all surrounding nations, their energies were crippled, and their virtues always corrupted by war and bloodshed. But in their more remote associations with England, France, Rome, and Greece, we may, with pleasure, contemplate better scenes and happier days for Poland. From Greece and Rome they derived most of their Christian religion, imperfect as it was in the Greek and Roman Church; besides their literature and civilization. From England they borrowed all their excellent and useful improvements in government and law, which were incorporated into their new constitution and code, but were soon filebed from them by Russian and German tyranny. Polish society was always intimately connected with France, even as early as the halcyon days of ancient Gaul, whence they derived many of their manners and customs, and particularly their military tactics. For centuries the Polish

nobility educated their children in England, France, Greece, and Italy, where Polish society delighted to roam; where heroes shouted, poets sang, orators wept, and philosophers marvelled. No nation ever had a more savage and degraded ancestry than Poland; and their associates previous to the fifteenth century—with the exception of Greece and Rome—were not much better.*

SECTION VII.

POLISH RACES.

The great variety of heterogeneous races which composed the Polish nation, each having a different origin, different manners and customs, different languages and dialects, different laws and government, different feelings and interests, were all very unfavorable circumstances to social unity and social improvement. Wise statesmen have ever regarded it as a cardinal principle of government, that no more races, tribes, or people, should be united in the same nation, than will voluntarily adopt one and the same government, the same jurisprudence, and form one and the same social unity. And hence, in all cases, no more races and people should be united under one government, than can be quietly and voluntarily subjected to one system of laws and social institutions. It may be regarded as an elementary principle of every sound government, that all the subjects of a nation must be governed by the same laws, and adopt the same social institutions in all material points. No new territory or province should ever be annexed to the parent government in violation of this cardinal

* Murray's *Hist. European Languages*; Dobrovsky's *Slovanka*; Schafarik's *Geschichte*; Malte Brun, IV., 57; Anthon's *Class. Dict.*, 1244, 550.

principle. The fall of Egypt, Babylon, Nineveh, Troy, Greece, Rome, Gaul, Sarmatia, and Poland, may all be regarded as signal instances of the violation of this fundamental rule of civil government.

Naturalists, in modern times, divide the human family into five grand varieties, namely—The European, or Caucasian race ; the Asiatic or Mongolian race ; the Malay race ; the African race ; and the American race.

The European, or Caucasian race, have regular features and fair complexions, and include the Europeans and their descendants in America and elsewhere ; together with the Turks, Tartars, Arabians, Persians, Hindoos, Abyssinians, Egyptians, and Moors.

The Asiatic, or Mongolian race, have a brown or olive complexion, flat foreheads, small eyes, coarse, straight, black hair, and wide mouths. This race embrace the Chinese, Japanese, Mongolians, the Siberian tribes, Nova Zemblans, Laplanders, Greenlanders, and the Esquimaux Indians ; and include the inhabitants of Eastern and Southern Asia, generally, except the Malays.

The Malay race have a dark-brown complexion, with large features, strong hair, broad nostrils, and great mouths. This race include the inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula, of the Asiatic islands of Australasia and Polynesia. They are almost confined to the islands of the Pacific and the Peninsula of Malacca.

The African, or Ethiopian race, include the negroes, the Cafres and Hottentots of Africa, and the Papuans or negroes of Australasia. This race have a jet-black complexion, woolly hair, flat noses, prominent chins, and thick lips.

The American, or Indian race, have a copper color; coarse, straight, black hair, high cheek bones, sunken eyes, and stout, muscular limbs. This race include all the Indians dispersed over the American continent, except the Esquimaux.

The Europeans, or Caucasian race, are the most civilized and enlightened of all these races; and these descendants of Japhet have generally ruled the rest when brought in contact with them.

The majority of these races were numerous represented in the Polish nation. The principal races, tribes, and provinces which composed the republic of Poland at different periods, were the Leches, or aboriginal Poles, or Poles Proper, the Lithuanians, the Cossacks, the Courlanders, the Livonians, the Prussians, the Bohemians, the Gipsies, the Jews, Silesia, the Ukraine, Red Russia, Moravia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg.

SECTION VIII.

THE LECHES.

It seems to be very generally conceded by the great majority of writers, that the mass of the Polish nation, properly so called, are descendants from the ancient Leches; who are most probably the same people as the Lygians of Tacitus, and the Licieavians of the middle ages. The Poles proper carry back the history of their race through the Leches, to the remote times of Noah's family, and trace their origin to Lech, a great grandson of Noah. From him they derive the Henetoi, or the Ainetoi of Homer, Herodotus, Æschylus, and Euripides; and from these descended the Sarmatians, who were the more immediate ancestors of the Poles. The warlike and adventurous colonies of the

Gothic race, particularly the Western or Visi-Goths, were settled at a very early period on the banks of the Vistula, and formed, probably, in many places, the dominant race. The supposition is strengthened by the clear complexion and the regular features of the Polish nobles, together with their titles of nobility—a title unknown in every other Slavonic language.

The *szlachcics* were principally composed of foreign conquerors, and in the course of ages were identified with the native aristocracy, called the *zemianin*, or possessors of land. During this state of early Polish society many revolutions must have taken place in the country; and many warriors, such as the Krakus, must have ruled the Gothic hordes before the more peaceful shepherds and husbandmen of the plains of Sarmatia chose Piast or Piastus for their first king. The regions of the Baltic and Lower Vistula, after the Goths and Vandals had finally left them, were possessed in the latter part of the third, or first part of the fourth century, by the Lettonians and Lithuanians, who are considered by some historians Slavic, and by others, Finnic-Scythic tribes. These tribes were probably kindred nations with the ancient Livonians, Esthonians, and Borussians. The various nations and races which inhabited this country at that early period, were called by the ancients, Sarmatians. In the sixth or seventh century the Leches or Lekhes, and their kindred race the Czckhes, both came from the Carpathian regions, whence they were driven by the Bulgarians, and settled on the banks of the Vistula and Varta. Lekh, or Ljakh, or Lech, signified in old Bohemian, a free and noble man; and this meaning was retained as late as the fourteenth century.

The Leches were divided into several tribes; and only those who at first settled on the vast plains or *polie*, of the Ukraine,

were called *Polyane*, or Poles, or the inhabitants of the plain. The tribes which occupied Masovia were called *Masovshane*; the Leches who went to Pomerania were by the same usage called *Pomoriane*; and other tribes followed the same law. The specific name of Poles, as applied to all the Lechish tribes together, was unknown in history until the close of the tenth century, when the generic term of Leches disappears. In the year 840—as some date—the chiefs of all the Lechish tribes united themselves under one common government, which had previously been ruled by their different chiefs, and chose Piast for their duke or king, whose reign, together with his male descendants, continued for six hundred and thirty years.

The original or Lechian race of Poland comprises the inhabitants of the present kingdom of Poland, containing a part of the country called, since 1772, the Russian-Polish provinces, the duchy of Posen, of Galicia, and Ludomeria. The mass of the people in this latter country are known as Russniaks, or Ruthenians. In the Russian provinces, formerly called White Russia, Black Russia, and Red Russia, and in former times conquered by the Poles, the peasantry or slaves are principally Russians and Russniaks; but in Lithuania, they are Lithuanians or Lettones, a different race; and in all these countries only the nobility and inhabitants of the cities are really Poles, or Slavi of the Lechian race. The Polish population of Silesia, and an isolated tribe in the Prussian province of Pomerania, called the Kassubes, belong to the same race. The pure Lechian race probably does not now number over ten or twelve millions of souls.

The safest test for determining the location, divisions, and numbers of the original Polish races, is their language. The

extent of country in which the Polish language now prevails, as the vernacular tongue of the inhabitants, is much more limited than perhaps might at first be expected, from merely considering the great circuit of territory comprised within the kingdom during the height of its power and independence. In the sixteenth century, Poland, for a short time, by the fortune of war, became the most powerful state in northern Europe. During this period the Teutonic knights—the mortal foes of the Poles, and the conquerors of Prussia—were subjected to its power, and received its protection. Livonia was a component part of the Polish kingdom, and Courland was a Polish fief; while at the same time the Smolensk of antiquity, and Kief of venerable memory, the favored seat of royalty, together with the Russian provinces adjacent to Galicia, were all subjugated to the Polish dominion, by the success of its arms. This powerful and extensive kingdom in its meridian splendor stretched from the foot of the Carpathian mountains, and the fertile plains of the Ukraine, in latitude forty-seven degrees, to the shores of the Baltic, in latitude fifty-six, and from the fifteenth to the thirty-second degree of east longitude; extending from the Borysthenes to the Danube, and from the Euxine to the Baltic. Its detached fragments have since become Prussia, Moravia, Bohemia, Hungary, Ukraine, Courland, Livonia, Austria, and Russia. After the annexation of Lithuania, in the end of the fourteenth century, the whole Polish kingdom comprised an extent of territory measuring nearly three hundred thousand square miles.

At this flourishing period in the history of the republic, its political divisions embraced Great and Little Poland on the west; Masovia and Podlachia in the centre; with Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine towards the east; and Lithuania in the

north-east. The country was still farther divided into thirty-one palatinates and starostys. The Russian kingdom of Poland, which, previous to the cessions at Andrussow in 1667, contained about sixteen millions of inhabitants, now embraces over a surface of 48,600 square miles, 482 towns—including 211 immediate, and 271 mediate towns—and 22,694 villages; numbering in all nearly five millions of inhabitants. In 1816 Poland was divided into eight waywodeships, called Masovia, with Warsaw for its capital, Kalisch or Cracovia, Cracow, Miechow, Sandomir, Lublin, Podlachia, Plock, and Augustow.

Of the five millions of Polish inhabitants in the provinces annexed to Russia by the three successive partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795, not more than two millions of them are properly Poles or Leches, who speak dialects of that language. The Russniaks are much the most numerous, and the Lithuanians prevail in Lithuania; although, besides the vernacular language of the latter, the Malo-Russian and White Russian dialects are used in these provinces. The primeval Polish race may farther be identified by their language, which was spoken by the inhabitants of the kingdom of Poland in 1815, embracing a population of nearly five millions. The same language is used by the people of the cities, and the nobility of Galicia, belonging to Austria, and the Poles in the Austrian part of Silesia, numbering nearly three millions. And we can trace the same original tongue among the inhabitants of the small republic of Cracow, containing about one hundred thousand; and also by the Russian grand-duchy of Posen, and a part of the province of Western Prussia, together with the Poles in Silesia, and the Kassubes in Pomerania; making in all about two millions of souls. According to this general census of the Poles proper, who speak the

language, they may number from ten to twelve millions, using different dialects of the same speech, with different degrees of purity.

The ancient Poles, as would seem from their language, must have been very nearly related to the Czekhes and the Sorabian Vendes. They were a branch of the Sarmatians of the Borysthenes. The early Slavic tribes in the sixth century expelled the old Finnic race; and marching up the Dnieper, pursued the course of the Vistula, where they settled on one side, under the name of Lithuanians; and on the other around the shores of the Baltic, under the names of Prussians and Lettians. In the seventh century they were followed by the Leches, and other Slavic tribes.

Wherever we meet with the Leches, the primeval Polish race, they are represented as the most civilized and intelligent people of all the northern and Slavic hordes. They were converted to Christianity as early as the last of the ninth or commencement of the tenth century; and about the same time the art of writing was introduced among them. Towards the end of the tenth century they were first called Poles, or Slavonians of the plain. The advanced civilization of the Poles, at this early period, soon excited the envy and hostility of the surrounding tribes, races, and nations, who were much less civilized; and hence it was the misfortune of the Lechian race ever afterwards to be almost continually involved in war with their neighbors, until their final conquest. As early as the year 840, the primeval Poles, living between the Vistula and Warta, for the first time united in one government under Piast—a king of their own choice, who continued to reign for about thirty years, until they were again divided into smaller principalities among his male heirs, so that

they were without any other bond of national union than affinity of origin—a common reigning family, and a common name. This social unity, feeble and fickle as it was, had a powerful influence on the warm and imaginative feelings of the Poles, and at an early day inspired them with the most heroic patriotism.

This state of Polish society, like all men destitute of legal order and freedom, and governed only by their unbridled feelings, was soon involved in every political strife and excess, and abandoned to destructive thoughtlessness and reckless passion. And here we may see, even at this early day, the germs of that fickleness which ever since has characterized the mass of the Polish race, although this unfortunate nation has never been without distinguished men who would have done honor to any republic. The immortal names of Piast, Jagellon, Sobieski, Kosciusko, Czartoryski, Tarnoffski, Zamoyski, Zolkieffski, Casimir, and other distinguished heroes and statesmen, will go down to future ages as ranking with the greatest and best of the human race. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Lechian Poles, was the extraordinary combination of youthful enthusiasm and love of freedom. But on the other hand, the majority of the nobility, in whose veins flowed more of foreign than pure Polish blood, ever devoted to foreign interests, and involved in eternal dissensions, finally betrayed their country to the enemy through blind party rage.

In this state of society, Poland fought and struggled for national existence, until she finally fell under these crushing evils. Although this dis-social republic was formerly united under Piast in the ninth century, and received the name of one kingdom in 1025, under the reign of Boleslas Chrobry; yet the state stood reeling like a tree without roots, till it was finally overthrown by

the tempest. The elective franchise, hampered by the *liberum veto* and the *diet under the buckler*, continually aggravated their misfortunes, and daily increased the turbulence of party. The prevailing inequality of condition, founded on a state of society composed of fourteen millions of slaves, governed by five hundred nobles, with the power of life and death, prevented the growth of legal order and civil liberty. There never has been, there never can be, a prosperous and happy society, in a state where the nobleman is the only citizen, and all others are slaves.

This rude, five hundred thousand headed sovereignty never understood the art of uniting individual liberty with public power for the mutual benefit of all. The great variety of races which successively mingled with Polish blood, and settled on Polish soil, possessing so many conflicting interests and pugnacious feelings, controlled by selfishness, passion, and prejudice, continually increased discord at home, and hostility from abroad, until the nation became so crippled and impotent, that it lost one safe guard of its independence and power after another, first in the revolt of Silesia and the Oder ; then followed the Baltic, and finally the Carpathians deserted the Republic. But it has happened in Poland, as in all other nations, where a similar society prevails, that a state which has no fixed boundaries, which is cut off from the sea, and destitute of internal unity, will always be the prey of hostile and ambitious neighbors.*

* Malte Brun, IV., b. 114. ; Fletcher, 13. ; Linde's Polish Dictionary, Art. Leches ; Talvi's Literature of the Slavic Nations, 222 ; Foreign Quarterly Review, VIII., 61 ; Encyclo. Amer., X., 202 :

SECTION IX.

LITHUANIANS.

The great duchy of Lithuania contains a vast region of country, lying between the kingdom of Poland proper and the frontiers of Muscovy. Though subject to the kingdom of Poland after the reign of Jagellon, in the fourteenth century, yet it was a distinct nation, having a different state of society, different manners and customs, a different language, and distinct political rights, under the same Diet as Poland. This country lies between Muscovy on the east; Livonia, the Baltic Sea, and part of Muscovy, on the north; Samogitia, Prussia, and Podlachia, on the west; and Russia, Volhynia, and Podolia, towards the south. It extends near ninety German miles in length, reaching from the borders of the palatinate of Lublin to the confines of Livonia, and measuring about eighty miles in breadth, from the river Niemen to the Dnieper. In the time of its great duke, Vitoldus, it covered a much longer extent of territory, reaching from the Euxine Sea to nearly the whole length of the Baltic. Its union with Poland was commenced by Jagellon in the year 1386, and after much opposition on the part of the Lithuanians, the union was again renewed and strengthened at Grodno, in the year 1413. They still retained their own dukes till the year 1501, when the great Duke Albert was chosen king of Poland; and by his influence the union was completed, and afterwards confirmed by the Diet at Lublin, in 1569, under the reign of Sigismund Augustus. By this last act of national union, it was agreed that Lithuania should enjoy its own laws

and privileges, and be for ever constituted a part of the Polish commonwealth, governed by one king and one Diet.*

Lithuania has long been divided into two parts, namely, Lithuania Proper, and Lithuania, or White Russia. Each of these grand divisions is again subdivided into palatinates, and each palatinate into districts, while each of them are considered as duchies, and were formerly governed by their respective dukes. According to the Polish annals, Lithuania was first organized into one independent nation by Palemon, an Italian prince, who, in the reign of Nero, fled with several of his countrymen to seek refuge in the woods of the Northern plains. He was after some time chosen by the people as their prince; and, as a compliment to their loyalty, he named their country after his own, calling it *La Italia*; which, in process of time, by mingling with the idiom of these barbarians, degenerated into Lithuania.

Palemon, first duke of Lithuania, and a descendant from the Roman Patrice, after passing through great dangers and hardships on the first organization of the country, died, leaving three nephews, Boreus, Cunossus, and Spera, who separately ruled Lithuania, dividing the kingdom between them. Boreus received a part of Samogitia for his share of the dominions, where he built a castle on the river Juria—a branch of the Niemen—and called it after his own name. Cunossus, extending his part of the dominion, built the castle of Kunossow. Spera, in another section of the country, erected his castle near the river Swenta, where he began his reign. On the death of Boreus and Spera, Cunossus took possession of both their dominions, who on his death left two sons, Kyernus and Gybutus. Kyernus established himself in Lithuania, and built the castle of Kyernow for his

* Conner's Hist. Poland, I., 302.

residence. Gybutus governed Samogitia, where he also resided. Both these brothers were brave warriors, and joining their forces, invaded Russia, where they committed numerous depredations, and carried away great booty. Kyernus dying, his son Zivibundus succeeded to the government of Lithuania, and Gybutus was succeeded in Samogitia by his son Muntwil. After a succession of several dukes, who carried on numerous wars against the Tartars and Russians, until the governments of Lithuania and Samogitia were united under Duke Kukovoitus, who, on his death, left his kingdom to his son-in-law, Giedrussus. On his death his son Ringolt inherited the government, and distinguished himself in fighting the Tartars. On his death, in 1240, his son Mindog ascended the throne.

This prince, after subduing the dukes of Smolensko and Volhynia, with whom he fought several severe battles, met in the field Boleslas, king of Poland, and Daniel, emperor of Muscovy, in several well-fought battles, in which the Christian army, by their idle efforts to convert the Pagan Lithuanians by the sword, were defeated with great slaughter. The victorious hero frequently made incursions into Masovia, Dobrina Cujavia, and other surrounding provinces, enriching his treasures and extending his dominions. But after several bloody wars with the Teutonic knights of Prussia and Livonia, in the year 1252, having been converted to Christianity by the Great Master of the Teutonic Order, Henricus de Zaloza, and being the first Christian prince of Lithuania, he at last surrendered all his dominions to the knights, in return for the several honors conferred and services rendered; and espousing the Roman faith, sent to Rome to pay his respects to the Holy See. In answer to his devotions, Innocent IV. commanded his brother Heinderic

to consecrate the penitent Lithuanian king. But the re-action of heathen prejudices soon overcame Mindog's recent and fickle flame of Christian love, and refusing to receive the unction of the Pope's Nuncio, the Lithuanian prince, with all his subjects, again returned to their former idolatry.

The artful knights, however, permitted him to continue king; and under him, in connection with the Lithuanians, Samogitians, and others, they invaded Masovia, and desolated the country. But Mindog, soon forgetting the former civilities of the knights, turned his arms against them, and after destroying most of their cities, returned richly laden with spoils. After committing numerous other depredations on the Catholic and Greek Christians, Mindog was murdered by his nephew Stroinat, and his son-in-law Dowmant, in 1263. Stroinat succeeding to the throne, commenced his reign the same year, by the murder of his brother Towcivil, duke of Polocz. But he soon after was deprived of life by Woisalk, son of Mindog, in revenge for his father's death, who immediately took possession of his paternal dominions. Woisalk rested satisfied with the title of duke, and commenced his reign in 1264. He commenced his reign with frequent irruptions into Poland, Masovia, and Prussia, until the year 1267, while engaged in trying to subdue Russia, he was circumvented by Leo, the duke who built Leopold, and slain in the monastery of Wrowsko. With him the family of the dukes of Lithuania expired, and Utenus, or Vcienus, a descendant from the Kitauri—a race of princes in that country—was unanimously chosen first great duke of Lithuania and Samogitia, who after fighting his way through several wars with the Russians and Prussians, died, and left his kingdom to his son Swintorobus.

This honest duke, enjoying an honorable, short, and quiet

reign, was succeeded on his death by his son Germontus, who in his turn, after a short reign, was followed by his son Trachus. His reign was distinguished for wisdom and humanity, both in war and peace; who built a town and castle after his own name. On his death he left five children, Narimundus, Dowmantus, Holsanus, Giedrutus, and Troidenus, who divided their father's dominion between them; and on their decease, marked only for repeated wars on Poland and the surrounding nations, were succeeded by Rimunt, son of Troidenus. This duke soon became weary of the cares and dangers of the sceptre, and calling a Diet at Kiernow, publicly renounced all claims to the throne of Lithuania, and returned to monastic life, constituting Vithenes, of the family of the Kitauri, descendants of the Roman princes, as great duke of his dominions.

Vithenes was a brave and enterprising prince. When the friends of Rimunt demanded of him why he passed by his own family, and elevated a Roman nobleman to the government, he answered, that his own relations were only children; but a great duke of Lithuania ought to correspond with the arms of the country invented by his uncle Narimund, which consisted of a warrior on horseback, armed cap-a-pie, in hot pursuit of his enemies. Vithenes commenced his reign in the year 1281. In the following year he invaded the palatinate of Lublin, and prosecuted the war for fifteen days with continued destruction, until Lescus, the black king of Poland, under the pretended influence of a vision, fought him between the rivers Narew and Niemen, where the Polish troops gained a signal victory; which the king commemorated by founding a parochial church at Lublin, and dedicating it to St. Michael, the archangel.

In the year 1287, the Lithuanians, Prussians, and Samogitians,

continuing their barbarous hostilities, made a descent upon Dabrina, and taking the capital by surprise on Sunday, while its peaceable inhabitants were engaged in their devotions, killed and carried away great numbers of them, subjecting the captives to perpetual slavery. The Lithuanians continuing their barbarous wars, in 1289 made an attack upon Russia with eight thousand men, burning, killing, and destroying everything before them, and returned with great spoils, before the country could bring them to merited punishment. This outrage afterwards met with a severe chastisement the next year from the Prussians, who marched into Lithuania with a strong force, where they killed and took captives great numbers of the inhabitants, and took possession of Merabde, a strong castle. Afterwards Memer, great master of Prussia, inflicted a still more severe chastisement upon the Lithuanians, by entering their country with a strong army, and entirely destroyed two districts.

Vithenes, still thirsting for blood, and smarting under the chastisements of war, with a body of eighteen hundred horse, marching through woods and by-roads, ascending hills and descending valleys, at length surprised a great concourse of people convened in the collegiate church of Lanschet, killed the greater part of them, and took the others prisoners; who, being chiefly ecclesiastics, were carried away as slaves. Not satisfied with these barbarities, he robbed the church, fired the buildings, and marching about the country, drove away their cattle. The Lithuanian soon after met his fate, by the hands of Gediminus, master of the horse; who, conspiring with the great duchess, murdered the duke, married his princess, and seized his crown. After a similar series of wars, and succession of dukes, continued with the same cruelties, from 1300 to 1381, Jagellon

ascended the throne of Lithuania, and finally succeeded to the throne of Poland.

Lithuania, called *Litwa*, in the vernacular language, and Lithauen in Germany, was formerly a grand duchy, containing sixty thousand square miles; and was joined to Poland in 1569, under the reign of Jagellon and Hedwiga. Since the dismemberment of that kingdom in 1773, 1793, and 1795, the greater part of it has been annexed to Russia, and forms the government of Mohilew, Witepsk, Minsk, Wilna, and Grodno. The Lithuanians, who are of Lettish origin, and a branch of the Finns, in the eleventh century were tributary to Russia. When the Russians were divided by their difficulties, under the successors of Wladimir, the Lithuanians declared and maintained their independence; and soon became a formidable foe to the neighboring nations. Ringold, in 1235, reigned as their grand duke, and under his successors, the whole of Russian Lithuania revolted and was separated from Russia. A portion of Lithuania, containing about seven hundred square miles, with nearly four hundred thousand inhabitants, now forms part of Gumbinnen, in the province of East Prussia.

The union of Lithuania with Poland was an unfavorable event in the history of their society. The ferocious, pagan, and barbarous character of the former, never coalesced with the more refined and enlightened society of the latter; and from this division originated many of the worst evils that retarded the social progress of the country. The extensive provinces of Lithuania, until the fourteenth century, were independent of Poland. The Lithuanians and Samogitians are supposed to have had a different origin from the Poles; and used a language widely dissimilar to the Polish or Russian tongue. The Lithuanians

were among the most degraded idolaters previous to their union with Poland, and for a long time afterwards. In the latter part of the fourteenth century, the Lithuanian provinces, under Jagellon, were united to Poland in one government, as a condition of his marriage with Hedwiga, the Polish princess. It was stipulated as a condition of this marriage, that Jagellon should reform the society of his Lithuanian subjects, and convert them to the Christian religion. He made the effort; but experience soon taught him, that the union of the heathen and Christian religion was a much more difficult task than he had apprehended.*

Lithuania has long been known as an uncultivated, dreary country, covered with forests, and sparsely settled with a low, miserable peasantry, who for a long time refused to use ploughs, or other agricultural instruments, furnished with iron, for fear of wounding the bosom of their mother earth. The villages are a most miserable collection of filthy, scattered huts, destitute of plan or order, with large spaces of ground intervening between them. These hovels measure about ten or twelve feet square; made of the trunks of trees heaped upon each other, with the ends projecting over; covered with a roof of large, rough, shapeless boards, with a small hole in the wall, which answers the double purpose of a window and chimney. The poor, ignorant tenants of these huts, present a most miserable appearance, both in their persons and manners. These beggarly, sallow-complexioned slaves, wear coarse, white woollen frocks, and a round felt cap, lined with wool; their shoes are made of the bark of trees, and their flaxen-colored hair hangs uncombed and low over their heads.†

Their agricultural implements are few and of the rudest kind.

* Fletcher, 45.

† Stephen's Travels in Poland, II, 185.

Their plough and harrow are manufactured from the branches of the fir tree, without iron or rôpes. Their carts are constructed without iron; consisting of four small wheels, each made of a single piece of wood, with sides made of the bark of a tree bent round, and a couple of fir trees for the shafts. Their harness consists of bridles and traces from the bark of trees or of twisted branches. A small hatchet is their only tool, with which they construct their huts and make their carts. They appear servile and cringing in their manners; and, in every respect, are a wretched race of slaves. Lithuanian society, in general, has ever continued nearly the same; and their religion, dwellings, and husbandry are fair specimens of their social condition. The Lithuanian nobles were always jealous of the Poles; and strenuously opposed every effort for the relief of the slaves, by the greater severity and oppression of their peasantry, and every other means in their power. These rival feelings and national asperities, were always exhibited in their worst features at the elections, at the courts, and in all their associations.

No part of the kingdom of Poland abounds with more extensive woods and deserts than Lithuania—a circumstance which has been very detrimental to social improvement. Their country contains one forest of above a hundred miles long, in which the people are very wild and ignorant, and almost as uncivilized as the beasts which roam in the woods, though, generally, the gentry in Lithuania are more polished, sociable, active, and sprightly than the Poles. This region, from time immemorial, has been inhabited by numerous wild beasts, and particularly by a certain race of bears, which, it is said, have, in many instances, nourished and brought up young children, who have been left exposed and destitute by their brutal parents, by the fortunes of war, and

the robbery of the Tartars. Doctor Connor, in his History of Poland, who travelled in this country in 1698, and during the reign of Sobieski, states that he was frequently assured at court, by the king, and the most learned and reliable gentlemen in the kingdom, that it was no uncommon event for the children of Lithuania to be nursed by female bears, in company with their cubs ; and these traditions were generally believed by the common people, and treated as undoubted facts. The doctor, who was one of the most learned physicians of his day, and a distinguished author of several volumes, both on historical and medical science, describes one of these wild children of the woods, which he saw and examined. This child, who was then about ten years of age, had been found in the forest some time before the doctor saw him, under circumstances that left no doubt of his previous associations with the bears of the forest, and was kept in a convent when the doctor saw him. His countenance was most hideous, and the poor creature was destitute of both reason and speech. He walked on all four of his limbs, very similar to the animals in whose company he was found. His only resemblance to man was his human structure ; but from the well-known fact of children being frequently found in the woods in this condition, associating with animals, and his resemblance to a rational creature, he was admitted to the Christian font and baptized, though, during the administration of the sacred ordinance, he was restless and inclined to flight. By slow degrees he was taught to stand upright, by placing his back against the wall, and holding him up after the manner that dogs are taught to beg. He was gradually taught to eat at the table. After he had become more tame, he began to express his wants with a hoarse and inhuman voice ; but, on being inquired of concerning his

life in the woods, he was unable to give any satisfactory account of himself.

Doctor Connor states that when he examined this wild child, he was assured by the king himself, who was one of the best scholars of his day, and by several distinguished senators, and other great men of Poland, besides the common, undisputed report of all classes, that children are often nursed and brought up by bears in those regions. They informed the doctor, that if a hungry male bear finds a child exposed in the forest, he will immediately tear it to pieces; but, on the contrary, a female bear, who is nursing cubs, when she finds a helpless child in this condition, carries it to her den, and nourishes it as one of her young. These children, as they grow up, associate with their new mothers and their families, enjoying their care and protection the same as the cubs; and afterwards, are sometimes taken by hunters and brought into the settlements, as in the case of the one the doctor saw.

Our author describes another instance of these wild children, which occurred in 1669, on the authority of a letter which he received from his excellency, Monsieur de Cleverskerk, then ambassador at the Polish court, from his majesty King William of the States of Holland. This boy was seen by the ambassador at Warsaw, in 1661, who was found in the company of bears, and, to all appearance, had been brought up by them, and had been taken some time previous in a bear hunt, in the reign of John Casimir. He found him in a nunnery, playing under the penthouse, before the nunnery gate, and appeared to be about twelve or thirteen years of age. As soon as the ambassador approached, he hopped towards him as if surprised and pleased with his visitor's dress. At first he caught one of his silver buttons in

his hand with great eagerness, which he held up to his nose to smell it. Soon after he leaped suddenly into a corner of the apartment, where he made a strange howling noise. The servant then called the boy in, and showed him a large piece of bread, when he immediately leaped upon a bench that was joined to the wall of the room, where he walked about on all his limbs. Soon, with a great spring, he raised himself upon his feet, and took the bread in his hands, put it up to his nose, and then leaped off from the bench upon the ground, making the same strange noise as before. He had not yet been taught to speak, though they expected to soon learn him. His face and body were badly scarred, apparently with scratches, similar to bear's claws.

Another instance of these wild children is related by M. Christopher Hartknoch, of Passenheim, in ducal Prussia, who has written a valuable history of Poland. He says, that during the reign of John Casimir, in the year 1660, two boys were found by a company of soldiers in company with several bears in the woods near Grodno. One of them, as soon as he saw the bears assaulted, fled into a neighboring morass, while the other, in attempting to escape, was taken by the soldiers and brought to Warsaw, where he was received into a nunnery, and christened by the name of Joseph. He appeared to be about ten years old; and though his physical structure every way resembled a human being, yet his manners and appearance were altogether bestial. His favorite food was raw flesh, wild honey, crab apples, and other food which were well known to be the dainties on which bears delight to feast, and which he resembled by walking on his hands and feet, as well as in all his actions and habits. After his baptism, he was taught with great difficulty to walk upright; and his language was confined to a few words, which were ex-

pressed in a coarse tone, similar to the voice of bears. He was so far tamed as to perform some of the usual services of the kitchen, by carrying wood, water, and other similar services.

On a full review of all the Polish authors, there seems to be no doubt of the fact that the children of human parents have been frequently found in a wild state, associating familiarly with bears, and apparently nourished and protected by them. But as to the fact of their being actually nursed by female bears in company with their young, is an inference, which, of course, must be drawn from all the circumstances of the case. At least the Lithuanian history is as well authenticated, and perhaps better, than the Roman story of Romulus and Remus, and forms a melancholy chapter in the history of Polish and Lithuanian society. The exposure of these unfortunate children, in some instances, may be attributed to the inhumanity of parents, and particularly the gipsies, who abandon their children with the expectation of their being destroyed or nourished by animals; and in other cases, to the misfortune of war, where the parents are suddenly destroyed or taken captives, while their infants are left in the forest to meet their fate.*

SECTION X.

COSSACKS.

The Cossacks, or Casacks, comprising the various tribes who have long inhabited the southern and eastern parts of Russia, Poland, the Ukraine, and other places in the north of Europe and Asia, form one of the most interesting features of Polish

* Connor, I., 342—350.

society. They are now occupied in guarding the southern and eastern frontier of the Russian empire, paying no taxes, and performing military duties instead thereof. Nearly all of them belong to the Greco-Russian church—the established religion of the Russian empire. Their internal government is a military democracy, independent of the Russian power, though nominally subject to that dominion. Their origin, descent, and social condition, very naturally and necessarily divide them into two principal classes, namely, the Cossacks of Little Russia, or Malo-Russia, and those of the Don. Each of these classes, and especially those of the Don, have several collateral and subordinate branches. From those of the Don, who are regarded as the most civilized, have descended the Volgaic, the Terek, the Grebeskoi, the Uralian and Siberian Cossacks. To the other race belong the Zaporogians or Haydamaks, who are the most savage of the Cossack name.

We look in vain for anything like unanimity of opinion among writers as to the origin of this wonderful people, and the primeval etymology of their name. Some derive both races from the province of Casachia, so called by Constantine Porphyrogenetes. *Cazak*, in the Turkish language, signifies a robber; but in the Tartar language it signifies a soldier lightly armed for rapid motion in battle. Others suppose that inasmuch as the Cossacks came from the plains beyond the Volga, they may be the remains of the Tartar hordes who settled there at different times; while others contend they are of Russian origin, or of Scythian descent. Their language is originally Russian, although, by their early wars, and other associations with the Turks and Poles, they have incorporated into their native language many words from the idioms of these races. It is probable, on a

full review of all the authorities, that both races of the Cossacks are the descendants of the united Russian adventurers who came from the provinces of Novgorod, mingled with Tartar blood. Their original object was, doubtless, to collect booty in the wars and feuds with the Tartars on the frontiers of the Russian empire.

As a reward for their usefulness in protecting the frontiers, the government granted them great privileges; and their numbers rapidly increased in proportion as lands were granted to them. Thus their power was greatly augmented, until they became by degrees better organized and more firmly established, though their power, since 1804, has been very much diminished.

The word Cossack, meaning a volunteer, is peculiarly applicable to their social condition, whose service is ever voluntary. The Cossacks are a nation of colonized warriors. They hold their lands by military tenure, and when occasion requires, can furnish the whole male population capable of bearing arms in the service of the government. The Cossacks of the Don occupy an immense territory, spreading over more than 57,000 square miles—a surface equal to two thirds of the whole British islands, and far more level and fertile. It is inhabited to the present day only by nomad herdsmen, who, unlike the generality of Polish and Russian peasantry, are entirely relieved from the fetters of slavery. “*True as a Cossack*,” has ever been the motto of the ancient Scythians, and has descended to their children, the Cossacks, unadulterated, and is the common proverb of the southern inhabitants of the Muscovite dominions. Under the government of the Russian monarchy, their political privileges are almost equal to a democratic equality.

The dispositions, manners, and customs of this people, are

similar to their Scythian forefathers ; and their restless, active, roaming spirit, remain unaltered to the present day. They have made considerable progress in agriculture, and are distinguished, in many places, for their industry. Many of their villages are clean and flourishing—their houses white and comfortable ; and the produce of their fisheries on the Don is somewhat extensive and lucrative. Their horses are their chief pride and wealth—their principal amusements are equestrian games or races ; and frequently five hundred or a thousand stallions constitute the studs of the wealthy, while the poor possess only three or four. Their extensive pastures furnish all with ample means of support ; and all are ever ready, at the call of their hetman, to follow him in the plunders and fortunes of war. The Cossack is a man of a serious, reflecting countenance, having a tall, manly, commanding figure, with a half-shaved head, long moustaches, and abrupt speech. His dress resembles his old Lithuanian and Polish ancestors of four or five centuries ago. He is slow, taciturn, and of few words ; and is proverbial for his shrewdness, intelligence, and rigorous observance of contracts.

The origin of this singular society explains their peculiar character. Man and nature have conspired in giving them their extraordinary cast and marvellous history. Born and nestled in the frontier forests and mountains of Europe and Asia, they have always wandered in the plains, which, for many centuries, have been the common battle-field for Scythian valor, Tartar plunder, and Sarmatian victories. Far back in the annals of war, this country was the common highway between barbarous Tartary and civilized Europe, marked by the tombs and bleached bones of Tartars, Lithuanians, Poles, Hungarians, and Russians, whose multitudinous hordes have, century after century, perished

in thousands of wars, which originated only in plunder and predatory invasions. These savage hordes, by their unexpected and sudden attack, overran the villages by the light of their torches, massacring the slumbering inhabitants, and mingling the gushing gore of parents and children on their own hearth-stones; and seizing the fruits of the people's industry, before the warriors could assemble from the castles, fled from the scene of death amid the groans of the dying mothers and the shrieks of their expiring infants, while the darkness of midnight glittered with the blaze of their dwellings. Such was the birth-place, the cradle, and school of the Cossack for more than fifteen centuries. And yet, notwithstanding this continual drama of death and human slaughter—until the boundless plains of Sarmatia have been fertilized with the corpses of the dead, and whitened with the bones of their ancestors for centuries—this strange population, phoenix-like, have repeatedly sprung up fresh on that beautiful soil, cut up by the tramp of war-horses, and fertilized by human blood, where sorrow and death grew more luxuriantly than all other plants.

On this soil the Cossack nation had its rise, and has continued its luxuriant growth for centuries, nourished by the mingled ashes of their cottages and their ancestors, until the whole European continent began to tremble for its safety before the invincible power of these northern barbarians. The first origin of this strange society, was a band of refugees, robbers, and criminals, who at an early day assembled on two small corners or narrow strips of land—one beyond the Don, towards the sea of Azof; and the other beyond the islands of the Dnieper, towards the Black Sea. About sixty miles below Kiow, the Dnieper forms a variety of islands—upwards of seventy in number. The

banks of the river are so skirted with wood, sometimes steep and marshy, and the deep, dark caverns in the rocky islands, overhung and concealed by the dense-spreading trees and thick-tangled thorn bushes, formed a most inviting and secure retreat when the country was overpowered by robbers and barbarians. During the early invasions of the Tartars, and afterwards in the Lithuanian wars, many persons took refuge there, whose number was subsequently increased by the arrival of lawless adventurers, guided by fear, necessity, and the pastoral love of change; embracing deserters from the Lithuanian, Polish, Hungarian, and Wallachian ranks, as well as fugitives from Tartar slavery, and criminals from different nations.

This motley and heterogeneous band was at first bound only by the laws of celibacy, fishing, and hard labor. After the pressing danger had passed away, these restrictions were gradually neglected, when they sallied forth upon secret excursions to the neighboring plains, and, by degrees, they continued down the Dnieper, and along the shores of the Black Sea, even to the walls of Constantinople. In time of peace they spread themselves over the neighboring plains, fed their numerous flocks on the steppes, and cultivated the soil. They dwelt in their huts of clay, ready at a moment's warning to flee to their islands, caverns, and retreats, on the first approach of an invading foe, which they feared to encounter. Their original character for plunder and war—their cruel thirst for blood—their savage ferocity and wild democracy, which the circumstances of their early origin stamped upon them, are still retained by them without any material change. The Cossack society of Poland never amalgamated with the society of Poland Proper, and has always been a powerful distributing force in the social progress of the nation.

Their manners, life, habits, religion, and laws, which never advanced beyond the degradation and darkness of the middle ages, have gradually been diffused throughout Polish society, more or less for ages, until modern reform and European refinement sought in vain for an introduction into the society of Poland.

The father of John Sobieski, whose estates lay in the Ukraine, where he had peculiar advantages for making the acquaintance of the Cossacks more than two hundred years ago, has left on record a most interesting account of them. The great majority of these wandering tribes confined their attention to the affairs of their little families, and frequently encamped in the midst of the towns which belong to the crown or the noblesse. They not unfrequently interrupted the ennui of repose, by repeated assemblies; while their *comitia*, which were generally civil wars, were often stained with profuse bloodshed. In these tumultuous assemblies they elected their hetman or chief by acclamation, followed by throwing their bear-skin caps in the air. Such was the inconstancy of this rude multitude, that they frequently destroyed their own property. Their hetman had the power of life and death so long as he continued in office.

The town of Tretchmiron, in Kiovia, was the arsenal of their warlike implements and their treasure. Here they deposited the booty taken by their pirates in Romelia and Asia Minor; and here were preserved with religious care, the immunities granted to their nation by the republic. Here were displayed the standards which the king gave them whenever they were engaged in the service of the state. It was round this royal standard that the nation assembled in their *comitia*. There the hetman addresses the multitude with his head uncovered, with a respectful air, ready to exculpate himself from all the charges brought

against him, and to solicit, humbly, his share of the spoils taken from the enemies. These piratical peasants were passionately fond of war in its most savage features: few of them were acquainted with the use of the musket; and the pistol and the sabre were their ordinary weapons. With these light and courageous squadrons, Poland could face an infantry of the most powerful nations on earth. They were equally serviceable in retreating and advancing. When discomfited, they formed an entrenched camp with their chariots, ranged in several lines in a circular form, to which no other fortifications can be compared. Behind this bulwark they defy the attacks of the most formidable enemy.

The native country of the Cossacks is Little Russia. The Slavonians of Kiow formed a distinct colony from those of Novgorod. Their government and destiny being widely different, and separated from each other for more than three centuries, they were finally united; though their language, manners, and physical constitution, all indicate different tribes of people. The Malo-Russians, or inhabitants of Little Russia, are at present settled in the Ukraine, or in the governments of Kiow, Tchernigow, Novgorod, Severski, Kursk, Orel, and Tambof. All the military peasants in these provinces are denominated Cossacks; but, in the last age, the same name was generally applied to a number of warlike freebooters, who lived under a separate government. The word, which is of Tartar origin, and signifies an armed man, was adopted by the Russians at the time when they began to reside in the places which the Tartars inhabited; where the conquerors mingled with the few of the vanquished that remained, and became familiar with the same sort of life. Kasachia, a country at the base of Mount Caucasus, between the

Black and the Caspian Seas, is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenetes. According to the Russian annals, Meitislaf, prince of Tmoutarakan and son of the great Vladimir, gained a signal victory in 1201 over the Kosaki; a people who appear to be the same as the one mentioned by the Greek emperor. They were of Tartar origin, and their name was probably derived from their mode of fighting—in the same manner as the Kirguises-Kaisaks, who have been so called from their light armor. The Tartar-Cossacks are frequently mentioned in Russian history, particularly in the reign of Ivan the First. The Cossacks-Ordinski were distinguished about the same time from the Cossacks of Azof; the former belonged to the great Orda, or horde, the principal settlement of the Tartars on the Wolga. These two branches are the last remains of the Tartar empire in Russia, which was destroyed by the conquerors, many of whom fled on their arrival, and joined other Tartar tribes.

The Cossacks of Little Russia are first mentioned in history, in the year 1320, when Gedemin, the great duke of Lithuania, conquered Kiow. The terror excited by the victories of that distinguished prince, first gave origin to the military republic of the Cossacks. Swarms of fugitives left their country, assembled at the embouchure of the Dnieper, and formed a petty state. In order to resist the aggressions of their neighbors, they were compelled to organize a military government and submit to military laws. After Kiow was laid waste a second time by the Tartars, in 1415, their number was much increased; and they multiplied much more rapidly, when that large principality was united to Lithuania and Poland. The new colony was called Little Russia, and thus distinguished from the great empire. The inhabitants gradually extended to the banks of the Dnieper

and the Bog, and occupied all the country between these rivers and the Dnieper. These Cossacks built towns and burghs, in which they resided with their families during winter, but in summer, all who were able to bear arms, wandered over the steppes; or, like the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, waged continual war against the Tartars and Turks. The Poles, being interested in this game of blood, for the reason that it protected them against their most formidable enemies, did all they could to strengthen and encourage the rising republic. Sigismund, the king of Poland, ceded forever to the Cossacks, in 1750, the countries above the cataracts of the Dnieper. Stephen Batory improved their military government, appointed their hetman, or chief, and granted them an extensive territory; but, unfortunately, his successors pursued a different policy.

The Cossacks were prohibited from continuing their wars against the Turks, and thus their warlike institutions were effectually destroyed. The Poles settled in their country, and held all the principal offices of the province; and their clergy, who were of the Greek Church, were compelled to renounce the spiritual authority of the patriarch, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope. These and similar invasions on their rights, drove the Cossacks to rebel against the Polish government; and, after an obstinate war, revolted from Poland, and joined their destiny to the empire of the czars in 1654, about three centuries and a half after their first separation from the Russian nation. These northern warriors now form the great terror of the Russian army, and are considered the most formidable military foe in the world.

Many of the Cossacks during their wars with Poland, left the eastern banks of the Dnieper, and migrated to the southern provinces of Russia. They settled in a fertile region, and retained

their stratocracy. Such is the origin of the Slobades, or the Cossacks of the Russian Ukraine. Their country, which was formerly attached to the great duchy of Kiow, remained uncultivated since the first invasion of the Tartars. The most remarkable branch of the Cossacks were the Zaparogues. It was found necessary, in order to defend the Cossacks in the Ukraine from the invasions of the Tartars, that a number of young unmarried men should occupy the southern frontiers, where the Don empties into the Black Sea. Soon after this resolution, youthful warriors flocked from every direction to that station, which in a short time became a military school; and so strong was the attachment of the young Cossacks to their new country, that they refused to leave it, although constantly exposed on every side to hostile invasions. The colonists were, however, rapidly increased in numbers by the arrival of their countrymen, who fled from the cruel oppression of the Poles. It was about the commencement of the seventeenth century that they separated wholly from the Cossacks of Little Russia, whose hetman they had obeyed until that time, forming a distinct military state, and elected a chief, the *kochevoi-ataman*, or commander of the camp. Their setcha, or principal station, was a fortified camp: and although they frequently changed its position, it remained always near the cataracts of the Dnieper—the place from which their name is derived.

The sole object of the Cossack stratocracy was war. The profession of arms and the spoils of war were their only means of subsistence. They neglected agriculture and the rearing of cattle; fishing and the chase were their amusements, not sources of wealth or means of living. All the members of the society were obliged to remain in a state of celibacy; and, although they

stole and carried off the wives of their neighbors, it was unlawful to bring a woman within the limits of the setcha. To increase their population, and furnish their society with young men, they captured all the boys they could find in their military expeditions ; and their numbers were further increased by the accession of criminals and outlaws from every kingdom ; and almost all the languages of Europe were spoken in their tents. The ataman was chosen every year, and no honor or mark of distinction was conferred on him after the expiration of his office. Every member in the community was eligible to the highest office in the republic. They had no written laws—custom superseded their necessity ; and no inconvenience was felt from the absence of law in the administration of justice among such a community of thieves and robbers. Criminals, in many instances, were judged with impartiality, and always punished with great severity. The murderer was buried alive in the same grave with him whom he had murdered. Robbers were confined three days in the stocks, and sentenced to suffer so many stripes, that most of them died under the lash. They had all the virtues and vices of freebooters. They were brave, barbarous, and hospitable ; sober and active in war ; indolent or drunken in their houses or tents. The number of those able to take the field sometimes amounted to forty thousand.

Their nation, though unsubdued, was, at different times, subject to the government of the Poles, the Tartars, the Porte, and Russia. Peter the Great destroyed their setcha, when they joined the revolt of Mazeppa, the hetman of the Cossacks in the Ukraine. Afterwards they lived under the protection of the Crimean khans ; and were admitted, in 1737, among the Russian vassals. All that the service of the Czar required of them was,

to serve in the campaigns when required ; for which they were treated and paid like the other Cossacks. In the war against the Turks, which terminated in 1774, they rebelled and declared themselves independent ; and when colonies were established in the conquered countries on the banks of the Dnieper, the Cossacks claimed the territory as their own, and by force and stratagem took fifty thousand prisoners. Their depredations becoming intolerable, a Russian army surrounded their camp and disarmed them in 1775 ; and they had the choice of leaving the empire, or of abandoning their military institutions. A few resorted to agriculture, but the majority joined the Turks and Tartars.

Catharine, by an ukase of the 30th of June, 1792, ceded to the Zaporogues, who had distinguished themselves in the last war against the Turks, the peninsula of Taman, and all the land bounded by the Feia and the Laba, between the Kuban and the Sea of Azof ; embracing an extent of territory of more than sixteen thousand two hundred and seventy-two square miles. From that time the people were called Tchernomorski, or the Black Sea Cossacks, who had the privilege of choosing their ataman ; and fifteen thousand inhabitants of Little Russia were permitted to migrate with them to the new settlement. These barbarians, under the reforming hand of time, have voluntarily renounced their ancient customs ; marriage is tolerated, and the predatory warriors have become husbandmen and shepherds. Six Cossack regiments in the Russian service, contain three thousand of their best warriors. Their country, which forms a part of Asia, is contiguous to Circassia on the south, and the steppes of Astrakan on the east. The soil is fruitful and well-watered ; and, if the banks of the Kuban be excepted, the climate is generally healthy.

On these banks, the Tchernomorski settled and founded Iekaterinoslav, their capital, in the vicinity of rich pastures, covered with unwholesome mists. The peninsula of Taman is sometimes changed into an island by the inundations of the Kuban, and is generally exposed to perpetual vapors. Among other phenomena of this region, showers of viscous mud rise occasionally from the ground, which the Russians call volcanoes. The town of Taman is built on the site of the ancient Phanagoria—officially called Tmoutaracan—the name which it bore in the middle ages, and then the capital of a small kingdom.

The Donian Cossacks, or the Cossacks on the Don, form another great branch or tribe of the same people. Their language is similar to that of the Little Russians, and probably settled gradually in the countries from which the Tartars were expelled. The new colonists obtained the Tartar name of Cossacks from their mode of life and their associations with the former inhabitants; while those of Little Russia were so denominated, because they adopted the same military institutions. Some of the Tartars remained in these countries, in the society of the Russians, and gradually learned their language and embraced the religion of the Greek Church. The colonists soon increased to a considerable republic; and their numbers were almost daily augmented by young men who fled from Russian slavery. By the laws of the state, all were admitted to the free and equal rights of citizens, prisoners of war not excepted. In the year 1570, after the campaign of the Turks against Astrakan, the colonists located their capital at Tsherkask, which is seventy versts from the fortress of Azof, and received from their new residence the name of Tsherkaski. Their nation, which soon became one of the bulwarks of the empire, enjoyed

the protection of the czars in the same way as the Cossacks of Little Russia had been sustained by the kings of Poland. Many privileges were conferred on them; lands exempt from taxes were assigned them; arms and munitions of war were furnished at the expense of the patron government, on terms of military vassalage. The Donian Cossacks made their first debut in the Russian armies in 1579; since that time, their prowess has decided the fate of many battles, though their love of independence and thirst for plunder have sometimes excited them to revolt.

The Cossacks on the Don inhabit the plains of that river, and their country extends between the governments of Sarotof, Astrakan, Woronesh or Voronez, and Iekaterinoslav, to the Sea of Azof. They occupy a territory of fifty-seven thousand six hundred geographical square miles; extending over an immense plain, destitute of hills. The soil is generally barren, though some parts of it are as fruitful as the Ukraine. The inhabitants have made little progress in the useful arts, and agriculture is very much neglected. The principal wealth of the Cossacks consists in cattle and fisheries; and their annual exports of fish and caviar amount to five hundred thousand rubles. Their agricultural business is carried on by Russian peasants, whom the Cossacks hire for very moderate wages. The Cossack spends the greater part of his time in taking care of his horse, and the *tabounes*, or herds of the rich, are made up of five hundred or a thousand of these animals. The saddle horses only are stabled in the winter. The Cossack war-horse is small and lean, but swift and capable of enduring great fatigue and labor. Horse-racing, in time of peace, is a favorite amusement of the Cossacks.

The females are industrious, and spend their time in manufac-

turing linen and cloth, pelisses, mantles, and stockings ; they cultivate the gardens, orchards, and vineyards. Their dwellings are clean, and evince more domestic refinement than can be found in the greater part of Russia. The houses are white and provided with windows and chimneys, and their doors are always open for strangers, who share liberally in their hospitality. The houses of the wealthy, at the present day, are well furnished—the inmates are eager for information—and many of them educate their children at Petersburg. They have established a seminary at Tcherkask, the chief town in the country, which is well patronized. Their principal church is adorned with several standards and other trophies collected in many parts of Europe. The inhabitants enjoy civil and political liberty—the monopolies of the Russian crown are light—the people make, drink, and sell as much brandy as they please, without excise, taxes, or military conscription, on condition that in cases of extraordinary emergency, they must rise and march to the field of battle in mass. This service is the delight and amusement of the Cossack, whose chief happiness is on his charger, and his principal ambition is war and plunder.

Their system of government, subject to the Russian monarchy, is a very simple stratocracy. The Russian secretary of war, who receives his instructions from the Czar, communicates his sovereign's orders to the Cossack hetman, the chief or general of the military nation. The hetman makes the royal mandate known to his people, who decide by a majority of votes, whether or not the requisition ought to be obeyed, and in what manner it should be executed. Sometimes the majority negative the demands of the monarch, who occasionally quietly yields to their inclinations ; but in some instances the sovereign construes the slightest

opposition into a revolt, and chastises the rebels. The policy of the Russian government is to gradually undermine the Cossack democracy by building up among them a powerful and wealthy aristocracy similar to the other Russian provinces.

The villages of the Cossacks are called stantitzas, each containing from one hundred and fifty to four hundred houses, and each stantitza has its elective magistrate, and forms a military company. Tcherkask, the capital, is built on a marsh, and supported on piles. The city is divided into eleven stantitzas, and contains from fifteen to twenty thousand inhabitants, who sail in the spring, in times of high water, from house to house. Tziemlianskaia is noted for its vineyards, which have been compared to Burgundy. The other Cossack grapes are mostly white, and produce sparkling wines.

The country of the Donian Cossacks is watered by the Don and its feeders, of which the Donetz, or Danaetz, is the principal. The last river is supposed by some to be the Tanais of the ancients. The Don issues from the Lake Iwanow, and waters a hilly and fruitful country until it reaches Woronesch. On the left it is enclosed from that town to the confluence of the Donetz, by steep banks of chalk; but as it proceeds in its course, it enters an immense and unvaried plain, where its streams are not confined by rocks, nor broken by cataracts. Its depth varies from six to eight feet in the winter, and in summer it does not rise over two feet above its sandy bed. Its navigation is very limited, and the water is unfit for domestic purposes.

The country of the Uralian Cossacks lies on the other side of the steppe, which separates the Wolga from the Ural; it forms a long and narrow belt, consisting principally of sandy and marshy land, and extends along the course of the last river. The Ural

descends from the Ural mountains, and received its name from a decree of Catharine II. The channel of its waters is without rocks, and sufficiently deep for the navigation of small vessels, but its commerce has never revived since the destruction of Saraitschik, a Tartar city. The Cossacks carry on an extensive fishery in the winter season, when the river is frozen. Several thousand fishermen assemble in sledges at a place appointed, and every man is provided with a spear, several poles, and other instruments. They arrange themselves in a long line, and if those in the rear attempt to take the place of those before them, their instruments are instantly broken by the guards of the station. As soon as the hetman of the fisheries departs in his sledge all the rest follow him with the rapidity of the wind. Soon the ice is cut, their spears are cast, and the river is covered with a forest of poles. Fishmongers assemble from all parts of the empire, who purchase the fish before they are taken out of the water; and in a short time the quivering sturgeon, the huso, and sewruga, cover the ice. The couriers travel at full gallop, and deposit the spoils in Petersburg. The fisheries produce two millions of rubles annually; and the duties imposed by the ministers of the army amount to one hundred thousand rubles, which forms the principal revenue of the Cossack republic.

The Uralian Cossacks, who are more wealthy than the other Cossack tribes, live in affluence, from the income of their fish, cattle, horses, and wool. Their houses, particularly in Uralsk, the capital, are commodious and clean; strangers are treated with great hospitality. The dress of the males is rich and showy, and corresponds with the turbans of the females, adorned with pearls. These Cossacks, who belong to the sect of the Roskolniki, refuse tobacco, and retain their long beards.

The history of this extraordinary people, who are now at peace with all the world, is filled with the recital of a series of the most cruel wars. They commenced their bloody career as freebooters, separated from the Donian Cossacks, and settled along the course of the lower Wolga, where they made common plunder of travellers, merchants, and ambassadors. Ivan II. sent an army against them, and those that were made prisoners suffered the severest punishments. Driven from the Ural, they laid waste the shores of the Caspian sea, and having conquered Saraitchik, they put the inhabitants to the sword, plundered the houses, and opened the graves, with the expectation of finding concealed wealth. Their independent republic, founded on the banks of the Ural, then the Jaik, invoked the protection of Russia, and preserved its privileges. But under the sanguinary revolt of Pugatscheff these fierce and restless spirits flocked to his standard, and hailed him as their chief, who were finally vanquished by the Russians, and their national assemblies were abolished, with the destruction of their artillery. In the sixth, and in the beginning of the seventh century, this same warlike people demolished Urganz, a great commercial city near the Aral lake. They also took Khivah, and retained possession of it for more than a year. Their present population is variously estimated from thirty to fifty thousand.

In the war, 1538, three thousand Cossacks of the Don performed their first campaign with the Russians in Livonia, when they conquered Siberia, drove the Tartars from the Russian provinces, and severely chastised the Turks. While the Cossacks of the Don were carrying on their frequent rebellions,—the last of which was conducted by Pugatscheff, a formidable foe to any army he met,—they quarrelled among themselves so violently,

that the great family became divided into several parts. In consequence of these feuds, one of the principal branches of the great tribe of the Don, consisting of about seven thousand men, for the purpose of escaping the punishment of their offences, fled, in 1577, to the Kama and to the Perm, and subsequently to the Oby; where they drove out the Woguls, the Ostiacs, and the Tartars, who were settled there. By these contests with the inhabitants, their numbers were very much reduced; and their leader, being no longer able to maintain his conquests, implored assistance from the Russian government, and placed themselves under its protection. This branch of the Cossacks has since increased very rapidly, and gradually spread themselves over all Siberia.

The military strength of the Cossacks is variously estimated, from seven hundred thousand to one million. But not half this number is generally in actual service, and two thirds of those are engaged only in the domestic service, and never enter Europe; so that not more than one hundred thousand men can, on an average, be considered as belonging to the Russian army. During the seven years' war, the Russian army enrolled only ten thousand Cossacks. By the military regulations of 1804, two out of three regiments perform military duty at home, and the third on the frontiers, though they are all liable to be called into the field at any time; and on such occasions they receive pay and rations from the emperor. In general, the Cossacks of the Don, who are the most independent, form the irregular, flying cavalry of the Russian army, after being divided into separate troops. The Cossacks of Little Russia are more disciplined, and form more regular troops. The Cossacks still retain their democratic equality,—having no nobility among them,—all having equal rights,

and, without any degradation, each, in his turn, can command and obey. Their officers are all chosen by a majority vote of themselves, and from their own ranks ; subject only to the formal approval of the Czar, after the election of the commander-in-chief,—who cannot be removed without the same approval. The commanders are always supported by the Russian crown ; but the common Cossacks are paid only while they are on duty.

Their regiments, which are from five hundred to three thousand strong, varying according to the size of the political circle which they occupy, are commanded by a chief, or *hetman* ; and the commander of the whole corps assumes the same name. This military society, which, in the Cossack regions, absorbs all other social distinctions, is so organized, that the officers under the colonel are destitute of rank, except those of some particular regiments, who have an equal rank with the officers in the army ; and in case of necessity may be commanded by the inferior officers of the regular army. Each Cossack is liable to do duty from the age of eighteen to fifty ; and is required to furnish his own horse, and clothe himself in the Polish or oriental fashion. Their principal, and most formidable weapon, is a lance, from ten to twelve feet in length. They are also armed with a sabre, a gun, or a pair of pistols, with a bow and arrows. The lances, in riding, are carried upright by means of a strap fastened to the foot, to the arm, or the pommel of the saddle, with their bows and quivers hanging over their shoulders. Besides these, each soldier has his *kantschu*, consisting of a thick whip of twisted leather, which serves the double purpose of a weapon against an unarmed enemy, and for the management of their horses.

Though these troops are not well adapted to regular movements, yet they are very serviceable in attacking baggage, maga-

zines, and for the pursuit of troops scattered in flight. Their horses are generally small, and of poor appearance, but they are unusually tough and well broken, and so swift and hardy, that when they do not march in compact bodies, and their baggage is not heavy, they can travel, without much difficulty, from fifty to seventy miles a day, for several days in succession. Each regiment, or *pulk*, has two or more silken banners, usually adorned with the images of their most distinguished saints. The Cossacks fight generally in small bodies, with which they attack the enemy on all sides—but principally on the flanks and in the rear; while they rush upon them at full speed, with a terrific hurrah, and with levelled lances. When by this charge they succeed in breaking through the ranks of the enemy, by this bold method of attack, they instantly drop their lances, which are dragged along by the fastening strap, and seizing their sabres and pistols do most deadly execution. If in these charges they meet with opposition, and fail to penetrate the ranks of their enemy, they immediately wheel their horses, and retreat to some appointed place, form anew as quick as possible, and repeat the charge, until the enemy is put to flight, or they are defeated. When they succeed they pursue the scattered forces with great severity.

In 1570, they built their principal *stantitza* and rendezvous, called Tscherkask, seventy versts above Azoff, on several islands in the Don, about 1,283 miles from Petersburg, now containing 2,950 houses, and fifteen thousand inhabitants, which is the seat of the hetman. It is called the Tartar Venice, where the houses rest on high, wooden piles, and are connected with each other by small bridges. When the river is high, from April to June, the city appears to be floating on the water. Their churches are richly adorned with gold and precious stones.

Their city contains a theatre and many private libraries, with a school where French, German, geometry, history, geography, natural philosophy, and the other usual educational branches are taught. It is a place where much commercial business is done by the Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and others. In consequence of this city being unhealthy, by the overflowing of the island on which it stands, they have lately built new Tscherhask, on an arm of the Don, about four miles from the old city, to which the inhabitants of the old city have principally removed.*

SECTION XI.

PRUSSIANS.

Previous to the tenth century, the ancient *Æsty*, *Venedi*, and *Guttones*, formed a mixed *Wendo-Gothic* people, who inhabited the countries watered by the *Vistula* on the west, and the *Niemen* on the east. They are known in history by the ancient names *Pruczi*, *Prutsi*, *Prutzi*, and *Pruteni*; and now by the more modern name of *Prussians*. In their early history it is not probable that they were connected either with the *Borusci*, a much more eastern tribe, or with the *Po-Russians*, a Slavonic people, whose name signifies the neighbors of the *Russians*. Their name has probably originated from an ancient *Wend* word, *Prusznika*, which indicates the character of the soil, or hard and clayey lands, and is applicable to the inner ridge of *Eastern Prussia*.

They were divided into different tribes, many of which are somewhat known. The *Pruczi* proper, or *Sembes*, were the natives of *Samland*, or the ancient *Wittland*; the *Natangi*

* *Encyclo. Amer.* iii. 165; *Alison's Hist. Europe*, chap. 68.

inhabited the woodlands on the south of the Pregel; and the Nactravi and Szalavoni were scattered along the banks of the Niemen. The Sudavi were probably the same people as the Sudeni of Ptolemy, who emigrated during the thirteenth century into Lithuania and the south-east provinces of Eastern Prussia. Ptolemy mentions the *Galindi*, or *men with large heads*, who occupied the southern portion of Eastern Prussia in the fourteenth century. The Urmi, Ermi, or Wermi of Finnic origin, gave their name to the province of Ermeland. The country round the Frisch-Haf, or fresh-water lake, was peopled by the Pogesani, and the banks of the Lower Vistula were inhabited by the Pomesani. The Lithuanians and Samogitians have the same origin as the Pruczi, and both are the descendants of the ancient Venedi or Wends; but these last ultimately mingled with other Gothic and Finnic tribes, who obtained a temporary rule over them.

The language of the ancient Pruczi gradually fell into disuse in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, and has ceased to be spoken since the seventeenth. The languages of the Lithuanians and the Pruczi were different dialects of the ancient Wend, sometimes called the Proto-Wend, which was spoken from time immemorial on the shores of the Baltic, where the trade in yellow amber existed as early as the first dawn of history. In the commencement of the Christian era, the same trade was carried on to a considerable extent between the Venedi on the Baltic, and the Veneti on the Adriatic—a proof of a very early commerce between the inhabitants of the two countries.

The Pruczi, at an early day, were distinguished for their humanity to those who were shipwrecked. They were governed

by a great many independent rulers, whose authority was limited, and shared by the people and the priests. Their flocks, corn, and honey, furnished them ample provisions; their intemperance taught them the art of manufacturing ardent spirits from mares' milk; the skins and furs of wild animals supplied their wardrobe; while they sold these surplus manufactures to the neighboring nations. The great courage of the inhabitants was a much stronger defence than the houses of their chiefs, and their fortresses on the frontiers, both of which were made of wood. Their greatest enemies were the Poles, who, previous to the tenth century, were very little in advance of the savage state. They made frequent incursions into their country, insulted their wives, carried off their children as slaves, laid waste their fields, and stole their flocks and herds.

The ancient Pruczi were early celebrated for hospitality, where the friendly and peaceable stranger was always welcome. But no one was permitted to enter their sanctuaries, or even to approach the sacred trees under whose blissful shades they adored the images of their heathen gods; and the stranger who violated these sacred retreats suffered the penalty of death for his intrusive crime. They have blue eyes, fair hair, and a ruddy complexion; differing in their personal appearance from the Samogitian and Lithuanian peasants, who are supposed to be the only unmixed descendants of the Pruczi; though it is probable the fair inhabitants are the descendants of the Guttones or Goths, who formed the dominant class. There are many events that occurred during the war between the Pruczi and the Teutonic knights, which prove a distinction of ruling and vassal tribes; for it is certain that mere slaves could never have defended themselves with such distinguished valor.

Their imperfect government, which was dependent on a corrupt priesthood, was more stable, and continued longer, than most of the neighboring nations of the same degree of civilization. Their obscure and tranquil retreats remained uninterrupted until about the end of the tenth century, when the missionaries of the Pope attempted a reform in their religion. The idolatrous and quiet Prussians, resenting these religious innovations, put to death a monk in the year 997, who attempted to overthrow the worship of their fathers. This homicide was seized as a pretext by the Polish princes, who had recently become Catholic Christians, for declaring war with the perpetrators of so foul a deed, and took possession of their country; which they considered a valuable acquisition of territory. Boleslas I. avenged the death of St. Adalbert, by invading Prussia, and devastating the country with fire and sword. But Boleslas soon found he was a much better warrior than a Christian minister, and that the sword was not the most excellent instrument for the propagation of Christianity; and experience soon taught him that his missionary efforts, which were stained with innocent blood, were unsuccessful, while the insulted Prussians maintained their freedom, and adhered to their heathen religion. The Prussians gained a signal victory over the Poles in 1163, and invaded several of their provinces on the Vistula. Waldemar II., king of Denmark, who had for some time been anxiously watching events, now unfurled the *Danabrog*, or the red and white banner of the holy cross, and conquered, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the most of Livonia and Prussia. The latter province continued faithful to his rule as late as 1227, when he lost all his other conquests. The Prussians revolted against the feeble successors of Waldemar, and made themselves a most formidable foe to the Poles.

The Polish sovereigns, unable to resist the invasions of these barbarous hordes, were driven to the last resort of invoking the assistance of the Teutonic knights.

The kingdom of Prussia, after a long succession of bloody wars with Poland, rose from the ruins of the Teutonic order, but it sunk again into insignificance during the Swedish and Russian wars in Poland. The population in 1700 amounted to only seven hundred thousand, and more than one sixth of that number was cut off by the plague in 1709. A colony of twenty thousand Protestant Saltzburghers, who fled from the persecution of a fanatic bishop, were invited by Frederic William into his dominions; and these colonists were soon followed by others from Switzerland, Alsace, and the Palatinate. But the progress of the population was again retarded by the seven years' war; and according to the census of 1775, Eastern Prussia, including the whole kingdom, as it existed in 1772, contained only seven hundred and eighty-five thousand inhabitants. Then it was only a nominal title, which the electors of Brandenburg derived from the possession of Prussia. Since 1772 a great change has taken place in the kingdom; and at the division of Poland the king received the former Polish-Prussia and the territory of Netze; both of which contained a population of four hundred and sixteen thousand souls, which opened a commercial intercourse between Prussia and Brandenburg, leaving the exports of Poland dependent on the Prussian government.

The country continued to flourish in population, industry, and general prosperity, until the ambition of Frederic II. induced him to strengthen his kingdom by extending his dominions at the expense of his neighbors. The tyrants in the division of their Polish spoils gave Prussia two new provinces, wholly peopled by

Poles ; the one was called Southern Prussia, and the other New Eastern Prussia. Between the years 1795 and 1806, the superficial extent of the kingdom was not less than fifty-six thousand square miles ; and the number of inhabitants equalled 4,045,000—including nine hundred and sixty-four thousand in Eastern, and eight hundred and seventeen thousand in Western Prussia, one million three hundred and eighty-seven thousand in Southern, and eighty hundred and thirty-seven thousand in New Eastern Prussia.

The frail edifice erected by Frederic the Great, cemented in Polish blood and enriched by Polish wealth, was soon overturned by the French hero, Napoleon. Nearly all the conquests in Poland, many of which were made by Frederic himself, were detached from Prussia, and the kingdom was reduced to its ancient limits. The conquered territory was not all restored after the defeat of Napoleon ; part of the district of Netze was included in the new great duchy of Posen, which is formed by the western extremity of Southern Prussia. A national or Polish government was guaranteed to that great duchy by the last treaties, and for a time was separated from the Prussian monarchy. Prussia, which was first erected into a kingdom in 1701, and has at different times acquired large accessions of territory from a small and feeble state, has become one of the most powerful monarchies in Europe. The kingdom now comprises two great political divisions ; first, Prussia Proper, containing the original territory of the monarchy, and the grand duchy of Posen, formerly belonging to Poland ; second, the German provinces of Brandenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, Saxony, Westphalia, and the Rhine. The two last form a detached western portion, separated from the rest by the dominions of Hanover, Hesse, and

Saxony, and the small principality of Neufchatel in Switzerland. The territory of the empire embraces one hundred and seven thousand square miles, and over fourteen millions of inhabitants, nearly two millions of whom are Poles.

Prussia, the smallest of the great powers of Europe, was always one of the bitterest foes of Poland, and finally became one of the three merciless victors that slaughtered their national parent. The kingdom is composed of heterogeneous parts, several of which are not connected by any common feeling or common interest ; bound together only by an artificial, political, military system ; without geographical or human ties. The nation is entitled to credit for its promotion of literature, and extensive common school system ; but still the country has made very slow progress in civilization and refinement, when compared with England and America. The causes of their very slow progression are obvious. Like Poland and Russia, the Prussian government is a military system, founded on and sustained by powerful and expensive standing armies, which exhaust the resources of the country, and paralyze the energies of the people. Many of the various heterogeneous parts composing the monarchy, have no national interest in each other as Prussians. As usual, in military governments, where the government is carried on by numerous military officers in regular gradations, who merely execute the orders received from their sovereign, the people have no love for tyrants, and are kept in subjection, not by moral suasion as in America, but by military force and legal coercion. The want of equal representation in the affairs of state—the strongest ligament of national unity—the absence of equal rights and privileges, and a servile dependence on Russia, complete the catalogue of embarrassments ; which, probably, will prevent Prussia

from ever equalling England and America in national glory, and social prosperity. And judging from present appearances, in connection with the past, before another quarter of a century shall have elapsed, Russia may repeat the fatal blow, formerly inflicted on Poland, and lay Prussia in the tomb of departed nations.*

SECTION XII.

LIVONIA.

Livonia, comprising the Russian provinces upon the Baltic, known as Livonia Proper, Esthonia, Courland, and Semigallia, at an early day in their history, belonged to the Russian states, as tributaries; though they were allowed to retain their own institutions, and protect themselves from the hostile tribes, without the aid of the dominant government. During that unfortunate period in Russian history, when the empire was in a state of anarchy and confusion, Livonia, for a short time, asserted its independence of the Czar; but was soon subdued again by Peter the Great. The Livonian provinces were little known in Europe previous to 1158, when a few merchants of Bremen, on their way to Wisby, in Gothland, while searching for new sources of wealth and commerce, were driven upon the coasts of Livonia. Afterwards, this country was frequently visited by the people of Bremen, who soon led out colonies and founded settlements there. Meinhard, an Augustine friar, in company with other Germans, emigrated thither about twenty-eight years after, where he converted the inhabitants to Christianity, and was made their

* Malte Bran, iv. 377.

first bishop. The spiritual power of the Pope was not fully established until the time of Albert, the third bishop, who advanced as far as the Dwina. Here he built the city of Riga, in the year 1200, and made it the see of his bishopric.

At the close of this century, Canute VI., the Danish king, took possession of these provinces, but his successor, Wladimir III., sold them to the Teutonic knights for a sum of money; who, having previously been united with the Brethren of the Sword, founded by Albert, in 1201, now held dominion over all the four provinces. The power of the knights was, however, too weak to long retain them against the fierce onset of the Russian Czar, John II., Wasiliwitch, who succeeded in dissolving the union of the Livonian states. Esthonia was joined to Sweden; Livonia was united with Poland; and Courland with Semigallia was made a duchy, under Poland; and was held as a Polish fief by the last grand-master of the Teutonic order. From this time, a scene of strife, war, and discord arose between Russia, Sweden, and Poland for the possession of Livonia, which continued for nearly a century. In 1660, at the peace of Olivia, this province was ceded to Sweden by Poland, and was again united to Esthonia. Both provinces were again annexed to Russia, by the peace of Nystadt, in 1721.

The Livonians are a branch of the Finnish race, and are principally slaves; but their servitude, by which they suffered the most grievous oppressions, under the tyranny of the nobility, has been somewhat relieved by an imperial decree of 1804. In addition to the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, we find many Swedes, Germans, and Russians. In their religion, the great part of the inhabitants are Lutherans; besides Calvinists, Catholics, and the Greek church. The country was re-organized

in 1783, when Livonia became the government of Riga, and Esthonia that of Revel, until the emperor Paul restored the name of Livonia, in 1797. The country is now divided into fewer circles. Previous to the introduction of Christianity, in the eleventh century, the Livonians were gross idolaters; and their social condition was extremely barbarous.*

SECTION XIII.

COURLANDERS.

Courland, situated on the Baltic, which, in Russian, is called Kourliandia, and in German, Kurland, was formerly a duchy, to which belonged Semigallia. At the present day, they form together the Russian government of Mittau, containing about ten thousand square miles, and nearly one half million of inhabitants. The population is chiefly composed of Lettonians, Germans, Livonians, and Russians, with a few Poles and Jews. The principal part of the inhabitants are Lutherans, and about one fifth are Catholics. The nobility is composed of Poles, Russians, and Germans, possessing high privileges and aristocratic monopolies. Courland was formerly a part of Livonia, and with the latter was conquered by the Teutonic Knights in the thirteenth century. It was afterwards united with Semigallia, under the name of the "*Duchy of Courland*," and the two provinces became a fief of Poland, which was governed by its hereditary dukes till 1737. Frederick William, the sixth duke, married Anne Ivanowna, a Russian princess, in 1710, who, after her husband's death, retained possession of the duchy, though the government was en-

* Connor II., 100.

trusted to prince Ferdinand, brother of the deceased duke. On the death of Ferdinand, in 1737, the estates, under the dictation of the empress of Russia, elected her favorite and grand chamberlain, Ernest John Biren, as the duke of Courland, who, in 1740, was exiled to Siberia. In 1762, the emperor Peter recalled Biren, who was restored to the dukedom by the states, after a contest with Prince Charles, son of the king of Poland, who had ruled the duchy during the exile of Biren. In 1769, he conveyed the duchy to his son; and on his death it was annexed to Russia by Catharine. Since that time it has remained subject to Russia, with a government divided into five districts. The Emperor Alexander, in 1818, confirmed the charter of the nobility of Courland, by which the peasants were declared free, and their relations to their former lords were regulated.

The duchy of Courland, comprehending the provinces of Courland Proper and Semigallia, is bounded on the north and west by the Baltic Sea, on the east by the great duchy of Lithuania, and on the south by the duchy and province of Samogitia. Its entire length is about fifty great German leagues, measuring from Memel, in Prussia, to Riga, in Livonia, computing six Prussian leagues to a mile. The breadth varies from the Baltic to Lithuania and Samogitia, measuring in some places thirty, and in others but twenty-four leagues, and in some places less. This duchy is generally a level, fruitful country, and has long been well inhabited. It is a part of Livonia, and while under the government of the Teutonic knights was the better half of it; but since that, its limits have been somewhat abridged. Courland was not entirely subdued until the year 1488, when it was conquered by the Teutonic knights, who were invited there by Volquinus, the second master of the Livonian Order.

In 1561, Duke Gothofred was influenced by Luther's Reformation to become a Protestant, and marry, which had never been done by any of his Livonian Order before him. He left two sons, Frederick and William. Frederick succeeded his father in 1587, and dying without issue, the dukedoms descended to his brother William, who was re-called from his banishment, and received by the Courlanders with great applause. This duke left only one son, who was godson to King James I. On his death, he was succeeded by his son James, who inherited the two duchies of Courland and Semigallia in 1639. This prince distinguished himself by building ships, whose country possessed ample materials for this business. By means of his extensive shipping, he extended his dominions, by discovering the river Semigal, in Guinea, and the island of Tobago, one of the Caribbean islands in America, which was then uninhabited. Here he built a fort, calling it James Fort, after himself, where he cultivated the land for many years. At length, Lambson, a Zealander, and a man of wealth, belonging to the states of Holland, took possession of one corner of the island; and after considerable dispute, was permitted to remain and cultivate the soil on paying a small rent, until the war broke out between the Swedes and Poles, when he took possession of the whole island during the Duke's imprisonment. The Dutch, having obtained the island by force and fraud, the Duke, after applying to the Lambsons first, and afterwards to the states, and finding all his entreaties in that quarter useless, finally made application to Charles II., to be restored to his former rights on the island, voluntarily consenting to hold it subject to the king's protection; which finally resulted in the treaty between the king of England and the duchy of Courland, in 1664.

Duke James, upon his succeeding his father in the duchy of Courland, was married to Charlotte, the daughter of George William, elector of Brandenburg. From this marriage descended the subsequent Duke Frederic Casimir; Prince Ferdinand, lieutenant-general in the army of the elector of Brandenburg; and Prince Alexander, who was wounded by a cannon ball at the siege of Buda, and afterwards died on his way to Vienna. The same parents also left three princesses, namely, Louis Elizabeth, who married Frederic Landgrave of Hesse; Mary Amelia, wife of Charles, Landgrave of Hesse; and Charlotte.

The Duke of Courland was for a long time a vassal to the crown of Poland, in the same manner as the electors were to the emperor. When a new king was elected, the duke was obliged to send his envoy to take investiture, by receiving a standard with the arms of Poland on one side, and those of Courland on the other. After this ceremony, the envoy is permitted to take his seat, and cover his head, while great civilities are paid him. The duchy of Courland, for the want of male heirs in the family of the duke, reverts to the crown of Poland—the same as ducal Prussia does—from the elector of Brandenburg.*

SECTION XIV.

BOHEMIA.

We look in vain for much accurate learning concerning the ancient inhabitants of Bohemia, who, at a very early day, mingled with the Poles in blood and social intercourse. It is known, however, that they were subdued and mostly destroyed at a very early period by the Boii, a Celtic race, who, under command of

* Connor, II., 99, 105, 123.

Sigovesus, settled in that country about six centuries before the Christian era. Pliny, Strabo, and other authors, derive from this people the present name of Bohemia. For a long period the Boii were engaged in various wars with their neighbors; and their migrations, victories, and defeats subjected them to similar vicissitudes of fortune and ravages of war, which fill the history of all the nomadic tribes of the north in that early day. They were known to the ancient writers as the people who inhabited the country beyond the Danube, in the basin of Bohemia; sometimes as the occupants between the Danube and the Drave, and at other times, as inhabiting Thrace and Illyria. From this apparent confusion as to the countries which they occupied, Pelloutier supposes they all issued from Gaul or Italy. But, according to Mentelle, they accompanied Bellovesus, who led several barbarous tribes into Italy.

The Boii then inhabited the northern declivities of the Apennines, in the present territory of Bologna; and probably they were a colony that separated from their countrymen in Bohemia. After the failure of Bellovesus, the Boii were defeated by the Romans, driven back to the Danube, near the frontiers of Illyria, and, after they were chiefly destroyed by the Getæ, their country remained desolate for a long time, known as the desert of the Boii. The inhabitants of the Bohemian mountains, where the great body of the people lived, were subject to the attacks of their hostile neighbors. About two hundred and eighty years before the birth of Christ, the Cimbri made several unsuccessful attempts to subdue them; and thirty or forty years after the Christian era, the Marcomanni conquered them and took possession of their territory. They were subsequently driven by the Marcomanni from the plains of the Danube, which now forms a

part of Bavaria, and joined the Helvetii in the invasion of Gaul; while the Ædui resisted Cæsar. After the defeat of the Helvetii, the Roman general, instead of compelling the Boii to take up their residence in the cold and humid Hercynian forest, very humanely gave them a part of the territory of the Ædui, in consideration of the distinguished valor and courage of the former, and in compliance with the request of the latter. The Boii, although they have several times changed their residence, yet they were the same people, who at different periods settled in five different countries, as the fate of war and pastoral mutability alternately cast their lot.

Bohemia is surrounded by Bavaria, Saxony, and Prussian Silesia, and encompassed by chains of mountains, that form a natural basin, once filled by a Caspian Sea; in the solitary depths of which were deposited the calcareous rocks now found in that country. The political and physical geography of Bohemia is quite distinct from the territories that surround it.

The Marcomanni were, for a long time, the most powerful nation who inhabited the territories between the Danube and the Hercynian forest; and by their victorious arms, Bohemia was, at a very early day, subdued. At first they were governed by kings of their own choice, selected from the most illustrious families of their nation; until after the reign of Augustus, when the victorious Romans placed over them foreign rulers; who, though they did not receive the assistance of Roman arms, were supplied with funds to carry on the government. The most distinguished native prince, and the one most frequently extolled in the annals of Tacitus, was Maroboduus. He was elected to the sovereignty of his country, after having passed his youth at Rome, under the patronage of Augustus. Commencing his

reign with prosperity, he led the Marcomanni to the conquest of Bohemia, and finally made himself the victorious master of the Boii and their country. Proud of his recent victories, and flushed with fresh hopes of future conquest, after subduing several neighboring states, and enriching himself with their spoils, he acquired great influence over a considerable part of Germany, and formed an extensive league, consisting of the Hermunduri, the Iuadi, the Semnones, the Longobardi, and other nations, against the invincible Hermann or Arminius, in whom the scared legions of Varus had found a conqueror. Disappointed in his mad ambition, he soon experienced the reverses of war, which compelled him to seek an asylum in Italy under the protection of Germanicus, where he spent the evening of life in retirement.

At a subsequent period, when the Roman power was rapidly declining, the descendants of the Marcomanni were compelled to surrender their country to different invading nations of the north, whose names were almost unknown to the Romans, and their power was much less understood. These ravaging nations, who spread death and desolation wherever they marched, migrated from Poland and the north of Hungary, known by the common name of Slavi. Previous to the sixth century, their history is very obscure, and the time when they first invaded Bohemia is involved in doubt. They are sometimes called Tchekhes or Czechs. Their government, like the Poles and other northern tribes, was at first republican; but fearing that the Avars might expel them from Bohemia, they chose Samo, a Franconian merchant, for their sovereign; a man renowned for his wisdom and courage, who governed them for several years, and at last freed them from the bondage of the Avars. On the death of Samo, a regency was appointed, which continued until Krock was elected.

This prince was succeeded by his daughter, Libussa, surnamed the magician; who, with Przemysl, her husband, reigned from 722 to 745 A. D. Although the early history of Bohemia is involved in obscurity, yet no doubt exists that the sovereignty was hereditary for several generations. Bohemia is very little known in history previous to the middle of the ninth century. Until this time, they were gross idolaters, and were compelled to wage a double warfare with the aggressive armies of the Germans, and the denunciatory sermons of the monks, who were the missionaries of the Pope. At last the Roman Church gained the victory, and fourteen princes, with the grand duke Borziwoy, were baptized in the year 894; and Prague was organized into a bishopric in 972, during the reign of Boleslas II. king of Poland. The office of grand duke continued elective until the middle of the eleventh century. In the year 1053, Brzetislaw, for the first time, enacted a law making the crown hereditary; but the law expired soon after its author. Otho I. conquered Bohemia and annexed it to the empire in 1086. Henry V. conferred the honorary title of king on duke Brzetislaw II., in 1086; and from that time the monarchy continued elective.

Bohemia was much improved by the German colonists who settled there in the ninth century. This country was for a long time so isolated from surrounding nations, that the people did not emerge from barbarism until the introduction of Christianity, which opened a communication with Rome, and introduced civilization among the Slavic nations. It was as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century, when Ottocar invited into his kingdom German artists and workmen of every kind; and by the exertions of this enterprising prince, industry was diffused through all the country, and commerce freed from its embarrass-

ments. Social order and tranquillity were introduced and maintained, and written laws were established in the principal cities. His successor, Ottocar II., ascended the throne of Austria, and extended his dominion over Bohemia, a part of Silesia, Poland, and Prussia. Pursuing the example of his father, he patronized the arts and sciences, introduced the German language, and used every means to educate and improve the social condition of his subjects. In the commencement of the fourteenth century, the language and manners of the people had been very much improved, and a code of laws written in German had been established; while Prague, one of the most important cities in Germany, had become the seat of the arts and sciences.

The emperor Charles IV. had been elected king of Bohemia; and the states of the kingdom declared the monarchy hereditary in his family. The same worthy prince founded the university of the capital. He was succeeded by Wenceslaus, his son; who, in addition to the useful reforms of his father and grandfather, improved the laws, and introduced into the courts the national language. The same reign was honored with the talents and virtues of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; but unfortunately the people were too ignorant and degraded to appreciate their wisdom and religion. The monarchy again returned to an elective form after the death of Wenceslaus. Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, ascended the throne in 1526, whose reign forms an important epoch in the history of Bohemia. The hereditary succession was established in his family, the prerogatives of the Bohemian states were restricted in the election of their kings, and great advances were made in literature.

By the act of confederation in 1815, Bohemia forms a part of the German league; and, as an integral portion of the Austrian

monarchy, the throne descends in a direct line to the different members of the royal family. By the constitutional law of the kingdom, its political organization continues substantially the same as in former years. The coronation oath of the king requires him not to alienate the kingdom, but forever respect the constitution, protect the state, and preserve inviolate the rights and privileges granted by the emperors Ferdinand II., Ferdinand III., and their successors, to maintain justice and support the Catholic religion. The society of Bohemia is divided into four classes: the clergy, the highest nobility or lords, the petty nobility or knights, and the royal towns. The legislative assembly consists of the deputies, who convene at the pleasure of the king, and appoints a commissioner to preside over their deliberations. Their powers of legislation are so limited, that their legislative existence is little more than nominal. They can only deliberate on the means of executing the measures proposed by the crown; but they are prohibited from petitioning the sovereign; nor can any legislative or national measure originate with the Assembly, while the king remains as he always has been, the absolute sovereign of the country.

In these assemblies, the clergy, who rank above the other states, take an oath of allegiance to the crown. The clerical class are represented by the bishops and archbishops, the grand prior of the order of Malta, and the other prelates of the kingdom. The high nobility consists of the princes, dukes, counts, and prelates of the nation, and the eight most important offices in the state must be filled by individuals belonging to that distinguished body. Only four of the towns, out of fifty, are entitled to elect deputies. These privileged few are Prague, Budweis, Pilsen, and Kuttenberg. The protected cities, as they are styled,

form a third class. The peasants are divided into four classes, namely, the land-owners, the tenants of houses, tenants of land, and the day laborers. The government has ever practised the most shameful and cruel oppressions upon that most unfortunate race, the Jews, who are quite numerous in Bohemia. As a natural consequence of these persecutions, in connection with their own vices, the Jews, in this country, have made very little improvement in civilization for more than half a century.

The population of Bohemia, numbering probably not far from five millions, consist principally of three distinct races—the Tchekhes or Slavonians, the Germans, and the Jews. Most of the Germans are from Saxony, who settled here in the ninth century. In their personal appearance, the Bohemians are strong, laborious, active, and well made, and in many respects resemble the Poles.

Of all the Slavic races, the Bohemians, next to the Poles, have the strongest claims on our sympathies. Distinguished for their love of liberty, their hard fought battles, their conversion to Christianity, respectable attainments in literature, and memorable sufferings, their history possesses thrilling interest to the friends of human freedom. Here, the monitory voice of Wickliffe was heard in the midnight darkness of the middle ages. Here, Huss and Jerome first lit up the fires of the Reformation, which blazed up into a lively flame, and gradually spreading itself over all Europe, finally fired the hearts of the Protestant world with the inspirations of the Bible. No nation has ever studied the sacred volume with more zeal and pious devotion; no nation has more freely shed their blood in the cause of Christian freedom. The long and fatal contests of the Bohemians for liberty of conscience, and their final destruction in the good cause, never fail

to find chords in the bosom of humanity, which vibrate in unison with such scenes of pious suffering. This unfortunate Slavic race, notwithstanding their almost numberless misfortunes, can boast of some eminent men in nearly all branches of science and art. But their talents were most successful in music. Though all the Slavic nations were distinguished for their musical talents, yet the Bohemians excelled them all. They wandered over the same Sarmatian plains with the Poles, singing the same war songs, worshipped at the same shrine, and fought and fell on the same battle-fields.*

SECTION XV.

THE GIPSIES.

From a very early period Polish society has had the misfortune to be infested with the gipsies, one of the most odious races of the human family. The gipsies, who are called Egyptians in some of the old English statutes, were a wandering nation, whose Asiatic form, language, and customs, differ entirely from all other European nations and races. Some suppose their German name *Zigeuner*, to be of German origin, and derived from *Zieh-Gauner*, wandering rogue; but this is probably a mistake, for they were called *Zigani* and *Zingani* as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, when they first appeared in Poland and Hungary. They were called *Zingari*, *Zingani*, and *Tschingani* by the Italians, Wallachians, and the Turks. Nor is there any reliable evidence that this name is derived from the *Sigynnæ*, who, according to Herodotus, inhabited the country extending

* Talvi's Lit. of the Slavonic Nations. 144.

from the Pontus to the Adriatic Sea. So far as philology has been able to extend its researches on this question, it appears most probable that the name of this strange race of human beings is of Indian origin. At the mouth of the Indus, there now exists a similar people, called Tchingani, who are described by intelligent modern travellers, as resembling the gipsies in their peculiar appearance, customs, and vices.

The sober, phlegmatic Dutch have so great an abhorrence to these wild creatures, that they call them Heiden, or heathen. The Swedes and Danes call them Tartars, and the French, Bohemians. The Spanish call them *Gitanos*, which expresses their cunning and villany. The Gipsies call themselves Pharaon or *Sinte*, which corresponds to *Sinde*, the Hindoo name of the inhabitants of Hindostan. This wild, wandering, degraded race of human beings, is scattered over all Europe, numbering, in all, from seven hundred thousand to one million of souls. A considerable portion of them are found strolling over the wide-extended plains of Poland, Russia, and the neighboring territories, and many are found in the south of Spain. More than twenty thousand are scattered over England. The English scholars are generally of the opinion that they are of Indian origin, and descended from the race of the Sindes, an Indian caste, which Timour, by his expeditions in 1400, dispersed in different directions.

Their language, with some very unimportant variation, is the same throughout Europe, and even now, after the lapse of centuries, corresponds with the dialect of Hindostan. In Germany and France their numbers are comparatively few; but in Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, and Moldavia, they are said to amount to three hundred thousand. In Crimea, Bessarabia, in the

regions near Constantinople, and throughout Turkey, they are still more numerous. In their personal appearance they are distinguished for the yellow, brown, or olive color of their skin ; their hair and eyes are jet black ; their teeth are extremely white, and the symmetry of their limbs is seldom equalled. Many of the gipsy girls, and particularly in Spain, are celebrated for their beauty. The gipsies are famous for their great elasticity and quickness, and in their rude dances display superior powers of agility. Their physiognomy denotes carelessness, levity, and cunning, without any concern for the future, or anxiety where, how, or when they may get their next scanty meal. They seldom settle permanently anywhere, but appear perfectly happy with a mound of earth for their couch, a rock for their pillow, the heavens for their canopy, acorns for their feast, the gipsy dance for their amusement, and the wide world for their home.

Wherever the climate is sufficiently mild, they live in companies in forests and deserts. They seldom advance so far in civilization as to build tents ; but either shelter their bare heads and almost naked bodies from the rain, snows, and cold of winter, by retiring into the grottoes and caves of the mountains and forests, or by building huts, sunk several feet in the earth, covered with sods laid on poles. In Spain, Hungary, and Transylvania, a few of the gipsies follow trades ; others are inn-keepers, horse-doctors, and horse-jockeys ; while some are smiths, mend old pans and kettles, and manufacture iron utensils, nails, and other articles of rude construction. Some of them work in wood, make spoons, spindles, and troughs, and occasionally engage in agriculture. They are passionately fond of music and dancing ; and the gipsy's dance has long been a favorite theme

for poets throughout the civilized world. Their musical talent is principally confined to instrumental music, which they learn by imitation, without any knowledge of the science. They warble their rude melodies on the violin, jew's-harp, bugle, flute, and hautboy. Their music and dancing are well adapted to each other, and are extremely lively and expressive. They excel all other musicians in playing the Hungarian and Polish national dances, and particularly in performing the polkas. They excel in mimicry, and their motions in their own native dances are inimitable. Many of them travel from country to country, supporting themselves by public exhibitions of tricks and magic, dancing on ropes, telling fortunes by cards, and performing other similar feats. The gipsy girls commence life as dancers; and as they grow old, are gradually promoted to the more dignified professions of fortune-telling and chiromancy.

Their miserable, half-starved children, go entirely naked until their tenth year. The wardrobe of the men is confined to a shirt and trowsers, and the dress of the women is limited to skirts and aprons of a red or light blue. In England they sometimes wear red cloaks with hoods, and a handkerchief tied over the head. These children of nature are delighted with rings and ornaments; and those who pursue a settled life, are very fond of dress. Their domestic life is quiet, and limited in its enjoyments. Their household furniture consists of a silver mug, a pan, a dish, and kettle; and their domestic animals comprise only horses and pigs. In England, they move in caravans with donkeys. Their food is highly disgusting to civilized palates. According to their Oriental custom, they are fond of onions and garlic—devour with greediness all kinds of flesh, (even animals which have died a natural death,) and hail with joy the mur-

rain, or any pestilential disease among the flocks and herds of the farmers, as a festive jubilee and a godsend to their degraded tables and perverted appetites. Nearly half a century ago, they were accused in Hungary and Poland of cannibalism; and, in consequence of this charge, many of them were treated with great severity, though the crime was never satisfactorily proved. In addition to all their other vices, they are addicted to intoxication. Brandy is their favorite beverage—tobacco their greatest luxury; and both men and women present the most disgusting spectacle of a race of wandering, fiddling, dancing, worthless vagabonds.

The gipsies have no established religion, nor any particular faith. Wherever they are, they very devoutly and adroitly embrace, for the time being, the prevailing religion of the country. Among the Turks they are good Mohammedans; in Spain, they are devout Roman Catholics; in Russia, zealous Greek Catholics; in England, bigoted churchmen; in Germany, sober Lutherans; and in Poland, anything. In Transylvania, adopting the principle that they cannot have too much of a good thing, they baptize the same children repeatedly, even scores of times, at different places, for the sordid purpose of obtaining the small sums of money and trifling presents which the customs of the country require the god-father to give the parents of the god-children.

The marriage contract is formally regarded by them, though in spirit shamefully violated. The young gipsy becomes a gallant at the age of fourteen or fifteen, without a penny in his pocket, a coat to his back, or shoes on his feet—without a cover for his head, or a sensible idea in it. In this hapless condition, he marries a girl still younger, poorer, more naked and ignorant than himself, regardless of the laws of consanguinity, and equally

careless whether his rude bride be his sister or a stranger. In Hungary, Poland, and Russia, a gipsy officiates as priest of the wedding. It is a sacred law of the race, that no gipsy can marry any person except one of his own people. When the husband becomes dissatisfied with his wife, he abandons her without ceremony, and marries another. They have ever lived in ignorance, without any idea of education or civilized life ; and so far as this unfortunate race can be traced in the annals of antiquity, they have ever remained the same in character, manners, habits, and morals. As might naturally be expected, these lawless, ignorant parents, allow their children to grow up without government, punishment, or education, habituated to idleness, stealing, and cheating.

The natural and moral depravity of this degenerate race is so great, that they have the reputation of deriving happiness from acts of cruelty and inhumanity, insomuch that they have frequently been promoted to the office of public executioners, when all others declined the fiendish honor. They are proverbial for their cowardice, and seldom steal when they are apprehensive of detection. It is one of their established laws of plunder never to break into houses at night. It is recorded of them that during the ravages of the plague, in a certain town in Spain, the gipsies, in flocks, rushed into the houses while death was doing his work, and robbed, without discrimination, the living, the dying, and the dead. In Transylvania they are used, and watched, in washing gold dust. On account of their cowardice, idleness, and treachery, they are seldom ever employed as soldiers in any nation ; though in Hungary and Transylvania they have been occasionally, as a last resort, enrolled in the

army; but their history is without a single victory, laurel, or act of bravery.

All attempts to civilize these wandering, savage children of nature, which have been made by several nations in Europe, have failed; and thus far in their history they remain the same now as in former centuries. The demoralizing influence of this miserable, licentious, and vicious race, diffused as it was throughout Poland and the neighboring nations, mingling with the uneducated and wretched peasantry, has ever been most baneful to the social interests of the masses, and presents one of the most loathsome classes in Polish society.*

SECTION XVI.

THE JEWS.

The Jews of Poland form an interesting class of society. These fallen, dispersed, wandering, and unfortunate children of Israel, are readily distinguished from all other society, in every town and village, by their physical appearance and national costume,—by their sharply-drawn features, long beards, and flowing dresses; and particularly by the coal-black eyes and oriental costumes of the Hebrew women. These once highly favored sons of Abraham, after being led by Moses from Egypt into the promised land; after hearing the awful thunders, and seeing the vivid lightnings of Sinai; after singing the sweet strains of David, and listening to the wisdom of Solomon; after witnessing the miracles of Christ, and enjoying the instructions of the Great Master; finally crucified their Lord, and forgot their God; and

* Sir Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering*.

by their continued disobedience and ingratitude were deprived of their nation and their home; doomed to wander and roam through the wide world, marked as the cursed of God, and a by-word and proverb among all people. On the second destruction of Jerusalem, when the Roman general annihilated the political existence of the Jewish nation, and ploughed over the foundation and site of Solomon's magnificent temple, their land was portioned out among strangers, and the children of Abraham were forever banished from the holy city of their fathers.

Since that time, the descendants of those who survived the awful horrors of the dissolution of the Jewish nation, have been wandering about the world, exposed to the withering scowl of cold contempt from all people; and in all countries where they have been permitted to reside, they have generally been excluded from the participation of certain political privileges which citizens enjoy. History fails to give the precise records of the migration of the first settlements of the Israelites in the different countries of Europe; but far back in the annals of time, for many centuries, they have been found dispersed, according to the divine prediction, over the whole habitable globe—"a strange, unsocial, and isolated people, a living and continued miracle." They are found in all the civilized countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and have even scaled the walls of China. Next to Palestine, Poland may be regarded as their home,—their land of promise. After the lapse of centuries, amid revolutions, reformations, progressions, and changes, which have convulsed the world and annihilated nations, the Jew still remains the same obstinate, stationary, avaricious, superstitious being.

At a very early period in the history of Poland, the Jews spread themselves over the country, and monopolized all the com-

mercial business of the nation ; controlling all the ready cash, and extorting enormous fees from all classes of citizens, whose necessities brought them within their power. Boleslas II. granted them a charter in 1264, and the same privileges were secured to them by Casimir the Great. This warm-hearted prince, like Ahasuerus of old, by the love of a beautiful Esther, a young Jewess, was the devoted friend of the Jews, and granted them distinguished privileges. The friendship of the king was reciprocated so liberally, that at the marriage of Casimir's grand-daughter, Elizabeth, Wierzynck, a Jewish merchant of Cracow, requested the honor of being allowed to make the young bride a marriage present of one hundred thousand florins of gold,—a large fortune for that time and place, and equal to her dowry from her grandfather. While in Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, England, and France, the whole history of this unfortunate people is that of one continued scene of persecution,—oppressed by the aristocracy, anathematized by the clergy, despised and abhorred by all nations, races, tribes, and classes—fleeing from city to city,—arrested, tortured, and burned alive,—sometimes destroying themselves by thousands to escape horrors and torments worse than death, while all orders were arrayed in fierce and implacable hatred against them—in Poland the fallen race of Israel found rest. And there they remain at this day, after centuries of residence,—still a distinct people, strangers, and sojourners in the land ; mingling with their neighbors in the every-day business of life, but never mingling their blood, their love, fortunes, or religion. They are the same direct descendants of the Israelites, who, three thousand years ago, went from the land of Egypt, speaking the same language, and adhering to the same laws, delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai ; mourning over their

fallen temple, and still looking with earnest expectations for the coming of the Messiah, who shall bring together their scattered nation, and restore them to their former land and temporal kingdom.

No race of people in the world excels them in natural talent. Many of them are wealthy and educated ; but the great majority are poor, ignorant, and vicious, wandering about the villages and towns, intent on gain ; monopolizing every petty traffic, descending to the most menial service for a penny ; and not unfrequently increasing their unhallowed wealth by the licentiousness of their wives and daughters.* The inns of Poland are generally kept by this class of citizens, consisting principally of miserable hovels, with a room partitioned off in one corner of a large shed, used as a stable and yard for vehicles ; ornamented with an entrance under a low porch of timber ; a floor of naked earth ; furnished with one long table, or two or three small ones, with a bunch of straw in one corner for beds ; with a hole through a narrow door at one end, leading into a small, filthy hovel, where the family of both sexes, and all ages, have a common bed of straw. The Jews in Poland are excluded from all offices and honors, and from all privileges and distinctions of society. Previous to the reign of Nicholas, they were exempt from military services on payment of a tax ; but since that sovereign ascended the throne they have been subjected to military duty.

The baptized Jews of Warsaw form a peculiar class, occupying a position between the Israelites and Christians, and uniting with neither. Many of this class are rich, well-educated, and possess great elegance of appearance and manners. The Polish Jews generally are sober, industrious, parsimonious, and crafty ; con-

* Edinburgh Encyclo. Art. Poland.

stituting a numerous and separate people in the heart of Poland. Once a year the *Polish contracts*, as they are called, are made. On these occasions the nobles repair to the principal towns,—Kiev, Minsk, Warsaw, and Wilna,—to sell or mortgage their lands, pay their interest, and negotiate all their money transactions for the year with the Jews. At these annual marts the wives and daughters of the nobility resort for amusement; speculators bring hither their wares; usurers, numerous strolling players, and sharpers, come to practise their arts, and exercise their several trades. The nobles, by their prodigality, and the variations in the price of grain, have frequently found themselves involved in pecuniary embarrassments, and are compelled to mortgage their fortunes to the Jews, who have the sole control of the commerce and monetary interests of the country.

This unfortunate race are daily emigrating to America,—the world's asylum—where they find a happy home, secure from persecution and oppression, where they embrace the religion of the Bible in the form of Protestant Christianity, and worship the God of their fathers in spirit and in truth; and are fast becoming one of the most sagacious, useful, and moral class of citizens, under the improving influence of American institutions.

There is no people on the earth to whom the world is under such high obligations as the Jews. They are the bankers of all nations, and have furnished the world with the Bible,—a most precious gift,—for which the globe, and all the bodies of unlimited space, were they all pure gold, would be no compensation. Then give them a home in America—the land of the free.

After this general description of Polish society, as it existed in the several distinct, discordant, and heterogeneous races which composed the kingdom, the several remaining Polish races, which

are mere fragments of the larger branches of society already noticed, are not sufficiently distinctive and important to require any further description for the purposes of this work.*

SECTION XVII.

POLISH CLASSES.

Although Polish society was always separated into the two great divisions, the nobility and the slaves, yet these two general classes were subdivided into scores of subordinate social departments, comprising the various orders or ranks of persons, supposed to have some resemblance or equality in blood, race, rank, education, property, religion, politics, employment, caste, and the like, more numerous and discordant than the various antagonistical races from which they descended, and with whom they associated. The nobility, it is true, boasted of their equality, but this profession was more nominal than real; for they were, in fact, divided into as many castes and classes as the families that gave them birth. The superior nobles, including the wealthy, the talented, and the influential, always claimed, and generally maintained the ascendancy over all classes; while the inferior lords embracing the poor, obscure, and uneducated families, were, in truth, the slaves of their more powerful masters.

Nor were the peasantry more united in their social relations than their masters. The slaves ranked according to the grade of their masters. Those who belonged to the superior or aristocratic lords were graduated in the social scale much above the slaves of the poor lords; and the peasantry of every lord was

* Stephens, II. 187.

cast in society according to the rank of the owner. Besides these social distinctions, Polish society was still more shattered, disunited, and conflicting, by the numerous religious, political, literary, military, commercial, and monetary classes; each and all of which were as distinct in their feelings, principles, interests, and actions, as any other caste in community. The male and female classes, infancy, childhood, youth, middle age, and grey hairs, each had their distinguishing characteristics; and in many respects had an isolated existence, highly prejudicial to those immortal social laws, by which the best interests of community should ever be governed.

The gentry of Poland are divided into many tribes, all distinguished, not merely by places or countries, but by several peculiar appellations and coats of arms. From each of these general divisions, arise several families of different names and affinity. As an example of these domestic distinctions may be named the families of Zarnowski, Pileczki, Melstin, and others, who belong to the old tribe of Leliviez, whose standard is a field azure, with a new moon in chief, and a star of the first magnitude between its horns. Formerly the Poles received their family names from different occasions, circumstances, and things; but in more modern times, they have been accustomed to take them only from castles, cities, towns, and villages, which are most commonly formed by adding the termination *ski* or *ki*, signifying *son*; though some write *dominion*, for the reason they are generally so called from the place which they govern. In Lithuania the termination generally is in *witz*. Sometimes they derive their names from these places, by omitting these terminations, and placing before the names of places *a*, *ab*, *in*, or *de*.

The male classes of Polish society, in moral excellence, were

by no means equal to female society. The attentive reader of history will never fail to notice, that in all ages of the world, in all nations, in all tribes and people, high and low, in all continents and countries, female society ever excels the social condition of the other sex, in moral improvement, both individual and social. And it is fortunate for the race that this principle has ever remained one of the omnipotent laws of social existence. True it is, and "pity 'tis, 'tis true," woman, the mistress of the human family, sometimes abuses her power, plays the tyrant in her dominions, and makes vassals of her subjects; but on the whole, all things duly considered, Heaven has never been able to find safer hands in this fallen world, to sway the sceptre of moral influence, and earth has always approved the wisdom of the choice. Her throne is the heart, her crown is the irresistible charms of her sex, her empire is HOME, SWEET HOME, her laws are love, her world is the boundless regions of her unlimited influence, and her sovereignty is the undisputed heritage of her sex, since her primeval reign in Eden.

The state of society in every country may be fairly estimated by the standing and grade of the female character. In all countries the female has a controlling influence over all classes, for good or evil. The mother gives caste and character to her child; and on her depends, in an eminent degree, his manners, talents, morals, and future destiny. Her influence, good or bad, pervades the entire family circle, seriously affecting the fate of her husband, diffusing its power through every class of society, in all its various interests and ramifications. This is one of those elementary principles of social law which has no exceptions. And, were it required, for the first time, to demonstrate the proposition with mathematical certainty, we might use, with-

out the least hazard of unfair criticism, the female character of Poland as the diagram, and the entire history of the sex as the demonstration.

The first classes of ladies in Poland are generally well educated in the Latin and other foreign languages; and some of them have contributed literary volumes highly creditable to the national literature. They are modest, accomplished, extremely beautiful and interesting; faithful to their conjugal vows, and very seldom abuse the confidence of their husbands, or abuse the great liberty and distinguished privileges which their noble lords so generously bestow upon their fair idols. But these rigorous rules of chastity and female decorum are too frequently violated among the common people, where it is considered no disgrace for maids to become unmarried mothers. Nor are these frailties of the fair sex detrimental to their fortune, as in other civilized nations; for they usually marry with about the same success. Although the females in Poland are allowed great liberty, and receive distinguished honors from their lords, yet they are subjected to many acts of servility and dependence, equally unworthy of both sexes. When they want money, or any favor from their husbands, they are obliged to ask them for it kneeling at their feet, in the most humble attitude, embracing his knees, and calling him their most loving and bountiful benefactor, as necessary preliminaries to invoking the desired favor. It is a standing rule of the lord's house, that his wife, after the family is fully served, may dispose of the butter, eggs, and the hatched flax, without the consent of the husband. But here their commercial liberty ends. In all other matters, the husband is the sole governor and manager of all things; and the wife has very

little to do, except to obey her master in all things, and eat, drink, and be merry.

The general character of females in Poland was never elevated to its true dignity. Their personal beauty, possessing all the charms of their Caucasian mothers, slightly varied and improved by German and Tartar blood, rendered their appearance extremely interesting. True, the female nobility of Poland were generally beautiful, virtuous, intelligent, and gay, and ranked with the higher classes of females in civilization; but the moral and intellectual condition of the female peasants was widely different and lamentably defective and degraded. They were bought and sold for the vilest purposes, and treated as the personal property of their masters, with the common brutality which ever characterizes slavery. They were the common mart of war, avarice, tyranny, and licentiousness.

As late in modern history as 1770, in the reign of Frederick, the young Poles were enrolled in the armies by force; while every town and village in Pannonia was taxed at a stated number of marriageable girls, who were sent like brutes, to stock and re-people the districts of the Prussian dominions, as fast as they were depopulated by the ravages of war, for the gratification of tyrants. Each of these innocent and beautiful girls, thus disgraced, and cruelly separated from their homes and friends, was allowed the stinted portion of one bed, two pigs, a cow, three ducats of gold, and such a husband as the unfeeling monarch saw fit to give her. One small town, alone, was compelled to furnish Belling, the Prussian general, with fifty of the best, most beautiful, and enterprising girls of the place, for the nefarious purpose of feeding the glut of war.

The female peasants of Poland, from their earliest history

down to the present day, form the most wretched class of society in all Europe, or in the barbarous states of the East. Forty or fifty women, half-dressed, with their hair dishevelled, and their beautiful ruby faces begrimed with sweat and their mother earth, may be seen at work in the fields, while a large, well-dressed man, with a pipe in his mouth, and a long stick in his hand, is walking and lounging about the premises as their overseer,—ready and willing to cane them for the least caprice which may excite his brutal, ungovernable passions.*

Of all classes and grades of human society, the domestic relations of life involve principles, interests, and consequences of the highest importance. In domestic society, where the conjugal relations and duties are duly appreciated,—where the endearing connections of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, friend and lover, are duly regarded, is found the budding existence of all other social organizations, the elements of church and state, and the foundation of all national glory. Here, in the sacred retreats of domestic life, far removed from the temptations and corrupting influences of public gaze, under the controlling influence of intelligent, virtuous, and pious parents, the youth are taught sound principles, correct feelings, and moral actions; and in the nursery of domestic life are formed for future statesmen, and qualified to fill the most important stations in all the departments of state. Domestic society is the fountain whence all the pure or turbid waters of life flow, for the weal or woe of community. The home of every child, where he has been born, nursed, caressed, and educated,—where he has so frequently, so sweetly, and so devoutly laid his flaxen locks on the anxious bosom of his fond mother,—while both are looking up to heaven

* Stephens, ii. 197.

through the tears of repentance, invoking the future protection of the boy,—is a place too dear to the heart, too sublime, too sacred, ever to be forgotten by either, however wide the continent that may separate them—however deep and boisterous may be the oceans that roll and dash between them in after life.

But, unfortunately for Poland, domestic society never reached that state of perfection among the masses which secures to its possessors the true bliss of social life, and guarantees to the republic protection from dissolution. The very vitals of home were continually torn asunder, lacerated, and bled at every pore, by repeated and almost continual war, civil strife, and political faction. Thousands and millions were born—lived to maturity—and died in old age, without ever seeing the faces of their noble sires, or hearing any other or better tale of their-beloved ancestors, than that they fell battling for their country, and bleeding for their wives and children, with their sabres sheathed in the hearts of Turks and Tartars.

Nor did the domestic society of Poland suffer only from war. However much we may regret the licentiousness of the Poles, the prevalent impurity of courts, and the general want of chastity among all sexes and classes,—a vice which the Poles seem to have inherited from their Asiatic ancestors from time immemorial,—yet the stern demands of truth compel the historian to record the loathsome fact, though his pen may trace the lines with reluctance. And here we unexpectedly meet, face to face, with the monster-sin of licentiousness, which not only contributed largely in the ruin of Poland, but was equally crushing in all the Asiatic nations of antiquity, and still hangs like a millstone about the necks of more than eight tenths of the nations of the whole globe. It should never be forgotten for a single moment, that on

the purity of the domestic relations, and the sanctity of the marriage contract, depend all the dearest interests of individual and social life.

Fraternal society, including the social relations of brothers and sisters, and family relations in general, however near or remote, comprising all bodies of men associated for their common interest or pleasure,—embracing men of the same class, profession, occupation, or character, appears to be the next social organization in the history of man. These relations are too dear, and too useful, when properly conducted, ever to be sacrificed or chilled in their affection, by mad ambition, sordid avarice, family feuds, or any other perversions of the social laws of human existence. Voluntary society embraces those associations and classes of community where it is optional for any one to enter and leave when and where he chooses, subject to the laws and regulations of the community. To this class belong those associations of neighbors and friends, when they convene at the friendly levee and party for social intercourse, improvement, and mutual happiness. These social classes, which, in England, America, France, and Germany, have long been highly useful, were very limited and imperfect in Poland. The celebration of their victories, holidays, and other festivities, were confined principally to the aristocracy; in which the slaves or common people were not permitted to participate. The American reader can form a better estimate of this state of society, when he considers what would be the social condition of America, were all the people excluded from celebrating the fourth of July—the national jubilee of liberty—except perhaps a few hundred royal aristocrats. The chief excellence of fraternal society consists in social equality, graduated not by rank, caste, or wealth, but by the standard of

moral worth. These voluntary associations in Poland were rendered less useful, in consequence of intemperance and ambitious feuds, which not unfrequently stained the banquet-hall, and the garlands of the festive board, by the heart's blood of those who convened as friends, quarrelled as drunkards, and died as murderers of each other.

Political society is the common nomenclature for all those associations or classes which are organized for the purposes of civil or national government. These political associations have been formed in different ages of the world, as the several nations of the earth have commenced their existence, in the different quarters of the globe. In England and the United States of America, political parties are always confined to *measures* not *men*. And the great question is, with all political parties, in the more civilized and Christian nations,—first, what are the best measures for the general good,—and next, who will be the best and ablest men to carry them out. But in Poland the case was widely different. Instead of being divided into two, or at most three great political parties, as in the nations already named, who confine their ambition and divisions to great and fundamental principles of national policy, the Poles were separated into as many different and conflicting classes as there were candidates for the crown—numbering from three to five hundred noblemen. These various political classes very seldom extend their discussions beyond the one-man-power; and the acme of all Polish ambition was to wear a crown, regardless of measures and the interests of the nation. These pugnacious political classes were organized in the palaces of royalty and in the mansions of aristocracy, and pervaded the courts and camps of the nation, wherever noble blood flowed in aristocratic veins; while the people had no voice, no representa-

tion in the affairs of state. These political quarrels very early became the heir-looms of nobility, and descended from generation to generation for centuries, without any other or better title than the triumph of might over right, nourished by murderous despair and fell revenge.

The political society of Poland presents the anomaly of a pretended republic governed by a minority—a principle equally fatal to all nations who have adopted it. No principle is better settled in the science of civil government—no one is more thoroughly tested by all history and human experience, than that the *majority* must rule, and the *minority* must submit according to law. It is the main pillar on which the American republic, as well as the British government, reposes in safety; and without it no government can exist for a single day. True, the majority may frequently err, and the minority may as frequently be right; but order is Heaven's first law, and without it earth would be a scene of blood and anarchy. In America and England, where all legislation is subjected to judicial review by separate and independent tribunals, the errors of the majority can be so readily corrected by the judiciary and the ballot-box, that these common failings of humanity are quite harmless. But Poland never understood this important doctrine of political society. The wise proverb, that "in the multitude of counsel there is safety," formed no part of their political creed. Their odious and ruinous principle of the *liberum veto* was their one idea, their political god, in all matters of state; and with such a state of society, national dissolution was unavoidable. The royal classes, with a few exceptions, were not eminent patrons of morality, nor worthy examples for the imitation of others. No situation in life is more responsible, nor furnishes greater opportunities of useful-

ness and well-doing, than the elevated office of a sovereign or chief magistrate of a nation. He has the means, the power, and the time, for making his people wise and happy, and woe betide the man who lacks only the disposition! Several of the Polish princes possessed every virtue, talent, and excellence to which royalty was ever heir; and their wise and humane reigns doubly endeared them to their people, who cherished their memory in grateful hearts, and bedewed their tombs with the warmest tears. But the great majority of the Polish sovereigns, like this class of citizens in all ages and nations, were ignorant, imbecile, intemperate, licentious, tyrannical, and worse than useless, both as rulers and private citizens, and lived and died without the least contribution to the good of society.

The aristocratic society of Poland, all things considered, was of the worst kind. As a whole, it was nothing more nor less than the embodiment of sordid selfishness. They combined in their mysterious, illegitimate, and monstrous existence, all that belonged to church and state, and all that appertained to individual and social life. They were the people, the nation, the church, the army, the wealth, the law, the government, the sovereigns, the life and death—the all of Poland. They were too feeble to rule, too corrupt to be ruled, too ignorant to be wise, too selfish to be humane, and too mad to be saved from ruin. From this catalogue of aristocratic infamy must be excepted many noble and Heaven-born souls like Kosciusko, Copernicus, Sobieski, and others, who have long been enjoying the blissful rewards of their good deeds in the spirit-land.

The institution of slavery is entitled to the credit of concentrating in the plains of Sarmatia all its most odious features and worst vices. It would seem that all the nations of the eastern

continent had made a slave market of Poland, the mad-house of tyrants and play-yard for royal lunatics. It is beyond the grasp of human intellect to conceive how, where, or when, a rational being could be found in the whole universe of God, so destitute of common sense, so void of common honesty, as to dream for a single moment, whether asleep or awake, that a nation could be founded or long continued, where the society consisted of fourteen millions of the most abject slaves, owned by one half million of masters who ruled and ruined them with the unlimited power of life and death. Such a state of society needs no prophet to foretell, no comment to explain, its inevitable national ruin.

The democratic classes in Polish society were very few in number. There was a wild, savage spirit of democracy, which generally prevailed in Poland ever since their Scythian ancestors, but it was alike destitute of all true democratic feelings and principles. A democracy which delights only in ruling or ruining everything that comes within its reach, regardless of equal rights and fraternal feelings, may answer for the forest, where savages and wild beasts prevail; but it will not answer the purposes of civilized society. The Polish nobility generally were as destitute of democratic principles and republican feelings, in the true sense of the term, as their Tartar ancestors, who wandered over the hills and plains before them. They loved that freedom and equality which allows them to do as they pleased, regardless of the rights of others; and so does the most ferocious savage of the American wilderness, or the Bedouin Arab, or highway robber. All this is *ferocity*, but not *democracy*. Poland, however, never was without a few true-hearted democrats like Kosciusko. And several of the noble families consecrated their talents, their lives,

and fortunes, to their country, under the inspiration of pure principles of patriotism. But these lion-hearted democrats were too few in numbers to save the country from that ruin of which the reckless aristocracy were the willing authors.

The pastoral society of Poland, which had its origin in Asia coeval with the existence of man, prevailed uniformly among all the ancestral races and tribes of the Poles, and was common as late as the death of John Sobieski, who occupied much of his leisure time in the evening of life in those erratic occupations. Pastoral society in Poland, as well as in all other countries, consists in the wanderings of multitudinous hordes of human beings, roaming from place to place with their flocks and herds; living in tents constructed on rude carts, drawn from country to country by oxen, at distances varying from twenty-five to hundreds of miles, in search of new and more verdant pastures and luxuriant forests, where game was more desirable and plenty, roots and berries more abundant, where fish and furs were more valuable and acceptable, and enemies less formidable. Not unfrequently these removals were made to accommodate the seasons, the winds, and other local conditions of the country. Sometimes the open valley, or northern side of a mountain, was exchanged for the sunny side of a more propitious hill, which sheltered their families and cattle from the severe cold of the winter; and in the spring the former residence in the valley, or some other location affording ample meadows and abundant waters, would be again occupied. Such a state of society was of course highly detrimental to civilization, and all social and individual improvement, and was one of the principal causes which left Poland at least half a century in the rear of the southern and western nations of Europe. It is an old and familiar adage, but nevertheless a wise

one, that two removals are equal to a fire; and no nation in the world has ever experienced the truth of the proverb more seriously than the Poles. Pastoral life is destructive to wealth—death to anything like an orderly government—and prevents all literary, moral, and social improvement. And all those roving, romantic dreams of youth, of wandering over the world in pursuit of fortunes to the neglect of comfortable livings, are to be attributed to the same dangerous principles of pastoral life.

The literary classes of Poland were very limited. Learning was confined almost exclusively to the nobility, and but few of them ever reached eminence in the arts, sciences, and general literature. The people generally remain in ignorance even to the present day. Polish society may be considered as one of the most signal failures known in history, where it has been attempted to establish and perpetuate a nation without educating the citizens. The disastrous result in this instance, even if there were no more on record—and there are thousands of similar catastrophes—will save rulers from all further expense and experiments of the kind, and teach all nations that their continuance depends on the education of the masses. National stability and the general diffusion of useful knowledge, are inseparably connected—the one cannot live without the other.

Military society was the principal caste in Poland. The citizens were educated from infancy to the profession of arms, and military distinction was the great object of life, the great thoroughfare to the throne. Their government, laws, religion, nobility, slavery, literature, commerce, manners, customs, and all classes and interests, both public and private, were framed and controlled by military principles. To this dominant art all their feelings, principles, actions, and institutions were subservient. The art

of war constituted the toys of infancy, the sports of childhood, the amusements of youth, the business of manhood, the boast of old age, and the epitaph of the dead. The consequences of such a state of society are ruinous in the extreme, as is clearly seen in the history and fall of Poland, in the French revolution, and in Russian society from its first origin. Human nature was never designed for a continual training to war and bloodshed, beyond the limits of necessary self-defence ; and wherever the principles, feelings, duties, and interests of humanity are sacrificed at the shrine of military glory, all the moral excellence of our nature is soon obliterated, and community shortly becomes an association of military tyrants and reckless amazons.

The religious society of Poland was a most unfortunate and unnatural mixture of all kinds of Paganism, and the religion of the dark ages in their worst forms. The religion of their heathen ancestors, mingled with the cold devotions of the Greek and Catholic churches of the middle ages, from the fifth to the fifteenth century, controlled the society of Poland, and prevented the salutary reformation of Luther from gaining a permanent and extensive lodgment in the cool and wide-spreading plains of Sarmatia. Any religious system which benefits only the noble few to the exclusion and ruin of the masses, as in Poland, has no common ties for human society, and never succeeds in elevating community to the more refined condition of a modern, improved, and well-regulated society.

Rural society, which in civil nations embraces the producing classes, and particularly agriculture and manufactures, was very limited and perverted in Poland. Nor was urban society, the nursery of commerce and social enterprise, found more flourishing. One of the worst social evils Poland had to encounter,

was the numerous and corrupt corporate societies which were continually granted by the Pope and the crown, by which almost every lord, ecclesiastic, and noble family, enjoyed exclusive corporate privileges, to the great prejudice of each other, and the injury of the common people.*

SECTION XVIII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

The Caucasian, Scythian, Tartar, Sarmatian, and Gothic blood of the Poles, is mingled in such rich and admirable proportions, as to produce a race nowhere excelled in personal beauty, large and well-proportioned bodies; combining every natural talent, intellectual, moral, and physical; capable, under proper advantages, of forming a people equal in excellence to any other nation in the world. They excel all the nations of Europe in natural vivacity of spirit, strength of body, and longevity, though their climate is by no means equal to many other countries of the same continent, under the same parallel of latitude and longitude. The complexion of the Poles is generally fair; and their beautiful flaxen hair is of a pale yellow color. Their stature is of medium size, and rather tall, having good constitutions and sometimes gross bodies. No nation can be found in modern history who possess greater physical powers of enduring fatigue and hardship than the Poles. And it seems to be generally conceded by all impartial witnesses, that their military forces would be invincible were they as well disciplined as other civilized nations of Europe.

* Conner, II., 191, 193, 202. Malte Brun, IV., 356. Fletcher, 216
Edinburgh Encyclo., Art. Poland.

They were so inured to hardship that they considered the hard-fisted Germans as an effeminate race, beneath their notice in physical strength, and unable to endure the fatigues of war or the rigor of weather.

The Poles were so thoroughly trained to the extremes of heat and cold in the school of their fickle climate, that they could march or slumber with equal composure under the snow-drifts of Russia or on the burning sands of Asia. To a hardy Pole his slumber is equally sweet, whether on the downy couch of luxury, or on the cold flinty rocks of the Balkan; on the icebergs of the Northern Ocean, on the hills of Siberia, or on the scorching deserts of Arabia. His balmy sleep is equally refreshing, and his dreams are equally enchanting, beneath the silken curtains of a palace, or the broad canopy of heaven.

The character of the Poles has ever been distinguished for their superior genius and intellectual powers. From early years the nobility apply themselves to letters with great success when they use the means; and although in general they limit their literary pursuits principally to philology, and more particularly to a perfect knowledge of the Latin and Polish languages, yet the intellectual powers of the race are capable of producing the most profound mathematicians, learned historians, eloquent orators, wise philosophers, musical poets, and sweet musicians; as well as brave and successful generals, skilful physicians, learned jurists, eminent divines, and distinguished statesmen; several of whom have adorned both church and state, and immortalized themselves and their country by their noble deeds and interesting writings. Their natural talents are sprightly and active, and excel in their powers of imitation. It cannot be concealed that the genius of the Poles excelled principally in the arts of war. This talent

they inherited liberally from their ancestors, the Scythians, Tartars, and Sarmatians, which they extensively cultivated in all their associations with the Slavic nations, the Goths, the Vandals, the Huns, the Finns, the Germans, the Russians, the Prussians, the Cossacks, the Teutonic Knights, the Turks, and Tartars.

The Poles, in their moral character, are generally open-hearted and honest ; more liable to be deceived than disposed to deceive ; and more readily appeased than provoked. They are generally very dutiful to their magistrates, and extremely courteous and hospitable to strangers ; whom they invite to their houses for the purposes of social converse and imitation. Like their Asiatic ancestors, they are fond of dress, jewelry, and show ; and frequently make the most splendid appearance upon trifling occasions. They keep a multitude of servants, a great number of horses, and stores of arms. The worst trait in their character is, their wild ambition for mad democracy and unbridled liberty, too regardless of government, law, and order. Their greatest absurdity is, their hatred of slavery, and love of equality among the noble few ; and, at the same time, chain the masses to the lowest servitude. The gentry assume to themselves prerogatives, which allow them to commit almost any crime with impunity. Their standard of morals was very low. They were equally licentious in religion and civil life. Disobedient in religious observances, and fearless of ecclesiastical censures, they reserved the privilege of talking and acting as they pleased, when their religion conflicted with their absolute freedom, proudly maintaining their own ability to guide themselves in all the affairs of church and state. Their love of money is so ardent, that almost every one has his price ; and it is extremely difficult for them to resist any

temptation to obtain it ; and hence arise the prevailing vices of bribery, perjury, extortion, and war, as the usual means for procuring it. When they can obtain money, no matter how, when, or where, even though they borrow it, they are sure to spend it, and never think of payment, restoration, or economy. They laugh and brandish their sabres at the duns of anxious creditors, and tauntingly bid them go and follow their example, by using the same means as they did to get it.

Such a system of economy, of course, was ruin to commerce and trade, and drove capital from the country—the very things which the nation most needed. Such a code of common dishonesty, sapped the foundation of the social fabric ; and opened wide the doors of vice, for the practice of almost every immorality known in the catalogue of human offences. In such a state of society, bonds, obligations, and commercial paper were useless and unknown ; and business credit and monetary confidence, so essential to social interest and improvement, could not exist. Confidence is a plant of rare, tender, and slow growth ; and any system of morals and political economy which tends to corrupt and wither it, is hostile to the individual and social interests of man. Under these continual embarrassments, when gentlemen borrow of each other, they mortgage their lands or villages ; and when they loan of foreigners, Jews, tradesmen, or merchants, they are compelled to leave their property as pledges ; and thereby deprive themselves of its use, besides paying fourteen per cent., or more, for the interest which is allowed by the laws of the land. But if the borrowed money be not paid within the time prescribed, then the creditor is at liberty to keep or sell the pledge, without accounting to the borrower.

Imperturbable equanimity is considered by the Poles as a car-

dinal principle in their moral science. They not only bear their own losses, and suffer all misfortunes with perfect composure, but they regard the disasters and miseries of others with equal indifference, and often stand and see their nearest and most intimate friends expire in battle or otherwise; or see a house burn with perfect calmness, without feeling or manifesting the least anxiety, or lifting a finger to extinguish the flames or help the sufferers. The same inhuman stoicism exists between parents and children; who indifferently suffer each other to continue slaves to the Tartars, when a small sum of money, within their command, would purchase their redemption from extreme suffering.

Though this wild system of political economy prevented the Poles from engaging in the pursuits of commerce, yet they were a hard-working, industrious people, and always found something to do. They generally devoted their time, talents, and fortune to the profession of arms; some followed agriculture, and a few carried on trade, while the women have ever been famous for their retiring modesty and domestic industry. The most talented of the gentry apply themselves to the service of both church and state. They are fond of travelling, and very readily learn foreign languages. Formerly the Poles were not accustomed to the arts of commerce; but lately they have evinced talents equally distinguished in this department of industry.

They seem to be fond of hard living, hating effeminacy; and a poor country cottage pleases them as well, and frequently better, than a palace; nor is it any uncommon thing to see them weaving tapestry and arras as they travel along the roads. Many of them sleep in time of frost or snow without any covering or other domestic comforts; and their little children, not more than

two months old, are frequently carried about entirely naked. Their hard beds, frequent fasting, and temperance in eating, all contribute to their health, happiness, and longevity. The slaves have no beds, and the masters seldom use any but quilts, blankets, and their hard mattresses.

The prodigality of the Poles is by no means confined to their dress; but extends to the houses, furniture, equipage, and other customs. Generally, their houses are small and low, especially in the country; though many of them imitated the Italian architecture. They never live above stairs, and their houses are disunited. The kitchen is on one side, the stable on another, the dwelling house on another, and the gate in front; all of which form a court, either round or square, as the taste of the owner may dictate. The houses are generally built of wood; but the other buildings of the court are commonly of stone or brick.

In the more wealthy cities, the inside of their houses is hung with tapestry or arras; and all the rest of the household furniture corresponds, in quality, quantity, and style. In those regions of Poland bordering on Tartary, their houses and furniture are less expensive, in consequence of the frequent incursions of the Tartar hordes, who often plunder and destroy them. Therefore, in these countries where the people are exposed to these ravages, the gentry content themselves with a few small and cheap beds, with taffeta curtains, just sufficient for the necessities of the family; and hence arose the custom in these exposed places, of guests carrying with them their beds, when they travel'd through this country.

The nobility seldom have gardens or orchards attached to their houses; though the country is very favorable for the culti-

vation of vegetables and fruit, which would save corn, the most of which is consumed in beer, and other intoxicating liquors.

Although the weather is generally cool, and often extremely cold, yet the Poles usually have a bagnio in the house, containing separate apartments for gentlemen and ladies. There are also public baths in every city and town, for the benefit of the common people, which they frequent both in summer and winter. To their frequent use of baths, may be attributed in a great measure the healthy condition of the people; and particularly their beautiful complexion and fair skin. The young children are daily bathed, all seasons of the year; and being wrapped loose in linen clothes without swathing, they grow up with fair, healthy, well-formed bodies, and straight limbs,—seldom distorted, crooked, or deformed.

The Poles are so fond of show and splendor, that the women of quality seldom leave their houses without a coach and six, though they may wish only to cross the way, either to church or to visit a neighbor; but the gentlemen of rank usually go on horseback, and seldom on foot,—as all pedestrian excursions are considered degrading to noble blood. Both men and women belonging to the higher classes, are always attended with numerous servants of both sexes. The principal senators ride in the middle of their servile retinue, placing their best clothed servants before them. When they travel in the night, they have twenty-four or more white-wax flambeaux carried before the coach, with great pomp and aristocratic splendor. Male or female dwarfs attend the ladies for the purpose of bearing up their trains. These dainty, gaudy travellers, are also attended by an old woman called their *governess*; and an old gentleman who officiates

as their gentleman-usher, following the coach on foot, to help them in and out of it, which always moves very slow.

The inns of Poland are few and far between, except those called by the natives *karczma*,—where travellers are obliged to lodge with the cattle. Those inns, or more properly long stables, are built of rough boards, and covered with straw, without furniture or windows; and destitute of light except what steals its way through the holes made by time and weather, or the crevices of ill-joined boards. In one end of these dens of iniquity and misery, they have a small apartment with a rude and incommo- dious fire-place; from which sleep and comfort are forever ex- cluded, by the tenants of the filthy hovel, which consist of flies, fleas, bugs, and other animals, both man and beast; and are ren- dered still more offensive by the noisome effluvia which surround them. These and similar causes, which infest the lodging apart- ments of these miserable dens, compel the traveller to lodge in his vehicle, or in the open air, or with the beasts of the stall,—rather than be suffocated in one of these loathsome pestiferous brothels.

These inns or stables are usually destitute of tables or beds, except one or two in the most offensive room above described; and even these have no sheets, except very coarse canvas or blankets, which have been so long occupied by others, without change or washing, that straw is considered far preferable, and is much more frequently used by strangers. This straw is gathered up in the morning by the *gospodar* or inn-keeper, and used alter- nately for both man and beast, as occasion may require. The walls of these taverns are filled at short distances from each other with wooden pins, for the guests to hang up their clothes, portmanteaus, and baggage.

In consequence of the miserable accommodations in the inns

of the country, travellers are obliged to furnish themselves with their own conveyances, drawn usually by two horses, in which they carry all their necessaries, provisions, beds, quilts, bolsters, sheets, and the like ; making every calculation to live during the journey, entirely independent of the wretched taverns. This odious feature of society, as found in the public inns, is caused in a great measure by another custom of the nobility, which is still more injurious to community. The gentry of Poland, when they travel, seldom pay for what they call for at the inns, and there is no law for collecting it ; hence, the inn-keepers are careful never to have anything they want, and this destroys their ambition for improvement. When foreigners happen to want provisions for their journey, they generally make application to the *Dvour*, or lord of the village, who immediately supplies them without expense.

As Poland is a very level country, the nobility usually travel in a calash with two horses, which is a very cheap, commodious, and expeditious method of travelling. They commonly have servants for drivers, though the poor lords frequently drive their own team. When they stop at the inn, they put their horses to grass, because the inn-keeper has no hay. Some of them travel on horseback, with a quilt for their bed, about eighteen inches broad, placed under the saddle.

Travellers are frequently injured or interrupted in their journey, by the defective bridges, which often break down, and are seldom repaired. In the winter it is dangerous travelling without a fur case for the feet, which are very liable to freeze in cold weather. Horsemen line their large boots with straw, to keep their feet warm ; and, as an additional protection from the frost, though a very miserable one, they use a plenty of good liquor.

As an additional evil, in the winter the weary traveller who is compelled to lodge at one of these taverns is deprived of sleep, by the continual noise of the peasants of the village, who convene at the public house, where they drink, fight, sing, and dance all night. These public dances of the peasants, the danger of freezing feet and hands, together with the other ordinary inconveniences of travelling, are the great evils which prevent journeying in the winter, except in cases of necessity.

The Poles are a lively people, using a great variety of action in their ordinary conversation. Their usual mode of salutation is to incline their heads and strike one hand on the breast, and at the same time extending the other towards the ground. When a common person meets a superior he bows his head almost to the earth, and waves his hand, with which he touches the bottom of the leg, near the heel of the person to whom the obeisance is paid.*

The diet of the nobility consists of fresh-roasted meats and fowls,—seldom eating any boiled or salt flesh—a living well calculated to promote constitutional vigor, vivacity, and beauty. Their drink is not so fortunate for health, purse, or morals; and consists principally of strong spirits,—being chiefly Hungarian wine burnt,—or anise water, which they use in great quantities through the day. The poorer classes have a liquor distilled from wheat, oats, or barley, which they drink too freely for the purposes of sobriety; and which the gentry frequently use, after rectifying it with anise seeds or aromatics.

The manners and customs of the Poles, in eating and drinking, at their feasts and elsewhere, are various. Their ordinary meat is beef and veal; and as they are not fond of mutton, this dish is

* Edinburgh Encyclo. Art. Poland.

usually left for the servants. They use gray partridges freely ; and are fond of hares, but detest rabbits. Their forests and parks abound with roe-bucks, but contain very few stags. Their wild boars, hogs, poultry, and pigeons are very numerous, and their water-fowls are more numerous in summer than in winter. Their wild oxen, which are abundant, when moderately salted, rank with the choicest dainties of the Poles. There are flocks of wild goats near the mountains of Hungary, that supply the Poles with one of their favorite meats. They are also very fond of dishes made of beavers' tails and bears' paws, when pickled. One of their greatest dainties consists of elk's flesh, which they suffer to remain undressed for fourteen or fifteen days after death ; and sometimes in the winter they hang for a long time, with their bodies entire, containing skin and entrails. In this condition the great men, when they attend the national diet, bring them and hang them at their windows, five or six at a time, until they turn rank, which they afterwards roast and dress like beef. This is considered the most delicious meat, and is confined to the tables of great men.

Poland abounds with heath-cocks, most of which are about the size of a capon ; and, together with the pheasants of Lithuania and the bustards of Prussia, serve to increase the luxuries of the table. They also make liberal use of a little bird, like a large sparrow, found principally in Lowitz ; which comes and goes with the snow, and is therefore called a snow-bird, and is very agreeable to Polish taste. They never cook tame fowls, except such as are brought alive into their kitchens in the morning, and are served on the table for dinner.

The Poles are very fond of fish, which are taken in great numbers, and of excellent quality, from their lakes and rivers.

The Baltic, being the only sea that borders on the country, contains very few fish of any kind, and even these are not very desirable for the table. But this deficiency is well supplied by the lakes and rivers, and particularly the latter, which contain the best fish.

They have the same method of preparing cabbage, called sourcrout, as the Dutch in Europe and America. This is done by slicing it small, and putting it into a tub between layers of salt. The mass is then pressed very hard, and moistened with warm water, and in this situation it ferments and forms a pickle, which preserves it for a year—a dish much more agreeable to the taste than to the smell.

The Poles use different potables, but their most common drink is beer, which is made of wheat and oats ground together, and boiled with hops, except in Prussia, where it is made of malt. This beer is generally of an amber color, having a brisk and poignant sweetness, especially that made for the gentry, which is much better than the common beer of the brewers. They have two kinds of mead made of honey—both red and white; made principally in Lithuania, Russia, and Ukraine; and some of it is manufactured in Prussia and Masovia. At Warsaw it is made by mixing the juice of cherries and blackberries with aromatics. Both the Poles and Lithuanians use several sorts of wine in great quantities, imported from Hungary, Italy, France, and Germany. The Hungarian wines excel the Spanish in strength, and are brought to Cracow over the Carpathian mountains, in large casks drawn by oxen. The best article sells for twenty shillings a Polish pint, nearly equal to three English quarts, and, of course, is not within the means of the common people. The Italian wine is imported overland, which is also too expensive for

general use. The French and Bohemian wines come by way of the Baltic to Dantzic. These are much cheaper, and more extensively used. The most common drink of the masses is whiskey, which they call *strong water*, and is made from wheat, barley, oats, cider, and other articles, and used with water. The gentry seldom drink it, except in the winter, after it is rectified, and flavored with anise seeds and other aromatics.

The Poles seldom eat any breakfast, and are not fond of cold meat. In the morning, both men and women generally drink ginger, yolks of eggs, and sugar boiled in beer. They are extravagantly fond of roasted pig; but their sauces, to foreigners, are far from being agreeable. The great men seldom dine without a dish of peas and sliced bacon. They devour with great greediness all kinds of mushrooms—including those that cleave to the trees—which they gather and dry for future use. They use poppy-seeds in great quantities, by drinking the milk, or juice, extracted from them, and by making it into several sauces. They also manufacture oil from this seed, as well as from the seed of hemp and flax, which they eat on fast days.

They seldom use pottage, except a few dishes prepared by French cooks, which they consider a great dainty. They boil their meat very little. Their sauces are very different from other European tables; some of which are yellow and contain saffron, others are white, composed chiefly of cream; another dish is gray and made of onions; and a black dish, made of the juice of plums, completes their variety of sauces. These dishes are mingled with sugar, pepper, cinnamon, ginger, cloves, nutmeg, capers, kernels of pineapples, and prunes. Their fish sauces excel both the English and French. They use spices in such abundance, that some of the wealthy nobility have expended

more than fifty thousand livres a year for that single commodity. They use a great variety of potherbs, sweetmeats of several kinds, and all kinds of dessert fruits and nuts.

The Poles commonly use very little bread, with large quantities of meat, and are very fond of roots. One of their most popular dishes is *crachat*, made of coarse wheat-flour, barley, millet, or oats; and sometimes of a small grain called *manna*. This dish, which is very palatable when well-dressed, is usually prepared on flesh-days, with milk and butter; and on fast-days only with oil. The common people, whose slavery denies them the luxury of wheat bread, have long been accustomed, in some parts of the country, to make their bread of acorns, dried and ground.

When the Poles make a feast the host seldom furnishes the table either with spoons, knives, or forks; but each guest, or his servant, brings them with him, and after the banquet is over carries them home. Each one at the table has a napkin, made of a broad piece of starched linen, which is sewed to the table cloth, to prevent it from being stolen by the servants. After the guests are seated at the table, the gates of the house are immediately closed, and are not opened until the table is cleared, and an inventory taken of the plate, as a precaution against the peculiar failings of the footmen, who are always sure to diminish the number of the plate, and other valuable articles, every opportunity.

Every person of rank and means has his banquet-hall in his house, devoted exclusively to feasts and entertainments. In these halls is found a large table, always loaded with both victuals and drink, adorned with a great variety of valuable plate, from which the cloth is seldom removed, until its original color is lost in the accumulated dust of months—equally offensive to sight and smell. The banquet-hall is furnished with a gallery for a

band of music ; which generally consists of violins and portable organs.

The invited guests always bring their footmen with them. As soon as the masters are seated at the table, they immediately give half the bread and meat to their servants, who stand behind them eating and drinking over their shoulders, while, at the same time, they wait on their lords when they call. When the master asks twice for wine, the servant brings a double quantity, which they both drink alternately from the same glass without rinsing. The large quantities of victuals brought from the kitchen are seldom returned, for the reason that the servants generally steal what they do not eat. After the cloth is removed, the Poles retain their seats for a long time, while they excessively indulge in wine. They are very dexterous at carving, and will cut a partridge into six parts almost with a single blow of the knife, holding it on the end of a fork. While eating, they dismiss all other care and business ; and when sent for, however urgent the request, they seldom leave the table until they have finished their meal.

After eating comes the tobacco. The Poles are said to excel all others in the art of smoking. Their apparatus consists of a pipe passing through a little round box, in which they have previously placed a sponge filled with the best vinegar or other agreeable and odoriferous liquid or substance, which, by means of small holes through the pipe, diffuses its redolence to the smoke, and is thereby greatly improved in its agreeable qualities, adding much to the pleasure of the dangerous and useless habit of smoking. They sometimes added another box in the same way, containing, perhaps, different and more costly essences, both of which were so connected with the pipe as to enable the

smoker to enjoy the agreeable qualities of their contents with every breath. One box is placed about five inches from the bowl of the pipe, and the other the same distance from the first.

These feasts are made alternately by all the friends and relations of the neighborhood, both men and women. Both sexes associate and converse freely on these occasions, which some use for the purpose of contracting marriage, and others for political discussions and intrigues, it being understood that the time is to be principally devoted to love and politics—two fruitful sources of discord, and not unfrequently terminate in angry words and bloody blows. The old custom of brimmers reigns equally at feasts, in the taverns, and on saints' days, and prevails in every rum-shop and den throughout the kingdom. This vicious habit of manufacturing drunkards against their will—a practice which deserves the execration of every friend of humanity—has ever been the cause of more war, murder, poverty, and bloodshed in Poland, than any other sin in their long catalogue of offences.

The Poles of the male sex cut their hair about their ears like monks, leaving only a small lock on the top of their heads; and shave off all the beard from their face, leaving only one large whisker. They walk gravely, with a pole-axe in their hands, and a sabre hanging by their side, which they never put off until they retire to bed. Their sabre is suspended from the shoulders by a strap of leather, to which is also fastened a handkerchief, a knife and sheath, and a small stone set in a silver case to whet their knife upon. They wash their faces and necks every morning in cold water, during all seasons of the year; and the parents train up their children to the same habits of cleanliness. The nobility indulge and delight in splendid and costly clothing; and

on public occasions frequently gratify this passion by exhausting their fortunes, and when this fails, resort to the shameful expedient of appearing in a borrowed garb. They were extremely fond of foreign fashions, particularly of Asiatic origin. The soldiers, who consisted principally of the nobility, on their return from foreign wars, introduced among the Poles the manners, customs, and dress of the nations which they had conquered, or by whom they had been made prisoners. After their wars with the Muscovites, according to the costume of that country, they afterwards wore for a time large and long gowns, lined throughout with rich furs, surmounted with high-crowned and broad-brimmed hats. Afterwards, when they had fought with the Turks in Valachia, they changed the fashion of their dress to the Turkish and Tartarian habits; and at subsequent periods, when the arts of war had introduced them to the manners and customs of the Swedes and Germans, they again changed their wardrobes and toilet in conformity to the fashions of their new associates.

The prevailing costume of the Poles during the reign of Sobi-eski, and later, consists of a vest that reaches down to the middle of the legs, with a long robe, similar to the modern morning gowns of Europeans, lined with fur, and tied about the waist with a sash. They wear small boots with iron heels, with fur caps upon their heads, and a sabre or cutlass girt about their loins. When they appear on horseback, which is the chief delight of a Pole, they wear, in addition to the articles before described, a short cloak hanging over their shoulders, similar to an Irish mantle, generally covered with fur inside and out. The more wealthy families use the furs of sables, imported from Muscovy; but the great majority are compelled by their purse, to wear skins of tigers, leopards, panthers, and other gray furs

taken from the common animals of Poland. Some of their most costly fur dresses are worth a thousand crowns; but they are seldom worn except at Diets, and they descend from father to son as heir-looms. In Lithuania, the lower classes of society make their shoes from the bark of trees, which they wrap about, and put under the soles of their feet. These shoes they call *chodakys*. From the tenderest bark of the forest they manufacture stockings, by turning and winding it around the calves of their legs. Stopping at a proper distance before entering a town, they always remove the old, and put on new *chodakys*, which they carry with them for that purpose. These humble articles of trade almost every countryman makes, so that it is a common proverb in Poland, that "there are more shoemakers in Lithuania than in all Europe besides." The same people also wear a sort of dress, with sleeves woven all of a piece, which they call *samodzialka*. This habit is commonly gray and very thick, and worn equally by men and women among the rustic classes. Some of the Poles, preferring the French fashions, wear linen, lace, point, perukes, and swords; and those who retain the Polish dress, have no other linen but shirts and drawers, and some of them socks, while many have neither. In general the gentry, and not unfrequently some of the great men, put sifted chaff in their boots, as a substitute for socks; but among the peasants linen is very seldom found.

The extravagance of both men and women in Poland has ever been proverbial. Some of them have fifty suits of clothes at the same time, and all of the richest and most costly material. And what is still more surprising, their pride and folly, their dress and their servants, who are frequently numerous, and clothed in the same costly attire worn by themselves, continued

to embarrass them, until, by their wild Asiatic prodigality, they soon spent their fortunes, and were reduced to poverty and extreme want. All the men commonly wear whiskers, and shave their heads, leaving only a small circle of hair on the crown. The summer dress of the peasants consists of a shirt and drawers of coarse linen, without shoes or stockings, and wearing round caps or hats. The dress of the higher classes, both male and female, is rich and elegant. A gentleman's dress on foot is a waistcoat with sleeves, over which they wear a robe of a different color, that hangs down below the knee, and is fastened round the waist with a sash or girdle. The sleeves of the upper garment, in warm weather, are tied behind the shoulders. A sabre is always an indispensable part of their dress, as a mark of nobility. In summer, both the robe and dress is made of silk, and in the winter of cloth edged with fur. They wear caps or bonnets, and buskins of yellow leather, the heels of which are plated with iron or steel.

The dress and fashions of females, in Poland, approach nearer to those of the male sex than in most other countries. It is the pride of ladies of rank to make themselves lean and slim in appearance; but they despise painting and all artificial colors for improving their complexion; preferring the beauties, the crimson tints, and carnation hues of nature, to the hypocrisy of the toilet. Formerly the ladies dressed their heads only with their beautiful flaxen or raven locks, decorated with garlands composed of gold, gems, flowers, silk, and other similar ornaments; but in more modern times, they wear silk caps bound with fur, like the gentlemen. They are fond of imitating the fashions of foreign courts; and in the reign of Sobieski, the women of quality, especially those who resided at court, adopted the French style, in imitation

of the queen who was from a French family. The French merchants so completely controlled the ladies of court, that they could sell the most extravagant and ridiculous articles of female attire, at almost any price they pleased to ask. The women of the lower classes wear upon their heads a wrapper of white linen, under which their hair is braided, and hangs down in two plaits. Some suspend a long piece of white linen hanging round the side of the face, and covering their bodies below their knees, as if they were doing penance. The ladies of rank wear a polonaise or long robe of silk edged with fur.

The Poles are extremely fond of sports and amusements. Hunting is a favorite exercise, and among the choicest treats of the chase is the conquest of the Zubra, a wild beast without cloven feet. These animals, which are numerous in Lithuania, constitute one of the chief luxuries of their tables. The Poles are trained and expert horsemen, and the art of good horsemanship forms one of their most exhilarating amusements, as well as an important branch of their education. They are passionately fond of dancing, leaping, vaulting, jumping, and other similar exercises, and are exceedingly fond of talking, public speaking, and elocution; and in these respects, as well as in many other manners and customs, they resemble the French. Riding, fencing, dancing, music, and travelling, are their favorite amusements and exercise, and their daily practice is seldom omitted. Of all these pastimes, music and dancing are their darling pleasures. According to the established rules of every family, the nurses are regularly required to teach the children music and dancing as soon as they can walk. It is usual in well regulated families, to see two little children hardly old enough to walk straight—perhaps a brother and sister—tripping and waltzing about the room like little fairies,

timing their fantastic movements to the dull notes of their glad nurses, or to the simple lays of their servants' pipes. The Poles are so addicted to music from early infancy, that they mingle it with all their industry and amusements; with all their devotions and military evolutions, as an indispensable service of Church and State. The barge-men may be frequently heard playing their violins as they sail down the Vistula, laden with corn; while at the same time, the hunter's horn is winding its cheerful notes on the mountains, and the deep-toned organ is pouring its rich strains of harmony over a congregation of devout worshippers, while they are chanting their *Te Deum* in honor of their hard won victories.

The Poles, in their manner of hunting, still retain the customs of their Scythian ancestors. In hunting their wild oxen, after forming a circle round a forest, mountain, or plain, with a great number of well-armed horsemen, they gradually march in regular radii towards the centre. Having surrounded, and thus secured their game, each hunter in his turn rides up to the enraged animal, and darts him with an arrow, when the furious beast, feeling himself wounded, eagerly pursues its enemy; while another person darting him from behind, the exasperated creature instantly wheels and pursues his new antagonists, until the poor beast, after receiving the darts of all the company, and chasing each in his turn, being exhausted by his rage, fighting, and wounds, falls down helpless, and is easily taken or killed. The Poles have another way of taking them in the woods, by means of a brush-fence and felled trees, surrounding a large circle of country, containing sometimes many of these animals. The rustics having completed the enclosure, and erected a stage for spectators, when each hunter has taken his post, the animals are frightened into

the centre of the enclosure by dogs and the loud vociferation of the assailants. As they move towards each person, they are wounded with darts, which causes them to run with great force against their enemy, who, protected by the trees, gives the enraged animal his death wound. If the wounded ox break through the fence, then the next hunter holds out a piece of red cloth, which attracts the beast, so that he turns in pursuit of it, who being ready for the rencounter, commonly kills him ; or in case of danger, his neighbor resorts to the same stratagem, which never fails of diverting the fury of the animal. These wild oxen possess the power of drawing a man to them with their rough tongue, if they can reach any part of his clothing.

A bear hunt in Poland is a rare sport. They are usually taken with nets, both old and young, whether large or small. When the hunters have once sprung their net on a bear, all of them gather round him on horseback in great numbers, and having pinned down his head and feet to the ground with large wooden forks, they bind him with strong hempen cords, so that he cannot stir ; and in this helpless condition they roll him into a large wooden cage, while the knots of the cords are so constructed, that with one artful pull the animal may be unloosed. Here he is confined until they wish again to hunt him for sport, when they let him out of the cage by lifting up a trap-door.

The horse race, from the earliest history of the Poles, has been one of their favorite amusements. Such has ever been the passion for the sports of horsemanship, that, in the choice of their early kings or dukes, they subjected the election of the rival candidates to the chance of the race. On the death of Lechus I., in 776, a horse race was appointed for the election of his successor. On the day of the election a stone pillar was raised

before Cracow, on which were laid the crown, sceptre, globe, and other regalia; and at the same time the herald proclaimed the throne to be the property of the candidate who first reached the goal in the race from the river Pradnic. Immediately the several candidates made their appearance; and one Lechus having previously perpetrated a fraud on the other candidates, by placing iron spikes in the road where the race was to be run, whereby the horses of his competitors were lamed, he succeeded in reaching the pillar first. But on the discovery of the fraud, instead of being chosen king, he was torn in pieces on the spot by the enraged Poles, who boasted of their integrity and equality. Lechus II., one of the candidates, who was thus defrauded, was the successful candidate, who being so poor that he was not able to run with a horse, made the race on foot; and by his great fleetness, and in consequence of the other horses being lamed by the spikes, reached the goal next to the fraudulent candidate, and was made king.

The marriages of the Polish nobility are celebrated by costly feasts, which generally continue three days. When the waiting maid of a lady is married, her mistress commonly makes as splendid a wedding as for one of her daughters. When the queen's maid of honor, or any senator or great lord is to be married, the king gives a great feast during the first and second day. On these occasions a large banquet-house is selected, richly furnished, where three tables are spread with every luxury the country can afford. The first table is honored with the king and queen, who are seated facing the hall. Next to the queen are seated the happy couple, who are to be married; and next to the king are placed the Pope's Nuncio, and the archbishop of Gnesne. Opposite to the king and queen, at the same table, sit the foreign

ambassadors. At the two other tables, extending the whole length of the hall, are seated in aristocratic order, by an officer, all the ladies, senators, and state officers, except such as wait on the king and queen, each in his proper place, according to rank. These marriage feasts usually commence at the hour of four or five in the afternoon, and continue until two or three in the morning. During the banquet the senators, forgetting all their boasted native democracy, rise often from their seats, and like cowardly, aristocratic slaves, approaching the king, bowing low on their knees, drink his majesty's health. At these festivities they eat very little ; but drink Hungarian wine too freely for their sobriety, modesty, and health.

The ladies, under the dictates of their usual modesty, only touch the tops of the sparkling glasses with their ruby lips, and very wisely pour the poisonous beverage into their plates, instead of sullyng their beauty, and deranging their sparkling wit, by swallowing the inebriating draught. When they have thus enjoyed their good cheer for five or six hours at the table, the musical band, consisting of violins and organs, strike up their festive strains ; and those who have not deranged their nerves and muscles by living too fast, spend the remainder of the time in dancing. In these democratic dances all join without distinction of age, sex, or rank. The dance opens with the aged senators and old ladies, trembling with grey locks and time-worn faces, tottering on feeble limbs and unwieldy joints, chattering with cracked voices, and groping with blurred vision, who move slowly over the floor, like so many friars or nuns in funeral procession, all robbed of their youthful beauties and energies by the stealthy hand of time. At length the company, wearied with this mockery of poetic motion, and panting for their turn on the

enchancing floor—while the grey hairs are returning to their seats, where they more properly belong—the fiery, vigorous, and dashing youth of both sexes whirl into the giddy waltz or fantastic dance—sparkling with all the beauty and gaiety of Polish youth—dazzling the eyes of the admiring, wondering beholders with the glitter of their jewels, the splendor of their dress, and the eloquence of their attitudes and motions.

On the second day of the wedding feast, all the guests present the bride with some new present, some of them very costly, and nothing less than a small piece of gold or silver plate. All these valuable presents are made in the presence of the queen, before they sit down to the table. These bridal presents frequently constitute the principal part of the bride's marriage portion, and sometimes amount to a princely fortune. The former princess of Poland, when she was married to the elector of Bavaria, received marriage presents worth over one hundred thousand crowns.

On the third day are solemnized the espousals. On this interesting day all the wedding guests, mounted on horseback, and borne by the most splendid chargers of the country, accompany the bride and bridegroom to the church to witness the marriage ceremony, who on their return always pass by the king's palace. During all the time of going and returning from the church, the company are greeted and enlivened by the sound of trumpets, discoursing eloquently in national and festive airs, from the elevated balconies on both sides of the way. But the finale of all this connubial farce, aristocratic pomp, and soulless love, yet remains to be described. When the bride has been conducted to her husband's house, and after partaking of a sumptuous feast there prepared—after the company have returned from several

days of excitement, revelry, and debauch—the bewildered bride, now returning to her sober senses, begins to cry, sometimes at the top of her voice, according to the custom of the country, which requires brides to weep on such occasions, as evidence of their love, fidelity, and sober reflection. The custom of the Poles, which probably had its origin in the anxiety of the Established Church to increase its revenues, prohibits the marriage of god-fathers and god-mothers without a dispensation from the bishop of the diocese, because in the eyes of the law they are viewed as cousins and relations by virtue of their office.

The three most important events in the life of a Pole are his birth, marriage, and death. The marriages and funerals of the nobility are celebrated with equal pomp. The ceremonies of burial are attended with such magnificent pageantry, that one would rather take them for triumphs than interments. After the corpse has been deposited in a splendid coffin, richly ornamented and dressed, it is placed in a rich hearse or chariot, drawn by six grey horses, all covered with black housings. The coffin is covered with a large black velvet pall, tastefully thrown over it in folds, decorated with a cross of red satin in the middle, and six long black silk tassels hanging down from it, which are held up by as many domestics of the deceased, all dressed in full mourning. Before the chariot march several priests, monks, and a numerous train of people, each one carrying a white wax torch, blazing in his hand. Next in order, and immediately before the hearse, come three men on horseback, who carry the arms of the deceased, one bearing his sword, another his lance, and a third his dart.

The funeral of a king or queen commences with the moment of death. As soon as the king expires, he is laid upon the funereal

bed of state ; and a certain number of the senators both ecclesiastical and laic, are appointed to constantly attend about the royal corpse. The government immediately orders all necessary expenses for the funeral to be paid out of the crown revenues. The funeral of a Polish queen is also attended with the same ceremonies, expense, and pomp as that of a king.

The style of mourning which follows as a necessary sequel of the funeral, so far as the customs of the gentlemen are concerned, is very similar to other civilized nations of Europe ; but with the females the case is different. The ladies of quality are dressed in a cloth of very coarse, black stuff, with linen not much finer than canvass ; and the greater the rank of the person, the coarser were the linen and stuff. The senators, deputies, and all others who appeared at the Diet of election, after the funeral, were required to dress in black, while the dress of foreigners remained unaltered.

The manners and customs of the Lithuanians differ, in some respects, from the other Polish provinces, and are supposed to be, in some instances, of Roman origin ; such as burning their dead, divining by augurs, worshipping the god *Æsculapius* under the form of a servant, and other similar superstitions. In their courts of justice, the tenth part of the property recovered in real actions, goes to the judge, and must be paid into court, when the decision is made, and before execution. In personal actions, he claims one half the damages given to the plaintiff. In Lithuania murder is punished only by fine, the same as in Poland. If the murderer run away, the corpse of the murdered person must be preserved, for the reason that the offender cannot be condemned till he has seen the body of the person he has slain. The judge, as a part of his salary, takes all stolen goods, wherever

they may be found. These Lithuanian judges, who, in more modern times, were appointed the same as in Poland, formerly were limited to two palatines, and had no particular place of business. Hence, all suitors, in the pursuit of justice, were obliged to follow these erratic jurists in all parts of the country, wherever pleasure or profit led them. These palatines had their deputies, whose official duties were limited to adjudicating differences at public feasts, and generally decided in favor of the party who paid the greatest bribe.

The Lithuanian nobility were first indebted for their equal privileges with the Polish nobles, to Jagellon and his successor, Alexander ; and after this, the manners and customs of the two races began to assimilate. About the same time similar rights were granted to the gentry of Russia, Podolia, and Prussia. The condition of the Lithuanian peasantry is much worse, and less civilized in Lithuania, than in Poland Proper. In the former province, it is nothing uncommon for the gentry, attended with a numerous troop of servants, to enter into the houses of the common people, and after taking all that they have which may happen to please them, close these shameful scenes of violence, by beating and abusing the insulted and robbed inhabitants in the presence of their families. If the injured rustics apply to their lord for relief, the only justice they usually obtain is, the payment of extortionate fees for promised redress ; which is deferred until his last dollar is exhausted by extortion.

The peasantry in Poland work for their lords only three or four days in the week ; but in Lithuania they labor five or six, reserving to themselves only Monday ; and when their masters want them on that day, which is very frequent, they are then compelled to work for themselves on the Sabbath, without any

holidays or time for rest. These unfortunate slaves are further oppressed by the heavy taxes which they are compelled to pay the state three or four times a year; besides being obliged to satisfy the frequent arbitrary impositions of their lords. When a lord condemns his slave to death for any cause, criminal or innocent, he is compelled to be his own executioner by hanging himself. Their living, which is not as good as the food of the Polish peasants, consists of coarse, black, heavy bread made of rye, smutty wheat, and barley ground together. Their meat consists of flesh, fish, and fowls. They are generally good marksmen, and support their families principally by hunting. Every house in the country is furnished with four or five hand-mills, in which they grind their corn. While engaged in this hard labor, they sing away the sad hours of their miserable existence, occasionally consoling themselves, by repeating as a sort of prayer the word *Melior*, by which they mean to say they hope for better days. - They have long wooden pipes they sound as hunting horns, and for other purposes; which produce notes so loud and harsh, as almost to deafen strangers.

The Lithuanian rustics are almost uniformly dressed in a coarse ash-colored habit, with shoes and stockings made of bark. They build for themselves rude chariots, or waggons, of light structure, made of wood, by winding and interweaving boughs with each other. They have a covering of the same material and fashion; but the wheels are each made of one flat, round piece of wood. These rude chariots, when several of them are drawn in company, whose axles are not well fitted and never greased, make an intolerable, loud, disagreeable, and squeaking noise, the sure precursor to the nervous stranger of fever, ague, toothache, and the horrors.

According to the custom of the Lithuanian peasantry, a maid never marries till she is twenty-four or thirty years of age; nor until after she has made, with her own hands, several baskets of clothes of various kinds, which, at the time of her marriage, she must distribute among the guests accompanying her husband to the wedding. In addition to these qualifications, she must have served a regular apprenticeship with her mother, in acquiring a practical knowledge of all the arts of housewifery. The matches are always made by friends, when both negotiators inquire more strictly into the manners and moral character of the young couple than after their property—an important inquiry, which too frequently is overlooked in marriage contracts. The Lithuanian peasantry are generally peaceable and honest. The mothers are famous for their chastity, and the virtuous education of their daughters; who are extremely modest, and are compelled to wear bells before and behind, that their mothers may know where they are, and from whose guardian care the girls are not permitted to depart until after marriage.

The Samogitians differ but little in their manners and customs from the Lithuanians; though the former are less industrious; and consequently, are not so well supplied with the comforts of life. Instead of bread, the Samogitians use large turnips; which in that soil grow spontaneously, without sowing or culture, as large as a man's head. Like all other uncivilized and uneducated people, they know how to manufacture intoxicating liquors. Their method of making their inebriating drinks, which consist of mead, metheglin, and beer, is a curiosity. After boiling the liquor all night, they throw into it successively several hot stones, and then put it into vessels made of bark. Among these rustics intemperance commands a premium, and the greatest drunkard re-

ceives a reward for his vice—consisting of a shirt, frock, and handkerchief. The Samogitians frequently live to the prolonged age of a hundred and twenty years ; which by some is attributed to their quiet disposition and distinguished equanimity. They are generally more bold, robust, and nimble, than the Lithuanians ; and are extremely courageous and active in battle,—armed with a coat of mail and a hunter's javelin.

No part of the Polish provinces is so fruitful with honey as Samogitia. Almost every tree contains a swarm of bees ; and this honey, which is more free from wax than that of other countries, is of a superior quality, and always commands the best price. It is regarded by the poor peasantry as their manna from heaven. Although agriculture is little known, and much less practised, yet the great salubrity of the atmosphere, and richness of the soil, in a great measure supply the want of human culture, and produce great crops. The people plough, sow, and harrow all at the same time ; and their lands, after they are burnt over, will bear the most valuable crops in abundance, seven or eight years in succession without manure. They burn the wood on the land ; and if they meet with large and tall trees, they do not cut them down, but content themselves with pruning off the side branches, so that the ground can enjoy the rays of the sun.

This operation of pruning is performed by climbing the tree ; and so thick and broad are the spreading branches, that, in some forests, one peasant is said to have pruned a thousand trees without once descending to the ground. In performing this surprising operation, each peasant, who follows the business of trimming as a profession, provides himself with a rope, chair, or swing, made like a stirrup, which he fastens to a long cord, and having cast it over an arm of the tree, a boy on the ground draws him

up and down. Having thus ascended a proper height by means of another cord, he acquires the art of transferring the rustic aeronaut from one tree to another ; who, with his brush-hook hanging by his side, strikes off the branches with wonderful rapidity.

Their method of sowing is in some respects an improvement. This is performed by mixing two parts of barley with one of wheat, which are sowed together in the spring ; so that the barley may be mowed for the first harvest, and the wheat in the second. In times of war they secure their corn by burying it in a vault under ground, which is constructed for that purpose by posts and bark. When they harvest their grain, they first dry it with heat and smoke, before they deposit it in their granaries ; and by this means they can preserve it sound and fit for use several years.

In Polish Prussia, the manners and customs of both gentry and commonalty are, in some respects, peculiar to themselves. They are not so gaudy and extravagant in their habits as the Poles, and particularly the Prussian peasants, who wear long, straight coats of leather, made of the skins of animals, dressed with their hair and wool. Formerly, the Prussians dwelt in wag-gons, or in huts made of boughs twisted together. In many parts of the country, until a very recent period, the commonalty are not much improved in architecture ; for they usually live in hovels built of stakes, tied together by withes, and covered with earth or fern ; where they sleep on the ground on skins of beasts or on straw. They are naturally contented with a spare diet, and addicted to indolence, intemperance, and occasional gluttony. Formerly, their common drink consisted of water, or mare's milk, mixed with blood ; both of which have been superseded by beer

and mead. Their ordinary food is fish and roots; though the use of the latter was not understood previous to the settlement of the Teutonic order among them. The manners and customs of the Prussian nobility are similar to those of the Poles.*

SECTION XIX.

CONCLUSIONS.

In reviewing this brief sketch of society, already made, in its origin and progress, and its numerous national and other organizations, we are struck with the remarkable uniformity of cause and effect, the wonderful symmetry of sequences, and other social phenomena; all of which point most significantly to one uniform and irresistible conclusion,—that there exist certain fundamental principles of social law, established by an all-wise, benevolent, and just governor of the universe, for the control and government of all human society, which cannot be violated with impunity.

In the outset of our investigations of social law, the rules and principles for the government of all *domestic* society first present themselves for consideration. The law of marriage, which regulates all the duties, relations, and rights of husband and wife—enjoining chastity, mutual and reciprocal respect, courtesy, support, aid, and comfort, and virtuous constancy for life,—has ever been a cardinal rule of social existence, ever since the union of

* Connor II. 189—235. The manners and customs of the Poles and the state of society, are described in this chapter as they existed in the reign of John Sobieski; and it would seem, on comparing Connor's history of Poland, who travelled in this country in 1690, with Stephens' travels in the same regions in 1835, that the condition of the peasantry has undergone very little improvement for the last one hundred and forty years.

Adam and Eve in Eden. Nearly allied to this elementary law, are the reciprocal duties of parent and child, brother and sister, master and servant, and all the domestic relations, where the greatest good and happiness of all are to be consulted, by parental authority and filial obedience, supported by fraternal kindness in harmony with the best interests of the domestic circle.

The nature and origin of voluntary, or simple society, is best understood from the principles of the compact on which it is founded. All societies originate in some form of contract, generally called a constitution, adopted by each individual of the society on the one part, and the society as a whole on the other part; by which each party promises to do certain things for the others, founded in moral obligation and good faith, without which no society can long exist. The essence of this social contract is restricted to those things, and those only, for which the parties have thus pledged themselves to each other; and in all other respects they are free from each other's claims. Both parties are bound to fulfil their engagements; and when either fails, the contract is violated. The society has no right to impose upon the individuals any other obligations than those required by the constitution; and beyond this limit they are no society, and have no power, and can bind no one. As all the members enter the society on the same terms, they are, of course, equals; and all possess equal rights and privileges, and subject to the same obligations.

The object of all social compacts is action; and this can be done only in one of three ways; by unanimity, by a minority, or by a majority. Unanimity in social communities, where imperfection, ambition, prejudice, and conflicting interests prevail, is generally impossible. To attempt to govern the majority by a mino-

rity, would be equally absurd and unreasonable ; and, of course, every voluntary society must be governed by a majority. The majority, although vested with the whole power of the society, derives its power entirely from the society, and has no other ; and as the social power is limited by the mutual concessions of each individual and bounds its individual obligations, the power of the majority is confined to the same restrictions. Hence the majority has no right to do anything which the individuals composing the society are not authorized to do. They have no right to change the object of the society, they have no right to do anything beyond or different from the original object of the society ; nor have they the right to do anything in a different manner, from that which was agreed on when the society formed, nor can they do any act which violates the principle of the entire social equality of the members. While the majority act within the limits of their delegated authority, each individual of this society is bound by the laws of the company ; and the society is bound by all its obligations to the individuals. But if the society, or the majority, violate these engagements, and pervert the objects of the constitution, their acts are void, and not binding upon any member.*

And such is the general law of corporate society. A corporation is a society established for certain purposes, to be executed in a certain manner—being artificial persons who may maintain a perpetual succession and enjoy legal immortality for the advancement of religion, learning, and commerce, in order to preserve entire and forever, those rights and immunities, which, if they were granted only to those individuals of which the body corporate is composed, would, upon their death, be lost. Hence,

* Wayland's Moral Science, 332.

whoever joins the society joins it on these conditions; and as long as the majority or minority acts in conformity to these principles, the one thus acting is the true original corporation, and owns the corporate property. When the society so alters its sentiments as to change the objects and principles of the institution, it is then of course dissolved. Those who pursue the legitimate business and rules of the society, whether few or many, are the original society, and own the property; and those who pervert its objects or change its principles are out of its jurisdiction.

Civil society is unquestionably an institution of God. This is evident from the original propensities common to all men, and from human necessities arising from the peculiar conditions of our existence. A general love for society, which commences in early life; the misery of solitude, which is the severest punishment known to the law—the fact that a disposition to separate one's self from society, is always indicative of approaching insanity, are all so many incontestable arguments in favor of the great social law, established in human nature by the Creator.

The numerous and various forms of human attachment confirm the same truth. The attachment between the sexes, which is the origin of all society, by which each makes a limited surrender of happiness to the other, for the mutual benefit of both; the love of parents to children, and children to parents, and all the numerous affections and attachments of the domestic relations, are all arguments to the same point. Nor is this all. The feelings of friendship between persons of similar habits and pursuits—the love of benevolence for those who are in want and distress—the love of approbation, which prompts us to self-denial, and secures the good opinion of those around us, are all instincts or propensities, which are possessed in common

by all human beings, and can only be gratified by the enjoyment of society, and are clear indications of the design of the Supreme Being in forming man subject to social law.

Man commences his existence in the most helpless and dependent manner of all the animal creation; and without social aid he would soon perish in the first moments of infancy. Without society there would be no human progression, no acquisition of knowledge, wealth, or power—no division of labor, no accumulation of capital.

There is one, at least, important distinction between voluntary society and civil society. In a simple or voluntary society, the social compact is voluntary, and may be dissolved at the pleasure of the parties, or it ceases to be binding when the conditions are violated by the other party. But civil society being an institution of heaven, its obligations are ever binding, though either party may be guilty of violations of the social compact. Civil society being of divine origin, it must be established and conducted in conformity to the divine will, and every member who obeys its laws, is entitled to equal rights under it.

Civil society is essentially a mutual compact, entered into between any individual and all who compose the society; and from these mutual concessions of the parties arise the mutual obligations of each. Hence every man is bound to become a member of civil society, obey its laws and support its institutions. Every member of society virtually engages to abstain from violating its laws; to surrender to the social power the right of self-protection, and yields to the civil arm the right to redress his wrongs. On the other hand, society engages to protect the individual in the enjoyment of all his rights, and redress all his wrongs. Society may be modified and improved in furtherance

of its lawful objects, and for the greatest good of the greatest number, the majority ever ruling.

Every citizen is bound to observe in good faith the contract which he has made with society, to observe the law of reciprocity, to surrender the right of redressing his own wrongs entirely to society, to obey all laws made in conformity to the constitutional powers and interests of society, to use all the necessary exertion to enforce the laws of society, and secure to every one his just rights, to render to every individual a just redress of all injuries, to detect and punish crime, to bear his proportion of public expense, and do all he can to improve the intellectual and moral condition of man.

The laws of government and national society, founded on these principles, are explained in the chapters on government and law, and require no further illustration in a work of this nature.

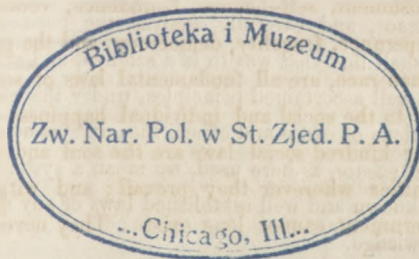
There are still a certain class of laws applicable to all classes and organizations of society. The law of progression, marriage, the Christian Sabbath, the all-controlling principle of self-interest, the law of virtue, benevolence, reciprocity, justice, mutual dependence, government, the law of home, and domestic happiness; liberty, fraternity, obedience, equality, peace, morals, religion, property, politeness, intelligence, self-esteem, personal respect for all according to their moral worth; law, merited punishment, self-defence, confidence, veracity, order, industry, temperance, frugality, democracy, and the general welfare of the human race, are all fundamental laws of society, and all necessary to the social and individual happiness of man. These and other kindred social laws are the soul and life of civilized communities wherever they prevail; and without them a sound government cannot long exist. They never existed in Poland,

except in such a limited and perverted state, as to destroy their utility, and of course Polish society was left to the control of pastoral barbarity and pagan degradation.

Surely the immortal Roman jurist in defining social law has well said: "*Nec erit alia lex Romæ, alia Athænis, alia nunc, alia posthac; sed et omnes gentes, et omni tempore, una lex et sempiterna, et immortalis continebit.*"*

Upon a general review of the social condition of Poland, after considering their savage ancestors and barbarous associates, the numerous antagonistical races which composed the distracted republic, the unfortunate social classes which served to disunite the community, the low manners and customs by which they were controlled, and the erroneous social principles which they adopted, our surprise at once ceases at their misfortune and degraded condition, continued for more than two thousand years. And humanity, instead of condemning unfortunate Poland to eternal exile, and national slavery, the worst of all punishments, lingering with grief over the tomb of this fallen nation, freely pities and forgives.

* Translation. It is not the law of Rome, neither of Athens; nor of the present nor the future; but it is one law of all nations and of all time, and is of universal and eternal obligation.



CHAPTER XVII.

WEALTH.

General Principles of Wealth—Capital—Productions—Exchange—Consumption—Wealth of Warsaw—Wealth of Cracow—Wealth of Galicia—Wealth of Posen—Wealth of Polish Prussia—Wealth of other Polish Provinces and Towns.

SECTION I.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF WEALTH.

WEALTH, when viewed only in the concrete, not unfrequently assumes a dazzling and deceptive appearance to the young and the ambitious. To superficial observers, the acquisition or loss of property appears to be a matter of luck, accident, or a freak of fortune, without rule, law, or system. But if we examine the subject in the abstract, and carefully analyze the business of money-making, we shall find that wealth is a science, and subject to certain fixed and well ascertained principles, under the control of the laws and relations of cause and effect, the same as other sciences. By the word *science*, as here used, we mean a systematic arrangement of the known and well established laws of any department of human knowledge.

The usual experience of life will satisfy any one on sober reflection, that the Creator has subjected the blessings of wealth and the miseries of poverty to a system of determinate laws, to which the rich and the poor are alike amenable. Every one knows that wealth is acquired by wisdom, integrity, industry, and economy; and without these virtues, poverty is the invariable consequence and punishment. The science of wealth includes those laws of industry and frugality by which it is acquired, retained, or lost, in accordance with the natural laws of the human constitution and social organization. These laws are usually divided into four general departments, namely—capital, productions, exchange, and consumption. The science of wealth, when properly understood and reduced to practice, is as certain and invariable in its consequences as the laws of any other science; and, as a general rule, to which there are but few exceptions of misfortune, he who understands and practises the laws of wealth, is as sure of riches, or at least a competent living, as any other attainment which is dependent on his own exertions.

It is conceded that an undue importance should not be attached to the acquisition of wealth; but still an independent competency, at least within the modest rule of Hagar's prayer, is equally indispensable for nations as well as individuals. It appears to be a well-settled principle in moral science that man is constitutionally endowed by his Maker with the faculty of acquisitiveness or desire of gain. But it must not be forgotten, that this is only one of the numerous mental and moral powers which he has received at the hands of his benevolent Creator, all of which are equally necessary, and should be reasonably gratified and cultivated in symmetrical harmony with equal diligence,

until the full and perfect man, in the free use and enjoyment of all his powers, shall be developed. Each one of these talents, including all his moral, mental, and physical abilities, has its peculiar sphere of enjoyment and duty, and cannot be neglected with impunity.

That man wants money, and that it is his duty to acquire it by all lawful means, at least so far as to secure a competency for himself and family, and for all the useful and necessary purposes of life, cannot be doubted. But *money* is only *one* of many human wants. Civilization, education, social relations, civil governments, sound laws, pure religion, and free institutions, are equally necessary. Every power and faculty should have its appropriate and natural aliment, to nourish and improve it. When a man devotes all his time and talents exclusively to the acquisition of wealth, regardless of all other attainments and duties, and reckless of consequences, ultimate ruin, and that at no great distance, is the invariable effect of such causes in the sequence of events. History has not recorded a single exception to the general rule. Such a man is viewed by the Argus-eyes of science as a doomed victim of avarice; medical science expects soon to find him a maniac; moral science sooner or later sees him an apostate; legal science not unfrequently convicts him of murder; and civil government hangs him for treason.

The God of nature never created a man exclusively for money-making; and he who sacrifices all for the gratification of avarice, perverts his talents from their legitimate purpose. Wealth is not the all of life, reduced to an equation, with gold on one side, and all things else on the other; though it is conceded that livings are necessary, and fortunes are desirable; and all lawful and

honorable means should be used to secure them, in harmony with the laws of nature and the Divine will.

SECTION II.

CAPITAL.

However numerous may have been the faults of Poland, she has the consolation of being innocent of the charge of avarice. The Poles were not only poor, but they gloried in their poverty, and scorned the business of money-making. Their system of political economy taught them that nobility was not degraded by poverty or military servitude; but was totally destroyed by commerce and industry; and consequently they despised and stigmatized every lucrative or useful profession, except the profession of arms. For this eccentricity the Poles are justly entitled to the compliment of originality. But time, the best and surest corrector of all ultraism, subsequently taught them, after it was too late to revise their politics, that the few wealthy nobles generally prevailed by the power of money, and very frequently irrespective of all other considerations.*

Among a half-civilized people like Poland, where the transactions of every day showed the controlling influence of money, and its supreme power over all conflicting interests, it is strange that the philosophy of wealth was so little understood, and its principles and practice so universally disregarded. In a government like theirs, the main-spring of the whole machinery is a growing, enterprising commerce. All the nations of antiquity flourished so long as they retained their commerce, and no longer.

* Alison, I., 350.

The ancient cities of Nineveh, Babylon, Alexandria, Thebes, Jerusalem, and the more modern commercial marts of Greece and Rome, never survived the death of their commerce. And yet the Poles, with all these lessons of civil polity before them, never understood the first principle of government, which is *a flourishing commerce*.

The capital of a country, including its natural and pecuniary resources for wealth, comprehends the lands, waters, mines, population, agriculture, animals, implements of husbandry, towns, cities, and buildings; meteorology, climate, wealth, labor, society, roads, inns, navigation, revenue, civilization, laws, government, literature, morals, and religion. All these considerations, like so many indispensable ingredients, enter into the composition and nature of wealth, and the capital which sustains it. The civilization, laws, literature, morals, and religion of a people, are as intimately connected with their wealth and pecuniary prosperity, as their lands, their flocks, or mines. No capitalist invests his funds in a community of robbers, pirates, or rioters, where ignorance, immorality, and irreligion prevail, and law and order are disregarded. And the value of property is enhanced or reduced according to the state of civilization, education, and morals of the community.

We may now contrast the fine situation and rich natural resources of Poland, with its poor, wretched government and institutions; while humanity weeps over the reflection, that we cannot perhaps find a spot on the globe, where, with so many physical means of securing felicity, no civilized people can be found who have been involved in so many successive, continuous, and ruinous misfortunes.

After the annexation of Lithuania, in the latter part of the

fourteenth century, the whole Polish territory comprised an extent of two hundred and eighty-four thousand square miles ; and was divided into Great and Little Poland on the west, Masovia and Podlachia in the centre, with Volhynia, and Podolia, and the Ukraine towards the east, and Lithuania in the north-east. The subordinate divisions were thirty-one palatinates and starostys. The principal mountains are the Carpathian, forming the boundary between Poland and Hungary.

The country is almost everywhere level, so that a person in a balloon might pass at the height of twenty *toises* over almost the whole of Poland, without fear of coming in contact with any mountain or other obstruction.* The greater part of former Poland forms that immense plain that extends from the Baltic to the shores of the Euxine, or at least to the small chains that cross the basin of the Dnieper at the south of Volhynia, and unite to the south of Lemberg, with the first declivities in the Carpathian range. These declivities, though low, appear again near Zamosk, between the Bug and the San, and also near Kielce and Konskie, between the Vistula and the Pelica. Throughout the vast region which extends to the north of these limits, low hills and headlands can only be seen.

Lithuania, Courland, White and Black Russia, Polesia, Podlachia, nearly all of Great Poland, Pomerelia, and the whole of Prussia, are in many places covered with a deep layer of sand, which is seen on the plains, and extends along the course of the rivers. In the interior it is of a white or light color, and on the shores of the sea comparatively darker. Clay and marshy land are scattered in many parts of the sandy belt ; one ridge traverses Samogitia, and another, which is higher and intersected with

* A toise is six and a half English feet.

lakes, forms Little Lithuania, or the south-east angle of Ducal Prussia. In the interior of Courland the land is strong and rich ; and in Pomerania, Brandenburg, Lower Saxony, and partly in Denmark, the same kind of soil, the same succession of plains, hills, and innumerable lakes, the same transition from sand to clay, and from clay to argil, are found. These plains seem to rest on a foundation of granite ; and detached peaks of that rock rise in some places to the surface of the ground. Blocks of granite, quartz, pudding-stones, and crystals, are scattered in many districts ; and amber, petrifications, agates, and madrepores, are generally not far from them.

The circular cavities near Birza, those in Lithuania, and the one which serves as a basin for the lake of Arend in Brandenburg, seem to have been formed in the same way ; and all the lakes probably had a similar origin, as their particular figures and locations clearly indicate. Floating islands, which the Poles call the *plica* of the lakes, are common. They consist principally of the tissue of roots and plants, attached in a manner resembling the *plica* of the hair ; and some disappear and re-appear regularly at certain seasons.

The marshy plains on the east and south of the Baltic extend beyond the line which separates the waters of the different seas. The boundary is not a range of hills ; but, on the contrary, it is formed by a continuation of lakes and marshes. The same general appearance prevails throughout Polesia, and the greater part of White and Black Russia, the waiwodats of Novgrodeck, Minsk, and Polock. These marshy countries formed in ancient times a little Mediterranean on the east of Poland, the south of Lithuania, and the north of Volhynia ; and the waters were

drained by an ancient king of Kiow, according to popular tradition.

The principal rivers are the Vistula, the Bug, Niemen, Pregel, Dwina, Dnieper, and Dniester. The great rivers of Poland, although they flow towards two different seas, communicate with each other after heavy rains by means of their feeders, and inundate the country. Canals could be easily cut between all the tributary streams, from Wlodawa in Poland, to Sluck in Russia; but as barriers cannot be raised against the sand, these communications would be blocked almost as soon as they were formed. The Priepetz, a feeder of the Dnieper, joins the Bug and the Niemen in the spring and autumn, when Polesia is for a time inundated or changed into a lake. The heights, which separate the chalky lands of Volhynia from the fertile plains of Podolia, form a chain or lofty ridge near Lemberg. The Bog takes its rise in the south of these hills, and the Dniester rises on the same ridge at the base of the Carpathians. Both of these rivers, which flow to the Euxine, have their steep banks lined with soft calcareous rocks, that contain gypsum, and support a thick layer of rich and dark mould.

The *Bug*, which must not be confounded with the *Bog*, rises on the northern side of the same hills; and, as the Poles say, it loses its name when it joins the Narew, which flows from the plains of Lithuania, and is believed by the common people to be fatal to water-snakes. The Bug is not so large as the Narew, but its name appears on the maps beyond their confluence at Pierock. The Vistula, which rolls down the mountains of Silesia, is enlarged by the Bug or the Narew, the Pilica, and most of the other rivers in Great and Little Poland. The San, one of its feeders, was supposed to rise near the roots of an immense oak,

that covered with its dark and thick foliage the sources of the Dniester. This tradition probably relates to the Stry, which might have been mistaken for the Dniester, or considered its principal source. The Wartha, like the Vistula, flows in a broad channel, and inundates the neighboring fields. Though it is not deep, yet it has the appearance of a large river, and its streams serve to enlarge the Oder. The Polish rivers, when they overflow their banks, leave a rich deposit, by which the inundated lands are greatly fertilized. The Niemen, that limits the kingdom of Poland, is the only one free from inundations, and uprooted trees, which are never carried down its course; and the banks are never undermined by its waters.

The climate of Poland Proper is necessarily modified by its position. This country is situated between two cold regions, surrounded on the east and north by the central ridge of Russia, and on the south by the Carpathian mountains, which are exposed to an almost perpetual winter. The influence of the last climate extends to all the neighboring regions; so that the thermometer has descended at Lemberg and Cracow, to —20 and —22 degrees of Reaumur. In the year 1654, all the corn in the neighborhood of Cracow was blasted by a severe frost, that commenced on the day of Pentecost. Snow sometimes falls in August; and the crops in the districts at the base of the Carpathians are often destroyed by storms of hail. Vegetation is generally a month later in Poland than in the same latitude in France. The fickle climate, on account of its sudden changes from one extreme to another, its humidity, and the exhalations from the marshes, is sometimes unhealthy, in many parts of the country.

The east wind, which is the coldest of any in Poland, sweeps over the plains from the Russian ridge and the Uralian Moun-

tains. The north wind is milder and more humid ; but the west wind, which continues the most of the year, causes dense and unwholesome mists in the neighborhood of Warsaw. The south wind, which passes above the Carpathians, adds greatly to the intensity of the cold. Repeated thermometrical observations have clearly proved that the Polish winter is not milder than that of central Sweden, although the difference in the latitude is equal to ten degrees. The maximum of cold at Warsaw varied, in a period of fourteen years, from 8° to 25° of Reaumur ; and the mean term was equal to $17\frac{6}{7}$ ths degrees. The greatest variations observed in a period of seventeen years, at Upsal, were from 11° or 12° to 23° , and the mean term was $18\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. During this period, however, there were no remarkable winters, either in the Swedish or Polish series ; and, with the exception of 1791, in which the maximum was only equal to $8\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, it amounted every other year to at least 12° .

The climate of Poland is one of the most variable in the world. No month in the year is exempt from occasional frost and snow. In one year all the rivers were blocked with ice from the month of October to the vernal equinox ; in another season the Baltic was frozen, and many travelled on the ice from Dantzic to Lubec. In some seasons the weather is so mild that the fields are clothed with a second vegetation. In the last of October, 1568, the rose bushes near Dantzic were covered a second time with flowers. The same phenomenon occurred again in the month of December, 1588 ; and, such was the mildness of the winter in 1659, that swarms of bees issued from their hives. In Lithuania, during the winters of 1414 and 1492, the fields in a country under the fifty-fifth parallel, were covered with flowers in the month of January ; the corn rose from the ground and

formed its spikes, while the feathered songsters of the groves cheered the weary peasants with their vernal melodies. But the month of March brought with it another extreme—a sudden and intense frost—which, in one day, destroyed all the riches of the early summer ; and, after the failure of the second harvest, left exhausted nature with only a scanty supply for man and beast.

The climate and temperature of a country may be judged of by the seasons of vegetation, as well as by the mutations of the thermometer. The nut-tree and the daphne mezereum begin to blossom about the vernal equinox, or about five weeks later than at Paris. The white poplars commence in March ; but the juniper, the willow, the elder, the birch, and the common ash, are nearly a month later. The beech, the black elder, the barberry, and the wild pear never flower before May. Lint, asparagus, the walnut-tree, the common elder, and the brier flourish in June, but the *datura stramonium* not until the month of July.

In a country and climate as fickle and eccentric as in Poland, we may naturally expect to find meteorological phenomena. Globes of fire, parhelions, falling stars, aurora borealis, and other phosphoric and electrical phenomena are frequently observed. The Polish writers mention, with great surprise, a globe of fire, which was seen to fly off, or detach itself from the moon. It is said that king Wladislas Jagellon and his suite lost their way in a champaign country, and, like M. de Saussure of modern times, were enveloped in an electrical cloud.

The air of Poland is, in general, humid and cold, from the impure exhalations that rise from the extensive dark forests, and the surface of the numerous and vast marshes ; and, consequently, although the climate is healthy to the natives, it is dangerous to foreigners. The insalubrity of a cold and moist atmos-

phere is greatly diminished by the violent winds that circulate freely over these immense plains, with so much force that they frequently form sandy hills; and sometimes entirely cover farms, near the shores of the Baltic, with dry sand.

This general view of the nature of the atmosphere and the soil enables us to account for the rapid decay and corruption of the running and stagnant waters in different parts of Poland. The streams of the Dniester and the Vistula are often of a red color; the lakes are not unfrequently covered with a green substance; and goitres are supposed to be produced from drinking the waters of the springs on the Carpathians.

The minerals of Poland form no inconsiderable item of the capital and wealth of the country. In that large and sandy plain which forms the northern and central part of Poland, few minerals are found. The beds of these broad and extensive plains—as in nearly all the northern countries of both continents—are incrustated with a ferruginous deposit; and every marsh and meadow contain iron in a greater or less proportion. Marine petrifications are common in many districts, and *succinum*, or yellow amber, is plenty, and large pieces are collected at Chelm, and other places at a great distance from the sea. No saline substances, with the exception of nitre, have been found in these regions; while an immense layer of fossil salt extends along the Carpathian mountains—as at Bochnia and Wieliczka; which might afford a sufficient quantity of salt for the consumption of all the countries on the globe. That portion of Poland which lies between the Vistula and the Pilica, abounds in mineral and metallic substances, that were first wrought under the supervision of M. Carosi, the engineer, appointed by king Stanislas Leczinski.

The mines of Upper Poland have long been distinguished for their varied richness. Olkusz, a town on the north-west of Cracow, continued to flourish as long as the neighboring mines were worked ; but its streets are now deserted, and its trade is ruined. The strata succeed each other in the order of marl, breccia, slate, lead, mixed with silver, and a small portion of iron, calamine, and limestone. It appears, from the records of 1655, that the royal tithes on these mines amounted to 1,225 marks of silver and 1,514 pounds of lead ; and as the tithes were not rigidly exacted the total produce was more than ten times that quantity. The lowest valuations show that the ore taken from the mines must have been worth 476,773 florins ; which were then equal to 1,907,100 florins of the present day. That government must be strangely defective that will sacrifice so valuable a revenue as might be derived from these rich mines. A mine of calamine is now worked at Ligots ; and the marble in the vicinity of Czarnowa contains lead. A white, foliated lead, mixed and fused with sand, forms a remarkable combination, found in several places. The ore generally contains a proportion of lead of fifty-four parts to a hundred. The iron mines are the most common of any in Poland ; and those at Drzevica yielded, every week, about 9,000 pounds of ore, which was imbedded in sandstone. Rich alluvial iron abounds in the neighborhood of Konskie, and many parts of the country. The largest iron works have been erected at Sucheniow, Jedrow, and Samsenow. The iron of Brin, near Wochoe, is the best in Poland, though it is somewhat injured in its manufacture, by leaving in it a small portion of copper, a defect which arises from an imperfect process of smelting. Many of the iron mines are so valuable, that large pieces of native iron are found ; and iron pyrites, blue cop-

per, malachites, and lead mixed with silver, have been gathered near the same place. Slawkow, Cranow, and Novagara, have long been known by their silver mines; and the bishops of Cracovia were partial to the town of Slawkow, because of its famous silver mines.

In addition to the metals, the natural wealth of Poland is greatly increased by the valuable quarries. Good millstones are obtained at Meniow, and fine marble is found in several districts. A perpendicular vein of copper pyrites about three yards in breadth, crosses a marble hill not far from Chencyn. Lapis-lazuli is extracted from this vein; from which the famous table was manufactured that the palatine Ridzinski presented to Pope Innocent IX. In the marble of Miedzianka, small pieces of green copper are found; and the fields near Ostrowice and Gorna-Wola are covered with an efflorescence of vitriol and alum. The country generally shows an alluvial formation; the minerals are composed of many substances confusedly joined together, and small fragments of different ores are scattered in the rocks.

The state of agriculture in Poland has always been centuries behind the age. The soil in the kingdom of Poland Proper is not generally as rich as in the Ukraine, and in many places is inferior to Lithuania; still all kinds of grain, from wheat to millet, grow well in the light mould and sandy plains. As we ascend the Vistula the country becomes more fertile, particularly on the south of the Pilica, towards Sandomir and Cracow; though the difficulty of marketing the produce is increased by the expenses of exportation. The lands of the nobles are generally too extensive to be well cultivated, and many of them have more lands than slaves to work them. After the law permitted the slaves to select their own masters, in limited cases of abuse,

they found it more profitable for a time to settle on the lands of the crown, where more than a third of the population were, for a short season, concentrated; a kind of shackled liberty, which never was very beneficial to the serfs. The Jews, who are the wealthiest men in the country, and the only men of money, are prevented by law from purchasing heritable landed property; and, therefore, the price of lands is very low. The land-owners are so poor, and their laws and government so uninviting to capitalists, that they cannot obtain the necessary funds to improve and cultivate their estates, without paying an exorbitant interest.

The extensive and valuable forests of the country would be an inexhaustible source of wealth in the hands of industry and enterprise, to prepare them for market, float them down the rivers, and ship them for the great lumber marts. A great part of Masovia consists of large forests; and most of the provinces abound with almost every kind of valuable timber. The sandy plains are covered with every variety of pine; the fir and the beech thrive on the high lands, and the oak grows freely. The lime, the larch, the mountain and the common ash, abound and adorn the forests. The larch succeeds best in the neighborhood of Rava and Sandomir, and abounds on the Bieczad mountains, in Galicia. The woods of Warka, in Masovia, contain the finest birch in the world; and the country near Prenn, on the Niemen, is shaded and diversified by the largest lime trees in Europe.

The bees of Poland constitute no inconsiderable item in the natural history of this wonderful country. Their almost miraculous numbers, their great variety, and extraordinary fecundity, are worthy of a place in the history of Polish wealth. They were so common that old trees were filled with these useful insects; and the ground in many places was covered with their

cells. They seem to prefer the trunks of the fir, the *pinus picea*, the lime, and the oak, to every other tree. The Poles collected honey in such immense quantities that they manufactured it into large vats of hydromel, and preserved it as their favorite drink. These vats were so large that men, it is said, have been sometimes drowned in them. The Scandinavian historians inform us that the Danes were equally fond of this hydromel, or Polish champagne. Herodotus, and other Greek authors, record the astounding fact, that several countries on the north of the Danube were rendered uninhabitable, and the people were driven from their homes by innumerable swarms of bees.*

The numerous lakes and rivers abound with a great variety of valuable fish, and large marshes of fish ponds, similar to those in Galicia, have been excavated by the inhabitants of Upper Poland. Amid the numerous kinds of fish that frequent the lakes, are found superior pike, perch, eels, the small turbot, and the breain. Many carps are bred in the ponds; and trout, barbel, lampreys, salmon, sturgeon, and other varieties of the first quality, are found in abundance in the rivers, which are fed from the snows and pure springs of the mountains.

The forests and lawns abound with almost every variety of birds. The most common of the feathered tribe are the Polish eagle,—one of the most beautiful birds in the world,—besides the falcon, the swan, the crane, the partridge, the quail, the starling, and the thrush. The *sniegula*, or snow hen, abounds, though it is most numerous in the neighborhood of Lowicz; and is considered as great a table delicacy in the north of Europe, as the American venison, or canvas-back duck, is to the epicure of the western continent.

* Herodotus, V. 10.

The neat in Poland Proper are not equal to those in Podolia and the Ukraine. The horses are well made, swift, strong, and of a superior kind, though not large. The country is well adapted to wool-growing, and sheep abounds; but the quality of their fleeces needs improvement. The immense, luxuriant, dense, and dark forests of Poland and Lithuania, furnish a desirable and prolific retreat for all kinds of wild animals found in the temperate zones. The stag, though now rare, formerly wandered over the forests and plains of Sarmatia in numerous herds. Wild boars, wolves, foxes, squirrels, hares, rabbits, and beavers, are the common game of the sportsman, in countless numbers and varieties; and the wolf and glutton, which are the most formidable and destructive to man and beast, abound in fearful numbers.

The singular art of taming and training the bear, is a common trade in Poland and Lithuania. The country people lead them from one place to another, and amuse the people by their feats, as a source of pleasure and profit. The bear is rendered docile and tractable by severe treatment; and, if taken very young, it may be taught to carry different articles to its master; but its natural ferocity generally returns in old age, which renders it unsafe to keep the animal for any length of time.

There has been considerable dispute among different writers in relation to the existence and history of the wild bull of the north, which is called the *Urus*, or the bison. Some writers consider the two terms synonymous, while others again apply them to two distinct species; and it is supposed that the common ox is the offspring of the one or the other. From the best information which can be collected from Polish writers and travellers, no doubt seems to remain that there exists or has existed, in the

forest of Wyskitca in Masovia, a race of wild bulls, nearly of the same form and size as the domestic animal; all of which were distinguished by their black color and a white line that extends along the back. *Tur*, an ancient Gothic word, that signifies a bull, is the name by which the inhabitants call them, and is supposed to correspond with the term *urus* or *auroch*, in the modern Polish language. A different description is given of another animal, which is supposed to exist, or to have existed, in eastern Prussia, Lithuania, and Podolia. It is much larger and stronger than the bull, with a protuberance on the back or between the shoulders, and a long and pendulous mane round the neck. Its head, though small in proportion to the rest of the body, is armed with long horns, which form a sort of crescent, that varies from two to four cubits. The Poles and other Slavonic nations call it the *zubr*, *zumbro*, or *zambro*, a word that now means a bison. Judging, however, from the descriptions of the animal, it appears to be the same as the one the Germans, in the time of Cæsar, called the *ur-ochs*, *aur-ochs*, or primitive ox; for the terms *ur*, *aur*, or *aar*, mean in the Gothic languages, origin, commencement, or remotest antiquity. *Wissen*, or the Eddaic term for the bison, is probably derived from *bisse* or *wisse*, a substantive that denotes the rage of a bull. It is yet doubtful whether the real *urus* was ever styled the *bison*; or whether the first term was used to designate a herd of ordinary oxen, that had passed from the domestic to the wild state, and whether the accounts of the great size of the *urus* are not wholly fabulous. Cæsar, Pliny, Seneca, and other Roman writers distinguish the bison from the *urus*, and characterize the first by its mane, and the second by its large horns. It appears to be well settled, however, that the *urus* existed in Germany in the time of Cæsar, and in Dacia

during the reign of Trajan ; that his long horns were imported into Greece and sold in that country at an early period,— and that the Slavonic word zumbro is of great antiquity. All of these facts, when taken together, establish the early existence of the animal with reasonable certainty.*

At the time of the conquest, the territory of Poland, which then amounted to two hundred and eighty-four thousand square miles, was peopled by fifteen millions of inhabitants, comprising five hundred thousand nobles, one million of Jewish traders, and thirteen million five hundred thousand slaves. In the final conquest and partition of the territory and inhabitants, Russia acquired two hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles, and nine millions seven hundred thousand inhabitants ; Prussia received twenty-nine thousand square miles, and one million eight hundred thousand inhabitants ; and Austria had a dividend of thirty thousand square miles, and three million five hundred thousand inhabitants. The population of the territory now probably exceeds twenty millions of Poles. The population of a country forms an important item of capital in estimating the wealth of a country.

The political value of every individual in a nation's population, who contributes to the wealth of his country, varies surprisingly in different nations ; and therefore it is of the highest importance to ascertain that variation with as much precision as possible, as it enables us to determine the comparative wealth and strength of states. It has been estimated, that every citizen and subject contributes to the public revenue in labor or money, on an average, from one to ten dollars. In despotic governments like Russia and Turkey, the subjects pay much heavier taxes,

* Herodotus, VII., 126.

both directly and indirectly, in cash and services, than in a constitutional monarchy as in England, and republics like America pay much less than any other form of government.

In the American Union, where the whole annual expenses of the federal government never exceed fifty millions of dollars—averaged on twenty-five millions of inhabitants, the tax amounts to only two dollars each, which is paid not by a direct tax, but in duties on imported goods, that each citizen is presumed to consume annually. This indirect tax does not contain the State tax, school tax, military tax, road tax, and other expenses of State government, which are levied on each according to his property, amounting perhaps to another dollar, making only the trifling sum of three dollars for each inhabitant, on an average, for the privileges of the best government in the world. The low taxes in America and other similar governments are owing principally to the small salaries of public officers, the small standing army, and the very few wars in which the country has been involved, and the wise policy of conducting the government without contracting national debts.

The comparative value of military services in different nations is not so readily ascertained, because the effective condition of armies varies; and the naval force, which is generally dissolved in time of peace, must be included; and besides, the number of combatants does not represent the same physical force in the field of battle. It is highly probable that each state in Europe and America might furnish the army with one tenth of the population, without deranging the interests of commerce or agriculture. This ratio in America would produce an army of two millions and a half, allowing the population to be twenty-five millions. These, of course, are but general and imperfect statements of the

comparative wealth of nations. In order to approximate nearer to the truth, it would require a more extensive and luminous catalogue of data. In order to examine the comparative wealth of nations, as found in their inhabitants, we should estimate their learning, their civilization, their liberty, morals, laws, and religion, as well as their property; all of which are so many golden items in the estimate of a nation's wealth.

The productive capital of a nation not only includes the inhabitants, their lands, money, and property, but the atmosphere, climate, and physical condition of the country must enter into the estimate. The humidity and cold climate, joined to the exhalations from the marshes and vast forests, render many parts of Poland unhealthy, which might be made more salubrious by improvements in agriculture and the state of society. The most pleasant and fertile part is the Ukraine in the south-east. The country abounds in iron, salt mines, and lumber; lead, gold, and silver are also found. The general aspect of the country is rude and backward; the roads are bad and the inns miserable. The country, as a whole, possesses immense natural resources of wealth, which, by proper culture and development, might become one of the richest nations on earth.

The great inconveniences of travelling in Poland, present a serious obstacle to successful commerce, and the increase of national and individual wealth. Although the road from the banks of the Bug to Warsaw is macadamized and level as a floor, yet the roads generally are so bad, that the different sections of the country are almost inaccessible during certain seasons of the year. The stages and vehicles of public conveyance are in bad taste, slow, without accommodation, and of the most miserable kind. The inns are generally the abode of squalid poverty, and

travellers are frequently compelled to carry with them their beds and provisions.

The Polish kings were possessed of large amounts of property, varying from one to five millions of dollars in value, consisting of lands, slaves, farming utensils, flocks and herds, agricultural productions, and splendid castles; all of which produced them comparatively little money. The royal finances were generally embarrassed, the expenses of the royal family generally exceeded their income, and of course they were compelled to borrow money of the Jews at exorbitant rates of interest, which frequently involved them in bankruptcy and ruin.

The wealth of the nobility consisted principally of their lands, slaves, and cattle. They frequently owned thousands of acres of lands, and as many thousand slaves; but with all these natural resources, they seldom received an income equal to their expenses. Comparatively few of their acres were cultivated at all; and those which were tilled, were managed with such bad husbandry, as seldom to produce an income over and above all expenses. The slaves generally did not average more than one quarter or a third of a day's labor of an industrious man; and the great majority of them, including children, old people, and the sick, could earn nothing. As a general rule, slave labor costs more than free labor; and this was sadly true in Poland. The slaves were worth on an average from one to two hundred dollars; and the lands were almost unsalable, for the reason that the land laws furnished very little or no protection to the title of foreign purchasers. The fields of the nobles were destitute of fences; agriculture was little understood; the slaves wandered over a territory of many square miles and leagues, cultivating in one place a few years, and then deserting it and tilling another

farm a short time, until the bad husbandry had exhausted the soil. It has been estimated that one half of the territory of Poland is susceptible of profitable agriculture, and one third of it capable of producing wheat and most of grains.

The revenue of Poland seldom exceeded five millions of dollars, and frequently fell short of that, as it was drawn from precarious sources. The nobles paid no taxes, and the public treasury was replenished from the royal domains, which were held as fiefs by noblemen, at a very low rate, also from taxes extorted from the bread of the miserable slaves, from the capitation impost on the Jews, from the meagre customs, excise, and stamps of a country without commerce, and other sources equally unproductive. A revenue so meagre and unjust, always involved the country in poverty and distress. In 1767, the national income fell short of the public expenses, two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling; in nine years after the deficiency was double that sum; and after every effort, only three hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds could be raised, which fell short of the public debt one hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

The commerce of Poland being entirely in the hands of foreigners, and principally under the control of the Jews, never received the fostering care of the government, and was so limited as scarcely to deserve the name. And what little trade they had was sacrificed to Prussia, when the Poles so unwisely yielded the commerce of the Vistula. The principal exports of Poland consist of wheat, salt, hemp, flax, lumber, linseed, and tallow. Dantzic, Warsaw, and Cracow are the principal commercial cities.

Since the conquest, the Poles, under the teachings of misfortune which are always severe, expensive, and useful, have greatly

reformed and improved their commerce. In 1846, Poland, the most extensive and fertile plain of Europe, encircled, when in the zenith of its national glory, a territory of more than two hundred and eighty-four thousand square miles, and more than fifteen millions of inhabitants to cultivate it. Formerly, as we have seen, the natural and commercial wealth of the country consisted principally of its rye, wheat, flax, wood, salt, honey and wax, fine horses, and fat cattle, with numerous other useful land animals; together with a great variety of fish, which fill the numerous lakes and rivers, bearing on their bosom the exports and imports of the country, to and from the Baltic and Black Seas. The present Russo-Polish kingdom extends over two hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles, and contained at the time of the conquest nine million seven hundred thousand inhabitants; but in 1846, war, death, and tyranny had reduced them to about five million of souls. There were four million one hundred and eighty thousand Christians, four hundred Mohammedans, five hundred and fifty-seven thousand eight hundred and ninety-five Jews, and the remainder, numbering over four hundred, were gipsies. The whole population of the ancient territory of Poland is now variously estimated from twenty to twenty-five millions.

The wealth of the Polish peasant consists in continued slavery and poverty, with the privilege of living as long as it pleased his cruel master. His whole code of political economy is embraced in the maxim of the Polish serfs—"Only what I drink is mine." The whip of a noble was his only stimulus, and intoxication was his only balm for all his woes.

The annual revenue in 1846 was estimated at sixty millions of

Polish florins, the expenses at fifty millions, and the national debt at two hundred millions of the same coin.

As late as the reign of Sobieski, the greater part of the towns and all the villages in Poland, were built of timber and thatched; and the country residences of the nobility were made of the same materials. The whole number of cities, towns, boroughs, and villages amounted to nearly two hundred thousand; not more than twenty of which were walled. The cities are divided into two classes. The first class belong to the republic, having governors and other officers, appointed by the king. The second class are under the dominion of particular seigniors, who hold their office by hereditary succession.*

SECTION III.

PRODUCTIONS.

The principal mineral productions of Poland are salt, iron, copper, lead, gold, silver, amber, marble, millstone, building stones, and calamine. The iron and salt mines are apparently inexhaustible, and capable of supplying the market of both continents with profit to both buyer and seller. These mines, which are now producing a revenue of several millions of dollars under modern skill, for centuries did not produce Poland a tenth part of that value; and, under the management of the best modern miners, their productions might be increased to more than one hundred millions of dollars annually.

* Jacob's Report on the Agriculture of Poland; McCulloch's Universal Gazetteer, Art. Poland; Burnett's View of Poland, 29, 53; Connor, I., Letter 5. p. 213; Fletcher, 88.

The soil is well adapted to all kinds of agricultural productions usually found in the north temperate zone, including wheat, and all kinds of grains, roots, fruit, vegetables, and grass. The wheat crops, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, amounted to ten millions of bushels; while at the same time the whole amount of all kinds of grains equalled fifteen millions of bushels for exports, and worth as many dollars. The country, under good culture, is capable of producing ten times that amount from the same number of acres. Hemp, flax, and linseed might be made an immense source of wealth; and under an improved state of agriculture, which prevails in other countries, and particularly in England and America, no country can be named where the soil is more productive. The soil is good for grazing and dairying. Cattle and horses have long been raised in abundance, and might also be profitably increased ten-fold.

No country in the world is provided with more rich and extensive forests, containing almost every kind of valuable timber, which might be floated down their rivers, when properly improved for navigation, and made to produce an immense income. The waters of Poland contain valuable fisheries, which might be made a source of wealth. The facilities for manufactures, comprehending the raw materials and water power, are so numerous and valuable, that it is difficult to fix any reasonable limits to the wealth which might be derived from this quarter, particularly in linen and hemp. Under a free and stable government and laws, like England and America, foreign capital would flow into Poland in torrents, for investments in manufactures and mining.

The chief occupation of the inhabitants is agriculture. Their principal branches of industry are cloth manufactures of wool and linen, besides iron wares and mining. In the southern hills, to-

wards Galicia, there are iron, lead, zinc, coal, and sulphur mines, and marble quarries. Polish commerce has been greatly aided since the conquest, by improving the navigable streams, as well as by the Augustowo canal, which connects the Niemen, the Naren, and the Weichsel. The whole country is now traversed and intersected by more than three hundred German miles of mail roads, centring in Warsaw; which, with Lublin, is the chief emporium of trade. The imports of Poland, in 1846, amounted to 7,488,057 rubles;* of which 1,041,072 rubles were imported from Austria and Cracow. The principal articles of import were horses and cattle, amounting to 812,967 rubles; coffee, sugar, and spices, worth 800,095 rubles; silk and silk manufactures valued at 612,140 rubles; spirits and beer amounting to 503,144 rubles; corn, for 438,251 rubles; salt, for 383,158 rubles; and cotton, for 156,581 rubles.

The value of exports during the same year, amounting to 5,968,188 rubles, being 89,556 rubles more than in 1845, consisted chiefly of the following articles: wood, for 1,853,311 rubles; wool and woollens, for 1,174,585 rubles; corn, for 1,037,674 rubles; cattle, for 518,940 rubles; oil, for 248,537 rubles; and metallic articles, for 240,657 rubles. The exportation of corn and cattle was much less than in 1845, owing to the failure of the harvest and the long droughts.

The number of persons employed in factory labor in 1846 was 46,103, and the total value of their products was 9,626,519 rubles. After deducting 3,934,360 rubles spent in purchasing the raw materials, there remained a balance of profit, besides the expenses of labor, of 3,836,560 rubles. The number of persons engaged in woollen manufactures was 8,021 on 2,254

* A Russian ruble is about sixty cents American money.

looms, producing a value of 2,048,718 rubles in manufactured articles. The cotton manufactures occupied 18,670, with 8,414 looms, which produced the value of 2,248,275 rubles. The laborers in flax and hemp were 7,088 on 4,333 looms, which produced 4,287,320 yards of all kinds of manufactures. In addition to this, 10,006,825 yards of slaves' linen, were manufactured by the slaves for home consumption, and 3,661,683 yards for sale.

The mining industry in the same year (1846), produced three hundred and seventy-five thousand six hundred and thirty-two hundred weight of iron, from thirty-eight private mines, with seventy-eight shafts; 41,334 hundred weight of cast iron; 20,000 hundred weight of lead; 3,680 hundred weight of copper; 19,000 hundred weight of zinc. Four thousand one hundred and eighty workmen in metals, produced different articles to the value of 1,385,518 rubles.

Previous to the fifteenth century, Poland was little better than an immense forest; but subsequent cultivation produces in all parts of the country, all kinds of fruits, grains, and plants. The country is filled with fowl and fish; and abounds with all kinds of tame and wild beasts. Forests and fields are wreathed and festooned with vines, and tasselled with various grapes. The mountains conceal in their bosoms inexhaustible mines of silver, copper, lead, iron, and salt; besides immense quarries of valuable rocks, containing the richest marble, the most valuable millstones, and durable building stones of various kinds. The western part of the kingdom produces great quantities of wheat and grain—much of which, from a very early period, has been exported to foreign countries; and abounds in honey, wax, hemp, and linen.*

* Connor I., Letter v., p. 217.

SECTION IV.

EXCHANGE.

The commerce of Poland was so limited, and their money capital so seldom equalled their annual expenses, that very little business was done in exchanges. Until recently, Poland had no regular banks, except the Jewish brokers. The capital of the Polish banks, in 1846, amounted to eight millions of rubles. The deposits were 80,390,098 rubles; and the repayments equalled 25,805,357 rubles. The amount of capital deposited in the bank by various institutions was 5,201,913; the repayments thereon amounted to 1,290,508 rubles. The sum of 1,097,976 rubles was advanced to manufacture; and 1,124,590 on pledges. The repayments from the former were 88,515 rubles, and from the latter, 571,315 rubles. The sum of 1,200,000 was advanced in the town of Warsaw for the erection of buildings. During the same year, 219,000 rubles were deposited in the Savings' bank by six thousand four hundred and seventy-one persons; five thousand eight hundred and eighty-five of whom belonged to Warsaw.

The Jews, who possessed nearly all the monied wealth of Poland, monopolized all the trade, and many of them accumulated extensive fortunes. They were the bankers of the country, and all the exchanges of the nation were in their hands. No regular banking system existed in Poland, until a very late period; and foreign capitalists, in connection with the Jews, through whom they operated, exhausted the monetary capital of the country, and controlled the lands and mines by their extortionate mortgages. These avaricious sons of Israel located them-

selves in every town in the country, and made advances on growing crops, on mines and manufactures ; purchased nearly all the products of the kingdom for small prices, and sold them at extravagant profits, thus monopolizing all the wealth of the country.

The inflexible and fatal rule of political economy adopted by the Poles, which prohibited the nobility absolutely from engaging in trade of any kind, threw commerce into the hands of a few foreigners, and prevented the accumulation of wealth by exchanges. The Poles generally were destitute of money, and their revenues were principally exhausted in costly apparel and jewelry. Dantzic being the only commercial town of importance, through which the exports and imports were conveyed, foreign trade was limited and tardy. Their exports by no means equalled the value of their imports. The latter consisted principally of cloth, silk, jewels, gold, silver, furs, tapestry, fruit, spice, salt-fish, wine, tin, steel, and other necessaries of life, imported from England, Flanders, Portugal, Spain, and other foreign markets. Their exports, in the reign of Sobieski, consisted of wheat, barley, oats, rye, millet, and all kinds of grain and pulse ; together with hemp, flax, hops, plants used for dyeing, hides, tallow, leather, furs, honey, wax, amber, pitch, potash, masts, planks, timber for ship-building, salt, beer, opium, vitriol, nitre, vermilion, brass, lead, iron, copper, coal, and earthenware. They have for a long time supplied the neighboring countries with horses, celebrated for their swiftness, hardiness, and easy pace ; besides vast numbers of oxen, sheep, hogs, and other domestic animals.

These exports constituted their principal articles of foreign exchange ; and, as they were never equal to the imports, the balance of trade was ever against the Poles, and always drained

the country of money. Their most current coins were made of copper, or copper mixed with silver, and a few silver and gold coins. Their copper and silver coins were made in such small pieces, that they were very troublesome articles of exchange. The *chelons* are only copper, silvered over, nine of which equal a French *sous*. This base Polish coin has ever been very detrimental to the healthy exchanges of the country. It was first introduced from necessity, when the Poles had no money to pay their army, who began to confederate and join in a *Rokosz*, or mob, for the collection of their wages. It was first adopted in the reign of Casimir III. In those early days the kings of Poland had power to coin money, until the reign of Sigismund III., in the year 1632, when this privilege was surrendered by the sovereigns of Poland.

The next most important coin of the country was the *choustacks*, made of small pieces of silver, of base alloy, worth about twenty-five cents. It was first coined to pay the mutinous army in the year 1663. The best Polish silver coins are the *attine*, worth about ten cents. Casimir the Great first introduced the gold coins. The ducat was equal to two French crowns. According to Starovolscius, the poverty of the Poles was caused principally by their wars, prodigality, and indolence. Until after the dissolution of the kingdom, they imported their clothes and paper, two very heavy items of consumption, which might have been manufactured in Poland with great profit.*

* Connor, II., Letter i., 35.

SECTION V.

CONSUMPTION.

Notwithstanding all these numerous natural resources of wealth, Poland has ever been distinguished for national and individual poverty, which was one of the principal causes of the dissolution of the empire. This nation, for more than fifteen hundred years, has been remarkable for its poverty and miserable condition. Until within the last century, the society of the nobility generally was not much more than half-civilized, and their habits and principles were derogatory to the acquisition of wealth. The condition of the ignorant, indolent, filthy, improvident peasantry was most wretched. The general aspect of the country is rude and uncultivated, the roads are bad, the inns miserable, travelling very limited, and commerce scarcely known. Corn, wheat, flax, wood, honey, and wax ; excellent horses, large herds of fine cattle, and inexhaustible supplies of iron and salt, constituted the natural and commercial wealth of the country, which was easily conveyed to the Baltic and Black seas by rivers, that might have been improved and connected by canals and intersected by roads, so as to furnish travelling and navigable facilities for all the country. But excepting in Warsaw, Brandenburg, Posen, and some few towns of the Silesian frontier, industry was neglected, slave labor was torpid, agriculture, navigation, manufactures, and commerce, were repudiated by the nobility and government, and consequently very limited and unprofitable ; and hence all these facilities were lost and consumed.

The general poverty of Poland seems to have been almost

their natural inheritance for more than fifteen hundred years. Its fine situation, its peculiar soil and rich natural resources, form a striking and melancholy contrast with its unfortunate inhabitants, its wretched government and institutions. We look in vain to find a spot on the globe where a people have been found with any pretensions of civilization, surrounded with so many physical means of felicity, who have been involved in such miserable poverty. As late as the tenth century, the nobility were little better than an army of freebooters, carrying on the business of predatory war as a means of daily subsistence; and as recently as 1812, nothing could exceed the misery of all classes. The army was without pay and without clothing, and even the officers were in rags; the best houses were in ruins, and the greatest lords were compelled to leave Warsaw on account of extreme poverty, and the want of money to supply the necessaries for their tables. The finances of the country were so deranged in 1793, that the richest bankers of Warsaw declared themselves insolvent; in whose hands both foreign and domestic capitalists had invested immense sums, and in many instances most of their fortunes. This sudden and unexpected shock was severely felt by the greatest portion of the Polish nobility, as well as in other parts of Europe, where the bankers, by giving the exorbitant interest of eight per cent., were the holders of most of the capital.

The principal means of consumption and causes of poverty in Poland were their wars, the extravagance of the nobility, the expenses of slavery, the want of industry, commerce, government, law, civilization, education, and morals.

The expensive, ruinous, and almost perpetual wars in which the Poles were involved, sapped the foundation of all their wealth,

both national and individual. Not unfrequently the ravages of war laid waste whole towns and countries ; while houses, churches, crops, flocks, herds, man, and beast, were made a common sacrifice to the fabulous god of war, and the unhallowed ambition of the warrior. As the revenue of the country was small and fickle, and seldom equal to one quarter of the annual expenses, the army, which consisted of the nobility, were compelled to clothe, equip, and support themselves, both in war and peace, at home and abroad. The Poles seldom or never turned their victories to good account ; and generally defrayed their own expenses in fighting their own battles, and those of their neighbors—an item of consumption in their finances which generally exhausted all their pecuniary means. If all the wealth which has been expended, wasted, and destroyed in the domestic and foreign wars of Poland, had been invested on interest, it would be sufficient to clear all the forests of the country—except necessary woodlands—render their rivers navigable, drain their marshes, build flourishing cities and villages as near as necessary throughout the kingdom, improve the lands with a state of agriculture equal to England, work all the mines, fill the country with manufacturing establishments, furnish a revenue equal to all the wants of government, build school-houses for every one hundred inhabitants, and a church for every five hundred souls throughout the kingdom, and furnish them with able teachers and preachers, with ample libraries and apparatus, erect academies and colleges for the accommodation of the whole population, educate every citizen, and furnish each individual of the whole kingdom with a competent fortune for life, with industry and frugality.

The enormous expenses of the nobility, including their extravagant and costly castles, which were protected by armed men,

their rich apparel, costly furs, jewelry, horses, military equipage, and lordly retinue ; together with their sumptuous tables, intoxication, gambling, and other prodigality, all conspired in producing the miserable pauperism of the Poles.

Another source of poverty in Poland was their slavery. In a country where thirteen million five hundred thousand paupers are continually gnawing the vitals of the public body, the financier looks in vain for prosperity and wealth. In addition to all these pecuniary embarrassments, the Jewish brokers were constantly practising their usury and extortion, and daily filching from the hungry mouths of a starving community the bread of a nation of mendicants. Nor is this all. The shameful Papal indulgences, Pagan sacrifices, and other religious enormities, which daily drew from the pockets of this unfortunate people the last farthing of their hard earnings, were superadded sources of poverty and misery—the bare mention of which mantles the cheek of humanity with shame. Ignorance of agriculture and of political economy—the absence of education—the feeble, quarrelling, useless government—the laws, unworthy of a civilized community—a state of morals and religion better adapted to a semi-barbarous people than a civilized society, formed no inconsiderable items in the pecuniary embarrassments of the Poles. And what is still more surprising, the kings and nobility frequently consumed all their fortunes in bribery for the crown.*

SECTION VI.

WEALTH OF WARSAW.

Warsaw, one of the principal cities of Poland in wealth, talent,

* Parthanay, Hist. of Poland under Augustus II., I., 47. Fletcher, 21, 248.

and historical renown, contains at least one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, and more than nine thousand houses, and has long been known as the capital of Poland. The general appearance of this ancient city is highly imposing. It stands on a hill of considerable elevation, on the left bank of the Vistula. The Zamech or chateau of the kings of Poland, which extends its wings midway between the river and the summit of the hill; and the towering spires of churches, and other magnificent buildings, which adorn the horizon with the golden rays of a noon-day sun, contrasted with the dazzling beams of the silver moon, in the silence of midnight, all conspire in presenting to the eye of the distant observer one of the richest landscapes known in the travels of Europe. Most of the houses are now built of stone or stuccoed brick, and are numbered in one continuous series throughout the city, commencing with the royal palace formerly occupied by Paskiewitch. The churches are numerous and splendid; the palaces, public buildings, and many of the mansions of noblemen, are magnificent edifices, constructed on a large scale, very showy and attractive for their architectural designs. One wide street runs irregularly through the whole city; the principal and most modern sections of which are Miodowa or Honey street, and the Novoy Swiat or New World. The streets are badly paved, and have no convenient and secure walks for foot-passengers—as is generally the case in all ancient aristocratic cities. The public carriages resemble those in Western Europe, though somewhat lower, with linings painted red, and drawn by large handsome horses, harnessed with large collars of red or green, and covered with small rings, which sound like bells. The carts are like those in New York, only longer and lower, resembling the brewer's dray. The Russian drosky is in general

use. The new town is built in a more modern and convenient style; the government palace, and the palace of the minister of finance, are both splendid buildings; but the finest part of Warsaw consists of its four suburbs, having separate rights and jurisdictions.*

The numerous hotels, kept generally in some of the old palaces, are readily known by a large porter who stands at the entrance with a cocked-hat and silver-headed cane, to conduct travellers to their apartments, and register the names of visitors. Mr. Stephens found only two principal *kukiernia*, similar to the French *cafés*, where many of the Varsovians breakfast and lounge in the morning.

The inhabitants of Warsaw are the most refined in their manners and general appearance of any city in Poland. Though the Poles generally in their features, looks, customs, and manners, resemble their Asiatic Tartar ancestors; though they belong to the Slavonian race, which occupies nearly the whole of the vast plains of Western Europe, yet they have advanced far beyond their neighbors in civilization and refinement; and this is very manifest in Warsaw, where none of their former barbaric display is now witnessed. The European or American stranger is impressed with the European appearance of things as soon as he enters the city.

This ancient capital of the Poles is a place of great antiquity; it is mentioned by Barbaro, but was little known before the union of Poland and Lithuania.† Immediately after their union the town rose into importance, where the warlike and independent inhabitants of both states repaired, although both contended for the honor of giving a capital to their common country. Sigis-

* Stephens, II., 10.

† Connor, I., 285.

mund III. was the first king who held his court there, his successors made it their residence; and, to conciliate the suspicious Lithuanians, the Diet was fixed there in 1566. The Swedes took Warsaw in 1655, with immense booty, which they had obtained in Poland. It was retaken by the Poles the following year; and the quarter which is now called the city, then composed the whole town. The suburbs of the city include Novoy-Swiat, or New Town, Alexandria, Krakow, and Praga, on the other side of the Vistula, which form the finest part of Warsaw. The city consists of a long and narrow street, in which the others terminate; but in the suburbs the streets are spacious and clean, and adorned in many places with palaces, churches, and monasteries, that were built in the time of the Saxon kings. Warsaw originally consisted almost entirely of wooden houses covered with straw; but those materials are now prohibited, and three fourths of its houses are built of stone.

The suburbs of Praga may be considered a town, whose population amounted to six thousand six hundred and ninety souls in the year 1782, but was reduced by the barbarian Suwarow, in 1755, to three thousand and eighty-two. This Russian butchered more than one half the population, whose mangled bodies were floated down the Vistula to Prussia; and Warsaw, sacked, plundered, and murdered by Russian hordes, became a provincial town, the grave of its former inhabitants, and the tomb of its former glory. Praga, once a strong citadel and almost destroyed by Suwarow in 1795, has been since rebuilt. The ancient capital, which was peopled in 1782 by eighty-nine thousand four hundred and fifty inhabitants, numbered in 1797 only sixty-six thousand five hundred and seventy-two. In 1804, the population, including the garrison, amounted to about seventy-five thousand

During these sudden changes and sad vicissitudes, Warsaw was plundered of its richest ornaments by the ravages of war; and the paintings collected by the last king of Poland, with a library consisting of more than forty-five thousand volumes, which were purchased by the emperor, and presented by him to the Volhynian gymnasium, together with the famous library of the Zaluski, are now in Russia, exhibited as the signal trophies of military despotism over human freedom.

During the paternal reign of Alexander I., Warsaw improved; the new university was liberally endowed by that humane prince, who made the town the residence of a viceroy and a primate.

Warsaw has always been celebrated for its hard and well-fought battles in the cause of freedom. Her patriots have drenched the soil with their republican blood, until the earth cannot be penetrated by the point of the sabre without striking the dust of heroes. During the Polish revolution, which immediately succeeded the American revolution, Warsaw stood the heaviest brunt. Here the immortal Kosciusko fell, fighting for freedom, plunging his sword to the hilt in the hearts of tyrants, while the work of death and the fall of freedom reduced the population in 1782 from one hundred and fifty thousand to seventy-five thousand. Since that time it has increased to nearly its original numbers, thirty thousand of whom are Jews.

After all these repeated calamities, Warsaw still has the appearance of a gay European city, though its ancient social caste of nobles and peasantry, without any intermediate degrees, still remain the same, except the Jews, who form a large item in her population, and are at once recognized at every corner of the city by their long beards, their anxious and piquant faces, and piercing, avaricious eyes. The peasants still remain in the

lowest stage of mental degradation, and the few remaining nobles are the only people of Poland. These brave, prompt, frank, hospitable, and gay French of the north, like the French of the south, are fond of amusements and lounging in the open air, like the lazy loungers in the Palais Royal, in the Tuileries, the Boulevards, and Luxembourg, and are always watching the revolutionary surges of Paris, which has ever sympathized with Warsaw. They still consider it the deepest disgrace to engage in commerce or trade, or practise any profession, even law or medicine not excepted, and as the last resort of necessity prefer the plough.

The effects of these erroneous and destructive financial principles are clearly seen in Warsaw. The whole business of the city is in the hands of the Jews; and all the useful and mechanical arts, with every department of commerce, have fallen into the hands of strangers. Mr. Stephens, who visited Warsaw a few years since, did not find a single shop in the city kept by a Pole. The proprietors of the hotels and coffee-houses are all foreigners, and principally Germans. His tailor was a German, his shoemaker a Frenchman, and his watchmaker an Italian from Milan.

The bronze statue of Sigismund III. is situated near the gate of Cracow; a marble column twenty-six feet in height, which serves as a base for the figure, and was erected in memory of Sigismund by Wladislas IV., during the years 1643 and 1644. The *Lameck*, or royal castle, stands near the last monument, and was built on an eminence in the suburbs of Cracow by Sigismund III. One part of this large but simple edifice was used by the Diet; and another part has been changed into an astronomical observatory. The gardens near the Saxon and the Krasinski palaces, were the only public walks in the town; but the wealthy

suffer very little inconvenience on this account, who enjoy the shady walks of Ujasdew in the neighborhood, which equal the *Prater* of Vienna. The gardens of Lazienki and the medical baths, are much frequented, and are surrounded with fashionable and delightful country houses. The island of Kespa-Saska is a dependence of the town, and the greater part of it is covered with fruit trees. Wilanow, about four miles from Warsaw, is a place of resort for strangers, which formerly belonged to the princess Lubomirska, and is celebrated as the former residence of king Sobieski. The commerce of the capital consists principally in the produce of the country, the manufactures of cloth, linen, carpets, stockings and hats; but carriages and harness are the best manufactures and principal exports.

The remaining towns in Masovia are not very important. Czersk, a long time the residence of the Masovian dukes, contains only four or five hundred inhabitants; and Brzesc, the capital of Cujavia, still retains its ancient fortifications, with only about nine hundred souls. Lowicz and Kutto are the towns next in importance to Warsaw; the first was the metropolis of an ancient principality, with a population of three thousand three hundred and eighty; the second numbers twenty-six hundred inhabitants, more than half of whom are Jews. The castle of Nieborow, near Sochaczew, is more celebrated than any other in the department. It belongs to the Radziwills, who have adorned it with a library of twenty thousand volumes, and is the most delightful retreat of Arcadia. The department of Masovia, to which Warsaw belongs, in 1820 contained about eight hundred and ninety square leagues, and four hundred and eighty-one thousand inhabitants, forming one of the most wealthy provinces in Poland.*

* Malte Brun, IV 358.

SECTION VII.

WEALTH OF CRACOW.

In the department and waiwodat of Cracow, the country is generally mountainous, and the ridge between the Pilica and the Vistula is composed of sandstone or calcareous rocks. The mines in that part of Poland have been already mentioned. The first heights are observed at Bendzin towards Silesia, and at Szydlowice in the direction of Warsaw. The fertile valleys that extend towards the Vistula, particularly those watered by the Nida, produce luxuriant and rich harvests; and the lands in the neighborhood of Pinczow and Buscow, which are appropriated for the culture of anise, are as productive as any in the kingdom. But the country on both sides of the road from Konskie to Malogose, and onwards to Olkusz, exhibits the appearance of poverty and miserable want. The whole range consists of a number of hills intersected by valleys; and therefore, the heights appear to be very steep, but when carefully viewed from the top of the Lysa-Gora, it appears that they form a long ridge flattened at the summit. The Lysa-Gora is compared to a promontory, which terminates the table land of Little Poland on the north-west of Sandomir; and is principally composed of hard sandstone mixed with quartz. The mountain is distinctly observed at the distance of more than fifteen leagues, and commands the whole of Upper Poland. Numerous fountains gush from the arid rocks, where superstitious pilgrims from remote regions often meet in a monastery celebrated for its miracles. The sides of the Lysa-Gora are frequently enveloped in dark humid clouds, from which descend the sudden and heavy rains deluging the adjacent lands.

Kielce, Slakow, and Zarka, three mining towns, are the most important places in the waiwodat of Cracow. Kielce is distinguished for the palace of the vicar-general, and the school of the mines; containing five thousand inhabitants. Sandomir, in the waiwodat of the same name, has two thousand seven hundred inhabitants, a fortified castle, and is celebrated for its rich fields of wheat. Radow, the capital, is a well-situated, beautiful town. Opatow has long been distinguished for its lucrative trade in Hungarian wines. Rakow, an old decayed town, was formerly inhabited by the Socinian sectaries, who were banished in 1643, in violation of law. Cracow in 1819, contained 587 square leagues, and four hundred and forty-five thousand inhabitants. At the same time Sandomir embraced 784 square leagues, and four hundred and thirty-two thousand souls.

The republic of Cracow, situated in the southern part of Poland, owes its existence to the disputes of the despotic powers that conquered, robbed, and partitioned that ancient kingdom. As early as 1815 the allied kings, unable to determine which of their number had the best title to the territory, agreed that neither should possess it; and Cracow, under the influence of that old familiar principle of human nature, "when rogues quarrel honest men have their rights," was declared a republic, under the protection of the three surrounding powers. Their freedom, which they enjoyed only as tenants by sufferance, doubtful and fickle as the tenure was, rendered its environs more fertile and prosperous than those of the rest of Poland. Its surface contains five hundred square miles, with a city population of twenty-six thousand; and that of the territory, including the city, one hundred and twenty-four thousand, of which twelve thousand are Jews. The university, founded by Casimir the

great, in 1347, was for a long time the "great school of the North," and was for many years crowded with students from all parts of Europe, who received instruction from more than thirty different professors, until it fell into the hands of tyrants.

The peasants, who enjoyed the protection of the clergy, were not so poor or ignorant as in other parts of Poland, and the general appearance of the country is better. The roads are improved, the fields are better fenced and hedged; and the cottages, though built of clay and the branches of trees, are better whitened and more cleanly within, and most of them are shaded by fruit trees. Apples, plums, cherries, chestnuts, almonds, and peaches, are raised in the neighborhood of the capital. The republican privileges which the inhabitants of Cracow enjoy, are visible in their increased prosperity.

The celebrated tomb of queen Vanda may be seen at Mogila, a short distance from Cracow. That warlike princess obstinately refused the hands and hearts of all the neighboring kings, until Ritiguer, a German monarch, more amorous and more ambitious than the other princes, marched against her at the head of his army, and offered the royal Amazon the only alternative of war or love. Vanda, woman-like, resolved not to be coerced in her love beyond the natural dictates of the tender passion, buckled on her armor, and mounted her trusty charger to meet the foe. But when the two armies came in sight of each other, the soldiers of the German prince refusing to fight the battles of lovers, wisely referred the quarrels of their royal leader to be settled by the arrows of Cupid, and reserved their arms for the defence of their country. The lovesick prince, unable to brook his disgrace, or submit to the scorn of a woman, laid violent hands on himself, and queen Vanda returned with her heart and hand safe and

sound to Cracow. As usual with conservative lovers, not many years afterwards, the cold-hearted princess saw the folly of single blessedness, and losing all pleasure in her martial and masculine occupations,—so unnatural to the more refined feelings and employments of her sex—separated herself from her associates, and and under the withering influence of misanthropy, resolved to terminate her wretched existence by her own hand. After repenting of her offences against the goddess of love, and sacrificing many victims to the gods, she threw herself into the Vistula, and terminated her life, to the great loss and regret of her obedient and loving subjects.

The burg of Krzeszowice, in the neighborhood of Cracow, is a place of resort for the gay and wealthy Poles. A princess there erected a vauxhall, and several buildings for the convenience of those who frequented the baths. The surrounding country is seldom excelled in its picturesque scenery. The Kudowa, which flows through the low grounds, waters the lovely lawns, the verdant meadows, and fruitful orchards, while the towering sandstone rocks on the lofty heights are cut into a thousand different shapes in imitation of Gothic castles. These enchanting retreats on the Sarmatian hills, so famous in history and song, where the white firs, by their amorous boughs and rich foliage, modestly conceal the ancient Gothic ruins,—and the sides of torrents are shaded by the moaning willows,—are the fabulous haunts of departed spirits, where the living and the dead of centuries and worlds, hold converse in relation to the great events of Polish history.

Cracow, once the metropolis of Poland, was the place where the ancient kings were crowned and interred. The city is decidedly Catholic in religion, and contains eighty-seven monaste-

ries, and one hundred and sixty-four nunneries. The celebrated cathedral stands by the side of the old palace, on the summit of the rock of Wauvel, in the centre of the city ; with a commanding view of the town and the surrounding country, inclosed with walls and towers, sacred in the annals of Poland, as the theatre of many of her most important political and civil revolutions, and as the sepulchre of kings, barons, and saints. Here the traveller lingers with emotions of solemn delight, as he sheds a tear over the tombs of the great and good men of Poland, whose bones lie mouldering under his feet. Here rest the ashes of St. Stanislas, whose pious soul was liberated from its mortal remains, while engaged in his devotions at the altar, by the hand of the murderous Boleslas, because the wretch had been kindly reprov'd by the noble bishop, for murdering a community of hundreds, including husbands, wives, children, and servants, without law or justice. The tomb of this saint is erected in the middle of the church, where two lamps burn day and night near it, and masses are continually said over his ashes. Christianity does well in perpetuating the virtues of this eminent prelate, who had the moral courage to reprove a victorious, haughty monarch, flushed with success, and corrupted by debauchery, whose baneful example was imitated by his people. Saint Stanislas Sczepanowski is worthy of a high rank among the great men of Poland. Boleslas the Bold had resolved to kill the bishop in his own church. Thrice he ordered his trusty guards to massacre the good man at the altar, and thrice they refused to commit the heaven-daring sin ; till at last the king was compelled to be his own executioner, and, with a single blow of his heavy sword by his stalwart arm, stretched him lifeless at the foot of the altar.

The most signal punishment of this blood-thirsty monarch, we have recorded in another place.

The most ancient monument is devoted to the memory of Wladislas le Bref, built of stone, without any inscription; but ornamented with figures in bas-relief, which have suffered much from the hand of time. He died in 1333, and selected this place for his tomb. It is said that Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, when he invaded Poland, visited this cathedral, and while pausing before this tomb in company with a distinguished canon, who, in allusion to the position of John Casimir, who was then at war with the king of Sweden, remarked, as he pointed significantly to the monument, "and that king was also driven from his throne, but he returned and reigned until his death;" the royal Swede answered with some feeling, "but your John Casimir will never return." The canon respectfully replied, "God is great and fortune is fickle."* The Swede was mistaken, for John Casimir returned to his throne.

Let us now turn with reverence to the tomb of Casimir the Great, which is red marble, with a canopy resting on four columns; and the figure of the king, with a crown on his head, rests on a stone coffin, all inclosed by an iron railing. Nearly five centuries since, his palatines and nobles laid him here to sleep the sleep of death. To this distinguished monarch, Poland is indebted for most of her churches, palaces, fortresses, towns, literature, the university of Cracow, law codes, and other humane improvements, which have enrolled his name among the great and good men of the world.

The tomb of Sigismund I., who died in 1541, is of red marble, with a figure as large as life reclining upon it, adorned with bas-

* Stephens II., 254.

reliefs, and the national arms, the white eagle and the armed cavalier of Lithuania. His monument has the following inscription in Latin: "Sigismund Jagellon, king of Poland, grand-duke of Lithuania, conqueror of the Tartars, of the Wallachians, of the Russians, and Prussians, reposes under this stone which he prepared for himself." About forty years ago Thaddeus Czacki, the Polish historian, opened the tombs of the kings, and found the head of Sigismund reposing on a silver plate, bearing a long Latin inscription; the decayed body then measured six feet and two inches in height; and was covered with three rich ermines, with golden spurs on his feet, and a chain of gold around the neck, and a gold ring on one finger of the left hand. At his feet lay a small pewter coffin, inclosing the body of his son, by Bone Sforza.

By the side of this distinguished prince, lies the body of his son, Sigismund II., the last of the Jagellons, at whose death commenced the political cabals and civil wars of the elective monarchy,—from which may be dated the decline and fall of the Polish empire. His memory is immortalized in the pages of romance for his extraordinary love for Barbe Radzewill. History presents this country girl, the daughter of a private citizen, as possessing all the female charms which ever adorned her sex. When she first appeared at the Polish court, in the reign of Sigismund I., the son, a distinguished prodigal, had perverted and wasted his youthful energies and moral powers, by riotous and licentious living, until his heart, by age and repeated wounds, was supposed to be dead and insensible to the tender passion, and impervious to the most poignant arrows of Cupid. The irresistible charms of Barbe roused every latent feeling of the prince, and fired his superannuated love with a flame that no power could

quench ; and, in spite of all the entreaties, threats, and opposition of his family, the nobles and his country, he loved and wedded his beautiful Barbe. When Czacki opened the coffin of this prince, he found his body perfectly preserved, with his head resting on a silver plate, containing a long Latin inscription.

At the foot of his coffin is that of his distinguished sister and successor, Anne ; while her royal consort, Stephen Batory, one of the great kings of Poland, who was raised to the throne by his marriage with Anne, quietly reposes in a separate chapel.

John Casimir and his rival brother, though bitter enemies in life, quietly repose in this cathedral side by side,—as calm as though nothing had happened to ripple their tide of life. Death is so democratic in his labors of love, that he makes no distinctions in his subjects ; but all quietly submit to his government, without caste, strife, or envy. There is no quarrelling in the grave. Both the tyrant and the vassal, the slave and his master, the victor and conquered, Napoleon and Alexander, Cæsar and the Goth, all mingle their ashes in friendship and harmony. By the side of John Casimir, under a monument of black marble, lies the body of his poor, unfortunate, and imbecile successor, Michael Wisniowecki, who was raised from obscurity to the throne against his wishes ; and wept as the crown of Poland was placed on his head.

But variety and contrast bring home to the heart their emotions of solemn pleasure in the society of the dead, as well as of the living. By the side of that “ poor fellow,” Michael, sleeps the once tall, gentlemanly, and beautiful form of the great John Sobieski, the greatest of the Polish kings :

“ One of the few, the immortal names,
That were not born to die.”

In another direction stands the monument of bishop Saltyk, in which the venerable prelate is represented on a basso relievo, while the cruel and impious Russians are leading him captive to Siberia, for the crime—according to Russian law and ethics—of loving his country, and the best interests of man.

We may now descend to the lower floor of the church, where, by the side of Poniatowski, the Polish Bayard, is the tomb of Poland's immortal hero, her favorite son—the world-famed Kosciusko,—the idol of America, and the friend of Washington; whose once loved form, though now mingling with its mother earth, is the brightest ornament of subterranean Poland, as he was a model prince among the great and good of the living.*

SECTION VIII.

WEALTH OF GALICIA.

The kingdom of Galicia, or Austrian Poland, was well known about the middle of the twelfth century to the geographers and historians of that day, and was ceded to the Poles by the Hungarians in the treaties of 1412 and 1423. Upper Poland and Red Russia formed together the high country of ancient Poland, and the northern part of the Carpathian mountains. These regions were peopled at an early age by the *Carpi*, the *Biessi*, the *Soboci*, and other tribes, whose names appear to be Slavonic. This province, which formerly belonged to Poland, fell to the share of Austria in the unrighteous partition of the country between the allied powers. The southern part of Galicia is mountainous; but the greatest elevations are lower

* Malte Brun, b. 113.

than those in Hungary, varying from four to six thousand feet in height. They are frequently called the Czerna Gora; the most remarkable summit of which is the Babia Gora, from which may be seen a great part of Galicia, Poland, and Silesia. A lofty plain separates the Babia from the Tatra mountains in Hungary; the summit of the former is composed of primitive foliated sandstone, reaching into the heavens about five thousand feet. Some mountains on the frontiers are still higher, and their summits are formed of compact limestone, or grawacke. The sides of the Babia, and of other heights in the country south of Cracow, are nearly perpendicular, from which large pieces of rock are frequently detached, and precipitated to the plains below with tremendous force. The most of the mountains in Galicia are composed of sandstone, with extensive layers of carbonated iron, and beds of rock-salt in different directions.

The hills are principally formed of argil, and masses of bituminous sandstone are common. The alluvial lands along the valleys of the Dniester and the Sann are variegated with meadows and heaths. A narrow belt of moving sand extends from Cracow to Lemberg, covered with red resinous pines. The territory, reaching from the neighborhood of Lemberg to Komorno on the west, and to the frontiers of the kingdom on the east, forms an argillaceous ridge, abounding in beautiful lakes. The heights that crown the ridge are known as the Biecziad mountains.

The north-east wind, which blows from the central ridge of Russia, frequently exposes Galicia to excessive cold. The quantity of rain that falls during the year is much greater than in any of the neighboring countries, and renders the soil very humid. Inflammatory, bilious, rheumatic, and nervous fevers, phthisis, dropsy, syphilis, and plica, are the prevailing diseases, as well as

in Poland generally. The Galicians and Poles eat the same coarse and unwholesome bread, both drink ardent spirits intemperately, and the want of skilful physicians adds greatly to the calamities of the country.

The principal agricultural productions are almost every variety of grains, though the soil is generally good for grazing and fruit. For the purposes of culture the soil may be divided into three parts, nearly equal. The first is composed of mountains and marshes, in which the plough cannot be used; the second is formed by plains of sand, that sometimes yield late harvests; and the third contains good arable land, in which the ordinary crops return an increase of five or six to one; and by good husbandry would produce much more. The most common crops are wheat, oats, and buckwheat; although leguminous plants, and almost every kind of grain, are cultivated. The most fertile lands are those in the districts east of Lemberg, and in some parts of the circle of Belzk. Grain is seldom sown on the sandy or mountainous regions; and its usual returns in that part of the country are generally in proportion of four to one, under the bad agriculture of the inhabitants. The wheat is usually exported, the oats and buckwheat are consumed by the people; and the potatoe, which was not much cultivated until late years, is now common. Asparagus, water-melons, and other plants, grow in abundance spontaneously. Vineyards have been tried in the neighborhood of Lemberg, but the rigor of the climate prevented their success. From twenty to thirty thousand quintals of tobacco are raised annually. Lint and hemp are generally cultivated, but particularly in the district of Przermsl. The linen manufactured in the country is coarse, and the sale of it is principally confined to the province. There is a plantation of

rhubarb near Makrotin, which contains upwards of forty thousand plants.

Galicja generally numbers over one million of oxen, and nearly five hundred thousand horses. The horses, which were formerly small and not well kept, have been lately improved, and are generally used by the Austrian cavalry.

The province contains several thousand lakes or ponds, scattered over the country, well-stocked with fish. The largest lakes are those in the district of Lemberg, measuring not less than a league in length and breadth, and the revenue derived from some of them amounts to sixty thousand florins annually.

The iron mines worked by the Austrians yield forty thousand cwts. of native iron. Copper is wrought at Poschoryta, and lead mixed with silver at Kerlibaba. Marble is found in the circle of Stanislawow, or the ancient Pohutia.

The town of Halicz, or Galicz, is so called from its salt springs; the term has been extended to the whole kingdom, and gave rise to the name of the ancient Halizones. Salt is extracted from twenty-six springs in Galicja; but fossil salt, which is much more abundant, is worked extensively in the famous mines of Bochnia and Wieliczka. Hills flattened at their summits extend along the northern side of the Carpathian chain, throughout its whole extent. The first stratum in these heights is composed principally of clay; below it is marl, and the fossil salt is found under the marl, and in some places in the midst of it. The sandy stratum is seen on the surface of the plain from Cracow to Lemberg; and the hills of argil commence at the height of a hundred and fifty or two hundred feet above the level of the Vistula. Fossil salt, or salt streams, are found wherever excavations

of moderate depth have been made ; and sulphurous and bituminous springs rise near the mines of Bochnia and Wieliczka.

The Polish historians and geographers date the discovery of the salt mine of Bochnia as early as the year 1351. The merit of discovery is ascribed to St. Cunegonde, a Hungarian princess, the wife of Boleslas V. Notwithstanding the early fabulous history of the discovery, it is highly probable that the queen sent Hungarian miners into Galicia ; but the mine was imperfectly known until 1442 ; and since that time the works at Bochnia have never equalled those of Wieliczka. The produce of both mines under the Polish government, when the works were very limited and imperfect, equalled ten millions of Polish florins ; and the expense of working them consumed nine-tenths of that sum. But the improvements of the Austrians have increased the annual profits to two millions of German florins. The mine of Bochnia consists of a long subterranean passage, which is seven hundred and fifty feet in breadth from north to south, ten thousand in length from east to west, and varying from one thousand to fifteen hundred in depth. The entrance is surrounded by crystals. The salt lies in the form of veins, which is much finer than the Wieliczka, and the quality improves as the depth descends. The mine is dry and free from dampness. Alabaster is found in several places, and pieces of black and decayed wood are frequent. The salt is broken into small fragments, and packed in barrels for market.

The salt mines of Wieliczka, the most celebrated in the world, lie about twelve miles from Cracow, in the province of Galicia. The town of Wieliczka contains about three thousand inhabitants, and stands on the roof of the immense subterranean excavations. The houses are built of wood, and the streets and whole town are almost destitute of men—the male population being employed in

the mines below. A wooden building is erected over the shaft which forms the principal entrance to the mine. This shaft is ten feet square, and descends perpendicularly more than two hundred feet. Persons who wish to make the descent, arrange themselves in canvas seats, attached to the end of the ropes, with lamps in their hands, and are lowered to the bottom. Within a short distance of the surface the shaft is cut through a solid rock of salt; and from the bottom numerous passages are cut in every direction through the same bed. On reaching the bottom of the shaft, guides are provided, who go before strangers with torches through a labyrinth of passages, forming the largest subterranean excavations in the world, and peopled with upward of two thousand souls, engaged in their daily labor of salting the world.

This saline world—for such is the appearance to the astonished, bewildered beholder—is divided into four different stories, or ranges of apartments. The whole length of the excavations is more than six thousand feet, occupying three quarters of an hour's walk; and the whole length of all the passages cut through this bed of salt, amounts to more than three hundred miles. Many of the chambers, which are of immense size, are supported by timber, others by vast pillars of salt, and some without any support, measuring eighty feet high, and of such immense length and breadth, as to present to the eye of the spectator a boundless subterranean cavern. One of the largest of these immense chambers is covered by a lake, where the king of Saxony sailed when he visited the place in 1810, after taking possession of his half of the mines as duke of Warsaw; while the cavern was brilliantly illuminated, and a band of music, floating on this miraculous sheet of water, made the high-arched roof echo with national airs.

This lake is crossed in a flatboat by a rope, and the dim light of torches. From thence the visitor enters an immense cavern, in which several hundred men are daily at work with pickaxes and hatchets, cutting out large blocks of salt, and packing them in barrels for market, whose black faces, begrimed with dust, resemble the fabulous inhabitants of Pluto's regions, more than human beings of this world. There are more than a thousand of those chambers or halls, many of which have been abandoned and closed. One of these mansions is ornamented with a collection of fanciful rings, books, crosses, and other things cut in the rock-salt. Many of the principal chambers have some name of distinction printed over them, as the "Archduke," "Carolina," and others.

The guides, as a matter of amusement for the traveller, strike their flambeaux against the wall, from which volumes of flames and sparks flash and float around, filling the entire chamber. At the end of a large, dark passage, a door opens into a beautiful and spacious ball-room, lighted with torches; and, directly in front, at the head of the room is a transparency with colored lights, in the centre of which are the words "*Excelso hospiti,*" "To the illustrious guest." Lights are ingeniously arranged around the room, and at the foot, about twenty feet above the spectator's head, is a large orchestra. Here splendid balls are given, while the roof re-echoes with the music of the merry dance, in which the nobles and the ladies, princes and princesses mingle, flirt, coquet, waltz, and carouse with all the hilarity of the world above them.

The chapel of St. Anthony is one of the most enchanting of all the chambers, to whom it is dedicated in honor of the saint who discovered these mines; and is said to be more than four

hundred years old. The columns, with their ornamented capitals, the arches, the images of the Saviour, the virgin and saints, the altar and the pulpit, with their numerous decorations, and the figures of two priests engaged in their prayers before the shrine of the patron saint, are all carved out of the rock-salt; and grand mass is regularly celebrated in this chapel once every year. After following the guide through all the different passages and chambers where are constantly seen miners and squads of men at work, the visitor descends by regular stairs cut in the salt, to the lowest gallery, which is nearly a thousand feet below the surface of the earth.

The miners descend to their work every morning, and ascend to their homes in the village above every evening; and none of them ever sleep below. These mines, with the whole immense mass of salt above and below, and extending no one knows how far, present the most wonderful phenomenon in the world. All the different strata have been scientifically explored and examined by learned men. The uppermost bed on the surface is sand; the second is clay, occasionally mixed with sand and gravel, containing petrifications of marine bodies; the third is calcareous stone; and from these data, naturalists conclude that this region was formerly covered by the sea, and the salt is a gradual deposit formed by the evaporation of the marine waters. These salt-mines were mortgaged to Leopold, emperor of Hungary, by Casimir, as security for five millions of florins, and have been worked since the fifth century.

The air in the mines is salubrious, although a nitrous gas is formed, which rises to the roof of the vaults, and is sometimes inflamed by the approach of lamps, which the miners call *saletra*, and emits, in burning, a pale, red light. Accidents sometimes

occur, though not often. A part of the works fell in 1745 ; by negligence fires were occasioned in 1644 and 1696 ; and a long time elapsed before they were extinguished, after destroying most of the scaffoldings.

Three different kinds of soil and salt are found in this country. The first is a dark and greyish marl, humid to the touch, and mixed in some places with gypsum. *Ziclona*, or green salt, is deposited in the stratum, and contains a small portion of marl, which accounts for its color. There are also several varieties of the same salt ; *spisa*, which is generally used in the country ; *lodowaty*, or glazed salt, is combined with chalk, and *jarka* or saline sand. The second kind of soil is an unctuous marl that abounds in shells ; and the third is composed of impure salt, gypsum and pyrites. It is in the zuber or last mixture, that the rock salt and crystallizations appear ; which are in the form of cubes or rectangular prisms. These deposits rest on a layer of marl and lime below, which is the *szybakowa*, or regular stratum of fossil salt, the purest and most compact of any. The beds are alternately succeeded by argil, slate, and gypsum, with a direction from west to east, inclining towards the south ; and consequently, towards the Carpathian mountains. The upper part of the saline strata resembles a sea, from its undulations, while the base or lower part seems to form a perfect level.

Lemberg, Lwow, or Leopold, as the Poles call it, formerly the capital of Red Russia, and now the metropolis of Galicia, is a large town with spacious streets, well paved and clean ; presenting a remarkable contrast with the other towns of the country. The public buildings and many private houses, greatly increase the beauty and attractions of the city, and relieve the traveler from his disgust of the mean towns which he generally

meets in Poland. This urban phenomenon may be attributed to the proximity of Constantinople ; whence the civilized and learned Greeks migrated to Leopold in the thirteenth century. The city and its suburbs formerly contained seventy-two churches, which were subsequently reduced to twenty, under the reign of Joseph II. Its population has varied from fifty to a hundred thousand, among whom were fifteen or twenty thousand Jews, and as many Greeks and Armenians. The ramparts are now changed into streets or public walks ; and Lemberg now carries on a considerable commerce with Russia, Turkey, and other neighboring countries.

The rest of Galicia is naturally divided into two general departments. The first of these divisions forms a part of Little Poland, and is inhabited by the Poles. Raczow and Tarnow, two towns on the plains near the Vistula, each have four or five thousand inhabitants ; both carry on a trade in linen and other manufactures, and the value of the exports from Tarnow equals 1,200,000 florins. Podgovza, a modern town of some privileges, is situated opposite to Cracow. Andrichow and Kenty lie at the base of the Babia-Gora, and derive their wealth principally from linen manufactures. Biala is situated in the same part of the province, and its cloth is sold throughout Galicia. The towns on the Carpathians are New-Sandec ; Gorlice, sometimes called Little Dantzic, from its manufactures ; and Krosno, the mart of the Hungarian wines, containing five thousand inhabitants. The mining villages on the valleys, watered by the Upper Sann, manufacture a great quantity of iron.

The other grand divisions of Galicia contained in Upper Poland, are inhabited by two distinct classes of people. The Mazurakes, or the natives of the plains, who resemble the Poles, and the

Gorales, or mountaineers, who are of a widely different character ; neither of whom ever contributed much to the wealth of the country.

The Gorales are a peculiar people, distinguished from the other Slavonians by their small size and more expressive features, which indicate their Slavonic origin. They are generally more lively and robust, more docile and cunning, than the Slavonians of the plain ; to whom they entertain a repressed but undiminished enmity. The wealth and prosperity of the country have suffered severely by the wars and ravages of the mountaineers and the inhabitants of the plains. These invasions have latterly been checked under the Austrian government by the punishment of the Gorales. The axe is a national weapon, which the Gorales handle with great dexterity ; they can strike any object with it at the distance of forty yards, and the same instrument which serves them as an ornament in peace, and an implement of death in war, they always wear at their games and dances. Although they are now prohibited by law from carrying the axe, they still appear with it on their mountains, without injury, and every traveller may now visit the country, or reside in it with safety. These mountaineers return from the plains about the beginning of winter ; but they seldom gain enough for a comfortable subsistence, and not unfrequently they are obliged to leave their cottages, and seek elsewhere for their livelihood, after having spent the summer in tending their flocks on the heaths and deserts.

Those who migrate in considerable numbers are more successful ; and, scattered in every part of the Austrian empire, pursue the trades of weavers, hucksters, and pedlars. The hemp and lint raised on the mountains are very coarse, and hardly worth

cultivating ; but the poverty of the inhabitants compels them to resort to any labor for their daily bread. They manufacture inferior articles of household furniture, which they sell at low prices on the plains of Poland. The soil is too sterile for the production of wheat, though oats, barley, and buckwheat succeed ; but the culture of the last grain is not well understood by the mountaineers.

The bread consumed in the country is made of oats, which the people grind in hand-mills ; and by mixing the coarse flour with the chaff, a cake is made and baked without leaven or salt. The form of the *platski* or cakes is circular, generally about a foot in diameter, and half an inch in thickness. Their coarse bread, potatoes, cabbage, milk, butter, and cheese, compose the food of the Gorales ; and yet, strange as it may seem to the epicure, health and great longevity are the rewards of their temperance and frugal table. It is common among the people to continue in good health to the advanced age of over one hundred years, continually laboring in the field with all the activity and strength of young men of twenty. Frequently husbands, who outlive several wives, marry a third time and raise families from these last marriages free from reproach.

The dress of the Gorales is cheap ; every man is his own tailor, weaver, shoemaker, manufacturer, and servant. Each individual tans and dresses his own leather, and makes his shoes, by attaching the different pieces in the same shoe with thongs, according to the custom of the ancients, which has long been superseded by civilization. Their summer dress consists of coarse hempen stockings, and a shirt of the same kind, worn above a jacket, and bound round the waist with a belt. The winter costume consists principally of white stockings, made of

coarse woollen cloth, and a brown pelisse of the same substance. The men weave and full their cloth, which is said to be impervious to rain. With the single exception of purchasing their hats in Makow, an adjoining burg, the Gorales are wholly independent of their neighbors for their meat, drink, and clothing.

The eastern part of Galicia is inhabited by a people of Russian origin. Przemysl and Jaroslav, two of the principal towns, were formerly the residence of grand dukes and princes; both are built on the Sann, and each of them possesses a population of six or seven thousand souls. Przemysl is fortified by a strong castle on a rock. Jaroslav stands on a hill, and is ornamented with the church of the Panna Maria, or Holy Virgin, and is the romantic site of the ancient college of the Jesuits, which caused the Poles so much trouble. The inhabitants are generally husbandmen, and the northern districts are well cultivated, with the exception of Belz, whose trade is confined principally to potash. The privileged town of Brody, on the north-east frontier, is inhabited by twenty thousand individuals, more than one third of whom are Jews. They carry on a considerable trade with Russia; the Jews have an endowed college and a commercial seminary; but their own houses are mean, dirty, and ill-furnished. The southern towns, Sambor and Drohobitz, each contain seven thousand souls. The former is employed in manufacturing and bleaching linen; and the latter enjoys the commerce of the synagogue. Halicz, the ancient Galician capital, has four thousand inhabitants, consisting chiefly of Jews, belonging to the sect of the Karaites, whose ancestors settled in this country before the twelfth century, known to the Byzantine writers as the allies of the Emperor Manuel, and the Chalisii who adhered to the Mosaic law. Stanis-

lawow is a place of more importance, and promises to become the principal fortress in the province. Sniatyn is a flourishing town in the district between the Pruth and the Pokutian heights, with a population of six or seven thousand. It is celebrated for its fairs, where oxen, horses, honey, wax, and other articles, imported from Moldavia, are sold. Kutty is partly inhabited by a colony of Armenians, who are employed in dressing morocco leather.

The people in these central and eastern districts are descendants from the Russini or Rusniacs, who are thus denominated by the Poles, to distinguish them from the Roszieni, Moscowali, or Great Russians. They use a dialect composed of the Russian and Polish languages, being originally a different horde of the Slavonic race. The Rusniacs are less civilized and less corrupt than the Galicians; they are not so good husbandmen, but are more frugal and laborious. The Galician women never use the distaff while they tend their flocks, though it is the common occupation of the Rusniacs.

The inhabitants of Pokutia have mixed less with the Poles than the other Rusniacs. The Houcoles, or shepherds on the Carpathian mountains, still retain many of their barbarous customs.

Galicia, like the whole of Poland, remained long in a state of barbarism, which was the natural consequence of their civil discords, and Turkish or Cossack invasions, as the ruins of their devastated towns and villages, the monuments of former wars, clearly show. The country is so poor that the traveller seldom finds a bed, comfortable lodgings, or refreshments. The beer of the country is a kind of turbid vinegar; the wine is no better, and a glass of it costs a florin. True, the stranger may quench his thirst at the limpid and cold springs on the mountains; but

bread cannot be found in the high districts ; and the only articles that can be procured are oaten cakes, mixed with chaff and ardent spirits, which have ever been the poison of the Poles, and one of the principal causes of their ruin. The traveller, as he journeys through this country, frequently imagines himself beyond the confines of Europe, and frequently turns out of his way to find a town to eat and sleep in, though he is not certain of an inn, nor of the privilege of dressing his own victuals, or of purchasing a few eggs for ten times their value.

The country has been improved under the Austrian government since the settlement of the Germans, who now amount to seventy-two thousand souls. Civilization has been somewhat advanced, but there are still many obstacles which cannot be easily surmounted. The peasants are ignorant, degraded, and slothful, and slavery destroys their intelligence and courage. All the land in the country is possessed by the nobility and a few free laborers. The rich lords are the proprietors of more lands than many German principalities ; and those to whom the care of their estates is entrusted are generally men of broken fortunes, who have fled from Germany or Bohemia. The stewards rob their masters so effectually, that in a few years they are able to retire from business, or purchase the lands which they formerly owned. Other princes and nobles let their lands to farmers, who, by bad and dishonest husbandry, exhaust the soil, by raising from it in two years what ought not to have been produced in ten years.

The poorer nobles cultivate their own farms, with as much industry as any class of producers in Galicia ; but their want of education, their ignorance of agriculture and rural economy, together with their intemperance and immoral habits, confine them to poverty and wretchedness. Such farmers are of very

little benefit to a country, as the state of Galicia clearly proves, where the natural resources of wealth, and the laborers to develop them, are abundant.

It must not be overlooked, that considerable progress has been made in the arts, even in Galicia. Linen is manufactured on the mountains and the Silesian frontiers with considerable success; and the cloth, though formerly coarse, is now of a good quality. Woollen goods and the art of dyeing form an important branch of industry at Nawsie. Glass is exported from Lubaczow and other places; fifty forges have been erected in the neighborhood of Wieliczka, where iron is well wrought; and similar industry prevails in the high districts. Several towns have increased their wealth by dressing leather, whitening wax, distilling spirits, and making nitre and potash. The exports are conveyed on the great commercial road, the work of Joseph II., which has ever been of immense value to the province. The Galician nobles spend their money at home, and few visit the court of Vienna, or travel in foreign countries.

The exports of Galicia and Bukowine are consumed mostly in Austria and Moravia; they amount to twenty millions of florins, and consist principally of salt, grain, cattle, horses, raw and dressed hides, wool, wax, tallow, tobacco, and lint. The province has a population of over three millions eight hundred thousand, which furnishes recruits to eleven regiments of infantry, four of light cavalry, and a battalion of fusileers. The revenue seldom exceeds ten million imperial florins—about five millions of dollars—which is greatly inadequate to the expenditures. Galicia, where commerce is free, taxes moderate, and the natural resources are abundant, might excel most states in industry and wealth with proper exertion and economy. But commerce, and the outlets for the

surplus produce, have been diminished since Prussia obtained the navigation of the Vistula ; and the progress of agriculture and civilization has been retarded by the degraded state of the peasants, and the extortions and usury of Jewish brokers, who monopolize the trade of all the towns in the province.

Bukowine is joined to Galicia under the official name of the Circle of Czernowitz ; but its provincial states are distinct, and its population is widely different. Its name signifies the country of beech-trees. The sides of the Carpathians are rendered highly picturesque by the variegated foliage of forests of beech, pine, and fir-trees ; while the vine grows on the low ground ; and the valleys, watered by the Moldavia, the Sereth, and the Pruth, produce fruit, pasturage, and corn in abundance, under good husbandry. The mineral resources of the country are numerous, consisting of salt springs, the gold carried down the Bistritza, lead mixed with silver, the copper of Poschoryta, and the iron of Jakobeney.

Suczawa, formerly the residence of the Moldavian despots, containing eighty thousand inhabitants in the fifteenth century, is now reduced to five thousand. Czernowitz and Sereth are not more distinguished. The population of Bukowine amounts to two hundred thousand souls, most of whom are Moldavians, a branch of the Wallachians, who are members of the Greek Church, and subject to the authority of their *bayars* or lords. The province is also settled by Germans, Armenians, Jews, and Magyars. The Philliponi, or Lippowany, still adhere to the ancient rites of the Russian Church. Persecuted and harassed by the Tartars and Russians, they were compelled to leave the Crimea, and implore the protection of Joseph II. The emperor granted them an asylum in his dominions, and the people soon distin-

guished themselves for their humanity, frugality, and orderly conduct.

Bukowine was the ancient country of the Moldavians. In 1496, a Polish army of eighty thousand men besieged Suczawa, and were defeated by the troops of the Hospodar, Stephen the Great. Twenty thousand nobles were taken prisoners, some of whom were bound to the plough, and others were compelled to plant beech-trees on the field of battle. The beech is called the bloody wood of the Wallachians, who believe that the Saviour's cross was made of it; and the Turks probably, for the same reason, use it in empaling their victims; and hence the word Bukowine sometimes means the land of blood. The possession of Bukowine is necessary to protect the Austrian provinces, which front Poland and Muscovy; and the same country forms a line of military communication between Galicia and Transylvania—the advanced bulwark of the empire—and secures to Austria the command of the most advantageous positions in the event of a war with the Turk or the Muscovite.*

SECTION IX.

WEALTH OF POSEN.

The great duchy of Posen forms, physically, a part of Poland, and the two countries exhibit the same plains, the same kind of sand intermixed with clay and black loam,—similar corn and similar forests. The rye of Posen is finer than any in Brandenburg; and the country generally produces a better and greater

* Malte Brun, IV 114.

variety of plums, apples, and pears, while morel and asparagus grow spontaneously and abundantly, and the mushroom is very common. The peasants furnish the market with honey and poultry, and the fields and forests abound with partridges and pheasants. The land tortoise is exported to Prague, and the industrious beaver erects his dikes and dwellings in the heart of the forests. The country contains many large marshes, covered with weeds and brushwood, which still remain undrained on the banks of the Odra. The principal river is the Wartha; and a canal, by which the country has been much improved, forms a communication between the Vistula and the Oder, by means of the Netze.

The peasantry in Posen are a slothful, ignorant, superstitious, and miserable class of drunkards; their moral and intellectual character has remained nearly the same since the Christian era, and all the efforts to improve them—which it is true have been few and far between—have thus far proved mostly ineffectual. Their condition is that of the most degraded slavery. In the days of the republic, the petty nobles carried off their daughters; and if the parents complained, they were severely chastised, without law or justice. In this state they have, from time immemorial, enjoyed the usual consolations of slavery, which are abundance of food, coarse but warm clothing, dirty but large cottages, a bed of straw, the privilege of singing, dancing, and intoxication, and the enjoyment of life and limb at the pleasure of their masters.

The nobles participate in the offices of government, but they still hate the Germans. The duchy is gradually becoming a German province, having a population of nine hundred thousand, of whom one hundred and sixty thousand are Germans, and more than twenty-four thousand of them embraced the re-

formed religion. The successive migrations of industrious manufacturers from Silesia, and the agricultural colonies of Swabia, have greatly improved the society of Posen. The Jews, as usual, have greatly retarded the moral improvement of the people, and being the sole moneyed capitalists of the country, they have monopolized every branch of industry, by their usury and extortion.

One of the most interesting classes of society in Posen, is the German millers, who form almost a distinct class. These humble happy inhabitants of a romantic country, surrounded by their numerous flocks, with abundance of fish, poultry, and game, form a virtuous middling class, between the peasantry and the nobles, associating with neither, and intermarrying exclusively among themselves. Strangers to both wealth and poverty, and blessed with a competency for all the necessary and useful purposes of life, they enjoyed the pleasures of retirement, until their solitudes were invaded and their houses pillaged, during the French war.

Poznan or Pozen, the ancient capital of Great Poland, is delightfully situated between two hills, on the banks of the Wartha and the Prosna, encompassed by a deep ditch and a double wall. The suburbs on the opposite side of the Wartha, are built near a large marsh, which, together with the town, is exposed to frequent inundations by the overflowing of the river. The most elegant buildings are the cathedral and the town house. The other principal buildings are an ancient castle, imperfectly fortified and situated on a hill between the two rivers; a college which was endowed by bishop Konarski, formerly owned by the Jesuits, and also a seminary or gymnasium founded by the bishop Lubranski, now known as the *Atheneum Lubrancianum*. The town, besides

the garrison, has a population of from twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants, including four thousand Jews. The three great annual fairs enliven the town, which trades principally in cloth and leather.

Rogozko, a place of four thousand inhabitants, lies to the north of Posen; on the west of it, and on the banks of the Wartha, are Obrizico, Pairnbaum, and Schwerin, all of which are inhabited by Jews and manufacturers. The town of Meseritz, or Miedzyrzice, in the Polish language, belongs to the marquis of Lucchesini, and contains about four thousand inhabitants, the most of whom are employed in manufacturing cloth. The great roads from Muscow and Warsaw, and those from Stettin, Berlin, Leipsic, and Breslau, cross each other in the vicinity of Meseritz.

There are several manufacturing towns on the Silesian frontier, but Bomst, or Babimost as the Poles call it, is partly occupied by vine-dressers. Natural history regards the culture of the grape in a country under the fifty-second degree of north latitude as a botanical phenomenon, although the produce is inconsiderable, and the juice of the grape may be compared to vinegar, rather than wine. Kargowa, or the German Unruhstadt, is worthy of notice on account of its cloth manufactories. Fraustadt contains six or seven thousand inhabitants, exclusive of its garrison, and possesses a considerable trade in corn, cattle, wool, and cloth. The town was formerly a dependence of the principality of Glogau in Silesia. It was conquered by Casimir in 1343, who guaranteed to the population, the protection of their privileges which they had received from their princes, including the coining of money. Lissa or Leszno is more populous, and contains nine thousand inhabitants, which number contains four thousand Jews, who have erected a large synagoguc in the town. The trade of the

inhabitants is principally in linen and cloth, produced from two hundred manufactories. Lissa, formerly a small town, has since been greatly increased by count Raphael Lezsinski, who invited and granted free religious toleration to a great number of Protestants, who migrated there from Silesia, Bohemia, Moldavia, and Austria. This town is also distinguished as the birth-place of the count of Lezsinski, the family from which Stanislas, the king of Poland, and afterwards of Lorraine, descended. Lissa subsequently belonged to count Sulkowski. Rawitz, a seigneurial town on the Silesian frontier, has a population of nine thousand, seven thousand of whom are Lutherans. A few years since, as appears from the statistical accounts of the country, the place had three hundred and twenty-seven master manufacturers, who made annually not less than fourteen thousand pieces. Rawitz belongs to the count Sassieha, a powerful ancient noble of Lithuania. Boianowa, another manufacturing town, exports annually seven or eight thousand pieces of cloth. Krostochin and Zedung, each contains about five thousand inhabitants, principally manufacturers, who are Jews and Lutherans. Thus far we have pursued the German frontier in describing the principal manufacturing towns, some of which have been founded since the dismemberment of Poland. Their trade, though not equal to Silesia, is increasing, and many of the Polish peasants, who have been relieved from slavery, are employed in the manufactories.

The towns on the Polish side are less populous. German *coffee* or German money, in common parlance in Poland, means anything of little value; while on the other side, the Germans retaliate, by calling a Polish city, an ill-built and solitary town. Near the dismal town of Syren, there is a kind of potters' clay, which is sometimes hardened by the heat of the

sun into small concave laminae or plates, as if apparently fashioned by the hand of man, which, for a long time, excited great surprise.

Gnesne, or Gniesno, a very ancient Polish city, was the metropolis of a diocese as early as the year 1000. Boleslas the First purchased the body of Saint Adalbert from the Prussians, who put him to death, and deposited his remains in the principal church, over whose grave Sigismund the Third placed a silver tomb. It is involved in some doubt, whether the body of Adalbert still remains in Poland, or whether it was removed to Prague by the Bohemians, in 1038. Gnesne is peopled by about five thousand inhabitants, who carry on a limited trade in cloth; where an annual fair is held for eight weeks. The principal articles of trade at these fairs are horses and oxen, which are separately arranged on opposite sides of a large field, for the inspection of purchasers. The Polish nobles always attend these public fairs, for the purposes of intemperance, fighting, and gambling, where they stake their lands, money, horses, and oxen, in their favorite amusements and games. The common people take their lodgings in a wood near the road side, where every one chooses his particular spot; and at night they kindle their fires, cook their suppers, and spend their evenings listening to national songs, and dancing after the music of the flute and hautboy. The thousand fires reflect their varied lights on the trees, and the picturesque foliage, until the gradual decay of their flames, and the repose of the rustic peasantry, are followed by the music of the feathered songsters, which announce the first rays of the dawning day.*

* Malte Brun, book 114

SECTION X.

WEALTH OF POLISH PRUSSIA.

The great duchy of Posen, formerly a province of Prussia, is so intimately connected with the latter in a geographical and political point of view, as to require a general description of the country, in order to give a correct view of the former province as connected with Poland and its comparative wealth. The face of the country, soil, and productions are generally similar to Poland Proper. A level surface prevails throughout the Russian dominions, the country abounds in marshes, lakes, and rivers, and is a favored country for its interior water communications. The Baltic forms a number of bays or lakes along its coast. The principal rivers are the Niemen, Pregel, Vistula, Oder, Elbe, Weser, and the Rhine. The soil in some parts is good, though generally not fertile, being often sandy, and covered with heath. The productions are wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, flax, hemp, hops, cattle, sheep, horses, etc.

The physical geography of Prussia resembles that of the Sarmatian plains, as explained in the description of Poland. The fruitful and sandy plains of Poland extend across the duchy of Posen, and becoming gradually less fertile, occupy nearly all of Western Prussia. Heaths are succeeded by marshes, and the coast on the Baltic is terminated by downs, which unite with those in Pomerania. The nature of the soil in ancient Prussia is different; especially in the country between the Vistula and the Memel. The low land on the banks of these two rivers is fertilized by inundations. At a greater distance from them, a clayey or argillaceous ridge is covered with forests or studded with lakes. Hills

are scattered in different directions; but the highest, or the Galtgerben, near Kumehnen, is only five hundred and six feet above the level of the Baltic. The others are not more than three hundred feet; and the steep heights by which the coast is bounded, vary from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet.

It has been supposed that the lakes of Prussia and Poland were formed by the gradual sinking of the lands. Others again maintain that they originate from the inundations of rivers, or that they have been separated from the Baltic; and some assert that sea covered at one time part of Prussia and Poland. It is probable, however, that the Baltic Sea, swollen by extraordinary tempests, has made some irruptions, and its waters have crossed and covered for a season the Nehrung; that a change of position has thus been occasioned in the embouchure of the Gatt, or the strait that joins the Frisch-Haf with the sea. It is ascertained that in 1394, the mouth of the strait was situated at Lochstett on the north of Pillau, and it is not improbable that Pillau was then an island. These great revolutions, which it is supposed the soil of Prussia has undergone, must have taken place at an epoch anterior to history, and perhaps prior to the creation of man.

In these remote ages, the most remarkable productions of Prussia, and one of the most extraordinary substances in the world, was formed; which for more than three thousand years excited the curiosity of the learned and the avidity of commerce, and is called *succin* or amber. This nondescript, amphibious material, as yet has no kindred or place in the kingdom of nature; and even to the present day, it is doubtful whether it legitimately belongs to the animal or vegetable kingdom, though the majority are against its mineral character. It appears to be a sort of solid

bitumen, very light, of a vitreous fracture, and a milky white, or yellow color. When rubbed it attracts light substances, is combustible, evaporates, and diffuses an agreeable odor. Succin is that sort which is most crystallized and transparent, called by the Prussians amber, having a less vitreous fracture, and a more earthy appearance. The same substance was called *glar* or *glas* by the Goths; and the Glasiswoll, or palace of amber walls, is a magical creation in a mythology as ancient as Odin. *Electron* is the Greek term for amber; and on account of its property of attracting light bodies when warmed by friction, we derive the words *electric force*, *electricity*, and others of similar import.

Various and conflicting opinions have long prevailed concerning the origin of amber. Heinitz, in a Polish memoir which he published on the subject, supposes that its formation should be attributed to forests submerged by the ocean, and afterwards covered with sand. The resinous particles are distilled into amber, and the rest of the wood forms a residuum, or *caput mortuum*. The same writer supports his opinion by an experiment of Wolf, the famous chemist of Dantzic, who succeeded in making artificial amber from the root of a tree, by a process of several years. M. Girtauner affirms that amber is formed by a large ant, while others imagine that it is produced by a fish, or an aquatic animal. Although the origin of this mysterious production is involved in doubt, it is known that amber must have passed from the fluid to the solid state, for the reason that foreign substances, such as leaves, insects, small fish, frogs, water, pieces of wood, and straw, are often found in it.

Amber commanded a high price among the ancients; it was considered as valuable as gold and precious stones; and the Phœnicians were the first merchants who navigated the north seas

in quest of this precious substance. Its value has diminished in the eyes of modern progression; but in the manufactories at Stolpe in Pomerania, and Koenigsberg in Prussia, workmen are now employed in making from this material small jewels, scented powder, spirituous acid, and a fine oil that is used as a varnish. The raw material is exported by the Danes and Italians, who find its manufacture profitable. Turkey furnishes the staple market for the commodity; the trade is in the hands of the Armenians, and amber is exported to the holy Kouba and Mecca. The quantity which is found in Prussia amounts annually to more than two hundred tons, and the revenue which the crown derives from it equals three or four thousand pounds.

The raw material is obtained on the Prussian coast, between Pillau and Palmnicken, a tract of land about eighteen miles in height. The largest quantity is driven to the shore after the violent north and north-west winds. Quarries have been opened at Dirschkemen on the hills, near the coast, and their produce is less variable. The same substance is found in other places in the interior of Prussia; and the largest piece of amber which has been yet seen, was discovered at Schleppacken, about twelve German miles from the Lithuanian frontier, which is fifteen inches in length, and seven or eight in breadth, and is now in the museum at Berlin. Amber was known to the Poles as an article of ornament at a very early period.

The ancient towns of Prussia, which were places of resort by the Poles, before the Prussian monarchy existed, remain to be noticed. Koenigsberg, or the royal mountain, was built by the Teutonic knights, in 1255, under the advice of Primislas I., king of Bohemia, who were then his allies. This strong castle is called

Krolewicz and Karalauzuge, or the royal town, by the Poles and Lithuanians. That town, the capital of the kingdom, is about fifteen miles in circumference, a great part of which consists of gardens and marshes, with a population varying from sixty to one hundred thousand. The town is divided into several quarters, and surrounded by ancient ramparts, which are more ornamental than useful. The Kneiphof, one of the finest parts of the town, stands on an island in the Pregel, and the wooden piles on which the fortifications rest have become as hard as stone. The castle is a very ancient building, and the view from one of its turrets extends over the Frisch-Haf, the port, the river, the town, and a great part of Prussia. The ancient citadel is now nearly surrounded with manufactories and state houses. The water in the harbor is not more than twelve feet in depth, and that part of the Frisch-Haf with which it communicates is still more shallow; insomuch, that the cargo of large vessels is brought into the town in boats. The trade, which consists principally of corn and naval timber, continues undiminished, and the several manufactories remain, except that of amber, which has fallen into decay. The university has long been distinguished by its connection with Kant, one of the most celebrated of modern philosophers.

Pillau is a military fortress of Eastern Prussia, situated on a peninsula to the east of the capital. The interior coasts of the peninsula, and the country near the main land, are called the *paradise of Prussia*. Picturesque forests, botanical gardens, verdant coasts, fruit-trees, flourishing villages, a sea abounding with a variety of delicious fish, covered with fishing-boats, the large and tranquil basin of the Frisch-Haf, with swans and other water-fowls quietly floating on its bosom, and other exhilarating

objects of natural scenery, lend enchantment to the view of the beholder, as he sails on the lake, or stands on the observatory of Pillau, or surveys from the neighboring hills and observatories.

Wehlau, Insterburg, at the confluence of the Alle, containing nearly six thousand inhabitants, and Gumbinnen, a new town of seven thousand souls, and the capital of a government which forms Lithuania and Prussia, are situated east of Pillau on the higher banks of the Pregel.

Tilsit, situated on the Memel or Niemen, containing eleven thousand inhabitants, is the second town in Eastern Prussia, and celebrated for its treaty, and for the personal interview between the Emperors Alexander and Napoleon. Memel, a flourishing town of considerable commerce, particularly in hemp and timber, stands near the mouth of the Curisch-Haf, the sterile extremity of Russia. The country between Tilsit and the Curisch-Haf is low and marshy, exposed to the inundations of the Russe and the Gilge, two branches of the Memel, which flow through the plains. The soil is not well adapted to grain, and the timber is inferior, but the pasturage is rich and abundant, and capable of extensive and profitable dairies. The towns in the interior of Russia are generally flourishing, and surrounded with a beautiful variety of rural and urban scenery, among which is the small town of Ermeland, the metropolis of a diocese; and numbers among the canons of its cathedral the immortal Nicholas Copernicus, who died there, May 24th, 1543.

The principal towns in Western Prussia are on the banks of the Vistula, the only river that waters the country. Dantzic, the Polish *Gdansk*, from which its modern Latin name *Gedanum* is derived, was a flourishing city in the tenth century, although much of its ancient splendor is now lost. Waldemar I., of Deu-

mark, by his invasion and conquest, made a settlement of a Danish colony in this place, and hence arose the modern name of *Dantzic*, from *Danskvik*, a Danish port or gulf. In some of the old diplomatic writings the town is called *Dansk* or *Gdansk*. The Teutonic knights enlarged and fortified it at an early period; but the inhabitants revolted from the power of the knights in 1454, and joined the dominions of the Polish kings, who conferred on them many privileges, among which was the exclusive navigation of the Vistula, including all the maritime commerce of Poland. It was the great commercial mart of Poland for many centuries, who exchanged there the raw produce of their vast territory for the several articles of European luxury.

It is situated about eighty Polish miles from Cracow, forty from Posen, fifty from Warsaw, thirty from Gnesne, twenty-two from Thorn, twenty-four from Konigsburg, eight from Elburg, six from Marienberg, and near four English miles from the Baltic Sea. The town is washed by the rivers Rodawn and Motlow, which divide it into the old and new towns. On the southern and western side it is surrounded with high mountains, and was well fortified with bulwarks against the incursions of the Swedes, in the year 1656. It is surrounded by a large and high wall, so broad that coaches easily drive around the ramparts, in a circle of six English miles. At the entrance of the Rodawn river, on the other side, it has a strong fort, fortified with a garrison of one thousand soldiers. The city is not exposed to bombardment from the sea; and its exposure from the neighboring hills is protected by armed forces, and a well fortified battery. This city, since the tenth century, has been the great commercial mart of Poland and the north of Europe, and forms one of the principal Hanse-Towns

of commercial memory. It was governed by its own laws, though subject to Poland under the control of a Castellan appointed by the crown. Half of the suburbs belonged to the king of Poland, as crown lands.

The city and its suburbs are divided into twenty parishes. The houses are generally of brick, and the streets are very wide and well-paved. The principal part of the city was built by Conrad Wallenrodt, master of the Teutonic order, in 1388. The inhabitants in the reign of Sobieski were principally Germans, and numbered over two hundred thousand souls, who have adhered to the Augsburg Confession ever since the year 1525. They are principally Lutherans, who have the control of the government, though all religious sects are tolerated. Dantzic was benefited more by Luther's Reformation, and its salutary principles, than any other city or town in Poland. This city was taken from the Danes by Sabislaus, grandson of Swentorobus, in 1186, and was soon after taken by the Poles. The knights of the Teutonic order conquered it in 1305, and surrounded it with a wall in 1314. Casimir III., king of Poland, subjected it to his dominions in 1454 ; and it long continued the principal source of wealth and commerce in the Polish republic.*

Marienburg, or the Polish Malborg, the ancient capital of the Teutonic knights, is situated on the banks of the Nogat, a feeder of the Vistula. It has a population of five thousand souls, with a considerable trade in cloth and linen. The werders, or low islands, in the neighborhood of Marienburg, Dantzic, and Elbing, are very fruitful and well inhabited.

Thorn, one of the most ancient towns in Prussia, was founded in 1231, by the first great master of the Teutonic order, and

* Connor, II., Letter 7, 42.

became an independent town or republic in 1454, under Poland; but its fortifications were subsequently razed by Charles XII. The town is celebrated as the birthplace of Copernicus.*

SECTION XI.

WEALTH OF OTHER POLISH PROVINCES AND TOWNS.

The department and waiwodat of Kalisch, in 1820, contained eight hundred and ninety-two square leagues, and five hundred and twelve thousand souls. The town of Kalisch, in the waiwodat of the same name, is well built, with broad, paved streets, and the avenues to the gates are beautifully shaded with trees. Its population, which varies from eight to fifteen thousand, its military school, and its cloth and linen manufactures, render it one of the most important towns in the kingdom for commerce and wealth. The walls are washed by the Prosna, which musically meanders through the beautiful and variegated scenery of a rich and picturesque valley, redolent with the foliage and flowers of a landscape excelled only by the poetical descriptions of Eden's bloom. Several small manufacturing towns are situated in the country between the Prosna and the Warta. Piesern, or Pizdry, is peopled by two thousand inhabitants; Petrikow, or Petrikau, is the seat of two tribunals; and Wolborz is the celebrated residence of the bishops of Cujavia. Czenstochowa, a fortified convent, is famous for the siege it sustained, and for a supposed miraculous image of the holy Virgin, an image that is yearly visited and worshipped by forty thousand pilgrims. The convent is built on the Jasno-Gora, or the Klarenberg,

* Malte Brun, p. 114.

with a surrounding population, in the old and new towns, of three thousand individuals.

In the waiwodat of Lublin, on the other side of the Vistula, the mountains disappear, where the country is watered by the Wieprz, and separated from Russia by the Bog. This province abounds in corn, wood, cattle, wheat, and flour. Lublin, the second city in the kingdom, has ten thousand inhabitants. Here are found the memorable ruins of the castle of Casimir the Great, the palace of Sobieski, several splendid churches, and the largest Jewish synagogue in Poland. The extensive fairs are frequented by German, Russian, Armenian, Greek, and Turkish merchants. Zamosc is a very important fortress, built after the Italian manner, with arcades round the houses ; but the extension of the fortifications has diminished the number of inhabitants and houses. Pulawi, beautifully situated on the banks of the Vistula, is celebrated in poetry, and formerly belonged to Count Czartoriski. This magnificent castle is celebrated for its noble architecture, and the grand church, the temple of the sibyl, in imitation of an ancient edifice, the extensive and valuable library of the proprietors, and the enchanting scenery of the town and its vicinity. The castle of Klemenzow, the residence of the Zamoiskis, is situated in the same province ; and two celebrated monuments of great classical taste, the mausoleums of General Orłowski and the poet Kniaznin, stand about three miles from Pulawi. Rubieszow and Tomassew, two important frontier towns, are greatly enriched by their commerce in Hungarian wines, and their trade in hydromel. This province in 1819 embraced eight hundred and eighty-one square leagues, and was peopled by four hundred and ninety thousand inhabitants.

The department and waiwodat of Podlachia is celebrated in

history and poetry for the numerous and beautiful lakes, enriched by almost every variety of fish and fowl which are usually found in and about lake waters; for the picturesque forests and the extensive marshes which separate the Bug and Wieprz in the districts of Biala and Badzyn, together with the romantic and fruitful lawns of this far-famed province. The principal town, Siedlec, is noted for its superior white bread, and the abundance of ardent spirits. The latter is an unfortunate characteristic, as the general prevalence of intemperance in Poland, and particularly in this department, proves. This department, in 1819, contained six hundred and thirty-three square leagues, and two hundred and eighty-six thousand inhabitants.

The province of Plock, which contains about eight hundred and five square leagues, and three hundred and sixty-four thousand inhabitants, corresponds with the Russian province of the same name. The whole extent of cultivated land amounts to one hundred and twenty-seven thousand nine hundred and eighty-four *hufens*,* besides the forests, heaths, marshes, and lakes, which make up one hundred and two thousand three hundred and eighty-six; amounting in all to about six million nine hundred and eleven thousand one hundred acres. The western districts are covered with extensive forests of lofty and valuable oaks; but the ordinary productions of secale and barley throughout the department average about three to one. Plock, which contains seven or eight thousand inhabitants, is surrounded by beautiful romantic lawns and fields, filled with orchards of great variety of the most delicious fruits, with the limpid waters of the classic Vistula murmuring beneath its ancient walls. The town is gay and lively with trade. The merry fishermen fill their nets with

* A *hufen* is about thirty acres.

the first qualities of salmon, while the busy boatmen sail down the majestic river, richly laden with the harvests of Poland. The people of fashion and leisure find their amusements in the theatre and public gardens, mingled with other pleasures, which are combined in rural and urban life. Plock, from its eligible position and numerous facilities, aided by an official journal, promises to become the first commercial town in the kingdom. There are several places of importance on the Narew and the Bug; among which may be enumerated Modlyn, an important fortress; Ostrolenka, near the desert of the same name, which is an immense heath, partly covered with natural woods; and Pultusk, which is nearly encompassed by the Narew, and contains twenty-five hundred inhabitants, with its lofty castle standing on the summit of a rock, and commands an extensive and romantic view of the adjacent plain. The river Crzik, in the district of Mlawa, flows a mile and a half in a subterranean channel, and is a place of resort for lovers of rural scenery.

Augustowo, the eighth and last waiwodat of the modern kingdom of Poland, as organized by the Russian and German powers, embraces a small part of Lithuania now united to the kingdom, and formerly a part of the great duchy of Warsaw. The province of Bialystock, which ought to have been added to the Polish kingdom, or exchanged for the Lithuanian portion, and extends to the north of Augustowo, a small town of two thousand souls, was founded by Sigismund Augustus. This narrow headland is generally fruitful and well cultivated, and bounds the territory of Prussia on the west, and the course of the Niemen on the east and north. Suwalki, a town of four thousand inhabitants, is the metropolis of the waiwodat; and Novemiasto and Kalwary are places next in importance. The convent of

Wigry, with its colossal and majestic walls, stands on a beautiful island in a lake, and forms one of the most enchanting retreats in Europe. Here thousands of deluded pilgrims repair yearly to pay their superstitious devotions, in conformity with their monastic vows. This department comprehends eight hundred and ninety-four square leagues, and three hundred and thirty-five thousand inhabitants.

The Cossacks for many centuries were a heavy bill of expense to Poland, and never added anything to the wealth of the country. The territory on the Don and Black Sea, which has long been occupied by this extraordinary people, containing more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, is equal in extent to twelve thousand square leagues. Although the country contains but few populous towns, yet it has an important bearing on the subject of Polish wealth. With a few exceptions, the inhabitants are poor, ignorant, and barbarous; and for many centuries, while they were subject to Poland, they derived their military equipments and their principal support from the government.

Courland on the Baltic, with the Dwina for its eastern frontier, is generally a level country. The climate is cold, and the morasses and lakes are numerous. The country is healthy, particularly on the coasts; though fever, dysentery, and gout are common diseases. The soil in most parts of the country is sandy, and in some parts clayey; but the land is nearly all susceptible of cultivation, though not remarkably fertile. The chief productions are grain, flax, and hemp. The forests are numerous, luxuriant, and in some parts almost impenetrable. The woodman and his axe have not yet done half their duty; and consequently the pastures are limited, and the cattle few and small. Goats are numerous, but swine and birds do not abound.

The dark thick forests contain wild boars, bears, wolves, elks, and other game. The lakes and rivers abound with a great variety of valuable fish. The principal minerals of the country are iron, gypsum, turf, mineral waters; and yellow amber is gathered on the shores of the Baltic. The few manufactures are confined to paper, potash, distilled spirits, and bricks. The exports are grain, hemp, flax, flaxseed, linseed oil, timber, planks, skins, wax, honey, tallow, resin, and other raw products. The principal trade is carried on at the ports of Windau and Liebau. The roads are obstructed by forests and morasses.

The climate of Lithuania is temperate and healthy, and the face of the country is nearly a level, occasionally arched by a few small hills. The soil is in some places sandy, in others marshy, or covered with woods, but always very productive under good culture. The principal rivers are the Duna or Dwina, the Dnieper, the Niemen, the Przypiec, and Bug. The country is also frequently interrupted by beautiful lakes filled with fish, and romantic morasses, occupied by the feathered songsters. Lithuania raises great numbers of cattle, and produces abundance of corn, flax, hemp, wood, honey, and wax. The mineral kingdom yields iron and turf; the extensive forests are filled with game, containing the urus, lynx, elk, beaver, and other animals equally valuable and exciting. Corn, wax, honey, wolf and bear skins, leather, wool, and good horses are exported in abundance. The manufactures are iron, glass, and leather, and it must be added, that their distilleries are far too numerous for the morals of the people.*

* Malte Brun, b. 113, 114.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RELIGION.

Paganism—Roman Church—Jesuits—Teutonic Knights—Greek Church—Judaism—Protestants—Other Religious Sects—Polish Clergy—Conclusions.

SECTION I.

PAGANISM.

PREVIOUS to the tenth century, Poland, Sarmatia, and their ancestors, including all the nations in the north of Europe, with the numerous nomadic tribes, were the devotees of Paganism, low idolaters, worshipping snakes and reptiles, and the most loathsome objects in nature—the slaves of superstition, ignorance, and brutality. This was the general character of their religion anterior to the Christian era, and as early as history and tradition can trace them. Though the ancient monuments of Pagan worship in Poland have mostly disappeared, yet there are many fragments of their idolatrous worship still remaining. Gnesne, Cracow, Wilna, and other places, have long been known as sacred towns, where the genuflections of heathendom have dazzled the eyes of the deluded devotees. The Pagan gods of the Slavic and Scandinavian nations were so numerous and sectional, that it would be

impossible in all cases to designate the idols and fabulous divinities of each tribe or nation which early inhabited the plains of Sarmatia, and the vast regions of Northern Europe, and consequently we can deal only in general terms in describing the early Paganism of Poland *

Odin, or Odinus, was the principal deity of the ancient nations of Northern Europe and Asia, and particularly of the Scandinavians and northern Germans. This deity was early known in the north by several names, such as Woden, Guoden, Vothin, Othin, &c. Woden was known among the Anglo-Saxons as the god of merchants, corresponding to the Hermes of the Greeks, or the Mercurius of the Latins. From the name of this deity we have derived the name of the fourth day of the week, *Wodanstag*, or Wednesday. The early history of this great Pagan deity is filled with a variety of fabulous and ridiculous events. Perun, the great god of the Slavic nations, never held a very distinguished rank in the Polish mythology. So also Biel-Bog and Czernobog were distinguished deities of the Sorabians and Silesians, but were not much respected in Poland Proper. Jess, the god of thunder, was associated with others of Celtic and Etruscan notoriety—Dziewanna, the beautiful goddess of life and youth—Liada, the god of war—Selo, Polelo, and many other Polish divinities, all Slavonic names, were generally adored by the early northern Pagans. Nia, the god of death and the abyss, who was worshipped by the heathen at Niamts in Silesia, and at Niemts in Moldavia, was generally revered by the eastern Slavonians. The traces and monuments of heathen worship among the ancient Wends or Slavi on the Baltic, are more distinct; and their rich temples, numerous idols, and less barbarous customs,

* Fletcher, 33.

were not well adapted to the savage tribes in the interior of the country. It is remarkable that history has handed down to us, with surprising care and accuracy, not only the names and characters of the great divinities, but those of the small gods—the Zemopaci or earthly spirits—from the god of *cherries and nuts*, to the god that *kindles and extinguishes the fire*. On surveying the oriental literature of the northern nations, we find many of the names of their deities derived from the ancient Lithuanian, or some Slavonic dialect, anterior to the Polish language. The houses of the Poles, and other nations generally throughout the north and east of Europe, were peopled from the cellar to the garret and dormitory with hordes of gods, which formed the religion of these degraded Pagans.

According to the principles of northern mythology, there were originally no heavens above, nor earth below; but only a bottomless deep, a world of mist, and a chaotic mass of matter, which they call *Nifheim*, in which flowed the fountain that strives to devour everything, called *Hwergelmer*. From this fountain continually issue twelve rivers, known as *Eliwagar*, which, when they had flowed so far from their source that their fluid contents had become hardened, they ceased running, and congealed into ice; and one layer successively formed over another, until the great deep was filled. In a southerly direction from this world of mist was the world of light or fire, called *Musspellheim*, or *Mispelheim*. The former was the great source of everything dark and cold; and from the latter proceeded whatever is warm or light. A warm wind blowing from the latter upon the ice melted it; and the drops of water so produced were animated into life by the power of the deity who sent the wind; and from them sprang the ice-giant Ymir. Under Ymir's left arm grew a little man and

woman, and one of his legs begat a son from the other, who were the progenitors of all the ice-giants. From the mixture of ice and heat originated also the cow Audumbla, from whose dugs ran four streams of milk, which nourished Ymir. This cow supported herself by licking the salt stones of the ice; and one day, as she was thus licking the stones in the evening, human hair suddenly grew out of them; on the next day a head appeared; and on the third an entire man called Bure made his appearance. This man had a son named Bor, who married Belsta, daughter of the giant Mountain-Yate. The fruits of this marriage were three sons, Odin, Wile, and Ve, who became the rulers of heaven and earth. The children of Bor were good and virtuous, but those of Ymir were vicious and wicked; and hence they were constantly warring against each other.

After continuing this war for a long time, the sons of Bor finally slew the ice-giant, threw his body into the deep, and from it created the world. They made the sea and rivers out of his blood, from his flesh they formed the earth, from his hair they manufactured the grass, from his bones they formed the rocks, from his teeth and broken jaws they created the stones, and from his head they made the heavens, which they extended over the earth by its four ends, at each of which they placed the dwarfs called Austre, Westre, Sudre, Nordre. From the sparks and light which proceeded from Muspellheim they made the stars, and fastened them to the heavens to light the earth. They then threw Ymir's brains into the air, and it formed the clouds. On a certain day, as Bor's sons were walking on the sea-shore, they found two blocks, from which they created a man called *Askur* or *ash*, and a woman, *Embla* or *alder*. One gave them life and soul, the second motion and reason, and the third the face, lan-

guage, hearing, and sight. This cosmogony is evidently in harmony with a northern view of nature, as it passes from the death of winter into life, and the beginning of the world associated with the living appearance of spring. It would be a very natural conclusion to the early ignorant Scandinavians, that ice should have appeared as the primeval matter; and that it should be considered as evil because it destroys the life of nature. The principles of this cosmogony are therefore a physical allegory, similar to other false systems of mythologies. On this principle the creation of day and night, the sun and moon, are prominent facts. The giant Darkness, *Niorwi* or *Narfi*, had a daughter of the name of *Night* or *Nott*, dark and sombre like her race. She was married three times, and bore to Nagelfari, or Air Ether, a son called Andur, or matter; to Anar, or the forming principle, she bore Jord, or the earth; to Dellingar, or twilight, she gave Dagur, or day, who was light, like his paternal race. Alfadur now took Nott and Dagur, or night and day, to the heavens, and gave each of them a horse and car to drive round the earth daily. Night rode first on her horse, Hrimfaxi, or Blackmane, which every morning bedews the earth with the foam from his mouth. The horse of Dagur, Skinfaxi, or Shiningmane, illumines with his mane the earth and air.

Mundilfari, or the mover of the axis, had two beautiful children, Sool and Maan, sun and moon. Being exceedingly proud of his beautiful daughter, he married her to Glemur, the god of joy. The gods being highly offended at his daring presumption, deprived him of his children, and removed them to the heavens. Sool was engaged in driving the horses of the Sun's car, and Maan those of the Moon's car, and to watch over her increase and decrease. In this mythology, the giants living around the original chaos

produced the lords of the heavens, the earth, and lower regions. The giants, Titans and Cyclops, are also the ancestors of the Grecian gods ; and both in the Grecian and northern mythology a new race of gods drives out and expels the ancient. The ancient and modern system both seem to have their connecting point in Odin, as with Jupiter in the Greek system, if we distinguish between the earlier and later Odin. The former was known as the symbol and deity of light and the sun, whose memory comes down to us connected with several interesting fables ; such as his marriage with the earth, his daily amours with the goddess of the waters, whom he visits every night to drink of her elements from the golden cup, the marriage of his rays with the vapors of mother earth, the fruit of which is the god of thunder, and other similar fables.

All these fictions were transferred to the younger Odin, the great chief of the Council of Aser. According to northern mythology, the Aser or Asiatics are the new race of gods which came with Odin to the north of Europe from Asia. According to the northern chronicles, about the commencement of the Christian era, or perhaps earlier, Sigge, the chief of the Aser, who are an Asiatic tribe, emigrated from the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus into Northern Europe, who were most probably driven out by the Romans. His course was north-westerly from the Black Sea to Russia, over which he established one of his sons as a sovereign, and also one over the Saxons and Franks. He then marched through Cimbria to Denmark, which submitted to his fifth son Skiold as its ruler ; and thence went over to Sweden, where Gyef then ruled, who paid homage to this distinguished stranger. Here he soon became the absolute sovereign, where he built Sigtuna as the capital of his new and great empire, established a new code

of laws, and a new religion. Here the name of Odin was assumed by himself, while he established the priesthood of the twelve Drottars, who conducted the secret worship and the administration of justice, and prophetically revealed to the astonished masses the great mysteries of futurity. Gibbon and Munter consider Odin a Shaman, and his religion Lamaism. He is the god of song and war, the inventor of the Runic alphabet, and a most fearful enchanter.

The Aser, according to the Scalds, comprehend Odin the god of gods, the first and oldest of all, who never dies, and sits upon his elevated throne Lidskjalf, where he surveys everything in the universe, with his spear Gungner by his side. He has twelve chief names, and one hundred and fourteen others, in the ancient Asgard. *Sleipner* is his swift steed. From him and his wife Frigga are descended the gods; and hence he is called *Alfadur*, or father of all; or, according to some authorities, *Walfader*, the father of all who fall in battle—a title which he claims as the ruler of Valhalla. His divine queen Frigga shares with him his awful throne, from which they view with unerring ken all things in this world, both good and evil. Her divine majesty knows the fate of all mortals, which for wise reasons she conceals in her own heavenly bosom. Their heaven-born sons are Thor and Balder. Thor ranks as the god of thunder—a symbol of physical strength—the strongest of all gods and mortals, whose terrific footsteps roar like the storm, and whose hammer, *Mjolner*, the crusher, crushes and pulverizes the hardest substances. Balder, who is the god of eloquence and justice, is the most youthful, beautiful, and innocent of all the divinities; who is more lovely than the lily, and in honor of whom the sweetest and whitest flower received the name *Baldrian*. His wife Nana,

the daughter of Gewar, with great modesty and beauty, defers to the heavenly mind of her divine consort. She is represented as bearing Forfete, the god of concord, who resembles the rainbow when it spans the dark and portentous cloud. As the god of peace, he quiets all the strife and animosities of erring mortals. His celestial palace Glitner rests on pillars of gold, whose external splendor and internal glory glitter with a divine effulgence, which dazzles the eyes of mortals, and almost perverts the vision of the divinities themselves. The fearful Niord—the god of the winds, of sailors, of commerce, and of wealth—shakes his vans in the roaring storm, until the whole world trembles and quakes with fear. His divine lady-love Scada, a daughter of the mountain-giant Thiase, is the mother of the beautiful, beneficent, accomplished, and mighty Frei and Freia.

Frei, who dances and floats through the earth, adorned with the shining garments of spring, is the ruler of the sun; and on his frowns or smiles depend the blessings of sunshine, plenty, or dearth, with the hopes and happiness of the husbandmen. He sways an absolute sceptre in the kingdom of Alfheim, inhabited only by the elfs, his celestial subjects. His divine majesty is so refined in his equestrian tastes, that he prefers to ride a wild boar with golden bristles, instead of a horse so common to mortals. His divinity, it would seem, is not proof against love, even in the Pagan heavens, where the tender passion prevails, and where his royal nuptials were celebrated in the marriage of the amiable Gerda, Gymer's daughter, as his wife. Freia, or Fraa, the goddess of love, at whose shrine the victims of the sacred flame pay their devotions, in every possible variety of genuflections, surveys her devotees with eyes of eternal spring, contrasted with her beautiful neck and cheek of everlasting light. She deigns to

reveal herself to mortals as the mildest and most benevolent of all the gods, who loves to listen to the sweet songs and humble prayers of her devout worshippers. As a weeping widow, she mourns for Odur, her beloved and lost husband, to whom she vouchsafed the heavenly present of two daughters, as the fruits of their conjugal life—Nossa, the model of all beauty, grace, and moral excellence, and Gersemi.

Tyr, a son of Odin, the god who knows no fear, whose terrific looks inflict mortal wounds on his foes, and whose majestic stature resembles the lofty fir, dashes his furious thunderbolts at the heads of his enemies, and brandishes his forked lightnings on the battle-field. All brave warriors receive his protection, though he is not properly the god of war, but rather of power and valor, and the sworn enemy of peace and treaties. The character of this divinity had a controlling and destructive influence on the Poles, who always thirsted for war, despised peace, and violated their treaties. The character of Braga, his brother, is widely different; he rules as the god of wisdom and poetry, which from him takes the name of *Bragur*. He delights in music and the fine arts, and with his golden *telyn* or harp, strikes those chords of harmony which produces the sweetest music of the spheres. His amiable and lovely wife Iduna, who officiates in his heavenly mansion with all the winning elegance and charms of a goddess, preserves the apples of immortality, which she invitingly holds in her snowy, attenuated hands, in vessels of shining gold, as she stands the personification of all that is beautiful and lovely, with her raven locks flowing round her snow-white neck and heaving bosom, beckoning the spirits of heroes as they fall bravely and gloriously in battle, where she mildly and gaily receives them into Valhalla, the hero's heaven. There she serves them with the divine apples,

which preserve the eternal youth of the gods, in those sublime and heavenly regions where the worthy hero forever reigns as the associate of gods and goddesses. Surely the devout heart of an evangelical Christian can hardly resist the temptations of such imaginary bliss, and is almost willing to pardon all the sins and follies of the benighted Poles, whose religion recognized such fictitious, though flattering immortality.

But the heavenly fecundity of the immortal Odin does not stop here. He had other sons, among whom are Hermode, the messenger of the gods, who appears in his official costume, armed with a helmet and mail; Vidar, whose strength vies with Thor, the god of silence; and Wale, the god of the bow. Uller, the son of Thor the thunderer, who is the embodiment of everything that is beautiful in figure, reigns as the master of archery and skating, and always listens to the invocations of his heroes, who are engaged in single combat or duelling. His sublime features are adorned with a silver circle, which surrounds the youthful down of his chin; and his empire is Ydalir, or rain, where he rules with the dignity and benevolence of a god.

Those divinities whose origin and character are involved in great mystery are Hoder, the blind god and murderer of Balder, a crime which the gods never have pardoned, and always refuse to hear even his name pronounced. Also Heimdal, or Himindal, the monstrous son of nine gigantic sisters, born and cradled on the margin of the earth, a great and mysterious god, guards the Bifrost, the bridge that leads to heaven, like a rainbow, against the invasions of the giants. His optics are so powerful, that he sees as clearly in the darkest night as in the brightest day; his auditory nerves are so perfect that he hears the grass grow in the

fields and the wool on the lambs. He always wears a pensive brow, with his eyes fixed upon his serene and happy breast.

Among the superior or aristocratic goddesses, and next to Frigga, ranks Laga. Syra is the physician of the gods. Gesione, the goddess of chastity, who claims for herself the immaculate virtue of celibacy, carefully protects all of her sex who follow her example; and reserves the best treasures and apartments in her heavenly mansions for all those curious creatures of her sex, who by accident, ignorance, or voluntary choice, live and die in a state of single blessedness. Jylla, a virgin, like Gesione, whose beautiful form and symmetrical features, adorned with flowing locks, and a diadem of pure and burnished gold, is intrusted with the momentous secrets of the divine Frigga; for whom Gna officiates as royal messenger, flying through the heavens on the rays of the sun, bearing the sacred messages of the goddesses to the gods and mortals throughout all worlds and kingdoms. Helyn, or Lyna, the goddess of gentility, politeness, friendship, and fidelity, adorned with ruby cheeks and rosy lips, sweetly kisses away the tears from the eyes of the unfortunate; and mildly clasping the children of sorrow in her paternal arms, attended by the servants of the goddess of love, kindly bears them home to her heavenly mansions: The amiable goddess Siona exercises her heavenly gifts in the discharge of her official duties, by kindling the first sweet feelings in the tender breasts of lovely youths and maids, and inclines them to mutual love; but never spends her precious time in fruitless experiments of love with the hearts of old maids and bachelors. Lobna, or Loffna, fills with fidelity and ability the important and difficult office of reconciling coquettish and quarrelsome lovers; while the ancient and omnipresent Wora penetrates every secret of

the heart ; and Synia, the guard of heaven, rules as the goddess of justice and law, and punishes perjury. Wara, the goddess of marriage, who is always listening attentively to the secret sighs, the vows, and oaths of lovers, affectionately unites the true and faithful, but punishes the faithless and all the arts of seduction with unrelenting severity. And the worthy Snotra, the goddess of modesty, is the protectress of all virtuous youths and maids.

A large ash, or an ash forest, called *Ygdrasil*, the great mythological tree of all the world, stands over the well of time, waving its extensive branches over all the universe ; while its towering trunk throws its top above the heavens. This miraculous tree is supported by three roots, which branch out in different directions, one among the gods, another among the giants, and a third under Hela. Near the *middle* root issues the fountain of wisdom, and the fountain of *Mimers*. Near the *heavenly* root is the sacred fountain where the Gods hold their national councils, and make known their wise and righteous decisions. From these sacred fountains rise three beautiful maids, the *Nornas*, whose names are *Urd*, the Past, *Verande*, the Present, and *Skauld*, the Future. These heavenly beings determine the fate of all mortal beings and things, and aid or furnish them by their good or evil ministers, according to their deeds and merits by the divine laws of Odin. On the top of this lofty ash sits an eagle, whose piercing and far-seeing eyes survey with a single glance everything above, around, and below. A squirrel, or *Rotatoskr*, runs up and down the sacred trunk ; four stags, Dain, Dynair, Dnalín, and Dyrathor, roam through the ethereal branches, feeding on the bark ; a serpent gnaws its roots below ; while the holy maids water it from the sacred fountain, to continue its eternal bloom, and prevent its withering. From the

leaves of the sacred ash gently falls a sweet dew, the delicious food of bees; over the fountain sing two beautiful swans, and here are heard Heimdal's song of the fate of the tree of the world, with the voices of the past, the present, and the future mingling in the wise councils of the gods.

Even the gods themselves condescend to learn the wisdom of the Nornas—the just and stern goddesses who rule over all. They were highly honored, and splendid temples were erected for their worship, in which their oracles were consulted. The Valkyrias or Disas, are beings equally mysterious, awful, and beautiful; neither daughters of heaven nor of hell; neither begot by gods, nor nursed by mortal nor immortal mothers. Their birth is without record or tradition; and their name indicates the “choosers of the slain,” derived from *wal*, a heap of killed, and *kyria*, to choose. They are represented in the songs of the scalds as the most awful and horrid of all the celestial beings, although they are the most beautiful and lovely maids of Odin; armed with helmet and mail, and mounted on horses as fleet as the wind. The heroes of this earth long for their arrival on the day of deadly combat, when enamored of their heavenly charms, they meet them in the embraces of heroic death, and conduct them to Valhalla, the celestial mansion of heroes.

The heavenly citadel, the residence of the gods, is Asgard, the fortress of heaven, which is connected with the earth by the bridge Bifrost. Asgard contains the sacred palaces of the deities. There shines the silver palace of Odin, Valaskialf, inhabited by all the divinities. In the centre of Asgard, in the valley of Ida, is the hall, where the gods convene to administer justice. This sacred place, which is the most highly ornamented of all the heavenly mansions, contained Gladheim, the hall of

joy, Wingolf, the palace of friendship and love, and Glasor, the forest of golden trees. Valhalla, the royal mansion of heroes, who had gloriously fallen in battle, is a separate residence, surrounded and adorned with beautiful groves and environs. Here life is passed in bloody war and riotous revelry; but all wounds here received in battle, are healed as soon as the trumpet sounds for the royal feast, where the heroes quaff the oil of Enherium, and the beautiful Valkyrias fill their golden cups. Although the number of heroes is immense, and continually increasing with indefinite rapidity, yet the gods will desire a much greater concourse of these gallant spirits, when the wolf Fenris shall come.

It is certainly to be regretted that such a visionary religion as this, which seems to have exhausted the imagination of all Paganism for more than five thousand years, should permit the heaven of Odin to be annoyed by evil spirits. Lokc, the son of the giant Farbaute and of Laufeya, though his divine nature is somewhat equivocal, is a superhuman being, adorned with a most beautiful body, but possessed of a most malignant spirit. By the fiendish giantess Angerbode, the messenger of evil, he had Hela, the goddess of the lower regions, variegated with half blue and half flesh-color, and with the most terrific figure associated with the wolf Fenris, and the horrible serpent of Midgard, Jormungandur, which surrounds the whole earth with his hideous coils, poisonous fangs, and forked tongue.

This evil goddess Hela rules in Niflheim. Her mansion is called Elidmir, or grief; her bed is Kor, or disease; her table Hungr, or hunger; her servants are Ganglati and Ganghol, or lethargy and delay. All who died of sickness and old age descend to her dark mansions. And thus the blissful Asgard and infernal Niflheim stand opposed as the heaven and hell of Odin.

This Pagan religion extends its wild vagaries to the final destruction of the world. After six terrible winters have succeeded each other, with all their calamities and evils, immense avalanches of snow and ice will rush in from all sides ; the cold will be severe ; the storms will rage with the greatest violence ; the sun and moon will be veiled in darkness, and the whole world will be distracted with war, and deluged in human blood. These calamities will be the harbingers of the final destruction of the world, and the final extinction of the great "twilight of the gods ;" the end of all things, terrestrial and celestial. Then the hideous wolf Fenris, a monster which, when he opens his jaws, touches the skies with the upper, and the awful abyss below with the under, with one tremendous crash of his greedy fangs devours the world ; while, at the same time, the inhabitants of Musspellheim, under the command of the violent Surtur, make an attack upon Asgard. These bloodthirsty giants take heaven by storm, and the moment they pass over heaven's bridge and enter the celestial mansions, the bridge falls into the bottomless pit below. Therefore, as a matter of precaution, Heimdall is stationed there as a watch, while the gods congratulate themselves upon the numerous heroes of Valhalla. But these precautions are all in vain. The gods are doomed to perish ; even the all-powerful Odin and the mighty Thor are not exempt from this general destiny.

After this universal destruction of all things, a new world will be ushered into existence, which will far excel all former worlds. A new and more refulgent sun will then throw its purer and brighter rays across the "gray east," and illumine the whole earth ; and Lift and Liftrasor, a miraculous human pair saved from the destruction, and nourished on the morning dew, will renew the human race with a more refined and heavenly race.

The just and the unjust will then inhabit new and separate dwellings, where they will be rewarded or punished according to their merits. Widar the conqueror, and Wale the powerful, will live in the celestial halls of the gods after the flame of Surtur is quenched. Mode, or mental power, and Magne, or strength, will receive the crushing hammer after Thor, exhausted by the struggle, has perished, and Widar tears the jaws of the wolf asunder. A new earth will arise from chaos, in the splendor of eternal youth; the climate of the north will no longer be chilled with ice or frost, but a perpetual spring will reign there; and Baldar, the god of peace, who will be again raised from the dead, will receive into his eternal heaven of rest all the virtuous.

The origin of the mythology or religion of Odin is a matter of much literary speculation among the learned. We find in it many traces of the Bible, such as the creation of the world and of man, the serpent, the final conflagration of the earth, and the creation of a new heavens and new earth; which are undoubtedly Asiatic traditions, and originally derived from the religion of the Jews and their ancestors, reaching back perhaps to Noah. We can also discover some strong resemblances to the writings of Plato, several traces of the philosophical systems of the Slavonians, Persians, and Indians. There is little doubt that the Scandinavian and Scythian nations had the same origin; their traditions, manners, institutions, and history, all harmonize in this conclusion. The characteristics of the Scythians, as given by Herodotus, are all applicable to the Scandinavians. Their occupations and amusements, which consisted in hunting, pasturage, and predatory wars—their veneration of the fair sex—their contempt of learning, and love of the songs of their bards, which constituted their only records; their hardy, robust, and warlike

character, are all similar, and tend to establish a common origin.

In connection with Odinism, we find mingled with the Paganism of the north of Asia and Europe many features of the Paganism of the Chinese, of the Japanese, the Tartars, the Hindoos, the Indians, and ancient Egyptians; and indeed it would be difficult to name any system of heathen or Christian religion which has not been found in Poland and the northern nations at some period of their history. The leading features of Paganism and its elementary principles are substantially the same in all ages, nations, and countries. Supreme selfishness, tyrannical aristocracy, abject slavery, the pride of wealth and contempt of the poor, ignorance and superstition; a wild, inflated, and deranged imagination, without sober thought, common sense, or sound judgment; unlimited sensuality; ambition for war, and thirst for blood; a blind devotion for the dead, which sacrifices human victims; a reckless independence, without law or order; a heaven of licentiousness, and a hell of persecution, regardless of justice, are the fundamental principles of Paganism, which early fastened themselves on the Poles and all its votaries, and have ever been manifest in the history of that fallen nation. However gratifying and dazzling to perverted, deluded, human nature, the pleasures of Odinism and all other false systems of religion may at first appear, yet the experience of the world for nearly six thousand years has clearly proved that their bliss is only misery, when compared with the true happiness of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom.*

* Malte Brun, IV., 374. Anthon's Classical Dict., 912. Penny Cyclo. XVI., 400. Amer. Encyclo., IX., 316.

SECTION II.

ROMAN CHURCH.

The Roman Catholic Church has long been known as that society of professed Christians which acknowledge the bishop of Rome as its visible head, in contradistinction to the Greek Church, which likewise calls itself a *catholic* or *universal* church, but refuses all allegiance with the Roman Pope. The Roman Church exercised a religious supremacy over all Europe, excepting Russia and Turkey, until the reformation of Luther. The fundamental difference between Protestants and Catholics is, that the former believe the Bible the only repository of divine revelation, and the only guide of Christian faith; while the Catholic admits a part of the sacred volume as the standard of the Church in connection with the traditions of their Church, handed down from their fathers, of which the Bible forms only a part; just as a code of laws constitutes a portion of the whole law of the land where the common law prevails, as in England; having all its deficiencies supplied by the traditional law preserved among the people, founded on ancient customs and usages, without which no code could exist. The Catholic considers these religious legends and traditions as the very soul and life of his Church; and believes his salvation depends upon a correct understanding of this vague and doubtful history. The Pope is considered the head of all the Church; and by a very doubtful tradition, to say the least of it, his divine supremacy is traced back to St. Peter, whom Christ made the rock of his Church.

According to the Catholic creed, the apostles established bishops in different districts and countries, at convenient dis-

tances ; and after their death, these bishops, and their successors in office, continued to rule the Church until the confirmation of the Pope, in whom all their powers were concentrated. The diocese of the bishop originally consisted of the Christian community of a city. From this jurisdiction, the bishop diffused Christianity in all directions among the people of his charge, and organized new Christian communities, over which he placed pastors as his delegates, to perform a part of his official duties. These pastors, and the presbytery of the capital, formed the bishop's great council. They expressed their opinions in the synod of the diocese ; while the presbytery of the capital, afterwards called the *cathedral chapters*, was the representative of those pastors who did not assemble. Episcopal power, properly so called, existed only in the bishop ; and pastors and presbyters were only an emanation from him.

Pope, from the Greek term *papas*, or father, was the title of the bishop of Rome long before he possessed the authority which now belongs to the name. From the close of the fourth century he was the first among the five patriarchs or superior bishops of Christendom ; and from the circumstance that Rome was the ancient capital of the kingdom, and according to tradition, the last dwelling-place of the apostle Peter, the Pope at a very early day assumed to be the successor of Peter, and held an extensive jurisdiction, though he had no ecclesiastical power over foreign dioceses. But the popes soon began to extend their jurisdiction by the wealth of the Roman Church, which had treasures and property in most other dioceses, by mingling in arbitrations and ecclesiastical suits, and by studiously availing themselves of every favorable opportunity to extend their influence and gain universal jurisdiction over all the dioceses. In the

year 344, by a provincial synod of Sardica, and by a decree of the emperor Valentinian III. in 445, the bishop of Rome had been acknowledged as primate, and as the final tribunal of appeal from the other bishops ; but in the west, where these edicts had the force of law, the government of the popes often met with violent opposition as late as the eighth century. About this time several favorable circumstances contributed to the final establishment of the papal power.

The ancient patriarchal Greek term *papas*, at present the name given to every clergyman in the Greek Church, is the original of *papa*, *pape*, or *pope*, which, both in the Eastern and Western empire, was the title of all the bishops in the first centuries ; and in some instances was bestowed on venerable clerks. In the times of Cyprian, St. Ambrosius, Jerome, and Augustine, every bishop had the title of pope. During the seventh ecclesiastical council, in 869, at Constantinople, the term *pope* was confined to the four patriarchs of the Greek Church ; and about this time the bishop of Rome conceived the sublime idea of appropriating the title exclusively to himself, and of monopolizing all its powers and privileges. Gregory VII. was the only man who had the courage to carry the papal resolution into effect. Accordingly in 1073, he assembled some Italian bishops at Rome, who formed an assembly called a council, which at once excommunicated the emperor Henry, and declared the bishop of Rome the sole and only pope. Among the early popes were Leo the Great, in the fifth century ; Gregory I., called the Great, a good and great name of the sixth century ; and Leo III., who crowned Charlemagne in the eighth century. By slow and almost imperceptible degrees, the Pope gained absolute power in all things temporal and spiritual, both in Church and State, and united

both in one absolute despotism. The papal power commenced its reign in Poland in the year 965, under Benedict V., and continued to control the destinies of that unfortunate country until its final dissolution. The influence of the Pope in the fall of Poland, and the means resorted to for its accomplishment, will be reserved for a subsequent section.

In order for the reader to appreciate the pernicious influence of the various conflicting religious classes of Poland, and their ruinous effects on the republic, it will be necessary to notice briefly the various religious orders of the Romish Church who represent the Pope's interest. The religious orders of the Eastern continent, strictly speaking, are the various associations subject to the Greek and Roman Churches, who are ostensibly bound by monastic vows to lead strict and devotional lives, and to live separate from the world. The monks and nuns of the East, especially in the Greek Church, obey the rules of St. Basil, the same as the Basilians in Spain. But in the Roman Church the established rules of the monasteries were drawn up by St. Benedict of Narcia, who was the first founder of a spiritual order. The monasteries of the Eastern Churches are distinguished by the names of their common founders and guardian saints; though they are not generally so closely united with each other as the members of the Western orders. The rules of St. Benedict require, that the principal vows to be assumed by every novice after a year's probation, are those which command the duty of prayer at certain hours of the day, labor, perpetual celibacy, and a renunciation of the pleasures of the world, unconditional obedience to the superiors of the order, and constant residence in the monastery. These rules, together with the black cowl, were common to almost all the monks and nuns in the West, from the sixth to the

commencement of the tenth century ; and hence the Benedictine order may be considered as the only order existing during that period. The monasteries belonging to it were under the government of bishops, controlled by superiors ; and were divided into several congregations, differing only in the more or less strict observance of their rules, such as the Benedictines of Clugny, of Monte-Vergine, of Monte-Casino, of Monte-Olivet, of Valladolid, of St. Vannes, of St. Maurus, of Molk, and others.

During the lax morals and almost lifeless religion of the middle ages, it was found necessary to elevate the religious standard of the Roman Church by the adoption of new rules founded on those of St. Benedict. This gave rise to the Camaldulians, the grey monks of Vallombrosa, the Silvestrines, the Grand-montanists, the Carthusians, the Celestines, the Cistercians, the Bernardines, the Feuillans, the Recollets, the nuns of Port Royal, the Trappists, and the order of Fontevraud. The rules of St. Augustine were followed by a large number of other religious orders. The Augustine code, more lax in its devotions, only required the clergy of his cathedral, and several other churches of his diocese, to lead a *canonical* life ; meaning a life of celibacy, poverty, seclusion, and formal devotion, at certain prescribed hours, without any idea of founding an order of monks. Hence the monks who were ranked among the laity in the seventh century, could not of course adopt the Augustine rules, which were originally designed for the clergy. By degrees, however, in the eighth century, they began to be considered as members of the clerical order ; and in the tenth, they were formally declared clergymen, by receiving permission to assume the tonsure. At length, by public opinion, and several papal bulls, they were elevated above the secular clergy, who often became monks or

formed associations for the performance of monastic vows, and for leading canonical lives. Of this class of monks were those of St. Savior, in the Lateran, of the Holy Sepulchre, of St. Genevieve, and others, who belonged to the regular canons, whose constitution was formed on the rules of St. Augustine. The regular orders, according to the rules of the same society, were the Præmonstratenses, the Augustines, the Servites, the Hieronymites or Jeronymites, the Jesuates, and Brigittins. Under the class of regular orders was included the Carmelites, who were more secluded and studious.

The Trinitarians, or Mathurines, and the order of Grace, were more interested in worldly affairs. The Mendicants, an order of Dominicans, or preaching monks, sometimes called Jacobins, established in the beginning of the thirteenth century, were ambitious for hierarchal importance and political influence. To the same class belonged the Franciscans, comprising the Minorites, Conventuals, Observantines, Cæsarines, Amadists, nuns of St. Clare, Spirituals, Eremites or Celestines, Fraticelli, Alcantarines, Cordeliers, Capuchins, and Minims, or Paulanites. The Dominicans and Franciscans received from the successive Popes certain immunities, which are known as the privileges of mendicant friars; and the same monopolies were afterwards granted in part to the Carmelites, Augustines, Servites, and Paulanites. These papal charters, or religious corporations, secured to the members freedom from all secular and episcopal jurisdiction, the privilege of *demanding*, not *begging*, alms of everybody out of the monasteries; authority to preach everywhere without regard to the parochial rights of the priests, to hear confessions, to read masses, and sell papal indulgences for any and all crimes. These rights and privileges were given as a compensation for the sacri-

vice which the old rules required them to make, by living in poverty.

The great loss which the Romish Church had sustained from the Reformation, induced the popes from time to time to create new orders, with new immunities, for the purpose of sustaining the waning fortunes of the Church. To these new ecclesiastical creations belonged the Theatines, the Barnabites, the Somaskians, the Priests, the Fathers of Oratory, the Lazarists, the Jesuits, the Piarists, the Brethren of Mercy, Teutonic Knights, and others. But the panic for Catholic orders at length became so common to both sexes, that similar associations of women, called nuns, were formed upon similar principles; whose monastic vows and the color of their dresses, corresponded with those of the male departments; although they were denied the exercise of the priestly functions of the monks. The male branch was called the first order, and the female the second. Besides the nuns composing the second order, almost all the important religious orders received new accessions of lay brethren and sisters, who performed the menial services of the monasteries, in order that the choristers, or the more advanced religious members, properly so called, might devote themselves to the more important duties of the Church without interruption. By these new accessions, the members of the Church were rapidly increased.

Under the name of offerings and presents, vast numbers devoted themselves, their property, and influence, to the service of the various religious orders, without formally becoming members of them. In this way whole families and married persons of all ranks made themselves dependent on the regular clergy. By this community of property, of sexes, of interests, and of

vicious associations, as might naturally be expected, the bitterest dissensions at length arose between the different religious orders, which resulted in the worst quarrels and factions; and finally divided Polish society into those religious and political parties whose hostilities never ceased, and finally ruined the nation. Of all the religious orders which proved most disastrous to Poland, the Jesuits, the Piarists, the Lazarists, the Teutonic Knights, the Livonian Order, and Arians, were the most injurious, and deserve a separate notice.*

SECTION III.

JESUITS.

Of all the religious elements which distracted and convulsed Poland, Jesuitism was the most injurious to the best interests of the republic, and contributed most fatally in the downfall of the nation. The Jesuits, or Society of Jesus—a shameful misnomer—are a well-known religious order, which by art, hypocrisy, and papal patronage, gradually rose from a few ambitious and deluded individuals, until they extended their influence and enlarged their numbers in every continent and nation on the globe, fastening themselves upon the body politic like a moral gangrene, and seizing in their talons all the institutions and interests of the people whenever and wherever they could grasp them. No other religious order ever afforded a parallel to this extraordinary sect, or raised itself to an equal degree of power and historical importance. Its original founder, Ignatius Loyola, is entitled to only a small part of the honor or dishonor which from time to time was

* Amer. Encycl., XI., 60. X., 248.

attached to the institution. While at the University of Paris, Loyola formed a league with several of his fellow-students to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and undertake the modest task of converting the world to the Catholic faith. Pierre le Fevre, a Savoyard, Francis Xavier, a native of Navarre, James Lainez, and Nicholas Bobadilla, two Spaniards, and Rodriguez, a Portuguese noble, had the honor and daring of being the first companions of Loyola in this new and extraordinary enterprise.

Their contemplated journey to Jerusalem being interrupted for a time by a war with the Turks, they directed their steps to different universities in Upper Italy, for the purpose of gaining new associates. Loyola, with Le Fevre and Lainez, visited Rome, where in 1539 the founder succeeded in organizing the new order, which he called the *Society of Jesus*, in consequence of a pretended vision. The articles of confederation bound the members to the most rigorous vows of poverty, chastity, and unreserved obedience to their superiors; and to go voluntarily, without hesitation and without recompense, to any part of the world where the Pope should choose to send them, as missionaries for the conversion of infidels and heretics; or to labor in the service of the Roman Church in any other way; and to devote all their powers, time, and means, to the accomplishment of the good work. The novices, on being initiated into the order, were drilled to spiritual exercises; and their devotion to the new faith was subjected to the most odious and severe tests, by performing the most menial offices for the sick, and by dressing and sucking the loathsome sores of the sick in the hospitals.

By a special bull of Paul III., in 1540, this new society was established for the purpose of promoting the waning interests of the papal power; and under their charter, in the following year,

the members convened in Rome under the sanction of the Pope, and chose their founder for their first general. Loyola, like many other pioneers of novel enterprises, soon showed himself incompetent for the management of great affairs. Like all other leaders of inferior talents, he occupied his time in preliminaries and the pursuit of secondary objects, while his more learned and sagacious associates, and particularly Laincz, matured and carried out his rude plans for the advancement of the sacred order. The far-seeing popes, Paul III. and Julius III., sensible of the support which the papal dominions both needed and expected from the society, granted to the Jesuits the most liberal privileges and surprising monopolies ever enjoyed by any corporate body in church or state. They were freely allowed all the rights of the mendicant and secular orders, and were exempt from all episcopal and civil jurisdiction, free from taxes, and were subject to no authority but that of the Pope and the superiors of their order, and were permitted to exercise every priestly function among all classes of men with greater powers than archbishops. They could grant absolutions from all ecclesiastical penalties, could change the objects of the vows of the laity, acquire churches and estates without further papal ratification, erect houses for the order; and when desirable, dispense themselves from the observance of canonical hours of fasts, and prohibitions of meats, and from the use of the breviary. In addition to all these unlimited powers and privileges, their general was invested with indefinite power over the members of the society; could send them where he pleased on missions of every kind, even among excommunicated heretics; could appoint them professors of theology at pleasure; and confer academical dignities equal to those given by the universities.

These powers and privileges, which gave the Jesuits a spiritual supremacy almost equal to the Pope, with much greater religious liberty than the laity possessed, were conferred on them for the purpose of creating a band of papal missionaries, who would rescue the falling interests of the church, which was then trembling with fear and crumbling to atoms before the irresistible power of the Reformation, in which Luther and his associates were then engaged in Germany. But it happened in this, as in all similar cases, that the excess of evil reacts upon itself, and works its own correction. For the unlimited powers which the Pope had conferred on this ambitious and dangerous order were soon abused and perverted to such unworthy purposes, in trying to resist the power of Heaven in the work of the Reformation, that in a short time its hypocrisy was exposed, and a reaction produced, which rendered it comparatively harmless and useless where it was intended to be the most effectual. The leading feature of the constitution was the general dispersion of the members throughout society, while at the same time they were to act with the most entire union and subordination.

The order was divided into several ranks or classes. The novices were not ranked among the actual members; the lowest of whom were the secular coadjutors, and were not bound by monastic vows. They were chosen from the most talented and best educated classes, without regard to birth or external circumstances; and were tried by the most severe tests for two years, in separate novitiate houses, in all imaginable temptations and exercises of self-denial and servile obedience, to determine whether they would be useful and faithful to the order. They devoted themselves to the service of the society in the double capacity of subalterns and confederates, and have ever been regarded as the

common people, or slaves of the Jesuit state. Louis XIV., public officers, and other distinguished laymen in advanced life, were admitted as honorary members, for the purpose of advancing the influence and interests of the society. The next higher rank embraces the scholars and spiritual coadjutors, who are educated in the higher departments of learning, take upon themselves the most solemn monastic vows, and devote their time to the education of youth. These are considered the artists of the Jesuit community, and are employed as professors in academies, as preachers in cities and at courts, as rectors and professors in colleges, as tutors and spiritual guides in families—which they sometimes wish to convert, rob, or ruin—and also officiate as assistants in the missions.

The Jesuitical nobility form the highest class, and are composed only of the *professed*, containing only the most experienced and faithful members, who had distinguished themselves by their address, energy, and fidelity to the best interests of the institution, under the most trying circumstances. In addition to the common monastic vows of all the members of the order, they bind themselves to perform missions, and serve as apostles among the heathens and heretics; to act as governors of colonies in remote regions; to officiate as father-confessors of princes, and live as residents of the order in places destitute of colleges. The nobility are relieved from the cares of educating the youth, and are only required to devote themselves to the more important duties of the society. They are the only electors of the general, who is always taken from their number, and in his turn chooses from them his assistants, provincials, superiors, and rectors.

The general holds his office for life, during good and bad behavior, and resides in Rome, where he is aided by a monitor

and five assistants or counsellors, who represent the chief nations who are attached to the order, namely, the Jesuitical Italians, Germans, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. He is considered the head, the soul, and embodiment of the whole institution ; and receives monthly reports from the provincials, and one every quarter from the superiors of the professed houses,—from the rectors of the colleges which are the monasteries of the order, and from the masters of the novitiates. In these reports are found all remarkable occurrences, political events, with the characters, capacities, and services of the members ; and from these statistics the general issues his orders, and regulates his rewards and punishments to the several members, and controls all the movements and interests of the society. All are bound by the most solemn vows to obey the general implicitly, regardless of their own conscientious convictions. He has the power to alter particular rules of the institution, expel members without evidence or trial, or exile them to some distant region, and inflict or remit punishments at pleasure ; and what is still worse, there is no appeal from his arbitrary, capricious, and unjust decisions.

Ignatius Loyola, the first general, who died July 31, 1556, at Rome, left to the society the sketch of this Jesuitical and tyrannical constitution, with a mystical treatise called *Spiritual Exercises*, which is used as a classical text-book by the novices during the first four weeks of their studies. This religious enthusiast, though a man of moderate talents and attainments, secured a lasting fame, and the honor of canonization, principally by the accidental and rapid increase of his order, which as early as 1556 enrolled one thousand members in twelve different provinces. The first was Portugal, where Xavier and Rodriguez, by the invitation of the king, had founded colleges. Their increase was

more rapid in the Italian states under the patronage of the Pope. In Spain they were at first opposed by the bishops, but soon prevailed by the precepts and example of the nobility, and especially by the influence of one of the most powerful grandees, Francis Borgia, duke of Candia. The Jesuits soon obtained an ascendancy in the universities of Vienna, Prague, and Ingolstadt.

James Lainez, the early, talented, and faithful companion of Loyola, who was elected a second general of the society on the death of his predecessor, conducted the affairs of the institution with great success until his death, in 1564. He was succeeded by Francis Borgia, who was afterwards canonized. Their foreign missions, which were commenced by Francis Xavier, in the Portuguese East Indies, in 1541, were very successful. By his own efforts and the assistance of his fellow missionaries, he converted from Paganism to Jesuitism more than one hundred thousand in Goa, Travancore, Cochin, Malacca, Ceylon, and Japan, and died in 1551, on his way to China, with the reputation of a true martyr to his faith, which secured to him the name of the *Apostle of India*, and the honor of canonization. His partial victories over heathenism were soon followed by the cruelties of the Inquisition at Goa; while other Jesuits emigrated to South America, and labored with some success in the civilization and subjugation of the natives in Brazil, and in the neighboring country of Paraguay.

While the persevering Jesuits were rapidly spreading themselves in all quarters of the globe, Africa alone resisted all their efforts to gain proselytes in that region. On the western coasts they never gained a settlement, and from the east they were driven by the Copts; while the Abyssinians, whom they had ruled with a rod of iron for a long time with the help of Portugal, rose

against them in rebellion, and enraged with the abuses of their spiritual tyrants, they settled the account of their wrongs by putting the Jesuits to death. In the meantime the order continued to increase in Europe. By their artful address and chameleon changes—always adapting themselves to time, place, men, and circumstances, for the purposes of success—they succeeded in many instances in removing the prejudices which the Catholic Church had created by its bitter and cruel persecutions against the converts of Luther's Reformation. They extended on a large scale, for the benefit of the higher classes, the educational improvements which the Barnabites had commenced, and patronized very liberally the schools which had been begun by Somasquo and the Piarists for the improvement of the lower classes.

Claudius Aquaviva, from the family of the duke of Atri, who was general of the Jesuits from 1581 to 1615, was the author of their educational system; and his celebrated work is the platform of the famous schools of the Jesuits. These literary institutions were partly boarding-schools for boys and all classes, and partly seminaries for those youths intended for the order. The schools in some respects were well conducted; but generally the course of instruction was more superficial and sectarian than profound and useful. They opposed most strenuously all competition and imitation by other orders; and when, in 1623, a number of females in Italy and on the Lower Rhine attempted to organize a female society to be called *Jesuitines*, on the same plan as the Jesuits, the latter opposed all the advances and overtures of their ambitious sisters, and in 1631 the new female order was abolished by a papal decree. In England and the Protestant states of northern Europe they were less successful, and met with violent

opposition and repeated failures. The whole number of members, in 1618, amounted to over thirteen thousand in thirty-two provinces, exclusive of those in France in the Rhenish provinces, the Netherlands, in Poland, Lithuania, Spanish America, the Philippines, and China.

The Jesuits, elated by their extraordinary and unexpected success, celebrated in 1640, under their general Vitelleschi, with great pomp, the centennial anniversary of their order. But it was soon discovered that the leading object of the Jesuits was selfishness and sectarian interests, by ruling or ruining everything that opposed their unlimited grasp at temporal and national power. Their busy, intriguing spirit, soon made them the objects of suspicion and hatred to statesmen, jurists, and ecclesiastics of other orders, on account of their interference in political, judicial, religious, and literary affairs. The injurious effects of Jesuitism had already been seen and felt in Portugal, under the reigns of John III. and Sebastian, their pupils; and after the death of the latter, were the principal cause of surrendering this kingdom to the Spanish crown. For these reasons, both the French parliament and higher clergy, for twenty years, firmly and perseveringly resisted all attempts of the Jesuits to establish themselves in that country.

The University of Paris very wisely declared the whole order to be a nuisance, and a useless institution; equally hostile and injurious to the interests of both church and state. After long and repeated solicitations, intrigues, and bribery, by the favor of the court, they at last were admitted into France, in 1562, under the modified name of "*Fathers of the College of Clermont*," on the humiliating conditions of renouncing all their most important privileges. Notwithstanding all these embarrassments, restric-

tions, and oppositions, they soon began their serpentine course, and by their usual art and hypocrisy gradually wormed themselves into public confidence, and established themselves in Paris, and the southern and western provinces. During the civil commotions under the protection of the Guises, they deprived the French Protestants of their rights; and by slow and imperceptible degrees established their former privileges, and maintained their ground, in spite of all opposition and the common charge of participating in the murder of Henry III. Their progress seemed irresistible, until they were banished in 1594, on account of the attempt of John Chatel, their pupil, on the life of Henry. They still, however, retained their power in Toulon and Bordeaux, and by the intercession of the Pope, were again restored by Henry IV., in 1603. True to their ruling passion, they soon threw off their garb of humility, and commenced their former intrigues and vices.

They gained a still more important ascendancy in Germany, by making themselves the confidential advisers of Ferdinand II. and III. By the most remarkable political tact in the Thirty Years' War, they sustained themselves through numerous reverses, in promoting the league of the Catholics; and by the same policy Father Lamormain, a Jesuit, and a confessor to the emperor, effected the downfall of Wallenstein, and kept the Bavarians true to their alliance with Austria. Jesuitism was now on the wane, and their lax morality, doubtful chastity, and corruption, all embarked in the unhallowed cause of catering for the licentiousness of the age; their excesses and indulgences for perjury and crimes of all kinds, together with their opposition to the Reformation, their hatred of free principles, and brutal persecutions, all began to conspire in the rapid downfall of the order. Their vices were

so flagrant and revolting, even to savage taste, that the Iroquois, who had been their converts, expressly stipulated in a treaty of peace, in 1682, that their licentious brethren, the Jesuits, who, as they charged, "*did everything that Jesus did not do,*" should be removed out of their country. Soon after they were expelled from some of the Italian states on account of their licentiousness. About the same time the moral sensibility of Europe was shocked by the news of the horrid crime committed by the Jesuit Girard, in the violation of Cadiere, an innocent girl, at the time of confession.

The commercial world now began to complain that the Jesuits were not aiming to promote virtue and religion, but their own interests at the expense of all others; and were using their foreign missions as engines of oppression, by monopolizing the products and trade of foreign markets. Although the republic of natives formed by the Jesuits under the authority of Spain, in Paraguay and Uruguay, where, in 1753, they ruled with absolute power over nearly one hundred thousand subjects, was managed with considerable policy, and perhaps, on the whole, for the benefit of the natives; yet they used the country more for the purposes of trade and pecuniary profits, than for moral or religious improvement. By Jesuitical policy, Spain, in 1750, gave up seven districts of their country to Portugal; but the contracting powers were soon compelled to abandon their oppressive league, in consequence of the resistance of the natives. The prosecution commenced against the Portuguese Jesuits for this act of knavery, together with a contemporaneous attempt on the life of the king of Portugal, hastened the rapid downfall of the order. The minister Pombal proved so many offences against them, that he finally succeeded, in 1759, in expelling

them from Portugal, and in confiscating their property, by a royal edict declaring them guilty of high treason. Previous to this first crushing blow, the order consisted of twenty-four professed houses, six hundred and sixty-nine colleges, three hundred and thirty-five residences, and two hundred and seventy-three missions in heathen and Protestant countries, and more than twenty-two thousand members of all ranks; half of whom were ordained priests. In France they ruined themselves by trade; and in 1743 they had established a trading-house at Martinique, by their deputy father La Valette, under the hypocritical garb of a religious mission, which soon monopolized nearly all the trade of that and the neighboring islands, and had established commercial connections with all the principal merchants of France. After repeated abuses, insults, and injuries, under the control of Lorenzo Ricci, their general, the French king at last issued a decree, in 1764, abolishing the order throughout his dominions, on the ground that it was only a political institution, for the object of self-aggrandizement, and dangerous to the country. Clement XIII. now issued his bulls in vain, recommending the Jesuits to the world as a pious and useful order. They were also expelled from Spain in 1769, and soon after shared the same fate in Naples, Parma, and Malta. The voice of the civilized world now become so clamorous throughout all continents and nations where the Jesuits were known, that the Pope, Clement XIV., was compelled, for the safety of his dominions, to publish his famous bull of July 21, 1773, by which the society of Jesuits was totally abolished throughout the world.

The ex-Jesuits were obliged to quit their houses, lay aside the garb of the order, renounce all intercourse with each other, and were compelled to unite themselves with other orders, or submit

themselves to the superintendence of the bishops. They were, however, permitted to receive annuities from the revenues of their confiscated estates, except in Portugal. They were compelled to leave the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain as exiles from their dominions; though in the States of the Church, in Upper Italy, in Germany, Hungary, Poland, and France, they were suffered to remain as private persons. In Prussia the Jesuits were obliged to disrobe themselves of their orderly garb, and renounce their constitution. They were for a short time known by the name of the *priests of the royal school institute*, and confined to the office of instructing youth; but Frederic William II. soon found it necessary to abolish this last fragment of Jesuitical power.

Russia was now the only kingdom where the Jesuits could find a home. The sagacity of Peter the Great had inclined him to expel them from his empire as early as 1719; but, in 1772, several houses of their order fell, with the eastern part of Poland, under the government of Russia. They succeeded in retaining the sympathies of Catharine, the Russian empress, even after the abolition of the order, in consequence of the respect she had for her Catholic subjects and their schools. On the death of Clement XIV., in 1774, they found a friend in his successor, Pius VI. The Jesuits made a great effort to restore their order in 1787, under the name of Vicentines, but without success. But at last Pius VII. came to their relief, and restored their order in White Russia and Lithuania, where they continued their hypocrisy and treason to the great injury of Poland. The feeble Pope was finally induced to restore the order in Rome, in 1814; and in 1824 they took possession of the *Collegium Romanum* in that city. At length the kings of Sardinia, Naples, and Spain,

received them again into their dominions, in 1815. In the same year Ferdinand VII. restored them to their former privileges and possessions, which had been taken from them in 1767. They succeeded in being reinstated by the Helvetic Canton in Friburg in 1818. Although they were banished from Spain in 1820, yet they succeeded in obtaining absolute power again in that falling nation in 1823.

The history and varied fortunes of the order, in some measure confirm the prediction of their third general, Francis Borgia : " Like lambs have we crept into power—like wolves have we used it—like dogs shall we be driven out—but like eagles shall we renew our youth." Notwithstanding all the entreaties and threats of the Pope, Portugal remained firm to her purpose, which banished them in 1759. Germany remained deaf to all their entreaties for restoration ; but Austria partially admitted them again into her dominions under the name of Piccanarists and Redemptorists. In France they again gained a partial foothold, by their congregations and seminaries at Montrouge, St. Acheul, and other places, previous to the late French Revolution. They again were obliged to meet their merited fate in Russia, where they had been before expelled by Peter the Great, and afterwards re-admitted by Catharine II., and were finally banished from the empire in 1817, for endeavoring to convert the sons and daughters of distinguished families to the Catholic Church. For their repeated and continued offences, the Czar, in 1820, with a single blow, abolished the order forever in Russia and Poland, and confiscated their property, after having used them as pliant tools in the dissolution and destruction of Poland.

In England the Jesuits have availed themselves of the benevolent and liberal spirit of the British constitution, which tolerates

all religious sects, where they have been permitted for the last thirty years to enjoy a limited and expiring existence, in their useless college at Stonyhurst, near Preston, and a few small boarding-schools used for the benefit of the Catholics. They still retain a few fragments of their shattered and crushed institutions in some parts of Europe; but fortunately for the American Union, they have not, they never can, succeed in the United States. Such is a general and brief sketch of the history of this order, the most dangerous religious sect ever known to the Pagan or civilized world. The Jesuits were introduced into Poland by Stephen Batory, in 1576.* It now remains to examine their conduct and its consequences in Poland, which is reserved for a subsequent section.†

SECTION IV.

TEUTONIC KNIGHTS.

The Poles have always regretted their acquaintance with the Teutonic Knights. Their wars and associations with this formidable foe, have cost them streams of blood, thousands of valuable lives, millions of costly treasure, and finally their national existence. This papal order of knights, distinguished only for their hypocritical religion, selfishness, and military treason, was originally founded, in 1190, by Frederick, duke of Suabia, during a crusade in the Holy Land, at the siege of Acre; and was designed

* Fletcher, 63.

† Dallas's Hist. of Jesuits. Wolf's Hist. of the Jesuits. Catechism of the Jesuits, published at Leipsic, 1820. Encycl. Amer., VII., 199. Encycl. Britannica. Fletcher, 94, 140.

to be confined to Germans of noble rank. The rule of the order was similar to that of the Templars. The association was originally organized for the benevolent purpose of defending the Christian religion against the infidels, and taking care of the sick pilgrims in the Holy Land. The order was dedicated to the Virgin Mary; and hence the knights called themselves "Brethren of the German House of Our Lady of Jerusalem." One of the original objects of the institution was, to reward and encourage the great and noble deeds of the day, particularly in Germany; and hence arose the name of Teutonic Order. When the emperor Frederick Barbarossa volunteered his services in the crusade for recovering the Holy Land from the infidels, a great number of the German nobility and gentry joined his army as volunteers.

In this crusade were also engaged several other distinguished princes of Europe, such as Philip, king of France, Richard I., king of England, Frederick, duke of Suabia, the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, Philip, earl of Flanders, Florant, earl of Holland, and others. After the death of Barbarossa, the Germans chose for their leaders Frederick, duke of Suabia, second son of the emperor, and Henry, duke of Brabant. They were so successful under these generals in the siege of Acre and the conquest of Jerusalem, and other places of the Holy Land, that Henry, king of Jerusalem, the Patriarch, and several other ambitious princes, thought themselves obliged to bestow some distinguished favors in honor of the German nation. As an expression of their consideration and gratitude on this occasion, these royal patrons immediately resolved to create an order of knights for Germany, under the protection of St. George; but afterwards changed their purpose and preferred the Virgin Mary,

for the reason that she had already founded a hospital on Mount Sion, at Jerusalem, for the relief of German pilgrims, which had its origin in the following manner. According to Ashmole, in his Order of the Garter, in the time of the holy war, a wealthy gentleman of Germany, who dwelt at Jerusalem, commiserating the condition of his countrymen who came to the Holy City to pay their devotions, ignorant of the language of the country, and destitute of comfortable lodging, received them hospitably into his own house, and gave them all necessary refreshment. Afterwards, obtaining leave of the Patriarch, he erected a chapel for them, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary; and hence the knights, who were established there, received the title of Equites Mariani. This charitable institution was liberally endowed by the contributions of other German gentlemen, until in a short time these knights became very numerous and wealthy, and devoted themselves to military employments and religious duties.

In the year 1190, they elected their first great master, Henry Walpot; and in the following year, by the request of Henry VI., the order was confirmed by Pope Celestine III., under the title of "Teutonic or Dutch Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary the Virgin," with the vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity; and binding themselves to receive only Germans into their order. After receiving confirmation from the Papal See, several rich citizens of Breme and Lubeck joined them, and, by their liberal contributions, founded another hospital for the order in the city of Acre, in Syria. Acre, Jerusalem, and all the Holy Land, after a lapse of more than eighty-seven years, were re-taken by the Saracens from the Christians, under the command of Saladin, and the knights, with Hermannus, their great master, returned

to Germany, and took up their residence in Prussia in 1226. Here they received a strip of land on the Vistula from Conrad of Masovia, in order that they might protect Poland from the heathen inhabitants of Prussia, who were then low idolaters.

From 1230 to 1283, they carried on a war of extermination with eleven Prussian tribes ; until they were at last subdued and converted to Christianity and the German customs by military prowess. The power of the knights increased rapidly, and, in the fifteenth century, their territory extended from the Oder along the Baltic, to the Bay of Finland ; containing the cities of Dantzie, Elbing, Thorn, Culm, and others. In the year 1404, they ruled over nearly three millions of people, and received an annual revenue of nearly one million of marks. But like all other aristocrats, ecclesiastical or laic, they soon became tyrants, and the nobility and citizens, as a last resort for escaping from their oppression, finally united with Poland. This revolution gave rise to a terrible war, continuing from 1454 to 1466, until the country was nearly desolated with death and deluged with blood. The knights, finding themselves in a waning condition, in 1511 elected Albert of Brandenburg, son of the Margrave of Anspach, to the office of grand master, with a view of strengthening themselves. In 1525, the order was abolished entirely in Prussia, and its territory was annexed to Poland as a fief, and converted into a hereditary duchy under Prince Albert and his male descendants or brothers. By the treaty of Welau, in 1657, the republic of Poland acknowledged the sovereignty of the elector of Brandenburg in the duchy of Prussia. Frederick William, the great elector, advanced the interests of Prussia ; and his son Frederick III. was crowned king of Prussia in 1701 ;

and from this time Prussia assumed the rank of an independent kingdom.

The knights were dressed in black, with a white cloak, upon which was worn a black cross, edged with silver. They were governed by a grand master of their own choice, who, at first, lived at Jerusalem; but afterwards, when the Holy Land again fell into the hands of the Turks, he changed his residence to Venice, and from 1297 he remained at Marburg. By repeated military exploits, the knights made several conquests, and gradually acquired great wealth. At the commencement of the fifteenth century, the order had reached its meridian splendor. Possessing a territory extending from the Oder to the Gulf of Finland, with an ample revenue, like all similar governments, where the powers of Church and State, of the purse and sword, are all united in the same hands, the order became tyrannical; and unmindful of their religious vows, and corrupted by luxury, licentiousness, and military ambition, they fell into dissensions and rapidly declined.

As early as the year 1229, the Poles first made the acquaintance of the Teutonic Knights, and solicited their aid against the Prussians; who after a protracted and severe war of fifty-three years, were forced to acknowledge the independence of the order, and embrace the Christian religion. After the knights had formed a union with the "*Brethren of the Sword*," in Livonia, in 1237, they conquered the Slavonian countries along the Baltic. In 1309, the grand master fixed his seat at Marienburg in Prussia. The government of the order finally became so insolent and oppressive, that West Prussia revolted from their tyranny, and united with Poland, while the knights were obliged to hold East Prussia subject to the supremacy of Poland. The

subsequent attempts of the knights to make themselves independent, involved them in war with the Polish government, that terminated in the loss of East Prussia, which in 1525, was granted to the grand master, the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, as an hereditary duchy subject to Poland. After this defeat, the head of the order, from 1527, fixed his residence at Mergentheim in Suabia, now a part of the kingdom of Wurtemberg, and became only a spiritual prince of the empire. During the war between France and Austria in 1809, Napoleon abolished the order, and their lands fell to the princes in whose territory they were situated. As a fragment of the demolished institution, the Archduke Anthony calls himself at present grand master of the Teutonic Order, in the empire of Austria. As a religious institution, like all other similar corporations of the Pope, it was a failure; and during its whole existence was a useless, ruinous institution, and every way hostile to the best interests of society; and was one of the principal causes of Poland's ruin.*

SECTION V.

GREEK CHURCH.

The Greek Church comprises that portion of the religious world, who, in their creed, usages, and Church government, conform to those views of Christianity entertained by the former Greek empire; and since the fifth century have been under the supervision of the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The Christian world, although with great difficulty it had been consolidated, and in a great measure

* Connor, II., Letter viii., 52.

harmonized in the fourth and fifth centuries, still contained in its system the seeds of future dissolution. The great extent of territory which the common Church occupied, embracing the whole east and west of the Roman empire, the great diversity of languages spoken by the different and numerous members, the different manners and customs, the different races, and the conflicting political interests of its members, were all fruitful sources of discord, and sure indications of future dissolution. These elements of disunion soon began to display themselves by the foundation of new Rome in Constantinople; by the political partition of the Roman empire in the Oriental or Greek, and the Occidental or Latin kingdom; by the elevation of the bishop of Constantinople to the high dignity of second patriarch of all Christendom—inferior only to the patriarch of Rome—which was effected in the councils of Constantinople in 381, and in the decisions of Chalcedon in 451, and finally by the growing jealousy of the two ruling patriarchs. To all these themes of contention, may be added the ambiguous edict, known under the name of the Henoticon, granted by the Greek emperor Zeno in 482, and extremely obnoxious to the Latins on account of the apparent deviation from the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, which finally produced a formal schism in the Christian Church that has never been reconciled.

These and other difficulties continued to increase and alienate the Greek and Roman Christians until 484 A. D., when Felix, second patriarch of Rome, pronounced final sentence of excommunication against the patriarch of Constantinople and Alexandria, who had been the leading agents of the Henoticon edict; and, by this fatal blow, severed forever all ecclesiastical fellowship with the Christians of the East, attached to the congregations

of these patriarchs. It is true that after the sentiments of the imperial court were changed, the Roman patriarch Hormidas again united the Greek and Latin Churches, nominally, in 519. But the union, which was more pretended than real, was again dissolved by the hatred of both parties, and the Roman sentence of excommunication was again repeated against the Iconoclasts, among the Greeks in 733, and against Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, in 862; and the two Churches have been hostile to each other ever since. The Greek and Roman Churches are substantially the same in the principles of religion, though differing somewhat in form; the former denying the supremacy, and all allegiance to the Pope. Both Churches introduced their religion into Poland in the tenth century about the same time; and the Greek Church became the established religion of Russia in 988 under Wladimir. It was adopted at an early day by the Cossacks, and these two rival Churches have alternately wielded the destiny of Poland ever since.

There were two Greek Churches in Poland, differing in some respects, one called Schismatics, and the other Uniats; the latter differing widely from the Roman Catholics, by performing their devotions in the Greek language. The Russian or Greek-Schismatic bishops could not marry, though the parish priests are not bound by celibacy in cases where they are admitted to orders after their marriage; but on the death of their wives, they cannot marry again. The liturgy of the Church is in the Russian language. Some of the peculiarities of the Russo-Greek Church are, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father by the Son, and the Pope is not the head of all the Church; but only the first of the two patriarchs, of which theirs of Constantinople is the second, and independent of the first. In other articles of

faith they agree with the Roman Church. Their ceremonies and ornaments differ from the Roman, and Armenians. They pray standing, varying their posture by frequent genuflexions. In administering the sacred communion, the priest consecrates several small pieces of bread, of which he first partakes himself; then breaks the bread into several little pieces, which he puts into the chalice with the consecrated wine, and then with a small silver spoon he feeds it to his communicants, while they stand with their arms across their breasts. After this the members follow the priest three times round the altar with folded arms, who repeatedly charges them to "make good cheer for seven days," and then fast seven days after. Their children all partake of the sacrament, though ever so young. When the communicants have each received their little spoonful of the bread and wine, the priest eats and drinks the remainder at his leisure.

The United Greeks are Christians who originally belonged to the Greek Church, and have since been united to the Roman Church on certain conditions. This union was effected in the fifteenth century, after the Greek emperors had ceased all efforts for its accomplishment, and after the fall of their empire, and the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, when the exertions of the Roman Catholics for the subjugation of the Greek Church succeeded so far only as to extort the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Pope from some of the congregations in Italy, whither many Greeks had fled from the Turks for refuge. The same union was effected to some extent in Hungary, Galicia, Lithuania, and Poland; which congregations are still known under the name of United Greeks. They differ from the Greek Church in the doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceeds both from the Father and the Son—a belief common to Protestants; and

by believing also in the supremacy of the Pope, the doctrine of purgatory, and the saving efficacy of masses for souls, according to the doctrines of the Roman Church. They are permitted to have their own Church government, and retain the old names of ecclesiastical dignities. Their priests wear beards and caps, and are permitted to marry. They retain the ancient rites, use the Greek language during service, and celebrate the strict Greek fasts and the Lord's Supper under both forms, the same as the old Greek Church; because the Jesuits, by whom they were converted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, never were able to persuade them to change their faith in these particulars. The United Greeks were numerous in the Austrian monarchy, in Transylvania, Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, in Eastern Poland, and Russia. The whole number of this denomination in different parts of the globe has been estimated at two millions. They are considered as apostates by the regular Greek Church, and not much respected by the Roman Church. They figured somewhat conspicuously in Poland during the national troubles, as will be seen hereafter.

SECTION VI.

JUDAISM.

The social condition of the Jews in Poland has been described in a previous chapter; their religion remains to be noticed. This miraculous people, in whom every lover of the Bible feels a deep interest, formerly known under the various appellations of Hebrews, Jews, Israelites, etc., were first called Jews after the Babylonian captivity. The greater part of the nation having

remained in the middle and eastern provinces of the Persian empire, only about forty thousand men, with their families, chiefly of the tribe of the kingdom of Judah, returned to their native country under the permissive decree of Cyrus, 536 B. C. Previous to this event, they were called *Hebrews*—a name first given to Abraham by the people of Canaan, among whom he then dwelt. By some it is supposed that the appellation Hebrew was first given to the Patriarch on account of his migration from Mesopotamia, beyond the Euphrates, into the land of Canaan or Palestine, about two thousand years before Christ. Others, however, consider it as a patronymic derived from Heber, great grandson of Shem, from whom Abraham descended. Whatever meaning was originally attached to the term Hebrew, before the time of Jacob or Israel, it seems afterwards to have been limited to his posterity, and to have been synonymous with Israelites.

This extraordinary people, who in all ages of the world have been distinguished by a series of direct and striking interpositions of Providence, have exercised a more permanent and extensive influence by their religion, than polished Greece by her taste or triumphant Rome by her laws and arms; have heard the thunders of Sinai, and both seen and felt the flash of Heaven's angry lightnings; have felt the tyrant's lash in Egypt, and excelled in republican freedom under the reign of Moses; have wandered in the wilderness and battled in Canaan; worshipped in Solomon's temple, and afterwards suffered the angry frowns of Heaven for their idolatry; crucified the Saviour, and for their sins were annihilated as a nation; still survive the last wrecks of their once splendid palaces and magnificent cities, and the annihilation of their political existence as a state; and present the wonderful spectacle of a race preserving its peculiarities of wor-

ship, doctrines, language, and feelings, during a dispersion of more than eighteen hundred years over the whole globe.

The history of the Jews reaches back to the earliest periods of the world. Their code of laws has been studied, copied, and imitated, by jurists and legislators of all ages and nations; and all the different systems of religion which divide the different continents of the globe, contain more or less of the doctrines and forms that originally characterized the faith of the children of Abraham. The Hebrew history begins with Abraham, the patriarch of the nation; but that of the Hebrew state commences with the acquisition of Palestine. Under the administration of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, they formed only one nomadic family, whose history is variegated with the pictures of the wild hunter, the migratory herdsman, and the incipient husbandman, in which we find at that early day the worship of one God, the rite of circumcision, and other traits of the future nation. Next we find them in Lower Egypt, whither Israel, under providential guidance, had migrated, and where his descendants resided from 250 to 430 years, as some estimate, until they became a powerful nation. Passing through the first great period of the history of the Hebrews as a nomadic nation, from Abraham till the establishment of their state in Palestine, about two thousand years before Christ, they next enter the second period of their marvellous story, including the time of the federative republic from the conquest of Palestine to the establishment of the monarchy, fifteen hundred years before the birth of the Saviour; they then commence the third period of their annals, which ended with the birth of Christ; and their fourth historical period ended with the final dissolution and dispersion of the nation in the year of our Lord seventy.

Titus took Jerusalem by assault, burned the temple, demolished the city, and sold into slavery, or drove into exile, all the inhabitants who escaped death. More than one hundred thousand Jews perished during the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. The ravages of war, the miseries of captivity, the horrors of death, and all the evils of this world, furnish no parallel with the sufferings and torments of this wretched people, forsaken and cursed by both God and man. These miserable beings, who fled to the mountains of Judea for refuge, were compelled, after many unsuccessful efforts, to abandon their beloved country, once flourishing and beautiful, but now changed, barren, and sad. The remnants of the nation, scattered over all the earth, still possessed advantages which no other nation could command in similar unhappy circumstances. The pitiful story of their origin, their miraculous preservation and marvellous destruction, their far-famed natural ingenuity and industry, the enviable strength of their religious zeal, and the literary treasures of their holy writings, everywhere gave them admittance and success, and preserved their national character. Both proselytes and old believers rallied around their standard in the Roman empire, in Greece, and throughout the East as far as the Ganges, where many of the brethren had settled during the Babylonian captivity, and greatly multiplied. Egypt, and all the north east of Africa, were peopled with Jewish colonies; while in the cities of Asia Minor, of Greece, and Italy, thousands of this disconsolate people were enjoying the rights of citizens. And thus, by the overruling hand of Providence, by their mutual connections, and by their holy books, they became the involuntary instruments of propagating that Christianity which most of them criminally rejected.

Abandoning the Bible, which the spirit of Heaven had kindly

revealed to them—rejecting the Saviour, who had meekly wept over Jerusalem and died for them—they clasped to their bosom the adulterated Talmud as their rule of faith. This book, which was compiled by their patriarchs after their final dispersion, is a collection of the traditionary expositions of the Old Testament, with many additions by the Jewish priests. It was begun in the year two hundred, by Rabbi Juda the Holy, and completed in 500, A.D., and adopted under the name of the Talmud as a rule of faith by the scattered communities of the Jews. To this book we must look for the principles of Jewish religion. It requires that whenever twelve adults reside together in one place, they shall erect a synagogue; and since the destruction of the temple had put an end to sacrifices, they are to serve the God of their fathers by a multitude of prayers and little formalities, amidst the daily occupations of life. This volume, which is to the Jew both his code of laws and religion, allows usury, condemns agriculture and grazing, forbids most rigorously all associations with other nations, commanding the strictest separation; commits the government to the rabbins as the teachers, nobles, and aristocrats of the people; and both tolerates and inculcates a corrupt system of morals, a loose code of social principles, which has degraded the character of the great mass of this unfortunate people, and in many instances made them dangerous to the best interests of community, prevented their naturalization, and made them a terror to the civilized world. The Rabbinites, or followers of the Talmud, comprise nearly all the Jews of Europe.

That sect of Jews called the Caraites, who reject the Talmud and still adhere to the law of Moses only, are less numerous, and are found chiefly in the East, in Turkey, and Eastern Russia. During the dark ages in Europe, where the Jews had settled as

colonies in the Roman empire, in Gaul, Germany, and Poland, they preserved a certain degree of civilization by means of their schools, which preserved their distinct existence, and secured them influence during the confusion caused by the destruction of the old, and the formation of the new states, by the irruption of the northern barbarians. By their unbridled avarice they made themselves masters of the commerce of the old world; and as money-lenders and bankers, were often the pliant tools of ambitious princes and nobles, in perpetrating their acts of tyranny. During the dreadful persecutions which they suffered from the cruelty of the Christians, even after the seventh century, they still continued prosperous in those countries during the periods of their greatest sufferings. Their oppressive usury and extortions, and the rapacity of the Christians more than religious hatred, were the true causes of their inhuman sufferings. The worst of crimes and all public calamities were charged to them by the Christians, as a pretext for paying their debts and murdering their troublesome creditors; or for confiscating their wealth, and consigning them to execution or banishment. But their wealth and adroitness gave them such vast power, that their bribery was a sure passport to the hearts and thrones of tyrants.

The sources of the Jewish law are the Mosaic law and the Talmud, and hence the rabbis are the Jewish lawyers. The Jewish laws and religion are too intimately connected for separation, and are extremely complicated and full of nice distinctions. In some countries of Europe the Jews enjoy a separate jurisdiction to some extent, and inherit according to their own law. The contract of marriage is made in writing, in the presence of witnesses, and by the delivery of a ring from the bridegroom to the bride. The husband acquires the absolute right to the pro-

perty of his wife, obtained by labor or otherwise, and is entitled to the use of her fortune owned before marriage, and is her sole heir. Last wills and testaments are governed by principles according to the circumstances under which they are made, whether in health or dangerous sickness. Their legal rules of descent carry the property of the ancestor first to sons and their male descendants; after them it goes to the daughter; and in case of their failure, to the female descendants in the next degree. After the children follows the father; and if he be dead, the property goes to the brothers of the deceased and their descendants; and in failure of all these classes, the sisters of the deceased and their descendants take the inheritance. Persons related by the mother's side never inherit from each other. Children may inherit from the mother, but the mother never can take from the children. Legitimate and illegitimate children have equal rights of inheritance, except when the mother is a slave, or destitute of Jewish blood; and in these exceptive cases the children do not inherit from the father in any court. The first-born son takes a double share of the property which the father actually possessed, excepting uncollected debts; and as an offset to this privilege, he is obliged to pay a double share of the debts owing by his father. When the first-born dies before the division takes place, his right of primogeniture goes to his descendants. This right, however, may be renounced, sold, or given away.

The hereditary succession of the husband and wife is governed by the time of the continuance of the marriage. Every conveyance or grant must be public, and the property be formally and legally transferred; and such a grant cannot be revoked or annulled without a new grant made by the same legal formalities. A verbal conveyance is lawful only when made by a very sick

person, or one in imminent danger. A Jew attains his majority at the age of thirteen years and one day, in cases of obvious puberty; but a Jewess, under the same circumstances, becomes of age at twelve years. A Jew is prohibited by law from engaging in commercial pursuits until he is twenty years of age. The girls remain until they are full grown with their parents; and at any time after this period the fathers may give them in marriage to whom they please, without their knowledge or consent. In several countries, however, full age of the Jews is gained by the same local laws as control other citizens.

The laws and religion of the Jews are characterized in all ages by the same persistency and opposition to change, obstinately refusing all progression, equally contemptuous of all public or private opinions, except their own isolated Judaism; and these injurious and deplorable principles were so indelibly stamped upon Polish society, that the social condition of the nation continued obstinately the same for centuries, in defiance of European reforms, and the social improvements of neighboring nations. The sad effects of Judaism may be distinctly traced in all the institutions of Poland from a very early period.

SECTION VII.

PROTESTANTS.

Protestant religion in Poland has ever been very limited. For a time the penitent followers of Luther found an asylum from the persecutions of the Pope in Germany, under the liberal protection of the Polish kings; and the reformers of Europe began to hail the plains of Sarmatia as the home of the brave, the land of the

free, and the nursery of Bible Christians. But no sooner had the Jesuits gained the complete control of the government, and armed themselves for the fight, which they doubtless had long premeditated, than all the fond hopes of the Lutherans were blighted by the most cruel persecutions from these emissaries of the Pope. In Polish Prussia, however, the Lutherans and Calvinists were more numerous and less persecuted. These the king of Poland was bound by his coronation oath to protect in religious freedom. Though the Prussians were not converted to Christianity until long after the Poles had embraced the Roman and Greek faith, yet they made more rapid progress under the influence of the Bible religion of the Reformation in a quarter of a century, than the Poles had done during several centuries previous. The first Polish nobleman converted to Calvinism was Nicholas Radzivil, under the reign of Sigismund Augustus, who received all that sect into his protection at his home in Vienna, where they worshipped in the Polish language.

The Reformation was a new and most interesting epoch in the moral history of the world. It was a noble effort made by the genius of Christian Europe, to shake off the chains which had shackled the immortal soul of man, and fettered the freedom of thought. The doctrines of the German reformers, although the number of their professed disciples was comparatively small, in their influence have ever been felt in Bohemia and Prussia. The fires which the successors of Jagellon had kindled for the disciples of Luther and Calvin, in which many of them deposited their ashes in confirmation of their faith during the persecutions of the Jesuits, were extinguished by the wise and humane reign of Sigismund I. But the Protestants were more effectually protected by Sigismund Augustus. Under his reign Poland for a

long time became the seat of a religious toleration, then unequalled in any part of the world. And were it not for this sacred retreat, which the friends of Luther enjoyed for publishing the works of the great reformers, where the press was free for all the world, at a time when the Protestants were prohibited from publishing their religion in other parts of Europe, it is difficult to say what might have been the fate of the Reformation, and the final destiny of man.

In this hallowed retreat of Protestant piety communities were found differing widely in their religious principles, first under the protection of the humane king of Poland, and finally under the sanction of positive law. The most daring theological skeptics of the age—the two Socini—found an asylum here. Among these various religious sects were found the Unitarians—sometimes called the Anti-Trinitarians—modern Arians, and afterwards known as Socinians. They called themselves Polish Brethren. Their principal school and printing-office were located at Racow. Several of the most distinguished and wealthy families of Poland embraced this faith. Selio and Fausto Socini, the two exiled Italians, being uncle and nephew, partially succeeded in introducing their doctrines. Soon, however, the brethren fell into dissensions, and divided themselves into new and smaller congregations. At length a disturbance among the students at Racow, in 1638, afforded the Catholics and the other Protestants a pretext for persecuting them, until in 1658 their denomination was suppressed, and its members were left to the choice of exile or the Roman Church. A part of them finally emigrated to Germany, and others to Transylvania, where they were permitted to enjoy their religion. The Protestants have rendered themselves useful in Poland, by translating the Bible into the

vernacular language. The New Testament was first translated by the Lutheran Seklucyan, in 1551.

During the period that the Polish princes reigned in Bohemia, the intimate relations between the kingdoms made a common interest between the Protestant subjects of both nations. The memory of Bohemia, including Moravia, is dear to every Protestant, every lover of freedom. In this retired, bleak, barren, and sacred soil, the first seeds of European freedom and Christian liberty were planted by the immortal Wickliffe, which, under the subsequent culture of the memorable Huss, Jerome, Melancthon, Luther, and Calvin, grew into a rich and abundant harvest, the fruits of which America, England, and other Protestant nations, are reaping and enjoying at the present day, and will ever be a thrilling theme in the regions of future bliss.

The jewel of history is the impartial and truthful record of facts, giving all their just due, without "setting down aught in malice or extenuation." In obedience to this rule, it should ever form a large and bright page in Polish history, that, for a time at least—and that, too, in a time of the greatest need—Poland was the asylum of the persecuted, the home of the pilgrim, and the nursery of civil and religious freedom. While nearly all Europe was groaning in death, and deluged with the blood of contending, murdering sectarians—in which the blades of Roman Catholics cut the deepest, the fastest, and the cruellest—while the Lutherans were perishing in Germany—while the blood of more than one hundred thousand Protestants, of eminent men, beautiful women, and lovely children, were the victims of the war of religious persecution—while the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew was crying to Heaven from the ground of France, against the infamous Triumvirate, and the murderous and hypocritical Catharine

de Medicis—while Mary disgraced “good old England” with a fiery ordeal of persecution—and even the heart of the “virgin queen” was not innocent of the foul crime of murder in the eyes of Infinite Purity, while she dictated the burnings of the Arians; then it was that magnanimous Poland opened wide the doors of state as an asylum for the persecuted of all religions, and freely allowed every man to worship God in his own way, with full liberty of speech, liberty of press, and liberty of thought and conscience—the first instance of the kind known in the history of the world!

SECTION VIII.

OTHER RELIGIOUS SECTS.

The Lazarites or Fathers, were another religious sect, which figured conspicuously in Poland. They derive their name from St. Lazarus, in France,—a name given to the priests of the mission after their priory of St. Lazarus, in Paris. This order was established in 1634, consisting of regular priests, bound by monastic vows for the avowed purpose of supporting missions. They have been less successful than other similar orders, established for the same purpose. They have a mission in China, and in France. Though their fortune has been various, they survived the revolution, and in 1816 were reinstated by a royal ordinance to their privileges and possessions, on account of their services among the country people. Previous to July 1830, they distinguished themselves in their missionary cause, as adherents and informers in the service of the ultra party, who, as a compensation for their services, restored to them a portion of their former

confiscated estates. They had their full share in the horrors of the Reign of Terror, and were alternately used as a makeweight, by the dominant parties, in the downfall of Poland. In Poland, they were most numerous and influential as teachers in the seminaries, and as spiritual censors; where they were distinguished by the name of *fathers of the mission*.

They have ever adhered to their ancient superannuated monasteries and schools, without any improvement for centuries; and to them, Poland is indebted in a great measure for their defective and backward state of science and literature. They have met with some success in Spain and Austria.

The historian fails in his duty who passes over in silence the influence of the Piarists in the decline and fall of Poland. They were the fathers of the pious schools, and the members of a religious order, who, over and above the three usual monastic vows, bound themselves by a fourth obligation, which required them to devote themselves to the gratuitous instruction of youth. This religious order was instituted at Rome, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by one Joseph Casalanza, a Spanish nobleman, and confirmed by the pope in 1621. The institution was rewarded for its supposed useful labors, in 1690, with a full charter of the most important privileges of the mendicant orders. Like the Jesuits, the Piarists are a secular order subject to papal rules. Their resemblance to the Jesuits in principles, as well as in their costume, in their devotion to the services of the Roman Church, and in the duties of education, has been the source of a jealous and hostile rivalry between the two orders, from the time of their original organization. Under the patronage of the Pope, they soon spread themselves through all the Catholic countries, particularly in Austria, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia,

and Silesia, where they were less obnoxious than the Jesuits ; and have in some instances contributed to the cause of science by the colleges and institutions of learning. But their severe conflicts with the Jesuits and other religious sects, were the cause of numerous evils in Poland. They were established in Poland, in 1642, in opposition to the Jesuits.

Arianism had its origin with the adherents of the Alexandrian bishop, Arius, in 318 A. D. ; who maintained that Christ was the son of God, and superior in excellence to all things created from nothing ; but inferior to God, and produced by his free will. This doctrine was condemned as a heresy, in the council of Alexandria, in the year 320 ; and the same condemnation was repeated in the Council of Nice, five years after, by the orthodox church ; which believed the Son every way equal to the Father. The articles of the Nicene and of the Athanasian creeds arose from the contest against Arius. Though he was condemned and his party banished, he still found means to procure new and powerful adherents, and died in 336. The new doctrine gradually gained the confidence of Constantine, who, a short time previous to his decease, in the year 337, caused himself to be baptized in the Arian form. Under Constantius, Arianism became the religion of the court, published its own liturgy, and after 350, under the general rule of Constantius, it became the prevailing religion of the West ; and Rome was compelled to submit to the spiritual dictation of Felix, the Arian bishop.

But religious faction among the Arians soon produced such serious divisions among themselves, that the ambitious and hostile Catholic Church seized upon the favorable time of discord, and gained a complete victory. For a time, the semi-Arians, or Half-Arians, whose leaders were Basil of Ancyra and George of

Laodicea, and possessed great power in Syria, partially adopted the Catholic creed, by maintaining a similarity of essence between the Son and the Father, and by their concession gained the supremacy at the imperial court. The ascendancy of the orthodox church was further promoted by the excesses of the strict Arians. Aetius and Eunomius of Cappadocia, and their adherents, who in the council at Sirmium in 357, by contending that the Son of God is an inferior and entirely different being from the Father, excited the Semi-Arians against them ; and aroused the opposition of the people, by restoring the mode of baptism by immersion. This violent contest was soon ended, and all religious quarrels quieted, by the wise policy of the emperor Julian, who freely tolerated all sects. Arianism gained the ascendancy in the East, under the reign of Valens in 364 ; and growing insolent under royal patronage, soon proceeded to outrageous acts of violence against the Catholics.

In the meantime, while Gratian maintained peace, Theodosius restored the dominion of the ancient faith ; and the unhappy divisions among the Arians soon destroyed their influence and respectability in the Roman empire ; until the latter part of the fifth century, when Arianism finally expired in that part of the Roman empire, which remained under the rule of the emperors. It still continued to linger among the Goths, who had been converted to Christianity by the Arians in 340, in the western part of the empire ; till at last the victories of the orthodox Frank Clovis, and the reformation of the Church by the Visigothic king Reccared, suppressed it here in the close of the fifth century. Not far from the same time, Arianism fell among the Suevi, in Spain, who had professed it for a century. The Burgundians, who received it in 450, had already renounced it early in the sixth

century. But the conversion of the Vandals to the Catholic faith was a much more difficult matter ; for, ever since the year 430, they had remained strict and unshaken Arians. They propagated their doctrines in Northern Africa, by the severest persecutions, until the victories of Belisarius in 534 first terminated their cruelties, demolished their kingdom, and dissolved their church. Arianism continued a feeble existence among the Lombards, who imported it to Italy, and maintained it firmly till 662 ; and since that, Arianism has nowhere been recognized as a dominant religion. A considerable party found its way into Poland, probably soon after the introduction of Christianity in the tenth century, and continued to play their part dexterously with the other religious factions during the troubles and fall of Poland, as will hereafter appear.

The first attempts to convert the Livonians from Paganism to Christianity, were made by Ansgarius, the Danish and Swedish apostle, as appears from Adam of Breme, in his account of the Northern nations. Afterwards, near the close of the eleventh century, a certain merchant by order of the king of Denmark built a church there ; and without much success until Waldemar II., king of Denmark, founded a bishopric in their country. Civilization and Christianity made very little progress in Livonia until the year 1180, when Meinhard de Segeberg of the city of Lubec, made further advances in the social condition of the people ; and was first ordained bishop of Livonia by the archbishop of Breme. He was succeeded by Berthold, abbot of Cisteaux in France ; who began to build Riga in 1194 ; and afterward was made successively bishop and archbishop thereof ; and was finally killed in a battle against the pagan inhabitants. He was followed by Albert, and under his ecclesiastical reign, the order of the

Livonian Knights or Brethren of the Sword, similar to the Teutonic Knights, was installed by the Pope in 1194; for the purpose of establishing another religious, military, and civil order, to convert the pagans to Christianity by the sword.

The first grand master of the order was Vinno, in 1205, who built Wenda, Segenwald, and Ascherod. In his time Waldemar II., king of Denmark, built Reval, Nerva, and Willenburg, in Eastland, and Pilten in Courland; where he had previously established a bishopric. Volquinus was chosen as the second grand master of the Livonian order, in the year 1223, who in the same year built Felin in Eastland. Afterwards in 1234, he applied to Herman Salza, great master of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, that the Livonian Order might be admitted to the same rights, rules, and habit, with the Knights. But the request was refused, and was not granted until after the death of Volquinus in the year 1238; and was soon after confirmed by Pope Gregory IX., and the Emperor Frederic Second. On the confirmation and union of the two orders, Herman Balke was sent from the Prussian order to preside over the Livonian Knights as their provincial master. Both orders continued their wars upon the pagan Courlanders, for the purposes of moral and religious improvement, under a long succession of masters for several years, during which the infidels were alternately the victors and victims of these two blood-thirsty orders; until 1560, when Gothotred Ketter was elected the last absolute master of the order. He was afterwards made Duke of Courland and Semigallia, by Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland.

The principal seat of the Livonian Order was at Riga, on the river Duna, which they were compelled to leave in 1558, when John Basilowitz, tyrant of Muscovy, invaded Courland with a

large army, laying waste all the country. The Livonian Knights immediately made application to the emperor Charles V. for assistance, which was refused on account of the war with the Turks in which he was then engaged. The Livonian Order then immediately divided themselves into two parts, on each side of the Duna, and those on the other side submitted to Sweden; and those this side annexed themselves to Poland under Sigismund Augustus, who erected Courland and Semigallia into duchies, and gave them to Gothotred Ketler, then master of the Livonian Order, and to his heirs forever.

The Livonian Order, like the Teutonic Knights and the Jesuits, and all other similar institutions of the Pope, have nearly disappeared from civilized society, with the universal condemnation of all good and worthy citizens, as immoral, irreligious, and opposed to the best interests of society.*

The Armenians, from a very early day, have formed one of the principal religious sects in Poland, and claim to be, in connection with the Medes, the primeval ancestors of the aboriginal Poles. Armenia, the land of their nativity, is an Asiatic country, containing over one hundred thousand square miles, and was formerly divided into Armenia Major and Minor. The first, which is known as modern Turcomania, and is also sometimes called Armenia, lies south of Mount Caucasus, and comprises the Turkish pachalics Erzerum, Kars, and Van, extending over thirty-three thousand square miles, with nearly one million of inhabitants; together with the Persian province Iran or Erivan. Armenia Minor, now called Aladulia or Pegian, belongs to the Turks, and is divided between the pachalics Merashe and Sivas. Armenia is a rough, mountainous country, having Cau-

* Connor, Letter X., 104.

casus for its northern boundary, and in the centre is traversed by branches of the Taurus, to which belongs Mount Ararat on which Noah's ark rested; and contain the sacred regions where the world was re-peopled after the flood from the family of Noah; from whom, through Lech, his great grandson, the Poles proper derive their origin.

Here the two great rivers Euphrates and Tigris take their rise, supposed to be the sacred streams which washed the Garden of Eden in the days of Adam and Eve. The inhabitants consist of Armenians and Turcomans, who have always lived a pastoral life like the Poles and their ancestors, wandering over the plains and mountains, similar to the Scythians, Tartars, and Sarmatians. In these regions may also be found a few Turks, Greeks, and Jews. Very little remains to us of the ancient history of this country except what is found in the Bible. Armenia has been successively subjected to the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, in different periods of the world. After the death of Alexander, it became part of the Syrian empire, and continued subject to their government till the overthrow of Antiochus the Great, when it fell into the hands of different rulers, and was afterwards divided into Armenia Major and Minor. After a long and desperate war between the Romans and Parthians for the Armenian throne, it was alternately occupied by Parthians and Roman princes, until the arms of Trajan settled the doubtful question, and made it a Roman province. Armenia afterwards recovered its independence, and for a long time the land of Noah was ruled by its own native kings.

Sapor, the Persian king, attempted in vain to subject it to his dominions; and it continued free until the year 650, when it was finally conquered by the Arabians. After this Armenia passed

through the hands of several sovereigns, among whom were Gengis-Khan and Tamerlane. In 1552 Selim II. rescued it from the Persians, and Turkey has ever since ruled the greater part of the Armenian territory. A similar fate has attended Armenia Minor; and after being successively governed by different nations, among whom was Mithridates, from whom Pompey took the kingdom and gave it to Dejotarus. The country remained in this situation until the decline of the Roman empire in the East, when it was conquered by the Persians, and in 950 fell into the hands of the Arabians, where it has ever since shared a similar fate with Armenia Minor; and in 1514 was made a Turkish province by Selim I.

The ruins of some of the ancient cities of Armenia still remain as monuments of their early civilization, which display a good style of architecture. Among these fragments of ancient urban splendor, are found the old capital Ani, which was destroyed in 1319 by an earthquake; and those of the ancient city Armavir, which, during eighteen hundred years, was the residence of the kings, where some families still continue to reside. After Armavir, Artaxarta or Artaschad, on the Araxes, built in the time of the Seleucidæ, became the capital for a time, but gradually sunk into decay before the close of the eighth century.

The Armenians are a sagacious, sober, temperate people, principally occupied in commerce, which they almost entirely control throughout all the Turkish dominions, and in all Asia, except China, their merchants monopolize the trade. At a very early day they spread themselves over northern Europe, and have long been numerous in Russia and Poland. The Christian Armenians are good agriculturalists. By their religious and

social laws old age is highly honored. The wife possesses the same conjugal respect for the husband, and the children possess the same filial deference to the parents, as in the patriarchal days of Noah and Abraham; and these traits of character have ever been possessed in a remarkable degree by the Lechian Poles from time immemorial. They are a peaceful, happy people, and prefer permanent habitations, except in those cases where the feuds of the parents, pachas, and Curds, drive them to distraction and rebellion.

As early as the fourth century, and perhaps earlier, the Armenians embraced Christianity. During the turbulence of the Monophysitic disputes, they became dissatisfied with the divisions of the council of Chalcedon, and separated from the Greek Church in 536. At different times when they have been under the necessity of soliciting the protection of the popes to save them from the persecution of the Mohammedans, the Roman Catholics have tried to convert them to their faith, but never have been able to unite them permanently to the papal religion. In Poland, Italy, Galicia, and Persia, under the archbishop of Nachitschevan, a new town on the Don, in the Russian government Ekaterinoslav, where the inhabitants are principally Armenians, and also in Marseilles, there are found the United Armenians, who have so far embraced the Roman religion as to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and embrace his doctrines; but are allowed to retain their peculiar ceremonies and discipline. In the same condition are the United Armenian Monasteries on Mount Lebanon in Syria. During the Persian invasion in the beginning of the seventeenth century, many of the Armenians were compelled to become Mohammedans; but the great majority of them still remain Monophysites, and continue faith-

ful to their old religious principles and forms, under the constant protection of the Porte from the Catholics. One of the most distinguishing features of their religious faith consists in the doctrines that Christ has but one nature, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. Their seven sacraments, which they call mysteries, contain these peculiar principles—that in baptism they sprinkle three times and dip thrice, and immediately follow this ordinance with confirmation; that in the Lord's Supper they mix no water with the wine, and use leavened bread, which they distribute dipped in wine; and allow extreme unction only to divines, immediately after their death. They worship saints and their images, but do not believe in purgatory. They even excel the Greeks in fasting, though their feasts are fewer, yet they celebrate them much more devoutly. In Turkey they perform their worship mostly in the night; their mass is said in the ancient Armenian, and their sermon is preached in the modern tongue. Their hierarchy differs very little from that of the Greeks. The head of the Church called the *Catholic*, has his principal seat at Etschmiazim, a monastery near Erivan, the capital of the Persian Armenia, on Mount Ararat. He supports his magnificent style of worship, and several literary institutions, by the revenue derived from the holy oil prepared and sold to the clergy, and from the frequent pilgrimages of the Armenians to Etschmiazim.

He supports in his own residence a seminary for the education of divines. The patriarchs, bishops, and archbishops of the Armenian Church, are invested by him, and every three years are either confirmed in their offices or recalled. The other members of the clergy resemble the priests of the regular Greek Church in rank and duties. The monks conform to the rule of

St. Basil. The *vertabets*, who live like the monks, devote themselves to scientific pursuits, receive literary degrees similar to modern academical honors, and are the vicars of the bishops forming a class of divines peculiar to the Armenian Church. The secular priests are compelled to marry once, but are not allowed to take a second wife. The Armenians resemble the Greek Church in their superstitions and attachment to old forms, but, to their praise be it said, they have better morals. They excel, generally, all the kindred Monophysitic sects in learning, allow the people to read the Bible, study the theological, historical, and mathematical sciences, and possess a respectable national literature. In addition to the religious societies of the Armenians in their own country, and in Turkey, where they are still very numerous, whose patriarchs at Constantinople maintain the same relation as the Greek patriarch towards the Porte, there are others in Persia, at Ispahan, Schiras, and Nerinkale. In Russia they are found at Petersburg, Moscow, Astrachan, and in the Caucasian governments; and a few small societies are found at London and Amsterdam.

Formerly Poland was overrun and distracted by every religious sect of the age, both Pagan and Christian. The Hussites, Picards, Anabaptists, Arians, Druids, Tritheists, Photians, Ebionites, Nestorians, Socinians, Greek Catholics, Roman Catholics, Protestants, Lutherans, Calvinists, Jews, Mohammedians, and others, swelled the numbers of Polish Christians. The Socinians were persecuted and expelled by John Casimir, who compelled them, by a royal edict, to sell their property, and leave the kingdom in 1658. The Roman Catholics always maintained the ascendancy until the first partition. The Poles were accustomed to wear their sabres in church, and frequently

drew them half way to evince their devotion to the faith. They generally refused to marry any but their own sect. They excluded all other religious sects from the senate and public offices. On fast days the Poles abstain from milk, meat and eggs, flesh and boiled fish. These humiliating lessons of abstinence were taught them by the Pope, who, at an early period, made them fast a century for some trifling disobedience of papal orders, though they sustained nature by feasting in the nights.

During divine service, the Poles appear very humble and devout, and bestow liberal gifts upon the church. They sometimes produce great confusion in their worship, by rattling their swords, and chanting their war-songs. They always pray aloud in the church; and when the host is elevated at mass, they produce a great excitement by striking themselves, and knocking their heads against the pavement or bench on which they are seated, with so much noise and violence as to be heard at a distance. The women usually have their prayer-books, with a chaplet of beads in the centre. Their churches are magnificent, and their dress at public worship is rich and expensive.

Until lately, upwards of three fourths of the Poles belonged to the Roman Catholic or the United Greek Church; the Greco-Russian communicants being comparatively few in number. But for several years past, the Russian government has, by every means, been endeavoring to sunder the spiritual ties between the court of Rome and the Poles, as well as the bands of brotherhood between the United Greeks throughout the empire. And so successful have been the measures in this respect, that in 1839, from three to four million of the United Greeks, including most of those in Poland, had joined the orthodox Greek Church of Russia. Until 1832, the Greco-Russians had no prelate in

Poland ; but at that period an archimandrite was appointed, who resides at Warsaw. The bishop of the United Greek Church resides at Hetine, in Lublin. The Roman Catholics, in Poland, had an archbishop and eight bishops nominated by the Pope, on the recommendation of the emperor of Russia ; and the bishop of the government of Cracow exercises authority over the free city of that name and its territory. Several of the convents possess territorial revenues ; but the secular clergy receive a regular stipend from the government—the landed possessions formerly belonging to them being now public property. The parish priests receive tithes, sometimes amounting to large incomes. The Lutherans and Calvinists amount together to about 220,000 persons, principally Germans. There are a few Mennonites, Moravians, and some Mohammedans in Poland.

SECTION IX.

POLISH CLERGY.

We regard it as one of the greatest misfortunes of Poland, and one which contributed as largely as any other to the fall of the kingdom, that the clergy never formed a separate professional order, nor possessed any spiritual influence among the people. This important body, who have done more for civilization, freedom, and happiness, in every age of the world, than any other class of citizens, never wielded a salutary, moral, and religious influence in Poland. They were composed entirely of the nobles, influenced by the same principles, motives, and feelings, recognizing no superiors, and despising their inferiors, the serfs, whom they refused to admit to any of their sacred offices. The

bishops never acted as prelates, but only as political barons. Instead of mediating as peace-makers between the government and the masses, they wielded the sword of dissension rather than the wand of peace. The priesthood, it is true, in their stormy, ungovernable Diets, formed a sort of useless tribunes, subject to the passions of the multitude ; but were exempt from the danger which might have checked their extravagance, by reason of their nominal sacred character.

The Polish priesthood, formed entirely of the nobility, riveted the chains of slavery with barbaric superstition ; while the clergy of the other European states, drawn from all classes, and more generally from the vanquished people, formed a most important link between them and their conquerors ; and by reason of their intellectual and moral influence, gradually relieved the vanquished from their yoke of bondage, and softened down the asperities between royalty and the masses, by the force of the benevolent and reciprocal duties of religion. An educated, evangelical, pious clergy, is an indispensable subordinate branch of every sound government. And although their sacred office should be separate and distinct from the state, and their services mainly devoted to the cure of souls, yet their labors are necessary in all the educational and moral interests of Church and State. Standing, as they do, midway between the government and the governed, by the force of moral suasion they can act as peace-makers and mediators between the conflicting interests of the parties, with mutual benefit to both. And here is found the true reason why Church and State should be politically independent of each other, while at the same time they should reciprocally respect and aid each other.

The great majority of the people in England and America are

governed by the moral influence of religion, taught and practised by their clergy. And in support of this principle we need no other argument than the history of England and America placed in the scales on the one side, and all the sneers of infidelity on the other, leaving our opponents to strike the balance. And were it required to select pages of the moral sublime in the history of nations, it would only be necessary to mark the history of England in the time of James II., and underscore the lines which record the learning, the piety, the patriotism, and courage of the bishops and clergy in their persecutions, trials, and acquittals, which revolutionized and saved their country without firing a gun or shedding a drop of blood.

The Polish clergy were more a political than a religious class. They filled all the lucrative and influential offices of government, from the lowest monk to the throne, and always governed the country. They formed the principal branch of the Senate, which consisted of ecclesiastical and secular members. The ecclesiastical senators embraced the bishops and archbishops both together numbering sixteen, including two archbishops and fourteen bishops, all belonging to the Roman Church, which was the established religion. Three of these bishoprics, in the reign of Sobieski, for a time were in the hands of the Turks and Muscovites, the ever mortal foes of Poland. Smolensko and Kiovia were taken by the Muscovites, and Kamieniec was captured by the Turks, so that there remained but thirteen bishoprics actually under the control of the Polish dominions, divided into two archbishoprics, Gnesne and Leopold.

The archbishop of Gnesne is the chief of the bishops and of all the Polish senators. He is primate of the kingdom—a title given him by the Council of Constance—and styles himself

the "*Pope's Legate Born,*" by a grant of the Council of Lateran. He is next to the king, and the second officer in the government, and is the supreme judge to reverse or affirm all ecclesiastical affairs determined in the court of the archbishop of Leopold, or in any of the bishops' courts. Although he is nominally second to the king, yet in truth his power is unlimited, and his influence universal. It is death to draw a sword in his presence, or quarrel in any manner before his holiness. When he visits the king or the Diet, a person of rank always carries a golden cross before him; and when he is seated, his chaplain holds it behind his chair. He has his marshal, who is also a Castellan, and a senator of the kingdom. The marshal always rides on horseback forward of the archbishop's coach, with the sacred staff in his hand; but never condescends to salute any person except the king, when he and the archbishop happen to meet. This high marshal has the honor to carry the same staff before the king in the absence of the other marshals.

When the archbishop of Gnesne calls on the king, the great chamberlain, or some other distinguished officer, always receives him very graciously at the foot of the stairs, and the king afterwards comes out of his chamber to meet him in the antechamber. He never pays any visits as a matter of duty, except to the Pope's Nuncio, and to him only once. After the king's death, the archbishop of Gnesne is the supreme regent of the kingdom till a new one is elected. During the period of his reigning he can coin money in his own name—a privilege conferred by Boleslas the Chaste. He receives all the revenues of the crown during the interregnum. He convenes the Diet, and dissolves it at pleasure; and in case of any unusual occurrence in the affairs of state, the government assigns him several senators for his

council. He is the only officer who can proclaim the election of a king, and crown him as sovereign of Poland. His political power and influence are so great, that all the ecclesiastics, envoys, officers, candidates, and politicians, entrust him with all their secrets and negotiations; and consider it of the first importance to secure his friendship, by bribery or otherwise. On the election of Sobieski, in 1674, Archbishop Czartoryski, who was probably opposed to him, refused to proclaim him; but on his death, in a few days after, his successor, the bishop of Cracow, performed the duty. The Poles say the reason why they confer this great power on a clergyman, is for fear if it were bestowed on a secular senator it might inspire him with ambition for the throne.

The second ecclesiastical senator is the archbishop of Leopold, the capital of Red Russia. This city is the seat of two archbishops and one bishop, namely, one Roman Catholic archbishop, one Armenian Catholic archbishop, and one Russian Greek Schismatic bishop. These two archbishops agree in their religion, except the Armenians have some peculiar ceremonies in which they differ. The Russian, or Greek Schismatic bishops, differ from the others in ceremonies and principles. The third ecclesiastical senator is the bishop of Cracow, the capital city of the kingdom. All the kingdom is divided into several religious dioceses belonging to each bishop, all having their own jurisdiction, and rank according to their respective official dignities, numbering in all sixteen, as before stated. Each of these bishops has a large retinue, and an ecclesiastical court, containing a number of secular officers. They generally have *suffragans*, or assistant bishops, who perform the duties of their principals for a

small salary, and thereby relieve the bishops from all care and labor.

In 1506 a severe contest arose between the ecclesiastical and lay senators concerning their rank, and which should be seated nearest to the king ; but the clergy prevailed, and have ever since maintained their precedence. Most of the bishops receive large salaries, and live a prodigal life. The bishops always preside in the assembly of the states, where they carefully protect their faith from all legislative invasions. For the same reason the inferior clergy are selected from several colleges and chapters of the kingdom, who occupy seats in the tribunals and courts of justice. The great officers of the crown, the secretary of the kingdom, and other principal officers of the government, are usually ecclesiastics. The clergy are divided into two classes, *regular* and *secular*. The regular clergy are more esteemed than the secular, for they can perform all the offices of parish priests without permission from the bishops. The regular clergy are commonly rich, intemperate, dissolute, and immodest. They frequently go into the cellars for their grog and wine, which are the tippling-shops of the country ; and it is no uncommon thing to see them drunk in the streets, without exciting any attention.

The secular clergy are either collegiate or parochial. The canons are seldom present at their official stations, for they give the poor scholars twopence a day to say their *hours* for them in the *choir*, and perform all their official labors. The parsons usually perform all their services by proxy, by leaving their duties to the monks, vicars, and curates. They always say part of their service in the Polish language, especially at high mass in the parish churches.

The clerical office in Poland is merely political, and the influ-

ential clergy, who performed all their ministerial duties by proxy, were never distinguished from other citizens in morals or religion. They were in the possession of large salaries, and spent their time in the same amusements, gratifications, and vices, as other noblemen. They were distinguished sportsmen, expert gamblers, graceful dancers, occasional drunkards, courageous warriors, experienced in lewdness, artful politicians, adroit swordsmen, skilful boxers, and anything but devout, useful, and exemplary Christians. The inferior clergy, who actually performed all the ministerial duties for the bishops and superior ministers for a stinted salary, scarcely sufficient to feed and clothe them comfortably, were more degraded in morals than the reverend gentlemen of higher rank.

The clergy of a country have ever been regarded as a fair exponent of the civil, literary, moral, and religious condition of the people. This has ever been true in all ages and countries. And in tracing the history of civilization, and the great work of human progression, the clergy have ever given caste, for good or evil, to the moral condition of the people over whom they profess to preside. Every race, tribe, and nation, in all ages and continents, have always had their priests or clergy, who professed to guide and lead the people in spiritual things, and generally controlled their temporal affairs. This sacred office appears to be an institution of Heaven, and although it has been greatly abused, yet fortunately for fallen humanity God has never left the world without at least a few able and devout ministers, who devoted themselves exclusively to the cure of souls, and the best interests of mankind. The influence of these distinguished men, including Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and the prophets, David, Solomon, John the Baptist, the apostles, and many of the Chris-

tian fathers, Luther, Calvin, and others, distinguished for their piety, talent, learning, and usefulness, will continue to be felt throughout all parts of the globe, extending to all worlds, through all coming time and the dateless eras of futurity. And hence we may see how vastly important it is to the interests of every nation that the people should be furnished with a talented, learned, moral, and pious clergy; and in proportion as this principle is adhered to, the nations are ranked in civilization and national glory. How wide the difference between the moral and religious standard of the Polish clergy, and those of England and America. In the former republic they were permitted to indulge in all the vices of the people, without any religious responsibility beyond the obedience of forms, and the belief of the fundamental articles of the Established Church. In America the clergy are held responsible for the first order of talent, the most profound learning, pure morals, and fervent piety. They are required to be unexceptionable examples to the people in all that appertains to the proprieties of life, in all that adorns the gentleman, the scholar, the orator, the Christian, the patriot, and the citizen. And besides all this, they are expected to be distinguished authors, eloquent in the pulpit, fervent in the lecture-room, ardent in the humble prayer-meeting, practical and successful in the discharge of parochial duties, and the spiritual guides of their flocks to the very gates of Heaven. His moral influence, his learning, his sound common sense, his human kindness, his piety, his patriotism, and all his gifts, are the common property of his parishioners, his church, his country, and his God. Elevated far above ambitious political faction, he must be a sound politician in principle and practice—learned in the government and laws of his country—supporting what is right and condemning what is

wrong, both in Church and State. He must have a heart and hand for every human being for good—and neither for any one in evil. His democracy must be without a limit, and his aristocracy without an existence. Such is a Christian minister in America, in England, Scotland, Germany, and all parts of the world where the Bible is adopted as the only standard of religious faith. But how sadly deficient were the Polish clergy, and how different would have been the fate of that nation under the influence of an American, evangelical, practical ministry! Let every nation, then, see to it, at once and forever, that their clergy are distinguished for talent, education, pure morals, and heavenly piety, while the people both respect and support them.*

SECTION X.

CONCLUSIONS.

It has long been a standing charge in the mouth of infidelity, that Poland was ruined by her religion; and Christianity blushes to own the truth of the charge. But it must never be forgotten that it was *Polish religion*, and not the religion of the Bible, which ruined the nation. And when we consider the numerous religious sects in Poland, the different systems of paganism, the Roman Church with its numerous religious orders, the Jesuits, the Lazarists, the Piarists, the Arians, the Teutonic knights, the Livonian Order, the Greek Church, the United Greeks, the Armenians, the Socinians, the Jews, the few and feeble Protestants, the clergy, and their numerous conflicting interests and ambitious hopes, philosophy is not in the least surprised at the

* Connor, II.. Letter ii., 36.

effects and disastrous results of such a useless, and worse than useless religion.

We have seen that the religion of the Greek and Roman Church was introduced into Poland in the tenth century, about the same time. Previous to this, the country, for centuries (running back many hundreds of years previous to the Christian era), had been ruled by Paganism in all its forms, which had governed all the northern tribes and nations of Asia and Europe, each system claiming a divine supremacy, and each striving for political sovereignty. This conflicting ambition was greatly increased by the introduction of the Greek and Roman religion, which were as hostile to each other as they were to Paganism. Each of these various Christian sects, which were successively introduced into Poland, to act their part in that unfortunate national drama, had a separate and isolated interest to be promoted in opposition to all others. Every one aspired to the throne, or as near it as possible; and everything was sacrificed for the attainment of the dazzling prize of royalty.

The effects of these conflicting and numerous interests, on the individual and social interests of community, were most disastrous. The intellectual powers, the moral feelings, the volitions, the conscience, the principles and duties by which every man should govern himself, were all subservient to the single thought of wearing a crown, and ruling a nation. Civil society was divided into more religious factions than there were families in Poland. Each sect grasped only for its own interests. They quarrelled for the literary institutions, murdered each other for the control of the army, seduced each other's social happiness, violated the laws with impunity, bribed at the elections, dethroned their kings, enslaved the people, bought and sold the army, excited

civil and foreign wars, squandered and monopolized the wealth of the people, and finally sold their country at auction.

The Greek and Roman churches, the bitterest enemies of each other, were always creating political and religious feuds, and inflaming the baser passions of the people, in hopes of gaining the mastery and subduing each other. The Greek Church was generally in the Cossack and Russian interest, and finally prevailed on the partition of the republic. The Roman Church early succeeded in becoming the established religion, and were ever ready to sacrifice the government, rather than surrender their religious supremacy to any other faith. Their persecutions and deadly hostilities never ceased, and were always trying to undermine each other in all the affairs of Church and State. Each strove to gain the control of society, to change the vernacular language by foreign idioms, and introduce laws for sectarian purposes. Their hostilities frequently were so severe, that they disfranchised each other, and some were banished from the country. Sometimes they confederated against the king, the government, and each other, and passed laws declaring the minority outlaws, and disfranchised of all civil, religious, and political rights.

The remnants of Paganism remained more or less influential and hostile to the Christian sects ; sometimes confederating with one, and then with another, as the bribes increased or diminished. The Roman Church, ever in the interest of the Pope, was constantly aiming at making Poland a Papal state. The Greek Church, though for a time partially united with the Roman Church, was ever intriguing for the Czar, and the subjugation of the state to Russia. The Lutherans and Protestants were in the interests of the German Church, and ever ready to buy and

sell for Austria and Prussia. The Jews, without a country or a nation, were content with their gain and their synagogues, equally regardless what power ruled if they could only control it with bribery and extortion.

The Teutonic Knights and the Livonian Order, were ever eager to control the army, and all the military affairs of the country at any hazard. The Arians, Lazarists, Piarists, Armenians, and other minor Catholic orders, were striving for the mastery by building up new sects for the purpose of weakening the Jesuits and more powerful orders; while the Protestants were working for foreign interests who favored their religious ambition.

But of all the religious factions which distracted and ruined Poland, the Jesuits were far the most conspicuous and injurious. This religious order, wherever it has appeared, has never failed to render itself odious by its political ambition, its bloody persecutions, and vicious career. In Poland it was the root of all evil, and, in truth, was the real cause of the downfall of the republic. At a very early day the Jesuits succeeded in gaining the control of the kings and nobility, and rather than yield it to others, they stabbed the government to the heart, revelled in its blood, and sold the corpse to the highest bidder. They stealthfully and gradually gained possession of all the colleges and schools, and perverted them to their own sectarian corruption. They controlled the judiciary by the foulest means, and perverted it to the purposes of malice and persecution. They frequently instituted suits against their religious antagonists without cause, and by bribery, perjury, and corruption, succeeded in convicting and executing the innocent, and confiscating their property to their own use.

Poland was saved in some measure from the disgrace of the

religious persecutions of the Jesuits until the reign of Sobieski, when they commenced a series of the most atrocious acts of barbarity ever recorded in the annals of murder and crime. An intelligent and patriotic Lithuanian nobleman who was very rich, and not particularly friendly to Jesuitical villany, on account of a note made in the margin of a book, written by a stupid German, was tried for atheism, by a council of bigoted Catholic bishops in the interests of the Jesuits, and was found guilty of having denied the existence of a God, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the divine maternity of the Virgin Mary. The innocent man was led to the scaffold, where the executioners with a red hot iron tore his tongue and his mouth, burned his hands, and cast him and the sacrilegious paper into the flame, where he was consumed by a slow fire ; and his property was confiscated for the benefit of the Pope's Catholic Church.

In 1726, while the Jesuits were making a public procession with the host in the streets of Thorn, the young scholars of the order demanded that some Lutheran children should kneel. The Protestant children declined to bow the knee to Baal or the Jesuits, and on their refusal, a scuffle ensued between the Jesuits and the towns people, most of whom were Lutherans, until the enraged people of Thorn broke open the Jesuits' college, profaned all the objects of worship, and burned an image of the Virgin Mary. The Jesuits, who then had the control of the Polish Diet, immediately assembled and condemned to death the magistrates of Thorn for this personal quarrel between the Jesuits and Lutherans. Several of the principal citizens were also condemned to death ; many others were imprisoned or banished ; three persons, accused of throwing the Virgin's image into the fire, lost their right arms,

and the whole city was deprived of the freedom of public worship.* This is only one of hundreds of other similar, and even worse acts of cruelty, committed by the Jesuits previous to the fall of Poland.†

They were the authors and firm supporters of the *liberum veto* and the *Diets under the Buckler*; and from the time of their first introduction into Poland, to the final dissolution of the government, they may be distinctly traced in all the most prominent evils and misfortunes of the country. To the Jesuits may be attributed the obstinacy, disunion, and treason of the nobility. They were the means of the religious confederation, which resulted in invoking the aid of Russia and Austria, who seized upon these religious quarrels as a pretext for dissolving the government. The other religious sects in Poland, all of whom more or less experienced the persecution of the Jesuits, exasperated with these repeated abuses, confederated and conspired in their downfall, and were willing to sacrifice the country to liberate themselves from Jesuitical tyranny.

Of all the quarrels in which the world has at different times been involved, religious wars and feuds are the most cruel and mortal. Every man is under the supreme control of his religion, whether it be good or evil. It is an ancient and true proverb, that the throne of the heart is never vacant. Every one has his idol, and in the absence of that divinity, which should ever be the only object of veneration, man is but a demon in human form, governed only by the fiendish principle of "rule or ruin," which has always been the controlling principle of Jesuitism in Poland.

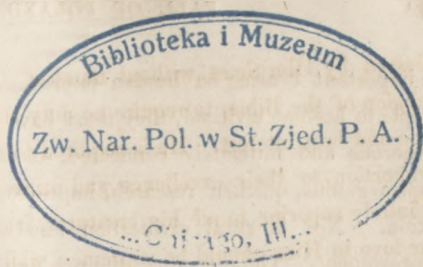
* History of Poland under Augustus II., by Abbé de Parthenay, II., 359, 371, Paris, 1734.

† Stephens's Travels, II., 216.

The absence of individual and social progression in Poland was the legitimate consequence of their religion. Their religion neither admitted nor desired any change; and in this principle all the religious sects of the country, both pagan and Christian, agreed. Pagans, Greek and Roman Catholics, Jesuits and Jews, desired no improvement, and of course made none. And it is a remarkable historical fact, that all the valuable improvements which have been made in the world in civilization, literature, arts, and science, in law, government, morals, and religion, with a few exceptions, have been made by Protestants since the tenth century.

How widely different was the religion of Poland from the religion of the Bible! The sacred volume, instead of presenting Odin and other imaginary and doubtful heroes as objects of worship, whose characters are stained with cruelty and distinguished only for success in battle, points every mortal to the God of Heaven as the only object of divine worship. The God of the Bible is infinite, eternal, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. His existence is without beginning or end; His glory is independent; His wisdom is without a limit; His power absolute; His justice impartial; His benevolence inexhaustible; His love boundless; and every excellence within the comprehension of the human intellect, or within the range of the imagination, is possessed by him in perfection. He *rules*—but unlike Polish religion—never *ruins*. And of all the countless millions of intelligent beings, including angels, devils, and the thousand millions of inhabitants now occupying this globe, and the millions of millions who have lived and died since the creation of man, not one can be found who has ever been injured by this infinitely righteous God; and not one can be found who has not been

blessed by Him times without number. It is the genius of the religion of the Bible, to require no duty of man beyond his own true and best interest. He is required to reverence all things in proportion to their excellence and utility. As the Creator is infinitely superior to all his creatures, it is but reasonable that our love to Him should be supreme ; while at the same time we may love His creatures according to their excellence. The Bible teaches the world peace and good will to men ; to overcome evil with good ; forgiveness and forbearance ; and only permits war and fighting as a last resort in cases of self-defence ; inculcates mutual forbearance and reciprocal concession—the greatest good of all—equal rights and universal liberty. But the religion of Poland delighted in civil and foreign war, without forgiveness, piety, or repentance. But from this dark picture of human depravity, a few Polish Christians must be excepted. Sobieski, Kosciusko, Copernicus, and others, who lived only for the good of the world and the bliss of Heaven, were men of nobler views, and cherished the vital principles of Christianity as taught in the Bible.



CHAPTER XIX.

CIVILIZATION.

Elements of Civilization—Origin and Progress of Civilization—Means of Civilization—Effects of Civilization.

CIVILIZATION, in its general sense, is that state of society where the people govern themselves by correct principles, right feelings, and just and proper actions, so as to injure no one, and produce the greatest good of the greatest number. In a more limited sense, the term denotes that change in the social condition of the people, when they are reclaimed from a savage state to the practice of the useful arts and education. The word is now used to express all that relates to human improvement in the development and cultivation of the intellectual, moral, and physical powers of man; and in this sense it will be used in this work. Government, law, commerce, education, agriculture, the arts, sciences, and general literature, manners and customs, and military prowess, when confined to its legitimate sphere of self-defence; navigation, wealth, justifiable revolutions, salutary reforms, social institutions, female dignity and equality, rural industry, urban prosperity, morality, physical culture and religion, all enter into the estimate of a nation's civilization, and all have

an important bearing on human improvement. In order for a people to become civilized, they must have cities, where they are numerous and intimately connected, so as to awaken thought, inspire genius, quicken research, improve reflection, and hasten action. Nor is rural civilization less important than urban improvement. The yeomanry, the producing classes, the farmers, mechanics, merchants, and professional men, are equally essential and dependent on each other in the work of civilization. The people should have fixed habitations and endearing homes, safe from violence, and external and internal disturbance. In a more advanced civilization, men become possessed of competent livings, and are relieved from that pressing, distressing, tempting poverty so embarrassing to human improvement. Feeling themselves secure from want, and at ease about the first necessities of life, provided with comfortable food, clothing, and shelter, protected by laws, and surrounded with agreeable associations, men begin to investigate, reflect, and act for the good of others, and for the general improvement of the world.

Where a people pursue pastoral life, in wandering hordes in a wide wilderness ; where each has to work hard and isolated for the necessities of life, they are not in a situation to make much improvement in civilization ; and this accounts in a great measure for the tardy civilization of the North of Europe and Asia. Permanent habitations and a dense population, are highly favorable circumstances for social culture ; and hence it is, that in all parts of the world, civilization has had its origin in regions physically limited, and densely inhabited. The civilization of Egypt arose in the narrow valley of the Nile, hemmed in by deserts on both sides. Jerusalem, the cradle of Hebrew civilization, was surrounded by mountains. Grecian civilization had its origin in a

small peninsula, bounded on the only land-side by mountains. Roman civilization was at first confined to Etruria, and the city of Rome,—for a long time very limited regions. Different civilizations have arisen in different extremities of the same, and different continents. In the East, we find China and Japan, on the one hand; and Germany, Holland, Britain, and France, on the other; while the extensive tracts of country between, contain numerous nations, almost destitute of civilization. These facts would seem to indicate, that the social improvements in these instances, have been favored by the seas, which have imposed limits to further emigration,—and caused the wandering population to settle and condense. In a barbarous or savage state, man has no other means of helping or defending himself, than his hands,—living on acorns and roots, and sleeping in dens, caves, and hollow trees, without clothing. He then manufactures his bow and arrow, and roams the forest as a hunter and warrior. His next steps in civilization are agriculture and the mechanical arts. After this he augments his labor by the use of animal power. In a more advanced stage, he discovers the higher mechanical-powers, and in the first half of the nineteenth century, he controls the elements by steam and electricity,—the last and most advanced stage of civilization known in history.

The few vestiges of early civilization which remain, are involved in so much obscurity, that they are but a very imperfect guide, in our investigations concerning the early history and condition of our race. It has of late years been a theme of much debate among the learned, whether the human race was at first in a highly civilized state, and that barbarism was a second condition; or, man was at first created in a savage state, and, after making considerable advances in civilization, again relapsed into

a barbarous life. The advocates of the former proposition rest their argument mainly on the ground, that we find many examples of nations falling away from civilization into barbarism; while in some regions of the earth, whose history is very little known, there are remains of works of art, far superior in some respects to the skill of modern refinement. On the other hand, it is conceded that these decadences are common; but, still it is insisted, they do not necessarily prove that there ever existed, in these cases, anything like an original state of advanced civilization, from which mankind have regularly and constantly declined into the present state of the barbarous tribes. These ruins of ancient civilization may be nothing more than instances of local failures; and the suppressions of the principle of civilization, where it had commenced to take root amongst a people generally barbarous or savage.

It is also alleged by the advocates of an original or divinely inspired civilization, that we know of no such thing as civilization being ever self-originated; while this desirable attainment is known to be imparted from one people to another; and hence it is inferred, that civilization at first could only have been of supernatural origin. But this argument is founded on false, or at least doubtful premises; since modern discoveries have clearly revealed several instances, where civilization has arisen among barbarous hordes, in a manner entirely independent of all foreign influence. A notable instance of this kind is found among the Sandwich Islanders, who, less than half a century ago, commenced of their own accord a radical reform in religion and morals,—from a state of cannibalism to a considerable advancement in civilization; by destroying their pagan idols, and by

other social reforms, previous to the arrival of the Christian missionaries.

Another remarkable instance is recorded by Mr. Catlin, in his laborious and valuable work on the North American tribes of Indians. Among these native children of the American forest, in the vast regions of the North-West, and far beyond the reach of any influence from the whites, he found a small tribe living in a fortified village, where they cultivated the arts of manufactures, enjoyed the comforts and luxuries of a respectable civilization, and had attained to a remarkable refinement of manuers, inso-much as to be generally called "the polite and friendly Mandans." They also excelled all the American tribes, in the unusual elegance of their persons,—colored with every variety of complexion, between the ordinary copper-color of the North American Indians, and the clear, beautiful, and pure white, of the most refined Europeans. Previous, and until the time of Mr. Catlin's visit, these surprising people had been able to defend themselves and their property against the roving neighboring tribes, which surrounded them on all sides; but soon after, they were all destroyed by the small-pox; except a very few, who were soon overpowered by their savage neighbors, and all killed to a man.

Now, on an impartial review of history, and all the vestiges of ancient civilization; and particularly the recent discoveries of Mr. Stephens in Central America and Yucatan, this would seem to be but a repetition on a small scale of phenomena with which all continents abound; and presents the case of a nation rising in the arts and elegancies of civilization, by their own energies and resources, amidst barbarous neighbors,—but at length, by misfortune and war, were overpowered by the force of savage

numbers, like a Tadmor or a Luxor. A similar history and fate probably were experienced by the nations which built Palenque and Cossan ; who, like the hapless Mandan tribe, by their own genius and industry, had advanced further in the path of civilization and the arts, than their neighbors,—before they were subdued, murdered, or enslaved, by their barbarous contemporaries.

Upon the whole, the weight of evidence and argument appears to be in favor of a cultivated and progressive civilization, with the exception of a few cases like the Jews and their ancestors, reaching back into the antediluvian world as far as the first pair in Eden, to whom God occasionally revealed himself by Divine lessons of individual and social improvement ; and hence both arguments are partially sound. Civilization has always been struggling for an existence in the abodes of men, where it has met with violent opposition ; alternately falling and rising, bleeding and staunching, till the dawn of the fifteenth century, when it gradually began to triumph, and has finally gained a permanent foothold among the nations of the earth. Our knowledge of the ancient civilization of man is derived from the Bible. Here we learn that Adam and Eve, the common parents of the human family, were taught the more important elements of moral and religious civilization in Eden by their Creator, and perhaps received instructions in the first principles of the useful arts, in relation to their food, clothing, and shelter ; leaving them and their posterity to their own genius, talents, and industry, to make future discoveries and improvements in the great work of human culture, in intellectual, moral, and physical progression. And this view of the Divine economy seems to harmonize with his Providence generally, who gives us only the elements and first principles of things, and leaves the remainder for our own acqui-

sition, by our own industry, under Divine control. The religious element of civilization made very great advances in many of Adam's family, and probably in the hearts of the parents. Many of them cultivated the useful arts, in agriculture and mechanical science, and made improvements in the fine arts, at least in music. Cain built a city, which would seem to indicate some attainments in urban and rural civilization; and from the remarkable longevity of Adam and his children, analogy might safely lead us to infer considerable attainments in useful knowledge and civilization, even previous to the general deluge.

From the antediluvians their civilization was handed down to the postdiluvians, through the family of Noah. In the valleys of Armenia, extending from the base of Mount Ararat, the fruitful seeds of civilization were again planted by Noah and his children; and from this nursery it has been transplanted in every continent by the dispersed tribes and their successors. Civilization, after being established and cultivated for a time in India, the land of its birth, emigrated to the valley of the Nile, where it again appeared in Egypt two thousand years before Christ. Here it displayed itself in the useful arts, in a degree of refinement which in some of its principles has never been excelled; while others remain in use among all the civilized nations of the earth at the present day. Egypt also taught the world the first principles of the fine arts, literature, and government. During the first century after the flood, continuing down to the year 2247 before Christ, all the descendants of Noah spoke the same language, substantially the same as the Hebrew, until the confusion of languages at Babel. Civilization, in a national form, first made its appearance after the deluge, in the organization of the Assyrian and Babylonian empire, which was founded 2229 years

before Christ, where female sovereignty began to display itself in the distinguished reign of Semiramis. This was the first despotic government ever formed on an extensive plan, and combined all the evils of luxury, tyranny, slavery, and aristocracy, and all other royal curses which have ever disgraced and injured the world. And after the lapse of nearly four thousand years, the principles of government in nearly all the nations of Asia and Africa, and even including Russia, still retain the principles of the Assyrian and Babylonian despotism.

About the same time that civilization made its appearance in Egypt, it emigrated to China, where it has retained only a few of its elements in the useful arts, and has remained nearly stationary in its progress for two thousand years. Hebrew civilization, which had its origin in the family of Abraham, like that of his ancestor Noah, was confined principally to moral science and religion, until it mingled with Egyptian civilization in the days Joseph, during his ascendancy in the reign of Pharaoh. It was first mingled with literature during the reign of Moses over the children of Israel, and under the patronage of this great and good man, distinguished for learning, piety, and statesmanship, civilization for the first time began to develop its judicial and governmental elements at Mount Sinai, where the Hebrew nation was organized and received the laws of the decalogue, engraved by the finger of Heaven on the sacred tables of stone, which have been the text-book of the moral and civil codes of all civilized nations to the present day. In connection with religious, judicial, and governmental civilization, the Jews extended it to agriculture and architecture, which shone most resplendent in their temples, and embraced in their march of improvement most of the useful arts, which have continued to flourish among civilized nations ever

since. The Jews incorporated into their civilization many of the fine arts, and were distinguished above all other nations of their age in music, poetry, history, and oratory. David was a celebrated poet and musician; and many of his lyric strains, as recorded in the Psalms of the Bible, have never been excelled in poetical sweetness, pastoral beauty, and heavenly devotion. He made several improvements in music, and particularly in sacred song, which have continued in use until the present time. Solomon was an able statesman, and a profound scholar in moral science; and in theology the Hebrew prophets were without a rival. In political economy the Jews have never been surpassed; and even at the present day they are the most wealthy, sagacious, and successful bankers in the world. Hebrew, or Jewish civilization, in the useful arts, in the fine arts, in agriculture, in government, law, literature, morals, and religion, has diffused itself throughout the world, to a greater or less extent.

Commercial civilization first began to be developed among the Phœnicians in the days of Solomon, or perhaps not far from 1255 years before Christ. They are regarded in history as the first navigators, merchants, and artizans, in the world. They carried on an extensive trade over all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and all the waters of the Eastern continent. They exported tin from the west of Europe long before Julius Cæsar drew his sword on British soil; and at a very early day extended their trade to the Baltic and Polish Prussia for their amber. The Lydians have the credit of first improving commerce, by the introduction of gold and silver coins, taverns, and public games.

The Persian monarchy, from the days of Cyrus the Great, about 536 years before Christ, embracing India, Assyria, Media, Persia, and the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and sometimes called

the Medo-Persian empire, was for a long time one of the most powerful and extensive empires of Asia, and is distinguished in the history of civilization for their military tactics, for the education of their children, and for several important improvements in government and law, introduced by Cyrus, one of the most distinguished sovereigns known in history.

From Egypt civilization passed over to Greece, where Cecrops, an Egyptian, founded Athens, in 1556 prior to the Christian era. Previous to this the ancient inhabitants of Greece, who had been organized into a national community by Inachus, 1556 years B.C., were extremely rude and savage, scarcely one degree above the brutes, resembling the early Scythians. They lived on herbs and roots, and lay in the open air, wandering, lawless tribes, and sheltered themselves in dens, clefts, and hollow trees, similar to the primeval savage tribes of the North. From this barbarous beginning, Grecian genius, combining Egyptian civilization with Northern barbaric freedom, rapidly advanced in individual and social refinement, until they excelled all the world. Grecian civilization comprised not only all the improvements and reforms of Asia and Africa, but introduced several new and important improvements, which have been transmitted to all civilized nations, and have stood the test of ages. In many of the useful and fine arts, in some branches of science and literature, Greece has had but few equals. They first planted the tree of human liberty, and introduced new laws and new principles of government, which are now adopted by the most refined nations. In architecture, sculpture, military prowess, poetry, history, and oratory, it may well be doubted whether they have ever been equalled. But their civilization was destitute of the elements of

moral science and the Christian religion; and of course the government, like Poland, soon fell.

From Greece the heavenly messenger winged his way to Rome, and there became the mistress of the world. Italy, as early as 1289 years before Christ, was peopled by Grecian emigrants, mingled with the Celtic or Gomerian tribes of the North, who entered Italy from that quarter. By this union of southern refinement with northern barbarism, a new civilization was formed, which has diffused itself throughout the civilized world, the leading features of which are retained at the present day. Roman civilization, retaining all the sound principles of Grecian, Asiatic, and Egyptian reform, improved upon their predecessors, and revealed to the world several new principles of civil government, law, literature, science, and art, and thereby laid the foundation of a more refined and durable civilization that followed. The leading features of Roman civilization were a greater human liberty, an improved government, a more pure and extended jurisprudence, and a more profound and polished literature. The aboriginal inhabitants of Italy were at first a barbarous race, like the primeval Greeks; with the exception, perhaps, of the Etruscans of eastern origin, who were a nation of considerable advancement in civilized life many years before the Roman name was known.

The sublime work of moral reform still remained in its infancy, until the union of the northern hordes with Roman refinement, which introduced the glorious era of English civilization. Its foundation was laid in the blood of the Sarmatian and Roman wars, between the first and fifth centuries of the Christian era. The island of Britain anterior to the birth of Christ, and long before it was known to the Romans, was inhabited by a very rude

and uncivilized people, who, like all the nomadic tribes of the north, were either naked, or clothed only with the skins of beasts, having their bodies painted with various colors. From their rude costume the name *Britain* is supposed to have originated, derived from a British word, *brit*, signifying painting. The name *England* was given to the country from the Angles, one of the northern tribes, who conquered it in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is highly probable this island was originally settled by a colony from Gaul, who were called Celtes or Gaels, whose national remains are still found in Wales, in the highlands of Scotland, and in the north of Ireland. Though the period of their first settlement in England is quite uncertain, yet we learn from Roman history, which contains the first authentic accounts of it, that the Phœnicians at a very early day traded with the inhabitants of Cornwall for copper and tin; but they were ignorant of the interior of the country. Julius Cæsar first invaded Britain in the year 55 B.C.

England, whose ancient name was Britain, had been abandoned by the Romans more than half a century previous to the fall of Rome, or the Empire of the West. In this defenceless condition, the barbarous inhabitants suffered severely from the hostile invasions of their Northern neighbors of Scotland—the Picts and Scots; and were finally compelled to invoke the assistance of several of the northern tribes of the Continent, to relieve them from their distress. In answer to their petition, the Jutes first arrived for that purpose; and in 451, the Angles and Saxons followed, from the shores of the Baltic. After they had accomplished the object of their mission, by subduing the enemies of the Britains, the wily guests took possession of the country, and made prisoners of their hosts. The Saxons reinforcing them-

selves from Germany—after a long and severe war of nearly one hundred and fifty years, conquered England, and divided the kingdom into seven distinct states or sovereignties; which were ruled more than two centuries by their respective kings, known in history as the Heptarchy. In the meantime northern barbarism was softened and improved by mingling with Roman civilization. Rome fell the victim of the Poles, of their ancestors, and associates; and thus the blessings of civilized society began to be enjoyed by the lawless hordes of Poland, and the regions of the north. The organization of the Anglo-Saxon government in England introduced a new era in the history of civilization, from which all the civilized nations of Europe and America have derived the first principles of modern reform.

But as yet the civilization of the world was radically defective; for the reason that it was destitute of the Christian religion, always an indispensable ingredient in the civilization of any nation. The few Divine Inspirations which Heaven had vouchsafed to bewildered man, as contained in the Old Testament, had made a lodgment only in the hearts of a few Jews,—a nation comparatively weak in the estimation of the more powerful civilizations of Egypt, Carthage, Greece, and Rome; while all the world was palled with Paganism, except a very small spot on the earth's surface, which Heaven had reserved in Judea, as the theatre where He had designed to display His power, by veiling Divinity in the mortal casket of humanity. The Religion of the Bible now commenced to diffuse itself into the imperfect and incongruous civilization of the world, under the eloquent and profound teachings of the Saviour and His apostles. Commencing in Judea, in harmony with ancient prophecy, on the death of their Divine Master,—aided by Paul, whose fervent heart had been kindled

from Heaven with a piety which afterwards thrilled the bosoms of millions,—they successively introduced Christian civilization into Greece and Rome ; from which a few rays of the sun of Righteousness were reflected through the Greek and Roman churches throughout Europe, previous to Luther's Reformation in the fifteenth century.

The fifteenth century commenced a new, a brighter, and far more refined civilization. All its true elements now began to be developed, amalgamated, and formed, into a beautiful, subdued, and symmetrical unity. Government, law, literature, art, science, commerce, agriculture, education, and religion, now became cardinal principles in the civilization of nations. And, while Copernicus was measuring the heavens in Poland,—while Luther was preaching the Gospel in Germany,—while Bacon was philosophizing in England,—and other reformers were contributing their full share in advancing the new civilization—the Compass, the Press, and the Bible—the trinity of civilization—now commencing their glorious work of civilizing the world,—sailed with Columbus to America, where a new, more extensive, and important world was discovered, for the future residence and improvement of man.

But the glorious work of human reform as yet had only advanced from its feeble infancy to more mature childhood. The elements of civilization yet lacked one of its most important ingredients—a free republican government. As yet man had not learned the art of governing himself without the useless machinery of kings and queens, princes and aristocrats. The world was ignorant of a civilization which could sustain a free representative government ; where all have equal rights,—where the people govern themselves by moral suasion, under the direction of

justice, benevolence, reciprocity, and the greatest good of all. But it was reserved by the councils of Heaven for the immortal Pilgrim Fathers to import American civilization in the Mayflower; and first erect the true standard of moral reform on Plymouth rock. American civilization possesses the superior advantages of combining all the true elements of human improvement, in pure and just proportions, equally adapted to the masses; and supplies all the wants of the people, without the frowns of tyrants or the pomp of princes.

It was the misfortune of Poland always to have a little of everything, and excel in nothing. They had every variety and grade of society, every sect and system of religion, and an imperfect specimen of all the different civilizations of the globe. It was compounded of all the various civilizations of Asia, Africa, and Europe; and lately, embraced a few principles of American reform. But it was destitute of the important ingredients of a healthy commerce, a sound government, equal and just laws, the diffusion of useful knowledge, the religion of the Bible, a homogeneous and harmonious society, a wise political economy, and all other fundamental principles of human improvement. Their civilization was composed of so many heterogeneous, discordant, and ruinous ingredients, that it was without excellence, utility, or national character. It was a civilization designed for the ruin of society, rather than its improvement. Their pastoral habits, their long-continued wars, and their overpowering slavery, were ever insurmountable obstacles in the path of civilization. Their cities were few and distant,—consisting of the capital of the country, and a few others, containing the castles and palaces of the nobility: while the rural districts were inhabited only by a host of degraded slaves; engaged in the imperfect and limited

agriculture of the country. There are many vestiges of an early Asiatic civilization found in Poland ; indicating that their ancestors had seen better days, and enjoyed a more refined state of society,—perhaps as early as their old Armenian ancestors. These evidences of better times are seen in many of their manners and customs, in their language, laws, traditions, and religion ; but they are too obscure for historical purposes.

The origin and progress of civilization appear to be principally the work of the people, suggested by the common sense and experience of the masses ; and finally reduced to system and classical principles, by the more learned and wise members of community ; and thus rendered accessible to all. It is a remarkable fact in the history of revolutions and the great convulsions of nations, that, after a period of strenuous, and often long, and almost superhuman efforts, on the part of the people, they have terminated in the organization and establishment of a government and institutions, differing very little from that which preceded the struggle, except in name. To this general rule history furnishes but three exceptions ; the English revolution of 1688, the American revolution of 1776, and the French revolution of 1830. Each of these great events effected a radical change in their respective governments ; in which the good of the past was wisely mingled with the improvements of the present and the prospects of the future. No nation or community, whether savage, barbarous, or civilized, has ever been found, where the spirit of reckless innovation had become so despotic, as to induce the masses to sacrifice their practical common sense, and all the venerable institutions of their fathers, at the shrine of hollow-hearted ambition.

The God of nature has so constructed the moral constitution

of man, that excellence, both natural and moral, naturally or instinctively commends itself to the favorable consideration of humanity. This is a general rule of human nature, sanctioned by the cumulative experience of all ages and nations, and forms one of the most noble and amiable traits in the character of man. The instances are few and far between, where the hasty and unnecessary revolutions of the people have sacrificed in their struggles any of their previous useful institutions; although in many instances they have failed to improve them, or swell their number by revolution. This remarkable conservative principle appears to have been always kept steadily in view by the people; and in all the great political struggles which have heretofore convulsed nations, where a single salutary principle has been sacrificed, numerous useless, superannuated, and obsolete institutions have been retained, against the sober conviction of the masses, as a matter of precaution, and a safeguard against ultra reform and dangerous innovation. No principle is better settled in political history than this, that wherever an institution, though imperfectly developed, and not unfrequently apparently pernicious in some respects, has long existed under a variety of circumstances for centuries, we may rest assured it contains some useful and wise principle, and, in reality, has long been attended with some advantages, which more than balance its evils, and on the whole should be retained and improved, although for the present it may be shrouded in the mists and darkness of ignorance, and its chief beauties and sparkling lustre, like the diamond in the mine, may for a season remain in obscurity.

There is no resisting the conclusion that, independent of all human efforts, and in analogy with the natural world, a wise and benevolent Providence has established in the heart of man, by a

law as immutable as the law of gravitation, a disposition for civilization, social law, order, reason, and justice, without which society cannot exist. We may argue the Divine origin of this general law with unerring certainty, from the fact of its long endurance and universal prevalence in the bosoms of the race. But the more society progresses, and the more complete individual moral excellence becomes, the more prominently this great law of human happiness—founded on justice, reason, and truth, endorsed and sanctioned by immemorial time and usage—controls the destiny of the human family. In the early periods of society, where moral principles are but very imperfectly developed, force, falsehood, and tyranny, are but too frequently found watching and rocking the cradles of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy, even controlling religion and all the institutions of the government. But time gradually supersedes tyranny, and everywhere we find right gradually triumphing over might, falsehood gives place to truth, and tyranny yields its claims to human rights and republican principles, in the progress of civilization. It is this progressive infusion of law, order, justice, and good morals—this triumph of right over might, of truth over falsehood—this victory of liberty over tyranny, which makes the difference between modern republican governments, as in England and the United States, and the nations of antiquity, and the modern monarchies of the East. This veneration for the good of antiquity, and love for modern improvement, has frequently been counterfeited by the fraud and treason of tyrants and aristocrats. This base coin has for a time been circulated among the people as a genuine currency; but the forgery sooner or later is detected, and the criminals exemplarily and rigorously punished by the injured and defrauded citizens. Despotie power has always found it necessary

to sail under the colors of right and justice, and by this fraud tyranny has overspread the world. But no sooner is the deception discovered than the base perpetrators have been compelled to strike their false colors, and appear in their true garb, as the enemies of humanity and freedom.

The love of order and justice, which is so indelibly engraved on the human heart by the finger of Heaven, is by no means exclusive in its operations. It belongs to no persons, classes, or sects, but is as general, diffusive, benevolent, and democratic as the human family, as expansive as the wants of man, and as liberal and wide-spread as the Divine benevolence and justice. In all the different forms of government, and the great and almost numberless institutions which they have embraced, we constantly meet with more or less of these venerable institutions of antiquity. And however opposite and conflicting the governments, laws, and institutions of different nations may be, and frequently are in other respects, yet, on close investigation, there are certain elementary principles of law and justice, certain useful institutions common to them all, which have stood the test of ages, and come down to us substantially the same as they originated in the garden of Eden, and flourished in the antediluvian and early postdiluvian nations. Among these sacred institutions may be numbered the Christian Sabbath, the marriage institution, the advantages of education, human rights and justice, and numerous others of a similar character. Wherever we turn the leaves of history we see their venerable grey locks, with which the sanction of time and the nations of the earth have adorned them. In the ancient states, in the middle ages, in modern kingdoms and republics, in the feudal system, in the institutions of chivalry, in the municipalities of Flanders and Germany, in the republics of Italy,

in the valleys of the Nile, in the tribes of Judea, in the dark and far-spreading forests and almost boundless plains of Sarmatia, in the Arabian tents, in the wigwams of the American savage, and in the dens and caves of the Oceanica islanders, we meet with something to admire, some useful remnant of antiquity, some faint reflection of the Deity worthy of our veneration, preservation, and improvement.

No principle is more important in the science of government than this, that no system of government can long exist among men, unless it is substantially and in the majority of cases, and particularly in its laws and legislation, founded in reason and justice, and sanctioned by the experience of the people among whom it exists, and have tested its utility. Such principles and institutions as have thus been long and thoroughly tested, and found on the whole beneficial, may be safely venerated, improved, and perpetuated, without hazard, as sound elements of civilization. But they never should be abandoned until it is clearly ascertained that something better can be successfully and more profitably substituted, and should be modified or altered by wise and cautious hands. Such institutions are generally the offspring of the experience and good sense of the people, the result of long and patient culture; and it rarely happens that any principle of government or civil institutions can be long continued unless the people have found utility in them. It is in vain to urge that a privileged class have gained the ascendancy, and got the controlling power, and use it to perpetuate abuses. That their inclinations always tend to this, no one doubts. But it must not be forgotten that a privileged class, or a despot, is always a small minority, or mere handful, when compared with the great body of the people; and unless their power can call to its aid the force

of general opinion, founded on experienced utility and excellence, it could not stand a single year.

And here we find the true solution and meaning of that universal principle which pervades every human bosom, that instinctive and natural reverence for antiquity, which never can be dispensed with or forgotten for any length of time without the most disastrous consequences to society. The doctrine is, that those institutions which have descended to us in actual practice from our venerable ancestors, have been sanctioned by the experience of ages; and although they may be imperfect and require improvement, yet they could not have stood the test of so many ages, unless they were founded in some measure at least in wisdom and utility. It is not necessary to concede that our ancestors were wiser than we are, for they were less informed, and of course less wise and judicious. And while the hand of time has swept away their follies, and kindly buried their vices, yet their useful and valuable acquisitions, which cost them centuries of toil and reflection, remain for our benefit and improvement, and should be abandoned with great caution. Lord Bacon has said—and a wiser and better saying never fell from the lips of man—that our changes, to be truly beneficial and lasting, should resemble those of time, which, though the greatest of all innovators, works out its alterations so gradually, that they are never perceived until done and in successful operation. And so it is in all ages, in all communities, that all the great developments of the human mind have been wisely turned to the advantages of society; and all the severe struggles of humanity have benefited mankind, directly or indirectly, sooner or later. Their advantages may not be seen or felt perhaps immediately; sometimes

not until ages have rolled by; and a thousand intervening obstacles must be surmounted before they are fully developed.

When we look back through the long vista of ages, we then can see the surprising improvements that have been accomplished, and rejoice that we are reaping the delicious fruits of the labors of our ancestors. Providence has his own code of laws, and does his sovereign pleasure. His laws of civilization and improvement are not circumscribed to the narrow limits of mortal vision. He does not always stop in his career of glory to develop to-day the effects and consequences of a principle which he established yesterday—for with him a thousand years is as a single day. He may not bring forth the fruits of his wise labors until after the lapse of many ages; but, nevertheless, the appointed hour of development will surely come—and his wonderful workings are not the less sure because they may be slow in human reckoning. In the economy of Divine wisdom, whatever is *well* done, is *quickly* done. “The throne of the Almighty rests on time, He marches through its boundless expanse as the gods of Homer through space, He makes a step, and ages have passed away. How many centuries elapsed, how many changes ensued, before the regeneration of the inner man, by means of Christianity, exercised on the social state its great and salutary influence! Nevertheless it has succeeded. No one can mistake its effects at this time.”* But a blind and superstitious reverence for the institutions of antiquity, inspired only by their age and hoary locks, without excellence or utility to commend them to our favorable regard, is in conflict with every sound principle of philosophy and conservative progression. The Almighty occupied probably centuries in preparing the globe for the resi-

* Guizot's Hist. Civilization, I., 28, sect. i.

dence of man. He then consumed four thousand years in preparing it for the mission of the Saviour, and nearly two thousand years has been occupied in establishing the American Union, the embodiment of civilization, and the model nation for the world!

With these few suggestions to awaken thought, in addition to what has been said in relation to Polish civilization in the preceding chapters, the reader will be able to draw his own conclusions without any farther aid from the author.

CHAPTER XX.

POLITICS.

Political Principles—Political Parties—Political Districts—Political Officers
—Elections—Political Duties—Salaries—Political Patronage.

POLITICS, from the French *Politique*, is the science and art of civil government. It comprehends the principles and laws of a state, their administration, and institutions on which they are founded. Its object is the government of man in all his social relations, and as a member of the state, in such a manner as to promote the greatest good of all. Its object, both in theory and practice, is to obtain the ends of civil society as perfectly as possible. These principles extend to all the foreign and domestic relations of nations, comprehending everything which is the subject of positive laws. The most important topics of political discussion, and those which generally comprehend the political principles of a nation, include their political history, political parties, their social policy, governing policy, judicial policy, sovereign policy, their aristocratic policy, slave policy, representative policy, election policy, legislative policy, military and naval policy, war policy, literary policy, progressive policy, land policy, democratic policy, pecuniary policy, commercial policy, religious policy, and international policy; and in these several phases, I purpose to examine the politics of Poland.

The political history of nations has not yet been written ; although a work of this kind, giving a clear, brief, and accurate view of all the nations of the earth, ancient and modern ; distinguishing between false and sound policy, between successful and unsuccessful principles, carefully noticing the politics of successful and unsuccessful nations, philosophically arranged, would be a *desideratum* in modern literature, and supply a great defect in political science. The great utility and absolute necessity of daily resorting to precedents in settling important political questions, show the necessity of a correct political history of nations. And we cannot resist the conclusion, that if the political history of the long, continued, disastrous policy of Poland, from the first century down to the reign of Sobieski, had been briefly and forcibly set before them, before it was too late, it might have been the salvation of the nation.

The political history of nations, in all ages, records the fact with remarkable uniformity, that in all governments two political parties are generally organized ; one for sovereignty and aristocracy, or a rigorous government ; and the other for democracy, or the rights of the people ; and all other political parties are mere factions of these two great divisions. As a general rule, two political parties are sufficient to carry on the government, while the dominant one administers it, and the other watches. A multiplicity of political parties is generally ruinous to the country, and leads to the worst consequences. The fundamental rules by which politicians should govern themselves are, the greatest good of the greatest number, measures instead of men, and no candidate should be supported, except those who are competent and worthy, remembering that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. But it was the misfortune of Poland ever to

be harassed with scores of political factions, without any regular political organization. The sovereigns had their parties, the nobility had theirs; but the people had none. And yet these rival factions between the crown and nobility, frequently numbered more than one hundred on the days of their elections. These parties frequently massacred each other on the spot; and the political partizans of different families extended their malevolence to all the relations and associates of their opponents from generation to generation. Their political parties were destitute of sound principles, and their best motto was—"Rule or ruin."

The social policy of Poland was the foundation of all their misfortunes; the soil in which all their woes and miseries grew. It has appeared in a former chapter, that after canvassing the society of all nations, Polish society is a solitary exception, and distinguished from all others for its odious and destructive social policy. A state of society where thirteen-fifteenths of the inhabitants are slaves and squalid paupers, where one-fifteenth are extortionate Jews, bleeding the body politic like so many leeches; and one half million are the worst of aristocratic nobles, and the only freemen in a population of fifteen million, is not found in the history of the world, except in Poland. That state of society which prefers an eternity of nomad life to the domestic happiness of civilized community—a society without homes, without hearthstones, without any strong social ties, always wandering and battling in domestic and foreign wars, was the policy of Poland, for which the nobility were responsible.

Unlike all other governments which have in view some definite course, that of Poland never found any worthy object for its ruthless, political ambition. It was a people without a government, without law, and destitute of every useful ingredient of a

sound national policy. What was done one day was reversed the next; the legislation of one session was no law for the next; and the whole nation of fifteen millions inhabitants, with frequently a worthy nominal sovereign, were continually the sport and prey of five hundred thousand tyrannical, malevolent nobles, who were always essaying and experimenting in the preliminaries of a visionary government, vainly imagining themselves and their posterity to be so many kings; who never progressed further in the science and art of government, than to rule or ruin, resolve and re-resolve, and finally die the same.

In all other modern nations, except Poland, it has ever been a cardinal principle in their government to sustain a regular, well-organized judiciary, founded on established and well known laws. But the judicial policy of Poland, for reasons best known to the aristocracy, never had anything like an established code of laws, of rights and remedies, previous to its conquest. They had a few fragments of a code of rights, but no regular system of remedial law. The practice of law was a base system of bribery and perjury, and the man who paid the court the greatest bribe, was the successful party. Several of the Polish kings and statesmen frequently tried in vain to purify the laws and the judiciary; but all their efforts were defeated by the corrupt nobility, who opposed all government, all law, all justice and integrity, as incompatible with their ambitious projects of selfishness.

The idle hopes of sovereignty, which all the nobles ever cherished, of wearing a crown at some future day, crazed their brains with a sort of suicidal ambition, which led them to oppose and crush in the bud all efforts at improvement in law and government, fearing that any advance in progressive reform might interfere with their ambitious hopes. Poland had several talented and

worthy kings, but as long as the right of succession extended to all the nobility, they seldom respected or sustained the sovereign, lest the popularity of the reigning prince should result in a hereditary throne. And whenever the crown obtained for a short time a hereditary title, the disappointed nobles resorted to every means, most false and foul, to subvert the government, and restore their royal rights and sovereign expectations. These visionary aristocrats, whose dreams, both asleep and awake, were always filled with the one idea of *king*, were ever plotting foreign and domestic wars of aggression, with the idle hopes of supplying not only Poland, but all Europe, with kings, for all coming time. These embryo kings were the authors of all the wars of Poland, the instigators of all the jealousy and hostility of surrounding nations, and the real cause of the final conquest and fall of Poland.

The Polish nobility has no parallel in history. A population of fifteen millions, governed by half a million of expectant kings, all claiming equal rights and privileges among themselves, each considering himself every way equal to the ruling sovereign, is an anomaly in political history; yet this was the state of society in Poland, and was the fundamental principle of their political system. The statesman is relieved from all further anxiety in searching for the causes of the misfortunes of Poland, which continued for an uninterrupted period of seventeen centuries, for the reason that the policy of the nobility is a sufficient cause of itself for all the consequences which have so legitimately followed. Such a policy would ruin all the nations that ever have existed.

The slave policy of Poland was of the worst kind, and founded on the basest principles. The nobles were actuated by two lead-

ing principles in their slavery—one was self-aggrandizement, and the other wealth. They supposed, by confining thirteen-fifteenths of the population in the most abject slavery, they would greatly enhance their prospects of royalty, and at the same time fill their coffers with gold. Had these five hundred thousand *would-be-kings* consulted a common school-boy in any of the American States, they would have learned the folly and ruinous consequences of such an inhuman, unnatural policy. Slaves, of all human beings in the world, are the greatest enemies of kings and tyrants; and the pecuniary profit of slavery has always been overbalanced in the end by quadruple losses. And this philosophy Poland learned by sad experience. God has so arranged the concatenations of human affairs, that no man can build himself up on the ruins of those he has unjustly destroyed; and until this rule is changed by Heaven, slavery can never long succeed. The experiment was fully tried in Poland for seventeen hundred years, and proved a signal and ruinous failure.

It was the peculiar misfortune of Poland almost always to be wrong in everything. They not only adopted a false and erroneous policy in their political organizations, their social policy, governing policy, judicial policy, sovereign policy, the policy of their nobility, and their slave policy, but their *representative policy*—the vital principle of every government—was false and unwise. A representative system which has nothing to represent, except its own solitary self in person, was the representative policy of Poland. The five hundred thousand self-conceited, jealous nobles, all claimed the right of representing themselves in their assemblies, sabre in hand, ready to sustain their favorite projects by intimidating and massacring their political opponents. The leading policy—the *liberum veto*—was original with the

nobility and the Jesuits, and has never disgraced any other forum. And all their pretensions about equality, freedom, and unanimity, were confined to these five hundred thousand royal germs, to the exclusion of the king and all the people. And all the subsequent temporary modifications of this policy—of pretending to elect representatives, and then fettering them with instructions, and murdering them for disobedience of orders, right or wrong—all amounted to the same thing, namely, a representation of aristocrats by sabres, carbines, and battle-axes.

A Polish election on the plains of Volo would furnish a rich theme for the pencil of Dubufe, or any of his illustrious predecessors. If we imagine an arena surrounded by a circle, mingling with the horizon in the dim distance of miles, enclosed with a continuous circle of canvas tents, looming like fleecy clouds in the clear blue of day—with five hundred thousand nobles, and as many servants, idle spectators, and avaricious Jews to bribe the electors, who occupy the ground—we shall have a tolerably correct idea of the place where kings were made, and justice, or rather injustice, was administered. After the polls were opened, we see several hundred thousand nobles or candidates, dressed in costumes and jewels of the most costly and extravagant character, mounted on splendid chargers, caparisoned with the most extravagant trappings, adorned with gold and silver glittering in the sunbeams, with the most expensive and dangerous weapons of death, as if ready to charge an invading foe; while each of these candidates and their equipage had more wealth on their persons and horses than any American President or senator was ever worth. These candidates are seen galloping over the ground, sword in hand, advocating their claims for the first office in the kingdom, holding their bribes in one hand and their glittering

sabres in the other, ready to bribe or fight every voter ; and not unfrequently plunging their daggers into each other's hearts, or blowing out the brain of a rival candidate to avoid competition. And yet all this truth was not a one hundredth part of all the similar horrid scenes which transpired at one of these elections. The effects of such policy and such elections are readily understood when contrasted with an American election, where every citizen quietly deposits his vote as he pleases, without fear, bribery, or compulsion.

The legislation of Poland, prior to the reign of Sobieski, was almost exclusively confined to acts for the benefit of the nobility, regardless of the good of the people ; and if any of their favorite projects were opposed, they resorted to their *buckler legislation*, by murdering the *nays*, to carry a unanimity of *yeas*. Nor were the rights of the crown much better protected than the interests of the people. All the movements of the nobles, and their entire system of national policy, were confined to the narrow circle of selfishness, equally disrespectful to their sovereign and oppressive to the masses.

The military character of Poland, which confined the art of war and the use of arms to the nobility, forms one of the most destructive features in their history. No other nation, ancient or modern, has ever adopted this policy. Tyrants, aristocrats, and nobles, are always pleased with the spoils of war, but are generally very willing that their inferiors should enjoy the pleasure and pain of fighting the battles in their absence. But the Polish nobility, fearing if they placed arms in the hands of the people they might become the targets of an injured community, and stimulated with the love of foreign and domestic crowns as the rewards of their prowess, were always studious to confine

their military system and arts of war to their own circles. And this unwise policy accounts for their miserable military system, their paucity of numbers in the field, the miserable character of their arms, and general want of success, except in a few instances, under the command of distinguished generals.

Poland has ever been distinguished for their wars. This prevailing passion always manifested itself in their predatory, foreign, and domestic wars, in which they were always involved more or less, from their early origin as nomad tribes, in the first century of the Christian era, to the last battle under Kosciusko. The pugnacious character of the nobility, their ambitious projects of royalty, and their reckless passion for self-advancement, all conspired to fasten upon the nation the stigma of national robbers. And this policy was one cause of alarm to the neighboring nations, and finally led to the fall of the nation.

The literature of Poland, which was cultivated in a very limited circle of the nobility to the exclusion of the people, the entire want of common school education for the masses, and the general ignorance of the community, are the invariable precursors of the ruin that befell the Polish nation. The general education of the people is the only successful safeguard of the nation in all its various interests. That literary policy which benefits the few at the expense and ruin of the majority, is always followed by the most disastrous consequences. National and individual prosperity always go hand in hand ; and every man's wealth, success, and happiness, depend on the prosperity of the community in which he lives. Had Poland understood this philosophy, and reduced it to practice in time, by educating, elevating, and improving the people, she would now be a happy and free nation.

It was ever an elementary principle in the political creed of the Polish nobility, never to change their national policy, nor suffer any improvement in their politics or their condition; lest it should lead to the elevation of their inferiors, and interfere with their idle dreams of future crowns and conquered kingdoms. The nobility was always rolling its jealous, argus-eyes, at every point of the compass, watching every movement of the crown and the people in reform, and at once nipped in the bud all efforts of improvement.

The feudal system of Europe never prevailed in Poland; but they adopted a land policy far worse than any feudal policy of the middle ages. For several centuries, and, during the greater part of their national life, no one could own lands in Poland, except the nobility, and a few of their wealthy immigrant friends, to whom the right was extended as a special favor, with peculiar restrictions. Such a land policy is productive of more evils than the feudal system, and must inevitably ruin a people, as all political history clearly proves. That system of land-law is undoubtedly the best, where the citizens generally own the soil in farms, and in such quantities as their means will allow; as free from tenants, landlords, and perpetual leases as possible.

We have examined in another chapter the fatal democratic policy of Poland, and we shall look in vain in the history of nations for its equal, in folly, madness, and ruinous consequences. A *democratic* nobility, or a *democratic* aristocracy—such as existed in Poland, is an abuse of language, and a gross perversion of philosophy; the thing never existed, and never can exist. A democracy, which secured only to the nobles the equality of freedom among themselves, and bound the people in the chains of slavery, with the power of life and death in the hands of the mas-

ters, is the worst of tyranny. Democracy and Nobility cannot long exist together on the same soil. They have no more affinity than fire and water,—they have no fellowship or sympathy for each other, and are as different in their nature and effects as light and darkness.

The perpetual wars of the Poles, and the extensive business of watching and protecting the interests of five hundred thousand expectant kings, left very little time for the extension of commerce, which forms the veins and arteries of every nation. Polish commerce, what little they had, was controlled by armies; and, as they were generally at war with surrounding nations, they of course had very little foreign commerce, and manifested no disposition for international intercourse of any kind: a policy which always proves destructive to national and individual wealth, ending in national misanthropy.

The love of wealth which generally pervades every human heart, was never a prevailing passion with the Poles; and never interfered with their dreaming visions of royalty. To a Polish nobleman, poverty and wealth were all the same thing, and industry and commerce were viewed with contempt, as long as his eyes were dazzled with the glitter of crowns. Neither national wealth, literature, nor any other ambitious enterprise, ever interfered with the one idea of becoming a king at some future day. No motives could stimulate them to industry, commerce, or the love of gain, and they were strangely relieved of all feelings of avarice; and, consequently, all pecuniary acquisitions were viewed with cold contempt. They preferred the extortions of Jewish brokers to all honest means of industry; and consoled themselves when their pockets were empty, that the glitter of wealth was beneath their royal notice. Such a system of pecuni-

ary policy entailed upon them individual and national poverty ; subject to the degraded avarice of degenerate Jews, who finally accelerated their ruin, after emptying their pockets, and mortgaging their lands.

True religion is the common property of all intelligent beings. It knows no monopoly, recognizes no caste, nor common distinction, except moral excellence, and offers its countless treasures freely to all without money and without price. It delights in blessing the whole human family, and never hesitates to vouchsafe its favors to virtuous suppliants, however low or humble may be their station, or exalted their worldly rank. Such was the religion of the Savior from His manger-cradle to His rocky-tomb. But how unlike this was the religion of Poland. With a few crude notions of the Bible, mingled with their exalted ideas of royalty, and vainly supposing that they were almost Divine, they confined what little religion they had,—if, indeed, they ever had any,—to the royal few, never caring for the moral interests of the millions whom they had enslaved, and whom they unwisely and wickedly deprived of the blessings of freedom, justice, and religion.

In looking over the history of Poland, we find no disposition to cultivate a friendly intercourse with other nations, but, on the contrary, a continued thirst for war and conquest. International courtesy has grown and matured into a system of commercial intercourse and friendly relations, of inestimable value to nations ; and forms one of the most brilliant gems in national sovereignty. But Poland seems to have ever preferred an enemy to a friend ; and their national misanthropy courted war rather than peace. National courtesy was never favored by the nobles ; and they

were always ready to thwart the designs of their sovereigns for international comity.

But the most fatal error in Polish politics was the rejection of the majority principle. However wide may be the difference of opinion in other questions of national policy, all sound statesmen agree in the fundamental principle, that in all cases the legal majority must rule, right or wrong; until their errors can be reversed by judicial review, or by the popular will legally expressed through the ballot-box. In all republican governments, and particularly in America and England, this principle is unquestionable and controlling. That the will of the majority legally expressed, and embodied according to established forms, must prevail, is a principle which lies at the very basis of republicanism; and, without it, the American Union could not stand a single day. The rejection of this principle either in theory or practice, is the ruin of the essential element of political freedom; and terminates at once in anarchy, or the despotism of a minority, upheld by force, as in Poland. The right of the majority to rule is not only the first principle of every Republican government, but it is the only distinguishing feature between liberty on the one hand, and anarchy and despotism on the other. This fundamental law of civil government, must always be obeyed by the minority in good faith; and all attempts to defeat the will of the majority, by resignation or otherwise, are revolutionary and treasonable, and deserve the execration of every citizen. Submission to the will of the majority, until it can be reversed by appeal according to law, is the foundation of the American Government and all her institutions. It has sustained the country triumphantly for nearly a century, through every crisis and conflict; and was the first and fundamental principle established by the

Pilgrim Fathers, in the cabin of the *Mayflower*. It fought the battles of the revolution, organized the federal government, and has given the nation union, stability, and success ever since.

The national government, as well as the several states which compose it, at different periods of their existence, have passed through severe and trying political contests; frequently convulsed to the very heart and soul of the body-politic, by contending parties, for power and supremacy. But in all cases, when the question has been decided by a constitutional majority, the verdict has been quietly accepted and obeyed as law. When individuals acting in a private or public capacity, obstruct the regular action of constitutional government, by resignation or in any other manner not authorized by law, they violate the fundamental principle on which republican institutions are established, and without which they cannot exist. And when the principle is once admitted directly or indirectly, that any minority may arrest the proceedings of either branch of the Legislature, and thereby defeat the will of the people, as expressed through their regular, constituted representatives, republican government is at an end, anarchy is established, a lawless mob or a ruthless tyranny rules, and the nation is on the same road to ruin which Poland pursued.

Another ruinous principle of national policy adopted by the Poles, was the allowing the states and provinces to secede and revolt from the general government at pleasure. The voluntary recession of a state from the parent government, after voluntary annexation and union, is both a political and philological solecism. To allow a state to withdraw from the government, is a dissolution of the government at once; for, if one may revolt, all may do the same, and the government is at an end. The voluntary annexation of a state to the general gov-

ernment, as in America, is a surrender at once, and forever, of all national sovereignty, so far as the laws of the compact require; and cannot be revoked except by the consent or dissolution of the general government. The moment a new state is admitted into the Union, every citizen throughout the nation has vested rights in the newly acquired territory; and the citizens of the latter are equally interested in all the political rights and privileges of the whole nation, its laws, government, and institutions; and all must be governed by the same majority principle, according to the laws before stated.

Political officers in Poland were as numerous as the citizens or nobility of the country. Every nobleman was regarded as a government officer of some grade or kind. The clergy, including the archbishops, bishops, and all their subordinates, were considered as officers of government. This class of public functionaries have been described in a previous chapter on religion. The king, the principal officer, and his powers, duties, and privileges, have been also considered in the chapter on sovereignty. The Diet or Legislature, resembling the British Parliament, was composed of two houses; the House of Senators, similar to the House of Lords; and the House of Nuncios, corresponding nearly with the English House of Commons. The Diets of Poland were of two kinds, grand and little Diets. They are convened by the king, and in case of an interregnum, by the primate, or highest archbishop, who also determine the place and time of meeting. The Polish constitution requires that a Diet shall be held every third year. The first and second Diets in the order of time, must be held in Poland, commonly at Volo, near Warsaw, and the third in Lithuania. The Senators were composed of the bishops, the palatines, castellans, and the ten great

officers of the crown, numbering in all about one hundred and forty-two. In the upper house, the senators sit not by any writ of summons or letters-patent as in England, but are appointed by the king, and hold their office for life. By this organization, the sovereign and his friends constitute the upper house; while the lower is composed of the representatives of the gentry, elected by them in their respective provinces, regardless of the common people, who are disfranchised, and deprived of all participation in elections or other political privileges, leaving less than one-fifteenth of the population who participate in the government.

The Grand Diet of Poland, which consists of the king, the senators, and deputies, assemble in any part of the kingdom where his majesty pleases to command. They have the power to make or repeal laws, declare war, conclude peace, make alliances with foreign princes, raise troops, levy taxes, coin money, and can transact any business of state at pleasure. All political officers in Poland enjoy one privilege seldom found in other governments, which contributed greatly to the ruin of the kingdom. For when once appointed and in actual possession of the office, they can never be removed, however corrupt, imbecile, or incompetent, without the unanimous consent of the Diet, where they could generally bribe at least one to protect them. The consequence of this ruinous policy was, they could never be called to an account for funds in their hands, nor for negligence or misconduct of any kind.

The ten great crown officers consisted of a great and little marshal, two chancellors, two vice-chancellors, two generals, and two treasurers. The king had also his lord-chamberlain, his court-marshal or lord-steward, his master of the horse, secretaries

of state, standard-bearer, and chief huntsman, his gentlemen of the body, similar to the English lords of the bed-chamber ; also his court physicians, chaplains, pensioners, cup-bearers, servers, carvers, musicians, and generals. The gentlemen pensioners always attended the king on horseback, who consisted of the noblest youth of the kingdom. Some of them attended his majesty on foot, but in long journeys they travelled in wagons. It was the duty of a select number of these royal attendants to guard the king day and night. When his majesty appears in public, these youthful guards surrounding him, march with battle-axes on their shoulders, and sabres by their sides. His numerous horse-guards and other court officers swelled the royal train of political servants to a most surprising number.

The principal officers of the queen's court consisted of about thirty persons, the principal of whom were her marshal and chancellor. The duties of their office consisted in presiding over the queen's domestic officers. The marshal or steward carries the royal staff before her majesty. The chancellor or secretary superintends her correspondence. Besides these public functionaries, she has her treasurers, her master of the horse, cup-bearers, carvers, servers, clerks, and others, besides a large retinue of female servants, ladies, and maids of honor.

The Polish senators, who are appointed by the king and retain their offices for life, are bound by their oath to preserve the rights and liberties of the republic, obey the laws, protect and advise the king, and study the good of the kingdom. Four of the senators are appointed to form the king's council, and are always in readiness to give their advice, the same as the king's ministers in England. The presence of the senators is deemed so important for the good of the king and the welfare of the country, that

they are never permitted to travel or absent themselves from court—a policy which the Poles derived from the Romans, who prohibited both the senators and their sons from going beyond the verge of Italy. The title of senator is always connected with one of the four principal dignities of Bishop, Palatine, Castellan, or Crown officers. The Palatines are the lord-lieutenants of provinces. The Castellans are governors, who command a portion of a province in war. The ten Crown-officers are the marshals, chancellors, and treasurers of the kingdom. The Bishops preside over their several dioceses with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. When any one is appointed a Bishop, Palatine, Castellan, or Crown-officer, he is at once a senator by virtue of his office.

It is the business of the senators to legislate, and adjudicate as judges in courts of justice, and act as ministers in foreign courts. The office of senator is considered one of the highest dignities in the kingdom. They are divided into two classes, ecclesiastical and secular. The ecclesiastical senators consist of the archbishops and bishops, numbering in all sixteen, who rank next to the king, and superior to the secular senators. The senators rank in the following order: The first ecclesiastical senator is the archbishop of Gnesne—the second is the archbishop of Leopold—the third is the bishop of Cracow—fourth, the bishop of Cujavia and Pomerania—fifth, the bishop of Wilna—sixth, the bishop of Posnania—seventh, the bishop of Plosko—eighth, the bishop of Warmia—ninth, the bishop of Luceoria or Lucko—tenth, the bishop of Premistia—eleventh, the bishop of Samogitia—twelfth, the bishop of Culm, and the bishops of Chelm, Kiovia, Camieniec, and Smolensko.

The temporal, or lay senators, numbering one hundred and twenty-eight, were subdivided into thirty-two palatines, eighty-

five castellans, ten crown-officers, and one starosta. They are also divided into great and little senators. The great senators embrace thirty-two palatines, the three castellans of Cracow, Wilna, and Troki, and the starosta. The inferior secular senators are ninety-two, containing the ten crown-officers, and eighty-two castellans. The latter are again divided into thirty-three great castellans, and forty-nine little castellans. The first of all the lay senators was the castellan of Cracovia, in High Poland; and each of the one hundred and twenty-eight lay senators had his particular jurisdiction and official duties, besides the labors of the Diet and legislation. All the senators had their deputies, amounting to an army in numbers. The castellans rank next to the palatines, who are all senators, and lieutenants of the latter in time of war, and lead the gentry of their jurisdiction into the field, under the command of the palatines. Each palatinate has several castellans of different rank, and all of them must be Polish noblemen, and own lands and tenements in the palatinates to which they respectively belong. In time of peace they officiate as judges in civil and criminal cases. The several small districts which compose each palatinate, have other civil and military officers. The remaining secular officers of each palatinate are the servers, carvers, cup-bearers, sword-bearers, and a host of other subordinates.

The military officers of Poland embraced all the Polish nobility in time of need. The two grand generals of the crown and great duchy are the king's immediate lieutenants or substitutes, and have full power to discharge all the duties of the king in his absence. Although the office is one of the first in the kingdom, yet it does not give them the dignity of senator, nor make them a member of the Diet, unless they be also a Palatine or Castellan.

The two great generals, one of Poland and the other of Lithuania, have equal power in their respective states, and are independent of each other; though the Lithuanian general by common courtesy is considered inferior to the great general of Poland proper, and obeys his orders in the field of battle. In the absence of the king, who is commander-in-chief, the great generals have the supreme command of the army. They give battle, besiege towns and cities, and quarter their troops where they please. It is their duty to keep order and discipline in the army, to punish mutinous and seditious officers and soldiers, and fix the price of all commodities and provisions brought into the camp. On the death of a great general, his lieutenant succeeds him in office. The two lieutenant-generals of Poland and Lithuania preside in all courts-martial, superintend the affairs of the camp, and pay the soldiers. Besides these military officers, must be named the chief commander of the king's guards in the camp, the great ensign or standard bearer, the great master of the artillery, the camp notaries, and commander of the guards against incursions, and others.

The military officers of the smaller districts were the starostas, with and without jurisdiction. Those having official jurisdiction, were the governors of castles and royal cities, who hold courts for the trial of private causes of small moment once a fortnight, and those of greater importance every six weeks if not prevented by intervening circumstances. They have also vice-starostas, judges, clerks, and servants, who act as sheriffs to enforce the decisions of the courts. Both the commonalty and gentry are nominally subject to the jurisdiction of the starostas; but the gentry usually do as they please, regardless of courts when they have money to bribe their way. They have jurisdiction of the

collection of the king's revenues, and retain a fourth part of it for their fees.

All the Polish army, which embraced the nobility, were regarded as military officers and guardians of the republic. The *pospolite* or militia of the kingdom, were mustered under the command of one general, by order of the king; and embraced those senators who always attended the king as his advisers, the landed gentry, and all citizens. Those who are worth eight thousand florins appear on horse, well equipped and provided with provisions and ammunition at their own expense. Those of less property are to march on foot well equipped and provided. These forces are commanded first by the king, and in his absence by the two great generals and their lieutenants before named; and also by the major-generals, colonels, captains, and other subordinate officers, similar to the military officers of France, England, and America.

The judicial officers of Poland, as well as the ecclesiastical, legislative, ministerial, and military functionaries, were numerous. Besides the Diets, which had judicial jurisdiction, the clergy had a general convention and two provincial synods, who possessed judicial powers, under the control of the Pope. The archbishop of Leopol, though he could hold his synod or court in his own jurisdiction, yet he was subject to the archbishop of Gnesne, the primate of Poland. The Poles have a peculiar court which sits only in times of interregnum, which they call the *Kaptur*. This court is both general and special. General, when it sits during the interregnum to prevent disorders, with power of life and death; and special when it is held in the several palatinates of the kingdom. The judges of the former are chosen from the prime nobility; and those of the latter from the general nobility of

each palatinate at the several conventions of each, and in the beginning of every interregnum. All these courts adjourn three weeks before the assembly meets for the election of a new king, until after election, when they again open their courts until the day of coronation. All the other courts of justice in Poland are either ecclesiastical, civil, or military. The ecclesiastical courts are entirely in the hands of the bishops under the control of the Pope, and have their chancellors, registers, and other officers peculiar to each, whose decisions are reviewed on appeal in the court of the archbishops, and finally by the Pope. Their decisions are governed by the canons and customs of the Roman Church and are executed by the civil magistrates, the same as in the other courts. To the ecclesiastical court belonged the court of nunciature held by the Pope's nuncio, who resided in Poland. Before he had any jurisdiction, it was necessary for him to present to the king and the principal ministers of state, the apostolic brief of his nunciature.

Courts of civil jurisdiction were divided among numerous judges chosen from the commonalty and gentry; some of whom decided causes without the right of appeal. Those courts, from which there was no appeal, were the three high tribunals instituted by Stephen Batory. These judges were all appointed from the gentry. Two of these courts were for the kingdom, and one for the great duchy. Those for the kingdom were held six months at Petricovia, in Low Poland, and the other half of the year in High Poland. That for the great duchy was held alternately one year at Wilna, and the other either at Novgorod or Minsk. They were composed of ecclesiastical and civil judges, chosen from every palatinate, the former once in four years, and the latter once in two. They pronounced their judgments by a

majority vote in civil cases; but in religious matters, an equal number of clergy and laity were necessary for a decision. A man who had a trial in these courts, had all the nation for his judges, because deputies, both ecclesiastical and temporal, were sent from all parts of the kingdom for the purpose of holding the courts. The Senate tried causes of civil and criminal matters without appeal. The great marshals have jurisdiction in all cases relating to the king's officers. The great chancellors form a court of appeals.

The two exchequer courts had jurisdiction of the revenue; one of which was held at Radom, in high Poland, and the other at Wilna. The tribunals subject to appeal, are the courts of the gentry and commonalty in each palatinate, and have no clergy for judges. The courts for the decision of questions of land law have one judge, with an associate justice, and a notary or clerk. Appeals are taken from these courts to the vice-chamberlain of the palatinate, where all persons unlawfully dispossessed of their lands and tenements are restored, and the boundaries of the premises are settled. The criminal courts for the gentry are held in each starostaship, where either the starosta or lieutenant administers justice in the castle or some other public place once in six weeks. He has jurisdiction of civil cases between those who own no lands, and such foreigners as are engaged in trade. The starostas are the executive ministers of all judicial decisions and decrees; and are the sole conservators of the peace within their territory, and perform all public executions.

The courts of commonalty are confined to cities and villages. In cities, justice is administered by the *scabins*, the town-hall, or the judge-advocate. The *scabins* have cognizance of all capital offences and criminal matters, the town-hall of civil cases, and

the judge-advocate of offences committed by soldiers. Civil matters of small moment were decided by the governor of the city, subject to an appeal to the town-hall, and thence to the king. In villages the commonalty were subject to *scabins*, who are officers of the king; and to *scultets*, or peculiar lords. There are also plebeian courts, whose magistrates and officers are some of them appointed by the lords, and others elected by the citizens, except in Cracow, where the palatine chooses the judges. The military jurisdiction of Poland is wholly within the jurisdiction of the king or his generals; but the palatines and castellans, who generally accompany the king in his wars, have cognizance of their inferiors. With such a judiciary, with such a variety of courts, without learning, talent, or integrity, it is easy to see that judicial rights were the sport of bribery, perjury, ignorance, and prejudice, as delineated in a former chapter.

The political patronage of the Polish government was formerly lodged wholly in the hands of the king. Ever since the government was founded, under the reign of Lechus, the kings were elected to the throne by hereditary custom; though not by hereditary title until the reign of the elective kings, commencing with Stephen Batory in 1575. Previous to the organization of the Diet the power of the sovereign was absolute, his will was law; he made peace and war when he pleased; levied troops at his pleasure; punished or pardoned when he pleased, and rewarded as it best suited him. He held in his hands the entire political patronage of the country, and every office ecclesiastical, military, civil, and judicial, from the highest to the lowest, was at the sovereign's disposal, except when the opposition of the nobility overpowered him and controlled his choice. After the organization of the Diet, the nobility gradually filched from the

king the appointing power, and in the latter days of the republic under the elective kings, the royal patronage was merely nominal. This enormous political power, for centuries lodged exclusively in the hands of the sovereign, produced a state of political centralization, which confined the whole national power at the capital of the country and the palace of royalty; leaving the people without government, law, representation, or political privileges; an evil which modern political science has corrected by applying the remedy of decentralization, and diffusing the blessings of government equally to all throughout the country.

The king is prohibited by law from appointing his children to public office. He can neither increase nor diminish the lawful number of public officers, nor can he appoint an unnaturalized foreigner. He must confine his political favors exclusively to the nobility. The currency of the country is stamped with the king's image and name; the courts administer justice in his name; and at Church, the royal family are made the special, and almost only subject of public prayer.

The political divisions of Poland were numerous and complicated. The country, in the reign of Sobieski, was divided into Great and Little Poland, Lithuania, and the other provinces, as before mentioned. These states or provinces were again divided into sixteen bishoprics, and thirty palatinates, under the government of the palatines, who are also lay senators, as before stated. It is the duty of these palatines, in addition to their other senatorial labors, to lead the troops of their respective palatinates into the field in a general expedition, called by the Poles *pospolite Ruszenie*. But in time of peace, their powers vary; for some of them govern their palatinates by martial law. They preside in the little Diets or assemblies of the gentry of their

provinces, regulate the prices of merchandize, take care of the weights and measures, and punish or protect the Jews. The palatines are all princes of the crown. The palatinates were again divided into smaller districts called civil or military. Besides these political divisions were the cities, castles, towns, and villages, which had a jurisdiction peculiar to themselves in some respects.

When the king is crowned, the Diet allows him a pension, or annual salary of seven hundred thousand dollars annually, which, together with his patrimonial estate, sometimes amounting to nearly as much more, maintains a splendid court. He is attended by his Polish, German, and Hungarian guards, besides the other usual household officers of kings. While the queen dowager lives the queen consort maintains her court at the king's expense; but after the queen-dowager's death or marriage, or the king's decease, the queen-consort has a government salary for her support. The Poles generally prefer a rich king, for fear his children may become a public charge after his death. In addition to these revenues, the king frequently received large sums for the sales of political offices within his power. The ecclesiastical officers pay large bribes for their appointments. The bishopric of Cracow, which is said to be worth forty thousand dollars annually, sometimes costs the archbishop as high as sixty thousand dollars to obtain it. Some of the kings have had an annual income from all their revenues, including their salaries, crown lands, private fortunes, and sales of offices, worth more than fifteen hundred thousand dollars. The sovereign's crown revenues are derived from imposts upon merchandize, taxes on the Jews, the customs of Dantzic, and the income of the salt mines.

The queen's salary consists of a gift from the king out of the

royal revenues, with consent of the Diet, or an annual pension allowed her by government. The salaries of the principal ecclesiastical officers were liberal; varying from one to fifty thousand dollars annually. The compensation of the military officers and soldiers was generally poor; though they sometimes obtained fortunes from the booty of war. The judicial officers were well paid; as their per centage on judgments generally varied from one quarter to one half of the recoveries, and sometimes they took the whole. As a general rule the officers of Poland, amounting to nearly half a million, received for their services more than ten times the amount paid by the American government to their officers. These enormous salaries were principally drawn from the pockets of the peasantry by the most cruel extortion, which they needed for their daily bread.

The elections of the Poles, which were confined to the kings, have already been sufficiently described in a previous chapter. The *Pacta Conventa*, or the old Polish constitution, with the coronation oath, will be found in the appendix.

In a nation where politics was a matter of bargain and sale under the control of five hundred thousand political tyrants, all conspiring to rob the people and promote their own interests, without law, government, or integrity, we should naturally expect to find precisely such a clique of public officers as has already been described. They were responsible to no superior correcting power beyond the reach of their corruption; and of course, their official duties were neglected, perverted, and corrupted. Every one did as he pleased, while all sustained themselves by a general system of licentious favoritism, frequently too degraded for the pages of history. Such a political system containing such degenerate principles, administered by political factions so

numerous and conflicting, under the supervision of such officers, bribed by salaries alike crushing to the people and corrupting to the recipients, where political patronage was all lodged in the hands of one man, where all acted regardless of duty, talent, and integrity, we see ample causes for all the ruinous effects which the Poles have experienced.*

* Connor II., 34; Letter II., 74 79.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONQUEST OF POLAND.

History of the Conquest—Its Origin—Character of Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski—The part he acted in the Conquest—Catharine of Russia and her conduct in the Conquest—The conduct of Austria in the Conquest—The conduct of Prussia—The acts of the Jesuits and other Religious Sects—The Division of Poland—The Causes of the Conquest—Its Consequences—The Philosophy of Cause and Effect.

THE apex of prosperity is a giddy place. Thousands and millions who mount its pinnacle with the brightest hopes of the future, soon become dementated by the prospect, and reeling with dizziness, are dashed from its lofty height never more to rise; while a few only of fortune's favorites retain their elevated position, and realize all their expectations. In walking round the base of this towering pyramid of fortune, we recognize with regret, among the unfortunate victims whose hopes have been crushed in the bud, Hannibal, Alexander the Great, Cæsar, Cleopatra, Cromwell, Napoleon, and others; while at the top we see Washington, Wellington, and a few others, who have successfully maintained their high position on the summit of this world's glory.

But the most melancholy view of this picture is, that nations share the same fate in the good or ill fortune of life as individuals.

Ancient Persia, where is she? Only a few geographical lines, a few monumental fragments, and a page or two of history, are left to hint the story of her ancient glory. Egypt has left us her Nile, with a few of her sombre tombs and sublime pyramids; but no one remains to explain the mysteries of her ancient arts and sciences, or tell the thrilling tale of her early and marvellous civilization. All that remains of ancient Greece, is the soil which scarcely conceals the dust of her heroes; the rich scenery of her mountains and classic waters; a few specimens of her inimitable statuary and architecture, and a few tattered leaves of her thrilling history, sublime poetry, and enchanting eloquence. Rome, once the pride of the world, the mistress of nations, and nursery of modern states and kingdoms, with all the learning and splendor of the Augustan age, is no more; and the remains of this wonderful people, admonish the traveller as he sadly views her remnants of national greatness, that prosperity and worldly splendor are of short duration—"God is great and fortune is fickle." Under these emotions, who can refrain from tears as he passes down through the history of nations, and calls to memory the hard, untimely, and sad fate of Poland—the oldest republic in modern Europe? Where is the heart so cold, so dead, as not to weep over the misfortunes of Hungary?

There are chords in the bosom of humanity, that never fail to vibrate to the touch of prosperity and adversity. It is an elementary principle in human nature, to rejoice with those who rejoice, and weep with those who weep. There is bliss in tears as well as in joy; and the pleasure or pain we feel in contemplating the prosperous or adverse, is always in proportion to the intrinsic excellence, the utility, the beauty, the grandeur or sublimity of the being whose weal or woe excites our joy or

grief. Nor are individuals exempt from acting their part in this tragedy of tears. The most distinguished individual honors are fading and transitory. The brow that is wreathed to-day with the most splendid laurels of honor, to-morrow may be palled with the mournful cypress; and the next day, perhaps, the sighs of grief are hushed in the silence of death. A towering monument silently watching our tomb, may, for a few years, console our weeping friends, and tell the wandering stranger where we repose, when we came, and when we left; but time's stealthy hand will soon obliterate our epitaph, crumble our monument to dust, and leave us without a record, or a single vestige of former existence. From this picture of life, which the hand of time has so faithfully painted, with all the artistic drapery of human existence, in all the various hues of light and shade in bold relief, nations, as well as individuals, may learn lessons of wisdom.

The fall of Poland commenced its awful crisis with the reign of Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski. Two preliminary evils must necessarily befall a nation before it can be conquered; one is a distracted people, and the other, an imbecile and corrupt sovereign. To this general rule, the history of fallen nations does not contain a single exception. And hence the heathen philosophers of Rome and Greece record the principle among their wisest and truest proverbs, that "Whom the gods design to destroy they first make mad." Corrupt and ambitious politicians in all ages, who design to destroy a nation, make it their first business to place at the head of government a king or ruler, whose weakness and corruption can be controlled by their unhalloved ambition. These two preliminary evils, the invariable and sure precursors of national ruin, had their existence in Poland in the character of Stanislas Augustus, and the popular insanity

of the people who crowned him. So long as the Poles remained united, and had an able and honest prince for a sovereign, the republic was safe ; and the same is true of all nations. Had a Kosciusko, a Washington, or a Sobieski, been chosen king of Poland in the place of Stanislas Augustus, the republic would now be glittering among the jewels of nations, or shining as a star of the first magnitude among the galaxy of republics. And here it would be wise for the people to pause, reflect, and weigh well the consequences of placing at the head of a government a chief magistrate of ordinary ability. Public officers, and particularly the chief ruler of a people, should possess the best talents of the nation ; with an integrity above suspicion or the reach of corruption ; and as a general rule, though not always, talent and integrity are inseparably connected. True, great talents are not always necessarily requisite in the discharge of official duties ; but there are times in the affairs of nations which try men's souls, and require all the skill and wisdom ever possessed by mortal man, to carry a state through these fiery ordeals safely and triumphantly ; and if the people, in these perilous times, are found with a feeble sovereign, the government either falls, or is so fatally wrecked, that it is either abandoned at once as lost, or so seriously injured as to be past recovery.

The Jesuits had crazed the brains of the nobility previous to the reign of Sobieski ; and during his sovereignty, it required all his matchless powers, both civil and military, to save the republic from immediate ruin, under the conflicting ruinous policy of Jesuitical religion. On the death of Sobieski, these ambitious politicians succeeded in dividing the people in the double election of the Prince of Conti and the elector of Saxony ; and then by the same art, the nobility, by fraud, succeeded in crowning the

elector Augustus II., who bribed and sabred his way to the throne against the wishes of a great majority of the people, and even of the nobility. After a varied fortune of war, in which he was successively dethroned by Charles XII. of Sweden, and restored again by Peter of Russia, whose disastrous reign nearly exhausted all the remaining energies and resources of the Polish government, he was succeeded by the double election of Augustus III., the Russian candidate, and the pure, the talented, and the learned Stanislas Leszczynski, the people's candidate, and one of the best sovereigns of Poland or any other nation.

But Russian arms and German revenge soon established Augustus III. on the throne, and drove Stanislas, the philosopher, into exile. Russian tyranny and Austrian malevolence now unitedly conspired in gaining the ascendancy over Poland, and ever after maintained it. Augustus III. inherited all the vices and imbecility of his royal father, without any of his virtues, for the reason that he never had any. He served well the unworthy purpose of a political tool in the hands of Russia and Germany to undermine and crush the Polish government; and in this work of death he even excelled his perfidious father. The tyrannical and sacrilegious Jesuits had now reached the very acme of their villainy, in disuniting the people and dividing the distracted aristocracy into as many religious and political factions as there were families among the nobility. The Catholics had carried their persecutions so far, as to murder scores of the dissidents and disfranchise and banish others; until the Protestants and other religious sects, found it necessary for the protection of their lives and property, to confederate and implore the protection of Russia, Austria, and Prussia.*

* Rulhierre, II., 218, 270.

The death of Elizabeth, empress of Russia, terminated the hopes and disbanded the political cabals of Europe, which had been long plotting a general crusade against the civilized world, and introduced upon the stage of Poland's sad drama several new characters, the most notable of whom were Peter III., emperor of Russia, and Catharine, his queen. Peter had long viewed with pleasure the alliance of Russia against Frederick, for whom he had entertained great respect and fear; and, therefore, on ascending the throne, he made it his first business to make peace with so formidable an enemy. This step of Russian policy frustrated the designs of the allies and Augustus, whom Peter treated with the greatest contempt, and even refused his envoys an audience. The year 1756 commenced with a complete revolution in all the political alliances of Europe, and for a time averted Russian vengeance from its long contemplated ruin of Poland.

Austria resolved on the recovery of Silesia, which had been seized by Frederick the Great, both leagued and intrigued with France and Russia. The admission of France into the alliance, at once threw her enemy, England, with whom she was at war on account of the American colonies, into the opposite party. By these political somersets, Saxony was driven into the former alliance; and Frederick engaged with the English to divest the enemy from their Hanoverian possessions and overrun Saxony.

The emperor and Frederick now commenced concocting their nefarious plans for the future conquest of Poland. They formed three preliminary resolutions with regard to Poland, and probably more. The first was—that the successor of Augustus III. should be a Pole; which originated with the Czartoryskis. The second was—to protect the dissidents; and the third—that Russia should resume the possession of Courland. The work of disunion

was now complete. The favorable moment that the conquering powers had long desired, now arrived ; which they readily embraced for the ruin of Poland, though their zeal and ultimate design of conquering and dividing the republic was studiously masked under a pretended garb of friendship. But one thing was still lacking before the butchery of a nation could safely be commenced. The prince necessary for carrying out their fiendish conspiracy, was not yet on the throne of the doomed kingdom ; although he was fast growing in the person of Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski. Had the earth been sifted and searched from its centre to the circumference, another human being could not have been found so well adapted and qualified for a king, in the fall of Poland, as this degenerate scion of royalty. This royal minion, as usual in such cases, rose in the political horizon of Poland, in connection with other kindred souls, who were to sympathize and co-operate with him in ruining the nation, and crushing the hopes of fifteen millions of souls. Catharine pursued the same policy as her husband, but with different motives. Her great object was to elevate her lover Poniatowski to the throne of Poland, as a preliminary step to the conquest.

This young count was the fourth son of Poniatowski, the brother-in-law of the distinguished Czartoryskis, one of the most eminent noble families in Poland. His parents and friends had marked him, in obedience to the dictates of fortune as they supposed, for a future king. At the time of his birth, Farnica, an Italian adventurer, lived in his father's house, acting in the triple capacity of surgeon, astrologer, and alchemist. The artful Italian, sensible of the weakness and superstition of the parents, assumed the two latter titles in order to ingratiate himself more effectually into the favor of his noble patron. As a flattering

compliment to the ambitious hopes of the parents, and in harmony with the royal expectations of the Czartoryskis, he predicted on the birth of the child, that the young prince would wear a crown. The fond parents, fired with royal ambition, at once commenced the work of manufacturing the beautiful babe into a future king of Poland; and therefore gave the boy a start on the highway of royalty, by christening him with the ominous and royal name of Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski.

The countess, stimulated by maternal affection for her child, and elated with the dazzling hopes of his wearing a crown, applied herself with great care and industry to the work of polishing this raw material of royalty, to become an ornament of palaces and thrones. She commenced his royal education by making the lovely and well-proportioned boy swear upon his knees in the lap of his anxious mother, to abjure the seductions of love and pleasure till he was thirty years old. This was a necessary precaution against embarrassing himself prematurely with the cares and expenses of a family, and that his education and high expectations might not be retarded nor blighted by the dangerous consequences of premature and reckless love—a lesson well worthy of the attention of parents and children generally. But, unfortunately, the young prince, as is too frequently the case with giddy youth, soon violated his solemn vows, forgot the maternal lessons of the nursery, and spent his life in the low desires of love, to the neglect of mental and moral culture.

Young Poniatowski was not designed by nature, nor endowed with either the intellectual, moral, or physical powers necessary for a distinguished soldier, or the thorny road of ambition; but he was eminently qualified for the duties of the toilet and the voluptuary. In early youth, he began to develop his ruling

passion, by dancing the vulgar ballads, and singing to himself the licentious songs of the French poets, who were his favorite and almost only authors; while his heart-stricken mother was admonishing the young prodigal of his dangerous course, and lecturing him on the sciences of war and politics, and the stern and abstemious virtues of a worthy prince.* His youth was spent in reading French novels, imitating his dancing masters, and revelling with his beautiful mistresses. His inferior mind, set in a person of the first order of beauty, was the very grade of talent necessary for the work of ruining a nation, as in the fall of Poland. He possessed a showy, superficial knowledge of light literature; and possessed great tact in small talk both in public and private. He could tell all he knew in a few flourishes of low rhetoric or effeminate elocution, by dancing a minuet, rattling a piano, or gallanting a brainless princess; but he continually avoided the society of the wise and good, and never was suspected of any lofty aspirations, intellectual or moral.

Poniatowski was one of those common scions of royalty who had an air of superiority in his symmetrical and characteristic countenance, a polished figure of personal beauty, without majestic height or strength, elegance of carriage sustained by gigantic feelings, without large bones or rigid muscles—a kind of half-way dignity between the two sexes. He was one of those miniature men who can become almost anything in small matters, and absolutely nothing in the well-balanced scales of human greatness. He was one of those strange and useless beings which nature sometimes seems to manufacture to order for some vile purpose, painted in those neutral tints of light and shade, at which the modest canvas ever blushes with shame, ready to assume any

* Rulhiere.

color, but in truth is destitute of any. He had the pride of humanity, but without the pride of intellect, superior rank, or noble spirit. He had ambition, but it was the thirst of low desires, gratified more by the fulsome flattery of a degraded sonnet, than the most laudable success in discovering a planet, measuring the heavens, or defending his injured nation. His intellectual powers were satisfied with the vagaries of a deranged imagination; his affections were never elevated above sensuality, and his physical powers were confined to the narrow region of the toilet.

Such was the character of Stanislas Augustus, when Sir Charles Williams, the English ambassador, first made his acquaintance at Warsaw, who now becomes a new and distinguished, but fatal actor in the drama of Poland's ruin. Their kindred talents, appearance, vices, and aspirations, made them fit associates for the deeds of darkness they afterwards performed in the downfall of Poland. Being birds of a kindred feather, they commenced a butterfly tour through foreign countries, sipping, dancing, and coquetting with the bloods and belles of frothy society. Poniatowski could not deny himself a short visit at Paris, that city of gaudy gaiety and giddy pleasure, where he had received his education, so congenial to his nature; while Williams, in the meantime, proceeded to discharge his diplomatic duties in England. The young Polish dandy—a male of the human species who dresses himself like a doll, and carries his character on his back—became perfectly intoxicated with the pleasures of the French capital. As usual with such characters, he drank freely, gamed high, intrigued low, fell in and out of love every hour in the day, and swore eternal love to every pretty face, gaudy dress, and graceful dancer he met in Paris. So unlimited was his love, so

active was the tender passion, and so successful was his address with the weaker fair sex, that thirty ladies of rank unexpectedly encountered each other one day in his country house, all claiming the fair dandy as their betrothed husband; daggering each other with their jealous eyes, and swearing on their knees at the feet of their prince, that they loved him to the very death, and would never leave the floor of his house without their much loved prize. The next step in the career of our young prince, revealed the usual and mortifying fact that his finances had been exhausted by the heavy drafts which his extravagance, his pleasures and vices had made on his pocket, so that the prodigal son now found himself involved in debt to an alarming amount. The lawyers, the harpies of society, who are always watching such royal birds, now pounced upon the love-sick prince, and fastened their unhallowed talons upon him so roughly, that the embryo king well nigh swooned under the operation.

After exhausting all his intellectual resources, which were rather more scanty than his finances, he succeeded in prevailing on a female friend—Madame Geoffrin, wife of a rich glass manufacturer—to advance funds to extricate himself from his dilemma, and made the best of his way to England to rejoin his friend Williams, cursing Paris, their laws, lawyers, gamblers, creditors and lovers, at every gallop of his steeds. The legitimate fruits of his Parisian education, were the arts of captivating the female heart and a regal affectation of deportment, by imitating Louis XV. The first of these princely acquirements placed him on the throne, and the second taught him how to fill it, as the reader will see in the sequel.

Poniatowski was now well educated, and every way qualified for his first appearance in the court of the murderous and licen-

tious Catharine of Russia, where the ruin of Poland was first planned. Williams was appointed ambassador to Petersburg, and Poniatowski accompanied him as his secretary. The prince was soon introduced to Catharine, whose affections were immediately won by the fascinating Pole, now only twenty-three, and thus in one night's debauch, these two licentious lovers formed attachments and plans which resulted in the death of Peter, and the elevation of the two culprits to the rival thrones of Russia and Poland; and in its consequences subjected the latter to the tyranny of the former. When the English ambassador was obliged to leave Petersburg, Poniatowski continued to prolong his stay with Catharine, by obtaining a diplomatic commission from Augustus, the king of Poland. Count Broglie, the French minister, on hearing that the young Pole was nominated ambassador from the Polish court, said to Brulh—"This complaisance will cost the house of Saxony the throne." Although this was not prophecy, yet it was one of those safe conclusions within the well-settled principles of cause and effect, which never fails of its accomplishment.

The guilty pair now commenced a course so undeviating from the anticipations of philosophy, that every observer of human conduct easily read the end from the beginning. The prodigal prince having so unblushingly secured the affections of the Russian queen that Peter, her royal consort, soon lost all control over her; and shortly after, she boldly introduced her seducer to a company of young Poles, with whom they were supping, as their future king. But the lovers had some further obstacles to surmount before they could reach the acme of their murderous ambition. Infidelity soon separated the king and queen of Russia, and Poniatowski was compelled to return to Poland. The

parting scene between the guilty lovers was celebrated by their mingled tears for each other's absence, and their plighted faith and mutual vows to punish their enemies, who were the authors of their separation, as soon as an opportunity should be presented.

The Polish count carried home with him a letter to his father from Catharine, containing these ominous words—"Charles XII. distinguished your merit; I shall know how to distinguish your son's and raise him, perhaps above Charles XII. himself." The superstitious old man treasured up this laconic epistle as a divine oracle, and always carried the prophetic document in his bosom. At the same time Catharine, true to the anger of her sex when crossed in love, cherished an implacable hatred against the Saxon prince, Charles, and the French and Austrian ambassadors, who, she fancied, had been instrumental in depriving her of the society of her Polish dandy; and she did not fail to retaliate when she had the power.

The subjugation of Poland to Russia now was a familiar theme in all the courts of Europe. Even Turkey abandoned all resistance to the increasing power of the Czar over the devoted republic. The fall of Poland before Russian despotism was now considered no longer doubtful. The only remaining obstacle in the way of Catharine's ambition was her abused and alienated husband; and a single murderous act made Peter a corpse and his widow a queen. The death of Peter, in 1762, was joyful news to Ponia-towski, but sad intelligence to the reflecting Poles, who now began to see clearly their approaching danger. Count Brulh, who possessed the remarkable versatility of talent of becoming all things to all men, and adapting himself to all times, events, and circumstances, was the first to announce Peter's death to

Poniatowski. His messenger found him in bed, amusing himself with a picture of Catharine on both sides of him, one in the character of Bellona, and the other as Minerva. On hearing the glad tidings of Peter's death, the depraved lover leaped from the bed, frantic with joy, and added to the dark catalogue of crimes with which his life was stained, that of insulting Heaven, by kneeling and addressing his Maker and the pictures of his mistress as equals, each in their turn. He immediately commenced his flight to the arms of the empress; but his prudent uncles quieted and detained him, until they could ascertain the true posture of Russian policy concerning his fate.

After the lapse of a month, during which Poniatowski was tormented with the worst fears and rumors of his fate, sometimes that the empress had found a more acceptable companion in the person of Orloff, a young Russian who had aided her in making the murdered body of her husband, her bloody footstool to the throne of Russia, and other similar reports equally unfavorable, at length the wished for billet arrived, containing these distressing and ambiguous words—"I send Keyserling to Poland with orders to make your cousin, Prince Adam Czartoryski, king." In addition to this heart-rending message, the letter was filled with lavish praises of Orloff. While Stanislas was weeping over this ambiguous love letter of the artful Catharine, she made several important moves in her political game, in relation to the future conquest of Poland. She first disappointed the united hopes of Frederick and the Poles, by countermanding her troops, and changing their future action with reference to the subjugation of Poland, and the elevation of Stanislas to the throne. She immediately rekindled her former resentment against Prince Charles, duke of Courland, and directed Augustus to depose him

at once. The order after some hesitation was obeyed ; and Biron, the former Russian duke, was restored.

This abuse of his favorite son was a heavy blow to Augustus, and robbed Poland of all its charms for him ; and soon the small remnant of power which Russia had left, was wrested from him by the political factions. While Augustus was fast becoming disgusted with his tarnished crown, and almost ready to abandon it, Stanislas Poniatowski was crying for it. Catharine had sent to Warsaw, as her ambassador, to make her former lover king of Poland, count Keyserling, an old diplomatist, who had grown grey in the intrigues and villainy of politics. He had formerly been a professor in the university of Konigsberg ; and during one of his missions to Poland, had become acquainted with Poniatowski when a child, where for a time he was occupied in giving him instructions in Latin ; and, in memory of these events, he now called him his son and pupil. The Czartoryskis, and their protégé, Poniatowski, for a time met with some opposition in the royal highway to the throne ; but Catharine increased her influence in their favor as fast as it was needed.

Prince Radziwill, their mortal enemy, and the richest nobleman in the kingdom, was appointed palatine of Wilna, the most important office in Lithuania. He had a regular army in his service, well furnished with artillery. This led to a war between the two contending parties, and Radziwill being too powerful, the Czartoryskis applied for Russian aid. Catharine, who had been charged with the murder of her husband, found it necessary to commence her reign cautiously ; and not being yet fully seated on the throne, was obliged to yield something to her ministers, and therefore she did not at first dare to send troops to Poland to aid the faction of her friends, the Czartoryskis and Poniatow-

ski. She therefore resorted to the artifice of pretending that they were only to march through Lithuania, on their route from Courland to the Ukraine. This act of invasion was not noticed by the Poles, who, by their civil wars and other acts of national degradation, had sunk themselves so low, that they were past resenting insults. The empress now began to show her angry teeth, by threatening the Radziwills, and, at the same time, informed the king, that if he favored that party, she must interfere.

Catharine having arranged with her jealous ministry, and finding herself firmly seated on the throne, now began to make a more decided and visible demonstration of her designs. She immediately marched eight thousand of her Russian troops into Lithuania, who encamped near Wilna, as a vanguard of a larger body in the rear. The Poles, who never move prematurely, but always reserve their energies as a final resort for the last emergency, remained firm and undaunted, while they protested against the treason and villainy of Poniatowski and his party, who were ready to sell their country to its enemies as a bribe for a precarious crown. The patriots now avowed the sentiment that Poland would have no arbiter but God. Prince Radziwill remaining firm in the interests of his country, and continually increasing his army, watched with an eagle's eye all the wily movements of Catharine, determined to exterminate her troops on the first appearance of violence. The old Roman-hearted hero, Branicki, and his band of scarred patriots, rallied round Radziwill with heart and soul, shield and sabre, ready for the fight of death, when the tocsin of the country sounded the alarm.

As a precautionary measure, Mokranowski was despatched to the Russian ambassador, Keyserling, to demand an explanation

of his mistress's conduct. Keyserling, sensible that the time had not yet arrived for striking the fatal blow at the heart of Poland, after having in vain tempted the Polish envoy with flattering bribes, temporized and excused the matter as an accidental circumstance, entirely too trivial for the notice of high-minded sovereigns; and falsely assured him that Catharine was the friend of the republic, and the troops would soon be withdrawn without any evil design. In the meantime, Frederick of Prussia began to be alarmed at the movement of the Russian empress, and even became so restive under the general aspect of affairs, that he betrayed almost a prophetic consciousness of future events. The old Cham of the Crimea, who had been resting in his tent, sipping coffee and smoking his Turkish pipe for several years, now began to smell Russian powder, and springing from his couch of luxury and learning that his old Russian enemy was approaching the frontier where he was encamped, at once sent the advancing general this emphatic message—"If you touch a single Polish hut, in five days I will come to breakfast with you with a hundred thousand Tartars." Catharine, on hearing the roar of the old Turkish lion in his lair, dared not encounter the united forces of the courageous Radziwill and the brave old Cham, and therefore wisely withdrew her troops from Lithuania for a short time.

The weak Poniatowski, who had been snivelling at the feet of his mistress for the crown of Poland, now wept with rage at seeing his treasonable designs on his country again frustrated for a time, by the retreat of the Russians. Once when Branicki, his brother-in-law, was leaving Warsaw, after the negotiation with Keyserling, Poniatowski was present, and when the old veteran saw him, he made him get into his carriage, where he

began to reason with the young traitor, in hopes of kindling some sparks of Polish patriotism in his obdurate heart. The old hero thus opened his monitory lecture in the ears of his degenerate relative: "Your ambition misleads you; it is conducting you to slavery, and perhaps your greatest success will only serve to mark the epoch of the entire destruction of your country." Poniatowski remained fixed and motionless under the monitions of his worthy kinsman, and answered him only with tears and profound silence. The grand-general looking the crying youth sternly and serenely in the face, inquired how he was to interpret his tears; and on receiving no answer but a fresh gush of heartless tears and muttered invectives against the house of Saxony, stopped his carriage for his imbecile, insolent guest to alight, and then drove on without ever speaking to him again.

"Fortune, however, was not so stern towards the count as his brother had been; for she now drew from her wheel a prize for him, which soon proved to be nothing less than the crown he sighed for." The joyful news now thrilled the heart of Poniatowski, that the fifth of October, 1763, had vacated the throne for him, by the death of Augustus, whose reign had cursed Poland for the last thirty years. Poniatowski, now considering himself a king, dried up his tears, and devoted himself to the care of his toilet, the study of his curls, the folds of his cravat, and the splendor of his person, as necessary preliminaries to his coronation. The question of his wearing the crown of Poland had been previously decided by his Russian mistress during his former residence at Petersburg, and the guilty conspirators had only been waiting for time and assassins to kill the two sovereigns, Peter and Augustus.

The Polish patriots, including all who loved their country, would

not allow themselves to imagine for a single moment that the dandy Poniatowski, one of the empress's kept men, could ever ascend the throne of Poland; and therefore, offered the crown to their pure old hero, Branicki, believing that his talents and patriotism would restore their declining kingdom to its former national glory. Faction had made count Oginski, who had married Michael Czartoryski's daughter, a powerful rival of Poniatowski. The new candidate immediately repaired to Petersburg, with high expectations of seducing the affections of Catharine from her old lover, through the influence of Orloff, her favorite minister, who exclaimed in full court when he saw Oginski enter—"This is the man who ought to be king, and not a poor player like Poniatowski." But in spite of all entreaties, Catharine remained true to her former vows, and declared that Stanislas should be king.

Catharine now considered the time had come for action, and unhesitatingly throwing off her mask, boldly declared her intentions of subjugating and ruling Poland at her pleasure. Considering all further protestations, excuses, and hypocrisy unnecessary, she at once marched sixty thousand troops to the frontiers, ready to enforce her will by sabres and cannon; and forthwith sent Prince Repnin to Warsaw to hasten the tardy steps of the cautious old ambassador, Keyserling, the fit agent of so base a mistress, and such an inhuman mission. His instructions were, that—"His sovereign should give Poland whatever king she thought fit, the meanest gentleman, Polish or foreign, and that no power on earth could hinder her;" which was equivalent to the conquest of the republic. This political gamester had been one of Poniatowski's boon companions at Petersburg, and therefore entered into his service the more cheerfully. He carried with him one hundred thousand ducats, as a present from his mistress to her lover, with

assurances of further remittances for his support, until he could lay his hands on the treasures of Poland.

Frederic of Prussia, considering Poland as the property of Russia, and finding all remonstrance and resistance useless, concluded to yield and further the designs of Catharine, in hopes of securing a part of the spoils, or at least of protecting his own dominions from the rapacious maw of Russia. This new actor in the drama opened his part of the play by signing a treaty to prevent all change in the Polish government, and to confer the crown on a Piast. In addition to this, he flattered the vanity of the empress by sending her lover, Poniatowski, that distinguished emblem of royalty—so highly prized by aristocrats and ridiculed by democrats—the ribbon of the order of the Black Eagle.

The time now arrives to open a new scene in the play, the curtain rises, and the fight commences. Forty thousand Prussians were on the frontiers, and ten thousand Russians were on their march to Warsaw, for the laudable purpose of electing Poniatowski king of Poland, by the united votes of sabres, battle-axes, and cannon, against the wishes of all true-hearted Poles. Branicki and Radziwill stood firm by their guns, anxiously watching the united movements of Russia and her new vassals, Prussia and Austria. Radziwill hastened to Warsaw with a part of his troops, which, with the other forces of the republican patriots, amounted to three thousand men—a force every way inadequate for the approaching crisis. The preliminaries of electing a king commenced on the 7th of May, 1764—the stated time for opening the Diet of election—by drawing up the Russian troops without the city, and guarding all the avenues. A strong guard also surrounded Poniatowski; and the whole senate house was crammed with foreign troops to superintend the election of a new

king for Poland. Only eight senators out of fifty appeared, who now began to read the fate of Poland with similar emotions to those of the ancient king, who trembled as he saw the finger of Providence trace the ominous characters of his approaching destiny on the doomed walls of his court. Malachowski, whose duty it was to open the session as marshal of the last Diet, for some time failed to appear.

In the meantime, Mokranowski was occupying the fleeting moments, so full of interest to Polish hearts, in the very building which was invested by his enemies, in drafting a remonstrance against the legality of the Diet, commenced under the terror of foreign arms. This being done, Mokranowski entered the house, leading the venerable old marshal, who held his staff reversed, as a signal that the Diet had not been opened. As soon as Mokranowski saw Catharine's troops brandishing their sabres, his democratic heart gave vent to its feelings, by exclaiming with a loud voice: "Since the Russian troops hem us in, I suspend the authority of the Diet." Immediately the military, who were in fact the voters on the occasion, rushed at the old hero with a flourish of swords; but the outrage did not extend to blood; and the bold republican, sheathing his sword which he had drawn in his defence, and looking round on the cowardly, bribed senators, who had sold their country for Russian gold, and were dressed in cockades of the family colors of Czartoryski, said to them: "What, gentlemen, are you deputies of your country, and assume the livery of a family?" The old marshal then shaking his venerable grey locks, exclaimed, in a clear, dignified voice: "Gentlemen, since liberty no longer exists among us, I carry away this staff, and I will never raise it till the republic is delivered from her troubles."

While Mokranowski was supporting the good old marshal, the cowardly Russians, who were convened in hundreds and thousands, again disgraced the military gallantry of the profession by assaulting a helpless, defenceless old veteran. "Strike," shouted the scarred old soldier, calmly crossing his arms on his heaving bosom; "Strike, I shall die free, and in the cause of liberty!" Such Polish courage and heaven-born love of liberty never had been witnessed by Catharine's military serfs; and with their sabres poised at his heart, their arms were paralyzed; and looking upon the brave Pole as the embodiment of courage, his presence so awed them, that they had neither the strength, courage, nor disposition, to touch him. Resuming their courage, the Russian cowards then turned to the old lion-hearted marshal, sabre in hand, and peremptorily ordered him to resign the official staff; but to their great surprise they found him made of the same republican stuff as his coadjutor. His Polish patriotism now firing up all his energies, exclaimed in tones more eloquent than a Demosthenes or Cicero—"You may cut off my hand, or take my life, but I am marshal of Poland, elected by a free people, and I can only be deposed by a free people—I shall retire." This Roman-hearted Pole, who was one of the most venerable and excellent noblemen in the republic, was eighty years old. The Russian minions, quailing with fear, and blushing with shame at the thought of their own infamy, surrounded him and opposed his departure; but Maranowski cried out—"Gentlemen, respect this old man; let him go out! If you must have a victim, here am I; respect age and virtue!" At the same time he defended the venerable old marshal from the attacks of the Russian assassins, until they forced their way through the crowd to the door and retired.

The determined conduct of these two patriots may be regarded as a fair specimen of the Polish patriots, who then probably numbered throughout the kingdom at least one hundred thousand ; and were ready to shed their last drop of blood for the salvation of their fallen country. But unfortunately they were without a leader, without organization, without money, and without arms. Had they been well armed, supplied, and disciplined, with a Kosciusko or a Sobieski at their head, all the combined forces of Russia, Austria, and Prussia could not have conquered them. Poniatowski, whose faction was now stripped of every semblance of legal authority, prolonged the Diet, and ordered the deputies to elect a new marshal. The injunction was obeyed, and Prince Adam Czartoryski was chosen ; who, together with his junto, embracing only about eighty members, instead of three hundred who should have been in their seats, but had absented themselves from such outrages, now commenced a proscription of all the leading constitutionalists in the kingdom, in violation of every principle of law, justice, or patriotism.

The Polish patriots finding remonstrance and resistance all in vain, and sensible that might was to be the only right, and force the only arbiter, now left Warsaw in two bodies. One, under the grand-general, proceeded to different places in the kingdom, for the purpose of confederating the Poles in behalf of a united, vigorous action in the defence of their country ; and the other under Radziwill repaired to Lithuania for the same purpose. As soon as the fraudulent Diet heard of their departure and business, they removed the grand-general from his office, and appointed Augustus Czartoryski in his place, with orders to bring all the troops of the country, both foreign and native, against Radziwill and the deposed grand-general. Branicki's small Spartan band

daily diminished in numbers, until they were obliged to take refuge on the borders of Hungary. Radziwill, accompanied by his wife and sisters, encountered a detachment of Russians and gave them battle. These two young, beautiful, accomplished, and educated ladies, who, thus far in life, had veiled themselves with the modesty and sweetness of domestic retirement, sensible of the awful crisis that was soon to decide the fate of their beloved country, fired with the courage of their old Amazonian mothers, and inspired with the love of liberty, which swelled every vein and thrilled every nerve, resolved to exchange their lives for the heart's blood of the Russian hordes. These lovely creatures, blooming with all the fragrance of youth, on meeting the enemy at once laid aside their robes of silk and satin, buckled on their armor, and robing themselves in a soldier's garb, mounted their foaming chargers, and dashed into the hottest fight, dealing death and destruction to the hearts and heads of Russians, with every thrust of their fatal sabres. With their bridles in their teeth, and a sabre in each hand, dripping with Russian blood, by their melodious voices, alternately animating their brothers to the charge, and invoking the Hand above to shield the brave, resolved to revenge their betrayed country, or join their sires in Heaven.

While these beautiful Amazons were dashing through the ranks of the Polish patriots, rushing to every post of danger, where a Napoleon would not dare to tread, dealing out their death blows thick and fast on all sides, and bending their trusty blades in the hearts of the foe, occasionally charming the troops with their sweet and inspiring war-songs; now dismounting to soothe the dying moments of an expiring hero, and then flying like fairies to cheer the reeling, trembling ranks vanquished by Russian

numbers, hosts of the invading hirelings were laid low in death; and the battle would have turned in favor of the patriots, but for the overpowering numbers of the enemy. During this scene of mortal ruin, Cupid mingled in the flight, and shot one of his lovely heroines with a fatal arrow. During the battle, one of the Radziwill sisters, whose charms were as irresistible as her sabres, which cut the fastest, deepest, and the deadliest, had several times met Moraski, a most beautiful and gallant Pole, whose deeds of daring had fired her youthful love. Though he was a poor and obscure young man, yet he loved his country and gave himself to her cause; and therefore, the beautiful Miss Radziwill loved him and gave him her heart, hand, and princely fortune; and within eight days after falling in love on the field of battle, while rushing over the corpses of Russian tyrants, she became the poor man's wife, and endowed her brave young lord with an immense fortune. The female character, in its glory, possesses an excellence, seldom, if ever, found in the other sex. She can both love and hate, fight and woo, kill and cure, all at the same time.

The patriots being defeated, and the country fast falling on all hands, the true-hearted Poles now looked to Prussia as a last resort for aid in their greatest extremity, and Mokranowski flew to Berlin to enlist Frederick in their favor. He reminded the Prussian king of the former favors of Poland to his country, of the obligations of gratitude and reciprocity, of the united interest of the two nations in resisting the usurpations of Russia, and of the fraud and force of Catharine, and her probable designs to first crush Poland, and then piecemeal subject Prussia and Austria by similar art and tyranny. Frederick, who had already both pledged and subjected himself and country to Russia, in support of the conquest of Poland—though secretly—treated the messen-

ger politely but coolly, and pretended that the republicans had attempted to make the crown hereditary in the house of Saxony. "Besides," said he, "you are the weakest, you must submit." The determined Pole replied—"Your majesty did not set us such an example; you resisted, single-handed, all Europe." "Without a favorable juncture," observed the king, "I should have been undone." "One presents itself," replied the Polish patriot; "and your majesty's talents have directed fortune's junctures." Frederick then tauntingly observed, that the Poles were accustomed to receive their kings from Russia. Mokranowski rejoined—"She has only given us one, and we wish no more from her. But will your majesty never appear except as a secondary character among us? Assume the part that becomes us; give us a king—give us your brother Prince Henry." "He will not turn Catholic," answered the Prussian. "At least, sire, preserve our liberty," replied the patriot. The king then hypocritically assured Mokranowski that he had no other intention; and turning the conversation to the general affairs of Poland, very temptingly tried to persuade him to desert the cause of Poland and enter the service of Prussia. This insulting offer was peremptorily, but politely declined, and they parted.

The fatal die was now cast; Poland was doomed, and the field was entirely clear for the election and coronation of Poniatowski. The artful Russians lost no time for action, nor allowed any delay for new opposition. The cowardly, degenerate Poniatowski now threw himself at the feet of the old Russian hireling, Keyserling, in tears, and implored at his hands the crown of Poland, swearing by all that was sacred and honorable, that he would never exert his legal authority but according to his directions, and that he would rule under the flattering title of Poniatowski Keyser-

ling. Under the combined influence of Polish treason, Russian tyranny, Prussian hypocrisy, and Austrian malice, by the voice of only four thousand bribed, terrified, and corrupted nobles, instead of the usual number of one hundred thousand assembled in the electoral field, on that dark and ill-fated day in the history of Poland—the 7th of September, 1764, Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski was manufactured into an automaton king of Poland. The farce of coronation occurred on the 25th of November at Warsaw, instead of Cracow, as an additional violation of law. The addle-brained dandy, ashamed of the royal regalia in Polish costume, as an additional evidence of his imbecility, refusing to sacrifice his long, black, effeminate curls which he disgraced, and appear with his hair cropped, as was customary with Polish kings, dressed himself in a theatrical style, with a helmet, and presented himself in this garb to receive the sacred unction, amid the sneers and insults of his abused subjects.

The conquest of Poland was now complete. Russian tyranny had triumphed over a gallant nation, destined yet to be free. Prussian cowardice was exulting over a fallen republic, to whom she owed her national existence and high prosperity. German ingratitude was now revelling in its career of malice at a fallen enemy, which had repeatedly saved the empire and modern Europe from the fatal grasp of the infuriated Turk. All that remains of the history of Poland is only an afterpiece to the drama of the nation's fall, a mere game of the victors for the spoils, in which Russia, as usual, received the lion's share, with occasional symptoms of returning life in the corpse of the body politic, by the most marvellous efforts of resuscitation and restoration.

Of all the princes who have ruled or ruined, flourished or

perished, no one can be found, in whose character and history are combined so much meanness and misfortune, as in the reign of Stanislas Augustus. No one ever ascended a throne under more perplexing and unfortunate circumstances of his own manufacture; no one was ever less qualified to meet and surmount them, and no one has ever been more severely and deservedly punished by them. As usual with all erring mortals, and particularly with corrupt politicians, the equity of Providence dealt out to the royal culprit, and his criminal coadjutors, the merited retribution of their own conduct, as the sequel of their history abundantly proves. The fortune of Stanislas now commenced its wane. The smiles of his licentious mistress, whose perfidy had elevated him to the throne of a fallen nation, were now withdrawn from the manufactured king, and bestowed upon others equally seductive and vicious. Stanislas now began to experience the truth of that philosophy which admonishes us that all associations founded in licentiousness and injustice, are destitute of principles of good faith, and doomed, sooner or later, to end in disappointment and ruin. Catharine and her friends had heard of the king's truant gallantries with other suspicious fair ones; the small stock of good sense which they possessed, soon saw through the thin and showy disguise of his treachery and imbecility, and they began to be ashamed of their former misplaced love and mistaken adoration. Catharine loved the treason, but despised the traitor. She at once foresaw that he was too weak a man to answer her future purposes; and therefore resolved to make a common sacrifice of him and his fallen nation as fast as possible. She received the news of his coronation so coolly from Count Oginski, that she only had the heart and words to say—"I congratulate you on it," and immediately withdrew.

The Poles, who had been most violently opposed to his election, submitted for a time, on the ground that discretion is the better part of valor; while the friends of the automaton king began to cool, under the conviction that they had gained nothing, but lost everything by his election; while Russia had won the game, to their great loss and disgrace.

All that remained was for Russia to divide the spoils in such proportions as to satisfy Prussia and Austria, who had silently aided the conquest, and present a plausible excuse to the world for their robbery and national homicide. It has, however, been doubted by those well qualified to judge, whether Catharine's love for Stanislas Augustus was anything more than a hypocritical pretence for the purpose of using him as a pliant tool for the more easy conquest of Poland. Without deciding this doubtful question of love and politics, one thing is certain, that neither Russia nor any other nation ever had a more artful, far-seeing, deep-plotting, and corrupt sovereign, than Catharine II. of Russia. It now remained for Russia to use up Stanislas piecemeal, and divide the spoils so insidiously as to quiet the house of Saxony, whose royal aspirations for the Polish throne had been disappointed in the election of Stanislas, and whose party was opposed to German interests. The Czartoryskis, to whom Stanislas was indebted for his election, now availed themselves of the opportunity offered by the coronation-diet to reform the laws, so as to render the constitution virtually monarchical. The changes in relation to the coinage, weights, and measures, were useful; but the introduction of a tariff, now for the first time, was a more doubtful policy. The same diet decreed two statues, one to Augustus, and the other to Michael Czartoryski. On the same night, the patriots posted placards in different parts

of the city, with this merited sarcasm : " Erect two gibbets ; that is their fit monument."

Stanislas, during his reign, sustained the same character which he had formerly established,—distinguished for frivolity, show, extravagance, licentiousness, and other kindred vices,—without a single redeeming virtue. He soon found, however, by experience, extremely mortifying to his unlimited pride, that instead of being king of Poland, he was in reality only an inferior viceroy of Russia. Repnin, Catharine's ambassador, still remained at Warsaw, frequently boasting in and out of the presence of Stanislas, that, " it was he who had put the crown on his head." Poland was soon filled with more than twenty thousand Russian troops, scattered throughout the kingdom, in the most favorable positions for overawing and subduing the Polish patriots. Stanislas now proposed an alliance with Austria,—then the mortal enemy of Prussia,—for the purpose of obtaining the hand of an archduchess ; a policy which greatly enraged Frederic.

Religious faction had now culminated,—the political cabals had now reached the fatal crisis. The religious confederates, including all the numerous sects except the Roman Catholics, now considered their victory over the Jesuits complete. The Greek Church had been the leaders in the election of Stanislas Augustus, for the purpose of promoting Russian interests ; and all the other religious denominations rejoiced to avail themselves of any means, as a last resort, to crush the Jesuits, and relieve themselves from their persecutions. The Lutherans were anxious to continue the crown in the house of Saxony ; and although they greatly preferred a Lutheran prince, yet they would rather submit to Russian tyranny, and the prejudices of the Greek Church, than longer endure the persecution of the Jesuits ; who had for a

long time controlled the Polish government, and were, in fact, the authors of the political evils which had long harassed and finally crushed the nation. All parties now anticipated the approaching diet of 1766, as the crisis of their hopes and fears. The dissidents, or religious confederation, which embraced all the religious sects who were opposed to the Jesuits,—including the Greek Church, the Teutonic Knights, the Jews, the Armenians, the Piarists, the Lazarists, the Lutherans, Catholics, and all others who had directly or indirectly aided in the election of Stanislas,—now looked forward to the next diet for their compensation and restoration of their privileges, under the protection of Catharine, of which they had been deprived by Roman Jesuitism, under the reign of Augustus III. They had been deprived of all right of participation in the offices of government; and had been declared guilty of high treason for imploring the aid of foreign governments, and particularly the protection of Russia. They still enjoyed the privileges of holding military offices, and the right of voting for deputies; but they could not be deputies themselves.

The dissidents had presented a petition to the Diet of election, praying for the restoration of their former rights; but the Catholics, as usual, treated the request with contempt, tore the paper in pieces, and by another fell blow, deprived the petitioners of holding offices. The same application was renewed at the coronation diet, but with no better success. The dissidents now resolved on war to the knife; and bigotry, jealousy, and revenge, the three furies of religious wars, now armed themselves for the deadly battle of hostile creeds. They now presented their grievances to Catharine, who promised them immediate relief,—always ready to seize upon any pretext to crush the Roman Catho-

lies, and finish the expiring existence of fallen Poland. Sixty thousand Russian troops were now in Poland, and on the borders of the empire, ready to strike the last fatal blow. Catharine's ambassador announced the intention of his royal mistress to restore the dissidents. Stanislas and his diet now began to see, after it was too late to retrace their steps, that Poland was only a province of Russia; and that the only alternative left them was submission or war. Stanislas now convened his Castellans and bishops, and made known Catharine's desire for the restoration of the dissidents. But the convention advised him to deny the request; and he immediately announced to the Russian ambassador his intention to defend the Jesuits and Catholics.

The Diet of October 6th opened with renewed malice and disension. All the religious parties argued, quarrelled, resolved, and re-resolved, and parted the same, without affording any relief to the persecuted dissidents and Protestants. The manufactured king, alarmed at the state of affairs, and vacillating between the fears of his royal mistress on the one hand, and his Polish subjects on the other, lost the confidence of both, and finally became the common target for all parties. Catharine resolutely increasing her demands for the relief of the persecuted religious orders of Poland, immediately marched forty thousand Russians into Poland, to regulate the affairs of conscience by the sword and cannon. The death-blows which soon terminated the national existence of Poland, now fell thick and fast on all sides. Catharine now commenced the work of destruction among the patriots in earnest. The bishops of Cracow, Kiow, the Palatines of Cracow and others were arrested, imprisoned, and finally banished to Siberia, because they refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of Russia in Poland.

Repnin was now the uncontrolled dictator of Poland for Catharine, and disposed of all the offices, to which Stanislas quietly submitted; while his time and talents were engaged with his toilet, his perfumery, his curls, and other royal follies, and princely vices. The Diet yielded to Russian legislation; and the 19th of November witnessed the fall of the Jesuits, and the restoration of the dissidents. A new constitution was now adopted containing some new, laudable reforms, in accordance with Russian taste. The patriots now began to awake in earnest, and organized a confederation throughout Poland for the resistance of Russia. Russian troops were on the march in all directions, to crush all opposition in the bud. The confederates rallied under Pulaski to meet the Russians and Cossacks, who were burning, pillaging, and murdering in different parts of the kingdom. At length hostilities commenced at Bar, which, after a violent resistance on the part of the Poles, fell into the hands of the Russians. While Catharine's troops were fighting the preliminary battles in different parts of Poland, as preludes to the final partition, Austria and Prussia were looking on, and keeping each other in check, with 200,000 armed men, ready to strike when Catharine should give the signal. The Turk, on hearing the roar of Russian cannon, was roused from his slumbers, and well understanding the game, and willing to seize upon the opportunity to strike a deadly blow at Poland, in retaliation for old injuries which they had received in former wars,—when Poland had defended Russia, Austria, and Prussia, from the grasp of the Ottoman power. The Turks encountered a battle with the Russians, who were swarming on their confines, in which the troops of Catharine prevailed, to the great discouragement of the disconsolate Poles. Stanislas, who now had an army of only about seven thousand, employed

them for the protection of his toilet,—leaving his mistress and his country to fight their battles, when, where, and how they pleased.

The condition of the patriots who had been long accustomed to skirmishing warfare, was now deplorable in the extreme. They had been for a long time hunted like wild beasts, and persecuted like outlaws ; until they were without arms, ammunition, or military discipline ; issuing nightly from their dens, caves, and forests for plunder,—their only means of subsistence,—and were compelled to rob the churches of lead to make their balls !* The Russians showed no quarters to the conquered patriots, but murdered every one in the most brutal manner, cutting them in pieces, and drawing them in quarters, without mercy or humanity, to man, woman, or child. An attempt was made to kidnap Stainlas, with partial success, but failed at last. The 30th of May witnessed negotiations of peace between Austria and Prussia, as preparatory to playing their part in the division of the spoils. These two old enemies were now made common friends, upon Talleyrand's rule of creating a common interest. The Turkish monarch declined all further assistance to Poland ; the promised aid of France was withheld ; and all nations now quietly folded their arms in silence, to stand as idle spectators of one of the most unjust and inhuman scenes known in the annals of nations,—the division and plunder of Poland.

As early as 1770, Austria had refused any assistance to the patriots and confederates. Austria, as a preliminary step of conquest, took possession of Zips, a little Polish district in the Carpathian mountains of about sixteen towns. This was a signal for Austria and Prussia to open that scene in the tragedy of Poland's fall, which they were to play. Immediately after the

* Rullierre.

Austrians had advanced upon Poland, the Prussians, who had long been watching for the signal, commenced their invasions on the north-west; and, entering from Silesia, advanced as far as Posen and Thorn. Four thousand Prussian cavalry, under pretence of purchasing horses for the army, marched to the Dniester, and quartered on its banks in the close of the year 1771. The portentous cloud, which had for a long time lowered over Poland, continued to grow darker and darker, until the year 1772, which threatened to be the last year of Poland's national existence. The Austrians and Prussians marched in their troops upon the plains of Sarmatia, by thousands and tens of thousands; and on the 22d of April, the alliance of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, for the dismemberment of Poland, was formally announced to the utter astonishment of Poniatowski and his friends. The Polish patriots now gave up their country in despair. The leaders dispersed among the neutral nations of Europe, and Pulaski retired to America, and fell in the cause of freedom near Savannah.

All that remained now was for the pirates Catharine of Russia, Frederic of Prussia, and Joseph II., son of Maria Theresa, and co-regent with his mother, to sit down and divide the spoils. Writers of equal respectability differ as to the origin of Poland's conquest. Some date it a century anterior to the first partition; others commence with Peter, some with Catharine, and others as late as 1772,—a short time previous to the first partition. It has been a matter of voluminous dispute, which of the conspirators first boldly proposed the deed of infamy; and each of the three nations deny being its author. But be this as it may, the truth is, each of the victorious nations,—like all other similar conspirators,—though they may not, perhaps, at first have acted on any pre-concerted plan, yet each had long cherished his design,

the same as other villains who understand one another's game equally well,—“ Without eyes, ears, and harmful sound of words.” No formal agreement is necessary to form a coalition between thieves and robbers for the perpetration of deeds of darkness ; but the conspiring parties are naturally drawn together by similar depravity, similar motives, and similar designs. The first undoubted communication between them on this subject, was in December 1770 and 1771 in Petersburg.

Catharine and Frederic first concerted the plan of partition, subject to the approval of Austria, February 17, 1772, at Petersburg. Joseph and his old artful minister Kaunitz, readily consented, as they well understood the matter. But Maria, who occupied the throne jointly with her son Joseph, was now near the grave, and was making serious preparations for another world. She devoted her time principally to superstitious devotions in her gloomy chamber, hung round with the skulls of her dead friends, and a portrait of her late husband in the act of expiring. Yet she was not entirely prepared for the embraces of the grim messenger, for the reason that she still cherished the most implacable hatred to Frederic and Catharine. She wished to die in peace, and her conscience, which was now thundering in her ears the awful retribution of that eternity into which her soul was soon to be launched by death, at first caused her to repudiate the foul compact. But the arts and flatteries of courts, her thirst for national glory, and love of revenge, soon overcame her religious scruples ; and in the same breath with which she expressed her assent to the heaven-daring sin, she hypocritically exclaimed, “ May God forgive us,” and fell nearly lifeless into the arms of the seducer, who extorted the wicked concession. The partition deed of Poland's ruin was formally signed, sealed, and delivered

between Prussia and Austria on the 4th of March; and the definite treaty regulating the three portions for each of the conquering powers, was concluded on the 5th of August, 1772.

By the terms of the first partition deed Russia received the palatinates of Plock, Witebsk, and Mscislaw, as far as the rivers Dwina and Dnieper, more than three thousand square leagues. Austria had for her share, Red Russia or Galicia, and a portion of Podolia and Little Poland as far as the Vistula, about two thousand five hundred square leagues. Prussia was obliged to be contented with Polish Prussia, excepting Dantzic and Thorn with their territory; and a part of Great Poland, as far as the river Noteć or Netze, embracing about nine hundred square leagues. The remainder of Poland was secured to Stanislas under the old constitution, for two reasons; first, the robbers could not agree on any further division, and secondly it was necessary to leave a part as a cover for their further division, and as an excuse to the world, that what they had taken was only received in payment of an honest debt against Poland.

This national homicide filled the civilized world with horror, and sent a shudder throughout all Christendom. The pagan world stood aghast at the depravity, the Turk trembled at the infamy, and the savage of the wilderness blushed and hung his head, to think that human blood flowed in the veins of such hypocrisy. So great was the sensation in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, at this national robbery, that the culprits found it necessary to exhaust all their talent and logical legerdemain in trying to explain and excuse the matter to the world, by publishing pamphlets, and even volumes, in extenuation of their crimes. The bloody victors could not urge the excuse that they won the spoils by fair fighting; for all the world knew that they had

accomplished it by fraud ; by first worming themselves into the confidence of the Poles, and by the hypocritical pretence of aiding them in their trouble ; and what is worse than all the rest of the infamous transaction, the three powers pretended to act under the garb of religion, the last resort of the blackest infamy.

Catharine pretended to claim her share as a just indemnification for the trouble and expense which she had bestowed upon Poland in previous acts of kindness. That must be a strange code of ethics which robs a beneficiary to remunerate a benefactor ! Austria had an excuse still more disgraceful than Russia. The German culprits pretended to own the very premises which they had plundered, from time immemorial ; and falsely pretended to claim the territory by a chain of title that would disgrace the logic of a schoolboy, and showed the authors of the argument either fools or knaves, or more properly both. Frederick argued his cause on the general principle that Poland had no legal title deeds to the territory, and possession was no evidence of title. Where his majesty found a lawyer so learned as to make the discovery that nations must have a good paper title for all their possessions, his papers do not advise us, and his lawyers have not condescended to note the authorities. The substance of all their excuses narrows down to the robber's plea—"might is greater than right." Public opinion frowned so severely upon the three royal rogues, that they felt something more was necessary to justify their conduct. They then applied to the Polish Diet for a voluntary confirmation of their fraudulent titles ; and on meeting with an obstinate resistance, they then marched their troops to Warsaw, and on the 19th of April, 1773, compelled the few remaining members of the fallen Diet, and the despicable Stanislas, to ratify their partition deeds by force and arms, thereby

admitting their former acts fraudulent and void, and confirming them by deeds of villany still more infamous.

The Poles now began to awake to their condition. Polish credulity now saw its fatal error in trusting to the flattery of foreigners, who at heart were their enemies. They had now learned to their cost, that their false security, in trusting to the former mutual hatred of the conquering nations to each other, as a protection from invasion and conquest, was an idle dream, which the all-controlling power of self-interest had swept away. The Poles, together with their feeble king, now commenced a thorough course of reform in good earnest. The Jesuits, who had been the principal authors of the national discords and ruin, were abolished and banished; and their property, so fraudulently obtained from the people, was confiscated and appropriated for educational purposes. The new constitution of May 3d, 1791, was adopted; a new code was placed in commission, and other national reforms were commenced, in harmony with European laws, modelled mainly after the laws and government of England. But these reforms immediately called out the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia in their true characters, who now boldly threw off their masks of hypocrisy, abandoned at once all their previous fallacious excuses for the first partition, and at once marched into Poland a sufficient number of troops for the second partition, which was accomplished by the same means of fraud and force as the first, on the fatal fifth of September, 1793. The patriotic Poles, under the command of their great general, Kosciusko, had violently resisted this second robbery; but the weak, cowardly, and irresolute Stanislas, under the treasonable advice of that part of the nobility who were determined on their country's ruin, defeated the distinguished general and his gallant

troops, who fought so gloriously for liberty at Zielence, on the 18th of June, 1792, and all hopes of saving the country were given up in despair.

The victors still continued to use Stanislas as their royal automaton for further plundering Poland, and left him in nominal power of a small fragment of his nation until they could agree on its division. The final catastrophe of Poland's awful drama was fast approaching, and the actors now fast hastened their steps to close the play, and drop the curtain as soon as possible. The patriots again invoke the Hand above as the shield of their bravery, and once more resolve to do or die. They formed a confederation for the restoration of their country at Warsaw, and again invited Kosciusko to lead them to victory or death. This brave man who had studied democracy in Washington's school of patriots, again returned to the relief of his country, was chosen president and generalissimo of the liberty-loving Poles, who again charged upon the Russians in one of the bravest and most skilfully fought battles recorded in history; but crushed by overpowering numbers, Kosciusko and his country fell, with their bosoms bared for the defence of once glorious, but now fallen and degraded Poland.

The remaining part of the sad story of Poland's ruin is soon told. The three tyrants, in 1795, divided the balance of the kingdom between them; and thus by an act of injustice, which astonished Heaven and earth, Poland was blotted from the list of nations. In 1815, the Congress of Vienna, as a pretence of friendship, and as a vain show of lingering sensibility for the fifteen millions of human beings who had been ruined by their knavery, erected a small portion of the central part of Poland, amounting to forty-seven thousand square miles, and two million

eight hundred thousand inhabitants, into a state, by the name of the "Kingdom of Poland," and placed it under the government of the emperor of Russia; who added to his titles that of "King of Poland." Alexander very kindly gave them a constitution in compliance with Kosciusko's request, which, his successors shamefully violated. Russian persecution, never satisfied, renewed its revenge under Nicholas and Constantine, after the death of Alexander and Paul, and again aroused the patriotism of the Poles in the well fought battle of 1830, before described; and in 1832, Nicholas incorporated the balance of Poland with his dominions, where it still remains. This story of national villany is beyond the power of man to describe, no language can describe it; no poetry can sing it, no pencil can paint it, no chisel can trace it; but the story of Poland's wrongs and woes remains to be told in that awful day of accounts, when nations as well as individuals must meet their just retribution in that dread tribunal of Heaven, where Kosciusko and his holy patriots will appear as swift witnesses against the criminal authors of Poland's fall.

Such is a brief sketch of the history of the fall of Poland; it now remains to sum up its causes and consequences. In reviewing the history, institutions, and condition of Poland, as they have successively passed in rapid review before us, our surprise increases with the close of every chapter, at a catastrophe so marvellous and startling. That a country of such immense extent, inhabited by a people so talented, so martial, and so patriotic, whose strength, when put to the test on great and trying occasions, was equal to such mighty achievements should in any age become the children of such direful misfortunes, that their unparalleled victories should have led them to no result

permanently useful, and that their valor should at last fail them in the time of their greatest need, in the ruinous hours of dismemberment, present a question of politics and casuistry which statesmen have found of difficult solution. The poetical and plaintive motto, so touching to the heart of grief—*Quomodo Lapsus! Quid feci!* would seem to be far more applicable to the fall of Poland than to the fortunes of the Courtenays. Though always in war, and seldom in peace, ever combating powerful and wealthy nations, and frequently victorious, they never gained any useful, permanent accession of territory; and frequently seemed pleased to terminate a glorious contest by a cession of some portion of the ancient provinces of their republic.

Many superficial and sceptical philosophers have frequently attempted to solve this mysterious, moral, and political problem, by referring to a single defective or ruinous principle in the government, such as the election of their kings, their unfortunate situation in the midst of surrounding nations of great military powers, the absence of impassable mountains to protect them from the surrounding hordes, and the want of seacoast and navy. But either, or even all of these causes, will be found on close examination to be too few, feeble, and inadequate to explain the phenomenon, although they may have conspired with other causes in producing the dreadful disaster. And the farther we advance in investigating the causes of the long series of disasters, which for more than two thousand years have overwhelmed this miserable people, and their still more miserable ancestors of Sarmatia, it will appear more and more satisfactory that their misfortunes have arisen from causes more permanent and lasting, than their physical situation, or chaotic government.

If we would truly understand the causes of Poland's fall, we

must take a wider and more profound view of the whole case, in all its causes, consequences, and various ramifications. The Polish crown was not always formerly elective, it is true; though it must be conceded that, in reality, the sovereign has always been dependent on the nobility for the occupancy of the throne. During a period of more than five hundred years, the Piast dynasty occupied the throne of Poland, which was succeeded by the race of the Jagellons for nearly two hundred years, with the consent of the nobility, with as much regularity as the Plantagenets of England; and yet through the whole of these two dynasties which continued for more than seven hundred years,—a period nearly a century longer than the existence of Rome from its foundation to the period of its conquest, when the arms of the victorious Cimbri were first heard among the Romans; and yet through the whole of this long lapse of centuries, the same evils and losses of the republic, with a few exceptions, were as numerous and severe as under their subsequent kings, who held their office by a formal election.

Prussia is as level, and incomparably more sterile than Poland; and with less than a third of the territory, is equally exposed to invasions of their ambitious neighbors. And yet strange as it may seem, with a barbarian Teutonic origin, far inferior to the civil and religious grade of Poland, Prussia has progressively increased in territory and population, and now probably numbers thirty millions of inhabitants. The fields, meadows, and forests of Poland, as rich and fertile as those of Flanders, appear to be the common prey of every invader, without the means of self-defence; while the industry, patriotism, wealth, and government of the Flemings have filled their plains with arsenals and munitions of war; surrounded their happy country with impenetrable fortifi-

eations, pierced with bristling cannon, and manned with an unconquerable soldiery; and yet all this has been done in the vicinity of the most ambitious and powerful monarchy in Europe.

Others, among whom are numbered the distinguished historians, Alison and Salvandy, consider the real cause of all the calamities of Poland, may be found in the *democratic equality*, which, from the earliest ages, has prevailed in the plains of Sarmatia. "The elective form of government," says Alison, "was the consequence of this principle in their constitution, which has descended to them from Scythian freedom, and has entailed upon the state dissensions worse than the whirlwind of Scythian invasion."* "It is a mistake," says Salvandy, "to suppose that the representative form of government was found in the woods of Germany. What was found in the woods was *Polish equality*, which has descended unimpaired in all parts of that vast monarchy to the present time."†

In canvassing the causes of Poland's fall, we must take into the estimate the predisposing, the exciting and the proximate causes. The predisposing causes of the disaster are found in their social condition, which was so destructive to national prosperity. Their love of pastoral life, which prevailed among their early Scythian and Caucasian ancestors, mingling with their Tartar blood, and flowing in the veins of their Sarmatian fathers, deprived them of fixed habitations, and those endearing relations of home, so essential to domestic bliss. The social prosperity of a people is the soul of all earthly happiness, around which all other blessings cluster, and without which no nation can long stand. Their defective government, without any safe repository of

* Alison. Blackwood's Magazine, August, 1831.

† Salvandy's Hist. Poland, i., 82.

sovereignty, except in the heterogeneous mass of five hundred thousand nobles,—a slavery which made beggars of all other classes, and exposed their lives to the sport and caprice of their masters,—a government without representation, subject to the veto of any individual, in contempt of the majority,—assemblies without order, without legislation, except for the nobility, are ample causes of themselves for all the misfortunes of Poland. But when we add to this catalogue of blighting influences the stationary condition of the people, ever the same, never improving, but continually degenerating, and without national, social, or individual progression; a nation without a well-organized military defence, destitute of an orderly, disciplined, equipped, and reliable army, where civil and foreign war ever prevails, our astonishment increases at every step of the investigation, that the republic should have so long withstood so many destructive influences. Their mad democracy which delighted in equality, that allowed all to do as they pleased, regardless of the general good and individual prosperity, is of itself a predisposing cause sufficient for all of Poland's woes. Nor does their catalogue of ruinous causes end here. It was the misfortune of Poland to adopt a system of politics, the worst and most injurious of any policy ever adopted by any nation. Their jurisprudence contained every ingredient of injustice, rather than common honesty and sound equity.

They pursued a lawless course of illegal acts, alike unjust to other nations, and dishonest to their own citizens. A system of land law, which monopolized all the lands, for the exclusive benefit of the crown and the nobility, leaving fourteen millions of people, houseless, homeless, and penniless paupers, with a judiciary controlled by bribery and perjury, where crime was compounded and unpunished, especially among the aristocracy, formed the elements

of their jurisprudence. In addition to all these causes of national ruin, truth compels the faithful historian to add, a literature that studiously secreted all useful information from the masses ; and a religion, which, in addition to the remains of Paganism, was more destructive in its consequences in the hands of the Jesuits, and the other pugnacious sects, than all the sins of heathenism combined. The Poles, unlike all other nations making pretensions to civilization, preferred poverty to wealth, and nomadic life to civilization. Instead of confederating for their own national and individual benefit, they preferred to ruin each other, and sacrifice themselves to surrounding nations, rather than yield to the general good of their common country. Surrendering themselves the willing victims of strife, war, intemperance, and every vicious indulgence, these predisposing causes of ruin, at last mingled with the more immediate and exciting causes of their fall, as found in the election of foreign, imbecile, and corrupt kings, and the invasions of Russia, Austria, and Prussia—who finally completed their ruin and divided their country as common plunder.

In summing up the causes of the fall of Poland, philosophy finds ample data for pronouncing a judgment as clearly within the ordinary laws of cause and effect, as in the phenomena of the natural world. And in the middle of the nineteenth century, the moral philosopher can predict from moral phenomena, the rise and fall of nations, with as much accuracy as the natural philosopher can foretell the revolution of the heavenly bodies, by sitting in judgment over the phenomena of nature. It is the province of all the sciences, moral as well as natural, to ascertain the established relations of things by reasoning from cause to effect, and from effect to cause ; or the tendency of certain events to be uniformly followed by certain other events ; and the

aptitude of certain bodies to produce, or to be followed, by certain changes in other bodies, in similar or particular circumstances.

It appears to be an universal and well-established law of the Creator, that all things in nature have been created and placed in certain relations to each other, which are fixed, uniform, excellent, and useful. They have been endowed with capacities of acting, and capabilities of being acted upon, according to certain uniform laws ; so that their actions and changes take place in the same manner, in every instance in which the same bodies or beings are brought together under similar circumstances. And in addition to this we have an original and instinctive conviction which harmonizes with the experience of all mankind, of the general and invariable uniformity of these relations, which commands our unwavering confidence in the regularity of all the operations of nature. The powers or principles on which these numerous and complicated relations depend, are entirely concealed from us in our present state of existence, doubtless for wise reasons well known in Heaven. It is the province of human knowledge to observe the facts, and carefully trace and analyze their relations, their sequences, their causes, and effects. This agreeable labor can only be accomplished by a careful and extensive observation of the facts, as they pass before us ; and by accurately distinguishing their true or uniform relations from consequences which are only incidental and temporary, patiently discriminating between sequent and coincident facts.

Our first and most common observation of any particular series of facts or events, presents to our view a certain number of them placed together in a state of contiguity apparently connected. But it must be remembered that this state of things is no evi-

dence of any other connection, than a mere incidental juxtaposition. But if in the further progress of our patient and philosophical observations, we find the same events occurring uniformly a certain number of times, in the same relations, circumstances, or sequences to each other, we are then, and not until then, authorized in believing that this connection is not merely an incidental contiguity. We now begin to entertain the conviction that there exists among them such a natural and inseparable relation as leads us to expect that whenever and wherever we meet with the same antecedent events, the same sequents will follow. Hence arises our idea of the relations of cause and effect, founded on the power and laws which control these events.

This relation, it must be remembered, so far as our limited knowledge extends, is founded entirely upon the fact of certain events uniformly following one another. And when we have discovered, by long, repeated, and accurate observations, the particular events which do thus follow each other, we then may safely conclude, that there is a well established connection between them, whatever may be its nature, and however ignorant we may be of it; in consequence of which, the sequence that we have observed will continue to recur in the same orderly and uniform manner, under similar circumstances. We, therefore, confidently conclude, that when we observe the first of two such events, the second will follow; and when we discover the second, the first has preceded it; and that they are invariably the antecedents and consequents of each other, sustaining the indissoluble connection of cause and effect.

Our general confidence in the uniformity of the relations of events, as in cause and effect, appears to be an original or instinctive principle, and not the education or result of experience;

though experience teaches us what the individual sequences are that uniformly obey these laws of cause and effect, and learns us to distinguish connections which are merely incidental contiguity, from true and uniform relations. Our natural tendency to infer causation from almost every succession of phenomena, and to expect uniformity in every sequence, must necessarily be corrected by experimental observation before our conclusions can be relied on. It requires not only all our own experience and learning, but all the experience and learning of others, which we can call to our aid, in order to ascertain, with any degree of safety and success, what those sequences or connections are, which are uniform and connected, in the relation of cause and effect.

In all the affairs of state, and particularly in matters of change, reform, and progression, we are first taught by experience, the great caution which is necessary in determining what events are connected in the manner of cause and effect, and learn not to assume this relation, till by numerous and satisfactory experiments and observations, we can prove beyond a reasonable doubt, that the sequence is uniform. This caution, it is conceded, has no necessary reference to our instinctive impression of causation; nor does it interfere with our absolute conviction that every event has, and invariably must have, an adequate cause; but the admonition teaches us to be on our guard against confounding antecedents and consequents. The information which guides us safely and successfully in tracing the true relations of cause and effect in general, can be acquired only by long, laborious, and extensive observation, investigation, and reflection, as in astronomical and chemical observations, and in managing the affairs of state; while in some instances, a very few experiments are sufficient to prove conclusively what is the true cause of the effect,

A single experiment is sufficient to prove that fire will burn powder; or if a man's head be severed from his body, immediate death is the invariable consequence. A child learns the first time he puts his finger into the fire, that it will burn him, and ever after dreads it with as much certainty as if the accident had happened a thousand times.

The principles applicable in tracing the relations of cause and effect, are substantially the same in natural and moral science. The certainty of a science depends upon two circumstances, namely—first, the facility with which we ascertain the true relations and tendencies of things, or trace effects to their true causes, and causes to their true effects; and second, the confidence with which we rely on the actions dependent on these relations, continuing to occur in all similar cases with perfect uniformity. This confidence we attain more readily in those sciences in which we have to deal only with inanimate matter. Our evidence of causation in these causes is obtained by means of experiments, in which, by placing the substances in various circumstances towards each other, we ascertain their true tendencies with perfect certainty, and separate them from the influence of all associations which are only casual and incidental. In the moral sciences, the principle is the same, with the exception, that prudence requires a greater number of experiments and observations, continued for a much longer time, in order to meet all the various contingencies of moral phenomena.

The first rule to be observed by the moral as well as the natural philosopher, is to trace effects to their true causes, and causes to their true effects. After ascertaining the true relations and tendencies of things, we must be constantly on our guard against mistakes and disappointments, when we endeavor to produce

certain results by bringing those tendencies into action. Great care is also necessary in applying to new cases the knowledge which we have acquired from observation. This application is made upon the principle either of experience or analogy. We are said to proceed upon experience, when the circumstances in the new case are the same as in those cases from which our knowledge was derived. When the circumstances are not the same, but similar, we then reason upon analogy, and hence our confidence in the result is weaker than when we proceeded upon experience. The more numerous the points of resemblance are, the greater is our confidence, because it approaches nearer to our experimental knowledge ; and the fewer the points of resemblance, the weaker is our faith in the analogy. In all our investigations, both in the natural and moral sciences, in the natural and moral world, and in Church and State, we must be governed by the following principles, namely—first, to acquire an extensive collection of well authenticated facts ; second, to arrange, classify, combine or separate them scientifically ; third, to trace among these facts their true sequences or relations, according to the laws of cause and effect ; and fourth, from all these facts and their relations, to deduce general facts or general principles for the government of man's faith and conduct in the sciences to which they relate.

A knowledge of these principles and facts, and their correct application, will enable the statesman or moral reformer, in the middle of the nineteenth century, after the lapse of nearly six thousand years of repeated and continuous experiments by millions of experimenters, to reason with as much accuracy in moral science, and particularly in political science, in relation to the rise and fall of nations, as Copernicus or Newton did in astronomy. And in all nations and ages, so far as history can trace

them, the same causes have conspired in the fall of nations. By the same principles we are taught, that the same causes which lead one nation to glory, have the same effect on all others under similar circumstances. The same causes which conspired in the fall of Poland, ruined all the other fallen nations of antiquity, including Assyria, Egypt, the Canaanites, Jerusalem, Lydia, Troy, the Phœnicians, Carthage, Nineveh, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome, and the numerous other nations who have, in different ages of the world, appeared and disappeared. The same causes are now operating in the rapid downfall of China, India, Turkey, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Russia, and other expiring nations, which are destined to fall at no distant day, unless they are saved by an immediate and thorough reform. Wherever we find a nation always engaged in war and involved in poverty, where the education of the masses is neglected, where the majority of the people are slaves, where tyrants rule, aristocrats are numerous and dominant, and democrats are few and feeble; where sound social institutions are neglected, good morals are wanting, the religion of the Bible unknown or neglected, and the people destitute of government, and law for the protection of their rights, the same fatal disaster will surely follow sooner or later, as in Poland and other fallen nations, as a merited punishment from Heaven for national as well as individual offences. And on the other hand, where a nation is governed by sound laws and free institutions, so as to produce the greatest good of all in obedience to the will of Heaven, as in England and the American Union, the same prosperity, both individual and national, invariably follows.

The disastrous consequences of the fall of Poland, both to the unfortunate inhabitants of that ruined nation, and to all the

world, surpass all human calculation. The sagacity of mathematics has sought in vain for a rule of proportion to measure the ratio, magnitude, and extent of the eternal misery which has and ever will flow from this ruinous event. It is not the all of Poland's fall that fifteen millions of human beings, with all their hopes and pleasures, have been crushed forever. It is not enough to say that a great and powerful republic has been murdered by robbers, and a once flourishing kingdom has been erased from the book of nations. History is not satisfied with the cold, rhetorical sentence—alas for fallen Poland! But the truth, the whole truth, must be recorded, that Poland never was conquered by fair means, but was assassinated by pretended friends. The powers who dismembered Poland, disguise it as they will, have, in reality, nothing better to allege in justification of their measures, than the robber's plea, that the power to commit an act, makes it at once right and expedient.

But the ruinous consequences of Poland's fall, unfortunately for the world, have not been confined to that ill-fated nation. They have seriously affected all Europe. The fate of Poland has been repeatedly cited and followed as an example for other similar conquests by other tyrants. It gave rise to that unholy alliance falsely called "holy alliance," formed between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in September, 1815, for the purpose of protecting themselves, and conquering all other nations that might fall in their way, which was originally planned and proposed by Russia. The fatal precedent of Poland's conquest was seized upon by that child of fortune and misfortune, Napoleon, who applied the same rule to Asia, Africa, and all Europe, and came well nigh conquering them all. And most seriously did the piratical nations, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, suffer the punish-

ment of their own crimes, by the vials of Heaven's wrath poured out upon their heads by the French hero, from whose scorpion sting they never have, and never will recover. The victors of Poland have recently applied the fatal example of Poland's fall to Hungary, and ere long Russia will repeat the same experiment on Germany, Prussia, Austria, and Turkey, who are now in fact her pliant tools and cringing vassals, for the assassination of every principle of human freedom in the eastern hemisphere. The real object of the conquest of Poland, was not the spoils, but the annihilation of free principles, and the perpetuity of tyranny.

But the consequences of the fall of Poland may not be confined to the wide-spread desolation of Sarmatia, Hungary, and other nations now in the grasp of these tyrants; but it is by no means impossible, but highly probable, that the day is not far distant, when these injured nations may revive under the shielding hand of Heaven, and present the poisoned chalice to the lips of their victors, which they have been compelled to drink. Russia, and even Austria and Prussia, may learn, if they will, that there is a slumbering power in the north, which can be roused any day to their ruin. Should Cossack, Polish, and Hungarian love of liberty, happen to amalgamate, an event by no means improbable, the three conquering powers of the north could not stand a year.

But history will fail of half its duty should it stop here in tracing the consequences of the fall of Poland. This sad and ominous event is a mirror in which all nations, both prosperous and adverse, may view themselves and study their fate with profit. Let every nation beware how they follow the example of Poland, in allowing the same predisposing causes to influence their

national career. Let sovereigns and rulers study with care, let them read, mark, and inwardly digest, the story of Poland's ruin, both in its history and philosophy, and learn to shun the fate of fallen nations by avoiding their ruinous errors.*

* Rulhierre's *Hist. Poland*; Parthenay's *Hist. Poland under Augustus II.*; Polignac's *Hist. Poland*, VI.; Fletcher, ch. VII. Letters concerning the Present State of Poland, by J. Lind; *History of the Reformation in Poland*, by Count Valerian Krasinski, London, 1833.

CHAPTER XXII.

COMPARATIVE VIEWS.

Comparison of Poland and Europe—Physical Comparisons—Historical Comparisons—Social Comparisons—Political Comparisons—Commercial Comparisons—Literary Comparisons—Moral Comparisons—Religious Comparisons—Comparison of Poland and America—National Stability—American Stability.

SECTION I.

COMPARISON OF POLAND AND EUROPE.

THE sad tale of Poland's fall, the annals of her wrongs, and the history of her tears are closed. But we deem it no departure from historical unity, to add a few reflections, to awaken the thought of the reader in closing this theme of woe. It is due to Poland before she is finally condemned and doomed to eternal slavery, to be fairly heard and weighed in the scales of conscience with other nations. All things, great or small, good or bad, high or low, innocent or guilty, are subject to comparison. And, not unfrequently, both history and philosophy teach their most valuable lessons, by comparing the character, conduct, and fate of both nations and individuals. Analogy is a fruitful soil when properly cultivated, and the precious fruits well garnered

and properly used. The responsibility of nations is measured by the means they possess for improvement, and the use they make of them. In the comparison of nations, their strongest points of analogy are found in their physical comparisons, historical comparisons, social comparisons, political comparisons, commercial comparisons, literary comparisons, moral comparisons, and religious comparisons. By these comparisons nations may learn the wisdom and folly of the past, the prospect of the present, and the hopes of the future.

On surveying the physical structure of the globe, we are at once impressed with a strong conviction, that the Creator has wisely formed the earth into six grand divisions for the habitation and comfort of man,—namely, Asia, Africa, Europe, North America, South America, and Oceanica. These several continents and islands are so separated and surrounded by oceans and seas, rivers and mountains, that no reasonable doubt can exist, that they were designed to be inhabited by different nations and races, and ruled by independent sovereignties,—though mutually aiding and respecting each other, as brethren of the same great human family. These continents are cut in all useful directions by inland seas, lakes, rivers, and natural highways, for the facilities of commerce and national comity. These immense territories are fanned by different climates, more or less adapted to health, wealth, and wisdom,—arched with lofty mountains, which drink in the dews of heaven, and after purifying them in the solitary recesses of their rocky bosoms, send the refreshing beverage in pearly brooks and meandering streams into the fertile valleys for the sustenance of man and beast.

Africa, which appears to be principally a peninsula of sand extending into the ocean, is less irrigated by frequent showers and

refreshing streams, than any other continent ; and hence we find, that man in all ages, in this barren country, has made less improvement, physical, moral, and intellectual, than in any other quarter of the globe.

Asia, the largest and in some respects the richest continent on earth, is beautifully and sublimely terraced and crowned in the centre, with some of the grandest mountains, most picturesque scenery, and enchanting forests in the world,—washed by the purest waters and fanned by the most salubrious breezes,—and covered with every vegetable and animal necessary for the sustenance of man ; where the sweetest fruits spontaneously cluster in abundance, for the gratification of every variety of human appetite. And here we may learn the wisdom of Providence, in creating man in the south of Asia, in the vicinity of Eden, where in his primeval helplessness, without agricultural knowledge or mechanical skill, he could feast on the spontaneous fruits of the earth, in a climate which was adapted to his scanty wardrobe, and his ignorance of medical science. By a universal law, which seems to pervade the mineral, vegetable, animal, and moral world, everything grows wiser and better as we travel from the East to the West ; and as we pass from Asia to Europe, we find new and better regions for the abode of men ; where the facilities of commerce and human culture are far superior to the tropical regions of Asia and Africa, under the cultivating hand of a more hardy and enterprising race.

The physical geography of Europe is quite inconsiderable in comparison with Asia, Africa, and America. Nature seems to have made it as a mere adjunct of the immense Asiatic continent,—as a peninsula, which would hardly form a basin large enough for the Nile, the Kiang, the Amazon, or the Mississippi, if we

include the country which they overflow, and is washed by its branches. And yet strange as it may seem, this fragment of the Asiatic continent has been the mistress of the world for more than twenty centuries. The loftiest mountains in Europe cannot be compared in height, extent, or grandeur, to the Andes or Himalayas. The addition of all its downs and uncultivated lands to the sandy plains of Africa, would be an augmentation quite imperceptible. The European Archipelagoes are far inferior to the vast labyrinths in other parts of the earth; and the productions of the animal, the vegetable, and mineral kingdoms of Europe, are few and insignificant, compared with Asia, Africa, and America. Its mines do not glitter with gold, nor does the diamond sparkle with its minerals. All the quadrupeds originally European, do not exceed fifteen or twenty different species; and these are not the most useful kind. Some animals, as the horse, the ox, the sheep, and the dog, have been very much improved by European skill and industry; but their most valuable natural productions have been imported from foreign quarters of the globe. The silkworm was imported from India, fine wool from Mauritania, the peach from Persia, the orange from China, and the potatoe, the most valuable of all esculent roots, is an American production. The wealth of Europe is, therefore, derived in a great measure from the products of other countries.

Both natural and moral phenomena seem to have combined all their efforts in bringing Europe to its present state of perfection. And we know not which most to admire, whether the wisdom of Providence in creating this barren, rugged, and wild region, which nature had only covered with forests, enriched with iron, and washed with navigable waters, as a work-shop for the exercise of the human mind; or, the Divinity of that Wisdom,

which has developed the intellectual, moral, and physical powers of man, by imposing upon the European race the absolute necessity of labor, in converting these barren regions into fertile fields and flourishing cities, after a lapse of more than four thousand years,—a work which has entirely changed the face of the continent. And so far as human ken can range—had it been otherwise—had Asiatic and African luxuries spontaneously covered the fields of Europe, the mind of man might have still slumbered in Asiatic ignorance and African stupefaction. The Divine economy nowhere appears more conspicuously, than in the inseparable connection between great achievements, and great labor in their attainment; and this is what made the difference between the inhabitants of the several continents. And so omnipotent and controlling is this philosophy over the human family, that civilization, progression, science, and religion, although they have repeatedly been interrupted in their march, yet it has ever been found impracticable to crush and extinguish them on European soil.

It is in vain that we attempt to separate the gifts of nature from the discoveries and inventions of art. Navigation and commerce place within our reach the produce of every zone; climate is modified by cultivation,—knowledge is power; and where the beaver built in security its humble habitation on the banks of rivers, European industry has erected commercial cities, which have flourished for centuries, and become the capitals of powerful empires. Forests, deserts, and rocks, have become beautiful fields, yielding rich harvests,—cities are adorned with palaces,—the small peninsula extends its sway in every habitable part of the globe,—its inhabitants are spread over every country,—and, in America, a whole continent has been peopled by European colonists, and has now become, under the government of the

American Union, the most powerful and civilized nation on the globe. African barbarism, and even its drifting deserts and burning sands, are yielding to the benign influence of European civilization. European customs and institutions have been transplanted to Occanica ; European armies, whose reveille surrounds the globe every rising sun, have almost subdued the continent of Asia ; British India, and Asiatic Russia, if not already, will soon be conterminous and subject to European civilization ; and the extensive empire of China is fast yielding to European arms and European institutions. The ocean has long been the almost exclusive patrimony of Europeans or their colonists. While the inhabitants of the most polished nations of Asia and Africa seldom travel beyond their own territory and coasts, European mariners sail fearlessly to the most distant continents, islands, and seas, returning richly laden with the fruits of their bold and valuable discoveries.

The chain of the Ural mountains with the river of the same name, the Caspian sea, and the lowest level of the Isthmus, between it and the sea of Azof—a level indicated by the course of the Manytch and the Kuma,—are the natural and general boundaries between Europe and Asia, in their contiguous parts. The common frontier, which for a short distance separates the two continents, terminates at the Tanais or Don. The remaining boundaries which are more easily determined, are the sea of Azof, the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, the Propontis, and the Hellospont. On each side of the boundary line which crosses the Archipelago, lie the Tenedos, Mitylene, Scio, Samos, Nicaria, Cos, and Rhodes, belonging to Asia ; and Naxos, Stampalia and Scarpanto, belong to Europe. The Mediterranean divides Africa and Europe ; but some doubt has existed whether Malta, Gozo, Comino,

Lampedosa and Linosa, are African or European islands; and the question has been agitated and ably argued in the British parliament. The investigations of some leave very little doubt, that the Canaries, Madeira, and the Azores are, in a physical point of view, appendages of Africa, being parts of a submarine continuation, from the chain of Mount Atlas. Little was known of the north and west of Europe, when Iceland, a dependence of Greenland, was discovered. Consequently, the early geographers placed it among the islands in the neighborhood of Europe.

These boundaries of Europe, with the ocean which washes it on the west, contain within their limits a surface of more than five hundred thousand square leagues, twenty-five of which are equal to an equatorial degree. Its general length, from Cape St. Vincent to the Ural mountains near Ekaterineburg, measures over twelve hundred and fifteen leagues; and the greatest breadth of Europe from Cape Matapan in Greece, to Cape North, is at least eight hundred and seventy leagues.

In the centre of this immense European continent is situated unfortunate Poland, of which Warsaw, the Polish capital, is the most central town; although the basin of Bohemia is the physical centre, and is the northern boundary of the great range of mountainous districts, which forms what is sometimes called the Upper countries of Europe. This extraordinary Peninsula is distinguished from all other parts of the earth by the seas and numerous waters that bathe its shores. Such great masses of water placed between different countries, are not found in Asia nor Africa; although they are greatly inferior to American waters. They serve to modify the temperature of the country, by rendering it humid and variable; promote commerce, by facilitating the intercourse from one place to another; cultivate national freedom

and independence ; and, like mountainous chains, they form natural ramparts for national defence.

The physical relations of nations are strongly marked by their geographical connections and situations. Turkey, Austria, Prussia, and Sweden, bordering on Russia, are thus exposed to formidable and unexpected attacks ; and Prussia is more exposed than the others. The lofty and long range of Hemus and the Carpathian chain, protect Constantinople and Vienna ; and Scandinavia now connected with Denmark from its geographical position, and the character and resources of its inhabitants, might successfully resist all Russian invasions. England or France might resist Russia ; the one, by forming an alliance with Turkey and the Scandinavians, could confine the Russian navy and its commerce to inland seas ; and the other by uniting with Austria and Prussia. The German confederacy, by a union with Austria and Prussia, might oppose their old and formidable enemy Russia, with all the numerous resources of the German nations. The secondary German States, by their peculiar localities, enjoy facilities for forming a neutral kingdom between Austria and France ; and by means of a better political organization between Switzerland and Sardinia, the disjunction between Austria and France would be complete. The people of the subordinate states, being masters of the most important military positions in central Europe, must either derive great benefit from such geographical advantages, or suffer their country to be the common theatre of foreign wars.

The natural advantages of France for facilitating its invasion, are very few, and merely nominal. But Austria, from the Upper Tyrol and the Valteline, commands several important entrances into Bavaria and Switzerland. The Austrian empire, reaching its natural limits in Transylvania, might add Bosnia to its domi-

nions ; for it is more naturally the ally than the enemy of the Ottomans. The same formidable power commanding the Adriatic and the Po, and ruling the best part of Italy, has ever been most hostile to Italian independence. France, confined within its ancient limits, must necessarily remain at peace with the neighboring states, as the history of her revolutions clearly proves. If the line of fortifications in the Low Countries are a sufficient barrier against French invasions, the frontiers of every other nation would seem sufficiently strong to resist their attacks ; and although Prussia has extended its territories into Lorraine, France has very little to fear from any of her neighbors. The naval ambition of France is likely to be confined within its just limits by the small number of her seaports, by the tides which circumscribe their utility, by their great distance from each other, and their location on two different seas. If Spain and Portugal were united by better institutions, they might jointly resist all foreign invasions.

By reviewing the map, it will be seen at once that Russia occupies more than one half of the continent of Europe, and governs more than a fourth part of its population. Beyond the limits of that vast, half-civilized empire, we find twelve millions of Slavonians, and three millions of Greeks, who are intimately connected with the Russians, by the same language and same religion, and by governments and laws resembling each other in their leading principles. The people of other European empires are so widely and sparsely scattered, and so different in their habits and pursuits, that in all probability they never can be united in one national character, laws, and government. No enlightened statesman would ever think of uniting under the same government, laws, and institutions, the vine-dresser on the banks of the Moselle, and the

fisherman on the rude shores of the Baltic, though the language of both may be the same. Neither natural history, nor the imagination, can find men more dissimilar than the Hungarians near the Ural mountains, and the Italians, the Germans, or Slavonians. The resemblance is equally faint and indistinct between the Turk and the Greek, between the rude barbarian and the descendants of the most intellectual race. Some of the provinces of Spain, France, and other nations are so dissimilar in their feelings, principles, habits, and interests, that it is with great difficulty they can be controlled by one and the same government.

All parts of the globe are adapted to the powers and capacities of the numerous vegetables, animals, and human races, which inhabit them. Africa, with its spontaneous productions, is adapted to the low grade of intellect of her inhabitants. Asia with its fertile soil, spontaneous fruits, salubrious climates, numerous animals, and useful commerce, is well fitted for her effeminate, inactive people. Europe and North America, with their extensive commerce, hard, but fruitful soil, and cold, but healthy climate, are best adapted to the superior genius and unrivalled industry of the people. The extensive American forests and waters are wisely adapted to the aboriginal inhabitants, who live by hunting and fishing. Oceanica meets the wants of the inhabitants, who live on the game of the islands and the products of the ocean. The physical surface of the earth is conveniently divided into land and water, mountains and valleys, oceans, seas, and rivers, designed for different nations, upon the principles of equal rights and human liberty.

In physical advantages, Poland and the vast regions of the Caucasus, and the North, from time immemorial, have enjoyed all the natural facilities for rendering the people a hardy, brave,

enterprising community, equal in natural talent to any other race on the globe. And so far as personal beauty and strong physical constitutions are concerned, the Poles and their Caucasian ancestors have never been excelled; and under equal means of intellectual and moral improvement, are capable of competing with any other nation, as such instances as Copernicus, Kosciusko, Sobieski, and others, abundantly prove. The physical geography of Poland was unfortunate for commercial purposes, in being destitute of sea-coast, except the Baltic,—and having only a very limited river navigation,—with a climate by no means the most salubrious. Yet with these few disadvantages, remotely situated from Grecian and Roman civilization, Poland has always been highly favorable for the culture of a strong, vigorous-minded people. It is a most remarkable fact, that a small strip of land in the northern temperate zone, lying between the fortieth and sixtieth degrees of north latitude,—surrounding the globe like a belt, has ever been the nursery of human enterprise, human greatness, and national glory.

That small tract of land, embracing the Caucasian regions, extending only ten degrees, from the fortieth to the fiftieth parallel, next to Palestine, appears to be the most favored spot on earth. Here were cradled the Poles, in the persons of their Caucasian and Scythian ancestors, long anterior to the Christian era. In this garden of humanity grew the seeds of nearly all the great improvements of the modern world. It was the nursery of Grecian beauty and Roman splendor, the common school of military tactics and modern enterprise. The Poles and their Caucasian and Scythian ancestors, have furnished the world with the elements of modern democracy and human freedom. They only gave us the raw material, it is true; but Scythian freedom,

wild and lawless as it was in the crude state, contained the elements of human liberty, which, when brought in contact with southern civilization, formed the elements of modern democracy, which now grows so luxuriantly in England and America, and is fast extending its wide-spreading branches over the habitable globe. It was unfortunate for the Poles and their northern ancestors, that they were not able to cultivate the tree of liberty, although they had the honor of first planting it. As much as we are accustomed to declaim against the northern barbarous tribes and nations, yet it must be remembered that they have given us the elements of modern beauty, democracy, military prowess, and commercial enterprise. They have produced at least nine tenths of all the profound and powerful thinkers, who have astonished and blessed the world with their useful discoveries and inventions, and have greatly improved the fine arts, by their overpowering eloquence and thrilling music. Copernicus taught the world how to philosophize, investigate, reflect, act, reform, and progress; and Bacon, Newton, Luther, the Pilgrim Fathers, and all the great and good of modern times, are all the pupils of that distinguished Polish philosopher.

The morals of the Poles, low as they were, compared well with all the nations of Europe, except in those communities where the Reformation refined and improved the social condition of men. The love of virtue, the healthy action of the moral feelings, benevolence, justice, purity, and temperance, are rare virtues among heathen, or cold-hearted, selfish, and undevout Christians. A few of the heathen philosophers, among whom the wise men of Greece and Rome were the most conspicuous, are rare examples of moral excellence in the history of the race. It is seldom that the heart of man can be pierced with a true zeal in

moral improvement, short of a heavenly flame. Moral science was little studied in Poland, and much less practised; and all the nations of the earth, with perhaps eight or ten exceptions, have adopted the same standard.

The history of Poland is filled with misfortune. They commenced their national existence with the dark ages, and heroically breasted the whirlwind, and struggled manfully for twelve centuries to outride the storm; but, instead of waking early in the dawn of the fifteenth century, when England, France, and Germany commenced their modern reforms, the Poles continued to slumber until the commencement of the nineteenth century, when they found themselves more than a century in the rear of Europe in civilization and national improvement. And when they commenced their march of improvement, the ungrateful surrounding nations, who were their offspring, assassinated their unfortunate parents, plundered their paternal homestead, and burned their maternal nursery. And yet it is due to Poland to say, that she continued her national existence longer, on an average, than any other foreign nation, amidst difficulties and disasters far more embarrassing than any other empire which has fallen in ancient or modern times. The Assyrian empire, including Babylonia, the first known in history, was founded about 2229 years previous to the birth of Christ, and was superseded by the Persian empire, which also, in its turn, was swallowed up in the year 330, anterior to the Christian era, by the Macedonian empire. This empire, which, in its extensive form, was of short duration, was dissolved 301 years before Christ. Ancient Egypt commenced 2188 years B. C., and after making great progress in civilization, was subdued by the barbarous shepherd kings, 2084 years B. C. Polished Greece, founded in 1856 B. C., was con-

quered by Rome in 146 B. C. Rome, for a long time the queen of the world, was founded 753 years B. C. ; but the battle of Actium, thirty-one years before Christ, ended the Roman commonwealth, and in 476 after Christ, the Western empire fell. The Hebrew nation, organized by Moses in the year 1491 B. C., fell a victim to Roman plunder in the year seventy after our Saviour's advent. If we date the national birth of Poland with the reign of Lechus I., in the year 550, and the final fall in 1815, when Alexander ascended the Polish throne, it gives them a national existence of 1265 years; thirty-nine years longer than the Roman republic continued, reckoning from its foundation in 750 B. C. to the fall of the Western empire in 476 A. D. China and India, it is true, after being conquered, on an average, every two or three centuries, still continue a lingering, consumptive existence ; and were we to extend the series of the birth and death of nations, numbering in all several thousand since the Deluge, we shall find that their average existence continued only about two centuries ; less than one-third of the duration of the Polish nation.

Had the Poles commenced their national life with the fifteenth century, or had they been located in the immediate vicinity of Roman and Grecian civilization, as England, France, and Germany, had they been relieved from the centuries of war with the Turks, Tartars, and Russians, which saved Christendom and the southern and western nations of Europe, she might now rank with America and England. But though now poor and fallen, sabred in every muscle, lacerated in every joint, and bleeding at every pore, we cannot suppress those tears of woe, which humanity never fails to shed over the grave of the lovely, the brave, the benevolent, and unfortunate.

The social condition of Poland, as we have already seen, where fourteen fifteenths of the people were miserable slaves, was one of the greatest evils of the country ; and under the tyranny of the aristocracy, produced the same result as in other slaveholding nations. No nation has ever existed where so great a proportion of the people were slaves ; and yet the genius of the Poles resisted the crushing influence of this national calamity, with more success, and for a longer period, than ancient Greece or Rome. The Poles commenced their barbarous society with nearly the same state of civilization as the aboriginal inhabitants of Greece, Rome, and England ; and as late as the fifth century, Polish society was quite equal to that of England, France, Germany, and the other nations of modern Europe, excepting a few favored towns, where Grecian and Roman civilization made the difference. Considering their means, which were comparatively few, and their misfortunes, which were many and lasting, Polish society has manifested an elasticity, a genius, and progression, which leaves them at the present day not more than one century behind the most polished nations of Europe, a difference which their misfortunes and unmerited injuries from others would naturally make independent of their own vices, an important fact in the history of Poland which justly entitles them to the pity and forgiveness of all nations.

In political comparisons with other nations, Poland suffers more severely. After making all due allowances for their political misfortunes of time, place, and circumstances, for which they are not responsible ; and after liberally deducting from their dark and long catalogue of vices, such errors as they might naturally fall into without criminality on their part, and after charging to the account of others, those injuries which were unjustly inflicted

upon them by their enemies, still their remaining national vices, so criminal and foolish, find no forgiveness without repentance and reform. The wilful obstinacy of the nobility in rejecting all salutary reforms, and refusing to adopt the majority principle of law and government, their supreme selfishness and treasonable conduct in selling the crown and country to foreign princes, for the unworthy purpose of defeating their Polish rivals, were voluntary crimes which fallen humanity is slow to forgive. The political vices, errors, misfortunes, and sufferings of Poland, exceeded perhaps any other nation, ancient or modern; and the cause of them all was their pernicious *liberum veto*. Had they early adopted the principle of being ruled by the majority, as in England or America, the nation would have progressed and gradually reformed its other political errors, as in Germany and France.

The commercial advantages of Poland, though they might have been improved, were far inferior to the nations of Europe, America, Asia, and even Africa on the Nile. A limited sea-coast on the Baltic, and a river commerce confined principally to the Vistula,—without canals, railroads, or good roads of any kinds, together with the false policy of the nobility in neglecting and despising all trades, professions, and business, except the profession of arms,—left them far in the rear of their European neighbors on the south and west. The commerce of a nation is the exponent of the people's prosperity. Wherever commerce goes, population, wealth, talent, civilization, learning, morals, laws, government, and religion, follow in their train,—where commerce stops, they stay,—and where commerce departs, they depart; and with the rise and fall of commerce, nations rise and fall. Babylon, Egypt, Jerusalem, Greece, and Rome, all flourished and perished

with their commerce. And one of the principal distinguishing features between the rising and falling nations of the world at the present day, is their commerce.

In literary comparisons, Poland was only excelled by two ancient nations, Greece and Rome,—and among modern states, she now stands the sixth nation in the world, and inferior only to the North American Union, England, France, Germany, and Italy. In the time of Copernicus, in the fifteenth century, Poland, even at that day, was not excelled in the literary attainments of the nobility, except in Greece and Rome, and in a few limited towns and institutions of England, France, and Germany. And if we take into consideration the great achievements of Copernicus, and estimate their unlimited influence on the literature of other nations, it may well be doubted whether Poland in her literary comparisons was not in fact, in the glory of Copernicus, equal to any nation then on earth. Their fatal error was, they neglected the education of the masses; a mistaken policy which sooner or later ruins every nation that adopts it. In military tactics, Poland, in the reign of Sobieski, had no superior, and but few equals in the world; and in natural talent for literary pursuits, the Poles have never been excelled by any people.

The religious comparison of nations is both a melancholy and delicate subject. But so far as it affects the fall of Poland, it lies directly in our path, and beyond this it is neither our province nor disposition to travel. There is no resisting the conclusion, that the religion of Poland was one of the principal causes of the nation's ruin; in which the Greek and Roman Catholic churches, and more particularly the Jesuits, were the principal actors. Paganism in all ages and nations, has prevented social improvement and national progression. The Greek and Roman

churches, as religious institutions, have never been successful in their political control of the affairs of state. It is not necessary to deny, that in some instances they have been useful and connecting links between Paganism and Christianity; and in some instances have furnished the state with useful institutions, and aided the cause of learning. But it is equally true, and no fact appears better authenticated and more prominent in history, than this;—both the Greek and Roman church, which are substantially the same thing, have never been successful in the science and art of civil government. No farther evidence of this lamentable fact is necessary, than a simple comparison between the nations which have adopted the Greek and Roman faith on the one hand, and the Protestant nations which have embraced the religion of the Bible on the other. The Papal states under the control of the former, are Greece, Rome, modern Italy, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Poland, and the Slavic nations on the eastern hemisphere; and Mexico, Central America, and South America, on the western continent. The Protestant nations where the experiment has been fully tried are, the North American States, England, Scotland, Germany, and Switzerland; and the further comparison is left for the reader.

In finally summing up all the comparative views of Poland and other nations, we find only ten nations, among more than one thousand, who have lived and died, and still exist, since the first organization of civil society, who have ever excelled Poland; and it remains to be seen in the next chapter, whether the tenth nation of the globe, possessing the talents and merits of Poland, shall be forever doomed to slavery, or restored to her lawful rights and standing among the nations.

Were it necessary to trace the comparison of fallen nations

any farther, and the causes which conspired in their ruin, a brief sketch of the similar fate of Poland and Rome would complete the analogy. Without doubt, the fall of the Roman Empire is one of the most important events in the history of the world ; and its causes should be well considered. Although cotemporary writers have given us very contradictory and unsatisfactory accounts of the causes of this momentous event, yet at the great distance of the middle of the nineteenth century, philosophy finds ample materials on record, to sit in judgment on this national catastrophe, and pronounce a true verdict. The conquest of Rome by the Goths, has ever been considered one of the most marvellous events since the deluge. Although its causes are multifarious, and seem almost miraculous, yet modern philosophy dispels all the clouds and mystery which for so many centuries have shrouded and benighted the question. That the northern hordes, in the third and fourth centuries, should possess such immense power, as to enable them after being so long and so repeatedly repelled by the Roman armies, finally to triumph over the world-famed empire ; that the strength of the empire should be so completely paralyzed during the northern invasions, as to render them the feeble and easy prey of those they had so long and frequently subdued, are facts which have ever been viewed with thrilling interest, by every citizen, who reasons analogically from cause to effect. The ancient writers content themselves with saying that the people became corrupt ; that they lost their military courage ; that the recruiting of the legions from the free inhabitants of the nation became an impossibility ; and that the semi-barbarous tribes on the frontiers were not reliable for the Roman Republic. All this is well said, as far as it goes,—but it

does not reach the root of the matter, nor furnish any satisfactory solution of the difficulty

To modern investigation, this matter appears in a very different light. A very little reflection cannot fail to show that there are causes lying far back of all this, which must be consulted in solving this question. No ordinary or sudden impulse could convert, in so short a period, such a race of conquerors into a nation of slaves. No sudden power could put the invincible legions to flight before the ignorant, half-starved, and half-naked barbarians, and convert the civilized world into a savage community. All this does not inform us what prevented a national revenue from being raised in the third or fourth, as well as the first or second centuries. No one doubts for a moment, that corruption in its worst form had pervaded the higher ranks of Roman society from the emperor downward. But these are the vices of the exalted and affluent only; they never have, and never will extend generally to the great body of the community, for the best of reasons, the masses do not possess them, and they have not the means of purchasing them. But we must not overlook the very remarkable fact, that in the decline and fall of the empire, it was in the lower ranks that the greatest and most fatal weakness and corruption intrenched itself.

Long before the race of the Patricians had become extinct, the free cultivators had entirely disappeared from the fields and rural districts of the Roman empire; and slaves had taken their place. Statesmen and generals of the greatest abilities, and most undaunted daring frequently arose; but all their efforts were ineffectual, for the reason it was impossible to find a sturdy race of followers for a soldiery, among a population of slaves. The legionary Italian soldiers, who fought under Cæsar and his suc-

cessors, were not found ; and their places were very imperfectly supplied, by the rude Dacian, the hardy German, and the faithless, fickle Goth. The inhabitants of the provinces within the Rhine and the Danube, were so completely paralyzed that they ceased to make any resistance to the northern invaders ; and the waning fortunes of the empire were for several generations sustained principally by the heroic efforts of individual leaders, Belisarius, Narses, Julian, Aurelian, Constantine, and many others,—whose renown, although it failed to rouse the inactive, vicious inhabitants to warlike efforts, yet it attracted military adventurers from all parts of the world to their illustrious standards. The question again returns, what weakened and destroyed the rural population ? Certainly it could not be luxury ; on the contrary they were perishing with squalid poverty and pinching hunger,—crushed with overwhelming taxes, which in Gaul, in the time of Constantine, amounted to the enormous sum of fifty dollars on every freeman. What was it then, which caused this general depopulation, corruption, and weakness ? Let us look at the facts for the solution.

If we follow the history of Rome as she extended her power and dominions, we shall find her ever engaged in the ruinous work of conquering and founding cities. Their battles were fought with cities ; their treaties were made with cities ; their colonies emigrated to cities ; and in fact, the whole history of the Roman conquests is nothing more nor less than the history of the conquest and foundation of numerous cities, regardless of the rural districts. In the nations of the East, in Africa, and Asia, where rural society was diffused through the country with more equanimity, and much less concentrated in cities, the Roman power, as it expanded itself there, was necessarily compelled to

assume a more expanded character from the outset ; but in the European countries, the foundation and conquest of towns was the height of Roman ambition. The progress of Roman arms in Gaul, Spain, and Italy, met with little or no resistance, except from the towns, which were generally founded or garrisoned by the legions, or strengthened by colonies, to keep them when vanquished in a state of subjection. The large roads were constructed by the empire from one town to another, for the accommodation of the armies ; without the facilities of cross-roads for the convenience of the common people, who are the very soul and life of modern commerce.

The Roman provinces no where presented the beautiful scenery of modern Europe and America, so richly variegated with fields, lawns, and forests ; adorned with a multitude of small villages, churches, monuments, castles, villas, and cottages, which now cover the provinces of the ancient dominion. And of all the immense wealth and splendor of their ancient cities, which forever exhausted all the hard earnings of the producers and made slaves of the masses, the eternal city has bequeathed us nothing except a few fragments of urban antiquity, as a lasting memento of its municipal character and aristocratic folly, that monster of antiquity, which devoured all the rural interests of the country—the vitals of every nation. Such was the peculiar organization of Roman society in Europe, consisting of a vast conglomeration of cities, each having its own exclusive and dependent territory ; yet all jealously independent of each other, that a central and absolute government to bind them together, and control them as a whole, was indispensably necessary. The former evils necessarily led to the latter, without leaving any choice of evils. One municipality in Rome might conquer the

world very easily ; but to retain the conquest, continue the subjection, govern and provide for the numerous wants of all its various parts, is the difficulty which no genius has ever been able to surmount. The business of monopoly frequently works very well on a small scale ; but when it is applied to the conquest and subjugation of nations, the work has always been disastrous to all parties. And this was felt so sensibly by the Roman statesmen, that it led to the abandonment of republican principles, and the consequent adoption of a strong, contracted, and tyrannical government, under the emperors, as a natural consequence of neglecting the interest of the masses. This centralized despotism, at first, seemed to work well, and obtained great popularity in restraining and regulating, for a time, all the incoherent members of the vast dominion ; and all classes hailed with joy the novel idea of a central, irresistible authority, as a substitute for Roman liberty, unmindful of the awful sequel which was to follow. But when the novelty of the system had passed over, when the vigor of the central power had constantly declined during a course of ages, depleted and exhausted from a continual pressure of external warfare, and the weakness of internal misrule and corruption, without a free, educated, and virtuous rural population to sustain the country, this necessity for a rigorous and tyrannical government was no longer felt ; the capital was no longer able to provide for the provinces, but was actually dependent on them for protection and support, weak and enslaved as they were.

For the long period of four centuries, the waning central power of the emperors incessantly struggled against this increasing debility and approaching dissolution. But at last, that awful day of judgment in the history of crime, which is so sure to come,

when the culprits turn their weapons against each other, and sheathe them in their own bosoms, arrived. All the art and practised skill of despotism, which had for centuries ruled the careless, slavish multitude, lost all its controlling power over an ignorant and abused people, and the huge and unwieldy body of the massive government could no longer 'keep itself together. Consequently, in the fourth century, it necessarily and almost voluntarily, was disunited and broken into fragments; the barbarians, who for a long time had been anxiously expecting and desiring the final dissolution of their only formidable enemy, gladly rushed into the heart of the empire from all quarters, where they met with little or no resistance from the exhausted, imbecile, careless, slavish provinces from within; the numerous cities manifested no regard for the public welfare; and, like the unfortunate, panic-stricken tenants of a shipwreck, each one seized his last plank, and provided only for his individual safety, regardless of the general weal. Hence, we find, on the final dissolution of the empire, the same general state of society as at its birth. The imperial authority was disgraced, despised, and trampled in the dust; while the municipal institutions alone survived the crushing disaster of the general government. And this accounts for the literary phenomenon which everywhere fills the pages of Roman historians, that only two prevalent and all-absorbing ideas pervaded the minds of men, as the sequel of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, namely—cities, and a municipal organization everywhere established; and besides this, the recollection of the awful majesty of the emperor, of a far distant, unseen, but sacred and irresistible power; and these are the prominent, leading thoughts of Roman history and song. They are the two all-absorbing ideas which Roman literature has

handed down to us. On the one hand the municipal power, its robes, customs, and principles of liberty, are recorded and sung ; and the other, a common, general, and civil legislation, coupled with the idea of absolute power, of awful and sacred majesty, together with the principles of despotism and servitude.*

The causes which produced this extraordinary, and apparently unaccountable depopulation of the rural districts in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and all the European provinces of the Roman empire, were the natural and unavoidable consequence of the municipal system, which universally prevailed throughout the empire, and formed the basis of Roman civilization ; a system of urban monopoly and municipal extortion, which ruined all the fallen nations of antiquity, and is constantly undermining the Turkish government, and contributed its full share in the fall of Poland. This system is manifest in its most glaring colors, in the ruinous policy of imposing a certain fixed duty or tax as a burden on each municipality, to be raised by its own members, without any diminution, except under the most special circumstances and rigorous scrutiny, and on the express exemption of the emperor. Had the great bulk of the people been free, and the empire prosperous, this fixity and immutability of impost would have been one of the greatest blessings, instead of a great curse. The taxation of slaves has ever been a failure, both in a pecuniary and moral point of view. In a regular, orderly government, a certain and rateable tax in proportion to the property of each free citizen, is one of the chief bulwarks of the government. But in Rome, when the empire was besieged and invaded from all quarters, where the invaders were daily becoming more press-

* Guizot's *Essays on the History of France* ; Guizot's *European Civilization*, 20, 23.

ing and rapacious, where the legions had so long been confined within the comparatively narrow limits of their own sterile territories, while the disasters, constantly growing more frequent and serious, were laying waste the frontier provinces, this system of exorbitant taxation became the most dreadful of all scourges.

And the reason is most obvious, when we consider that the assessment on each district was fixed, and scarcely ever suffered any abatement ; and of course, every disaster increased the burden on the survivors who had fortunately escaped it ; until they were so bent down under such an accumulated weight of taxation, that the few remaining freemen who were left alone to bear the onerous burden of taxation, were crushed, and with them perished commerce, and every branch of productive industry. It was the same state of things as if all the farmers in England and America were bound to pay annually the same amount of rent and taxes to the landlords and government, including the rent and taxes of the many thousands who had become insolvent, by the commercial misfortunes of the hard and dark years of 1837 and 1838 ; although the misfortunes of the modern nations were nothing as severe as in Rome, for the reason that a general time of peace, health, and plenty prevailed under the wise and fostering care of the two best governments known in history. But a truthful history must necessarily swell the number of Roman misfortunes still farther. The ruinous effect which the free circulation of grain throughout the whole Roman world had in depressing the agriculture of Italy, Gaul, and Greece, must be added. The Roman farmers were unable to compete with Egypt, Lybia, and Sicily, which were then the granaries of the world, where the labors of the husbandmen were rewarded a hundred fold, under the genial influences of a salubrious climate,

and the riches of the soil protected by government. This vast odds in the scale of competition turned against Gaul, where the ravages of war and the miseries of government gave the agriculturists an increase only of seven-fold; while Italy, where it seldom exceeded twelve, and Spain where it was never so high, fell in the unequal struggle. The Roman poets and historians bewail in lines and verses of deep-toned woe, that the mistress of the world had become helplessly dependent for her daily bread, on the turbid, fluctuating floods of the Nile.

As might have been foreseen, the Italian and Gothic farmers, unable to compete with the cheap grain raised in the more fertile and quiet regions of the south, gradually retired from the unequal contest, and devoted their extensive estates to pasturage, because live cattle and dairy produce could not bear the expense of being shipped from Africa. The final catastrophe of this national drama was, the agriculturists and the legions disappeared in the fields, and were lost in the ignorant, indolent, and vicious crowd of urban citizens, who were dependent for their subsistence on the tribute of corn brought from Egypt and Lybia by the Roman government, to save the people from starvation. This last resort so greatly augmented the burdens upon those who remained in the rural districts, and were compelled by law to pay the rent and taxes of those who had failed, and fled from the plough to the cities, that the few remaining cultivators fell, and with them the Roman empire. So fatal was this municipal policy, so powerful was the operation of these two causes—the rigorous, exorbitant state taxes and rents, and the constantly declining prices, owing to the vast import from the more favored and fruitful agricultural regions, that they more than equalled the effects of the ravages of the barbarians in the frontier provinces, which

were exposed to their predatory incursions. Hence we find that the depopulation of the rural districts, and the squalid poverty and degraded armies of the urban towns were as extensive and complete in Italy and Gaul, before a barbarian had fired a building, passed the Alps, or ferried the Rhine, as in the desolated plains between the Alps, the Adriatic, and the Danube, which had been long previously ravaged by the armies of the northern hordes

To all these ruinous causes, must be added domestic slavery, as the fatal make-weight in the downfall of the Roman empire. The most authentic accounts which history has left us in relation to Roman slavery, the number of slaves throughout the vast dominions of the empire in its latter days, were at least equal to the whole number of freemen. This is Gibbon's lowest estimate. And it presents the horrid and soul-stirring spectacle, that one half of the whole inhabitants were in a state of degraded servitude, and as there were one hundred and twenty millions of souls under the Roman dominion, sixty millions were in that wretched condition. There is good reason to believe that the whole number of slaves throughout the Roman empire was much greater than this estimate, amounting to at least double the whole number of freemen. In the time of Claudius the emperor, the number of citizens in the empire was found to be only six million nine hundred and forty-five thousand men, who, together with their families, might amount to twenty millions of souls; and the whole number of freemen was about double that of the citizens. In the time of Pliny, one family alone contained four thousand one hundred and sixteen slaves. But if we take the number of slaves, according to Gibbon, at only half the entire population, this prodigious abstraction of the slaves would reduce the phy-

sical and moral strength of the government to an imbecility unworthy of the Roman name, and to a weakness which could not resist the inferior foe of the northern forests. In order to appreciate this state of Roman and Polish society, it is only necessary to imagine what would be the effect in Europe and America at the present time, if half the people, and perhaps two thirds, as in Rome, or fourteen fifteenths, as in Poland, were dependent on public charity for their daily sustenance, as miserable slaves, requiring the constant restraints of the most rigorous laws to prevent their crimes, unworthy of confidence, and neither adding a single individual to the muster-rolls of the legions, nor the reliable tax-paying inhabitants. How long could the government of England and America stand, with all the superior advantages which the nineteenth century has brought to their aid, after the cumulative experience of nearly six thousand years, subjected to the constant action of similar causes, so ruinous in their consequences?

Throughout all the dominions of the world-wide Roman empire, we see a vast and unwieldy kingdom, exposed on every side to the constant invasions of the savage and hostile nations of the northern wilderness,—daily increasing in numbers and augmenting in military skill; a fixed taxation constantly growing more offensive and oppressive, for which the whole free inhabitants of every municipality were jointly and severally responsible, for the support of the increasing military establishment in the midst of all these perils; an agriculture daily and rapidly declining, until at length it becomes extinct, even in the very heart and central province of the empire, owing to the overwhelming deluge of cheap grain from the fertile extremities of the kingdom, wafted over the waters of the Mediterranean. Multitudes of riotous,

starving, turbulent freemen in crowded cities, who were daily quieted and restrained in indolence and vice, by the distribution of provisions at the public expense, from the imperial store-houses, every meal; where half or two thirds of the whole population are the slaves of the other third, who have no better or surer tenure to life than the passion and caprice of their merciless tyrants; where the entire population, except a few aristocrats who live on the heart's blood of the body politic, are weary of the government, disgusted with its miserable policy, angered by extortionate taxes, and manacled by the chains of slavery,—without education, morals, or the Christian religion. Such is the picture which history has drawn of the former mistress of the world, and its declining dominions.*

SECTION II.

COMPARISON OF POLAND AND AMERICA.

It now remains to institute a comparison between Poland and America. The fall of the American Union has long been the favorite theme of European critics, statesmen, poets, and historians; among whom Alison for nearly half a century has been most conspicuous and prophetic. They seem to suppose that America has no other or better principles of stability than the "safety valve of the back settlements." But it will be found on fair and close examination, that instead of the American government being founded on principles similar to Poland, it contains more and better elements of stability, than all the nations of the globe, ancient or modern. The history of the American Republic shows

* Guizot's Essays on the Hist. of France.

a government continually growing stronger, wiser, and better, both in prosperity and adversity; like the sturdy oak on the lofty mountain-top, where the genial rays of the sun, the balmy dews of heaven, the violence of the tempest, and the dashing thunderbolts, all unitedly conspire in causing it to strike its roots deeper and firmer in its native soil.

All creation sparkles with immortality. Every page in the book of nature reveals it, the poetry of nature sings it, and the musical spheres join the chorus. Infinite space is filled with evidence, that the soul of man does not die with the mortal casket that contains it. And, even if the least doubt of man's immortality remained, after a full survey of creation, the Divine Record relieves us from all embarrassment, and reveals the precious truth in language clear as the sun. But the soul is not the only immortality in the universe of God. There are certain elementary principles of moral excellence, certain fundamental laws of existence, by which intelligent beings will always be governed,—whose perpetuity will ever run parallel with the immortality of man. These eternal principles, comprehending love to God, and love to man,—together with equal justice, pure benevolence, and other kindred laws,—which are reflections caught by this world from the Deity Himself—are the elements of all moral worth found on earth. And although this globe seems destined to undergo great changes, before it reaches that more perfect state of existence, when it may become “a new heaven and a new earth,” according to the intimations of the Sacred Volume; yet all earthly things contain certain elements of *stability*, which control their duration, in proportion as the laws of their existence are obeyed or violated. Wherever we turn our eyes or direct our thoughts, we find all beings and things governed by fixed laws,

under the control of the Deity—the Great First Cause and Governor of all worlds. And the prosperity or adversity of all civil institutions, is ever in proportion to their conformity to the true laws of their nature. Though the history of this world is filled with change and mutability, alternately exciting our smiles of joy, and tears of woe; yet, amidst all its mutations, vicissitudes, and sequences, we have the consolation to find certain elements of *stability* stamped more or less conspicuously on all creation.

In the mineral kingdom, the law of stability can be clearly traced from the origin of creation. The elements and laws of matter, so far as human research extends, are the same now, as they were in the incipient stages of creation; when the earth was without any other form than a chaotic or nebulous existence. And after all the successive changes, through which worlds and their millions of vegetables and animal inhabitants have passed, for more than six thousand years, not the slightest evidence is found that a single particle of matter has ever been lost or destroyed. Geology reveals to us the interesting fact, that all the successive formations of the globe, which have occupied more than sixty centuries in reaching their present development, remain substantially the same as when the Great Architect first deposited them in their beds, during the successive ages of His mighty works; excepting the changes caused by volcanic action, and other physical agencies. The bold granite mountains, whose towering peaks have pierced the clouds for centuries, are composed of the same materials as existed in their kindred rocks, in the first formation of the earth; and wherever they have been pulverized by the hand of time, we find the particles which originally composed them, scientifically mingled with the fertile plains below.

The same law of stability prevails throughout all the countless bodies of space, and binds them all together in one harmonious system. Astronomers have watched in vain for centuries, to find some discord in the harmony of the spheres,—some seeds of approaching dissolution in the system of worlds, which are bound together by the indissoluble ties of nature. So perfect and uniform are all the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, that modern science has demonstrated, that they are all constructed and governed in harmony with regular laws. Mathematical science now discovers a planet, long before the telescope receives a single ray of its light. The same uniform stability appears in the law of gravitation, the colors of the rainbow, the flash of lightning, and the music of thunder.

And as we rise in the scale of creation, from the mineral to the vegetable kingdom, we there meet with elements of stability. Vegetation is now governed by the same laws of growth, maturity, decay, and reproduction, as existed in the first formation of the earth, which contains the fossil remains of the primeval plants; deposited there, perhaps, centuries before the creation of man. The lady in Europe or America, as she now promenades her garden, inhales the same fragrance from her flowers, adorns her beautiful ringlets with roses, violets, and lilies; possessing the same rich variety of colors—the same crimson tints and carnation hues, as wreathed the brow and delighted the senses of their mother Eve, in the days of Eden's bloom.

In the animal creation we meet with elements of stability, as developed in the habits and instincts of their numerous classes, ever preserving the same laws of embryology, the same laws of sustenance, growth, and decay from age to age, since the remotest antiquity of their fossil existence.

Ascending still higher in the works of creation, we pass the narrow confines of earthly stability and meet with man, the noblest work of God, whose existence is stamped with immortality. He commences life the most feeble and helpless creature in the world, and requires nearly half a century to develop his powers and attain the perfection of manhood, matures at the age of three score years and ten, when death kindly relieves him from the cares of life, and introduces him to a glorious immortality beyond the grave, where he receives the rewards of his virtuous life and gospel faith, in a world which knows no change, no end, no imperfection.

Nor is the principle of stability confined to the works of creation alone ; but we have divine assurances, that it is an elementary law by which the Creator governs himself, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever ; from whom all His creation borrows their stability, immortality, and every excellence.

In looking through the history of civil society, sad and mutable as it is, we find the same general law of stability, more or less developed, in all nations and ages, leading us to the irresistible conclusion that *national stability* depends upon well settled principles, which, when obeyed, invariably lead to the same durable and prosperous results, as are found in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. National stability, as well as the stability of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, depend on laws peculiar to each ; and hence we find in all countries and ages, those nations which have incorporated into their political systems the most of these fundamental principles of perpetuity have been the most prosperous and durable. In the middle of the nineteenth century the philosopher can reason from cause to effect, and from effect to cause, as accurately and suc-

cessfully in the moral as in the natural sciences. True it is, in the natural sciences, involving the various departments of physics, the experiments and facts are apparently more simple, connected, and satisfactory than in the moral sciences. But it is equally true, that in the moral sciences, including the science of government, the facts and experiments which have been repeated for nearly six thousand years, by all classes of the human family, and by millions of experimenters, are vastly more numerous and certain when properly analyzed and understood, and furnish the statesman with more ample and satisfactory data for his political calculations concerning the future stability of his government, than can be found in the annals of physical science. These elements of national perpetuity first made their appearance in Egypt, where they were for a time better understood than in any other nation of that day; from Egypt they passed over to Greece; from Greece to Rome; from Rome to Great Britain, France, and Germany, where they appeared successively in new and improved editions; and finally were imported to America in the *Mayflower*, by the Pilgrim Fathers; where a new, improved, and complete edition was issued, embracing all the fundamental principles of national stability, as found in the constitution, laws, and institutions of the American government.

The first element of national stability in the American Union, which strikes us with agreeable surprise, is the remarkable history of the nation. The history of the United States is most naturally divided into four general periods: First—The period of colonization, which embraces the early immigration and colonization of the primeval Anglo-American inhabitants of the nation: Second—The formative period, when the colonies were organized into a regular government: Third—The confirmative

period, when the government becomes so firmly established as to be in no danger of dissolution: and Fourth—The perfecting period, during which the nation and its government are progressively elevated to its highest glory in civilization, science, wealth, government, and moral excellence. The American Union commenced the first period of its national existence, with the migration and colonization of the Pilgrim Fathers; its second or formative period, dates with the adoption of the federal constitution in 1789; the third or confirmative period was reached on the declaration of peace, which closed the last war with Great Britain; and since the termination of that war, the republic has been rapidly perfecting, developing, and progressing in its fourth great national period, until she now stands at the head of all other nations in national glory.

The historical reader, in perusing the rise and fall of nations, will not fail to notice, that but few of the thousands of governments which have lived and died, and still survive, were ever *organized*: still fewer have been *confirmed*, and not more than twenty of all which have survived, have ever entered their *perfecting* and last period. But America, with unfaltering steps, has marched successfully, and within little more than half a century, through the three first periods; and for more than a quarter of a century, has been making more rapid advances in the fourth period, than any nation known in ancient or modern history. While Italy, Spain, and all other nations, except Great Britain, France, and Germany, have been standing still, or rather retrograding for centuries, America has never lost a step, nor remained stationary for a moment. The origin of the American Union is peculiar to itself, and stands alone in the history of nations. Among the thousands of nations which have been

known in the annals of time, not one of them can boast of an origin like America. All the others commenced their national existence in a savage or barbarous state; ignorant, degraded pagans, without civilization, without education, without literature, destitute of morals and Christianity, deprived of liberty, and those salutary laws and principles of government, which secure to man the enjoyment of his natural rights. But, the American government commenced its existence in the cabin of the Mayflower, free from all those national embarrassments which crippled the early growth of other nations. Our Pilgrim Fathers and Mothers embraced in their characters all those physical, mental, moral, and religious powers, which adorned the purest and best classes of society in their day; and what is more than all this, they were at least a century in advance of all other nations in their republican principles and the science of government. Had it pleased the Almighty to have created a new race of human beings, and placed them on Plymouth Rock, as the progenitors of the American republic, for the purpose of founding the American Union, it is difficult to conceive how they could have been improved from the Pilgrim Fathers. Well might a distinguished American senator proudly exclaim—"Who could wish his country's existence otherwise commenced?"

Another element of stability is found in the *wisdom* of the American Government. True wisdom consists in the choice of the best ends, and the best means of obtaining them; and we know of no better definition of the American Union. It has long since become a universal axiom, both in natural and moral science, that the highest property of wisdom consists in obtaining the most desirable end, or securing the greatest amount of good, by the fewest possible means, or by the simplest machinery.

This principle, when applied to nature or art, is highly appreciated for its excellence, and its useful results. It never fails to command our veneration, when traced in the law of gravitation, where we see this wonderful power—the embodiment of wisdom in the planetary world—standing in the centre, not only of this globe, but of all the countless bodies and worlds of unlimited space, controlling billions of phenomena for the general and individual good of millions of beings. The same general law of simplicity and utility displays the greatest wisdom, when applied to machinery; where some great end is brought about by instrumentality less complex, or cumbersome, and at much less expense,—as is often done in the simplification of machines; when, by the fortunate discovery of some ingenious ligament or wheel, the whole apparatus is made much more effective; while at the same time, it remains less unwieldy, or less intricate, and far less liable to derangement and decay; and worked with less expense.

The same principle is applicable to civil government. It has always been a standing charge against all governments, in all ages and nations, that they are too expensive, too complicated, ineffective, and oppressive, for the real wants and best interests of the people; and on these fatal rocks, all the nations which have fallen, were wrecked and dashed in pieces. But it was reserved for the American Union, in its wisdom, to steer clear of these dangers, by so simplifying their government, that the greatest possible good is secured equally to all, at the least expense, founded on the wisest and clearest principles, which every citizen can understand and appreciate. The American Fathers early discovered the folly of aristocratic governments; and at once rejected all the idle, expensive, oppressive, and useless machinery of kings and nobles, and all the vain pomp of aristocracy, dispensing with lords

and ladies, princes and princesses, as worse than useless ; and introduced the plain, practical, useful system of American government, so replete with wisdom and sound common sense. Its chief excellence consists in governing just enough—neither too much nor too little. A few elementary principles are placed under the control of legal coercion, designed for the government of the rebellious and disobedient few ; while the enlightened masses, by the general diffusion of useful knowledge, are governed by moral suasion, founded on the learning and religion of the country ; which forms the all-powerful law of a sound public opinion.

The great object of all philosophy, both natural and moral, is to ascertain and develope those simple and ultimate principles, into which all the phenomena of nature or morals, may, by analysis, be resolved. And it is the peculiar province of the philosophy of national government, to ascertain and reveal those laws, which control all the phenomena of civil society, in such a manner as to meet equally the wants of all, and produce the greatest good to the greatest number. The government, in all its departments,—including the constitution, laws, and institutions, is most wisely constructed on the soundest principles of philosophy. It neither governs too much nor too little ; and requires nothing more of any citizen, than to pursue his best interest, in harmony with the general good, by uniting both interest and duty. The debates of the framers of the federal constitution, as well as the results of their deliberations, prove them sound philosophers, as well as devout Christians, and wise statesmen. The American Constitution is not only profound and wise within itself, but it is wisely adapted to the wants, capacities, and rights, of all classes and individuals, who are subjected to its control. It is worthy of notice, that the great law of stability, wherever we

find it, whether in the mineral, vegetable, animal, or moral kingdom, mainly depends on the wise relations and adaptations of things. Modern science has discovered that the perpetuity of the Egyptian pyramids, which have stood more than thirty centuries, not only unimpaired, but constantly improving in durability, depends mainly on the wisdom of the architect, in selecting materials for their structure, so well adapted to the climate of Egypt, that the longer they are exposed to the atmosphere, the more durable they become ; and had they been erected in any other climate, they would probably long since have crumbled to dust. Comparative botany and anatomy reveal the same general law of adaptation in their respective provinces ; and a similar rule prevails in moral science, as well as in every department of literature.

The most remarkable feature in the American government is its analogy to a pure system of self-government. Nations, as well as individuals, are governed by substantially the same moral principles of virtue or vice, good or evil, right or wrong, justice or injustice ; according to the moral excellence of the code which they adopt as their standard. The truly wise man controls himself by right principles, right feelings, and right actions,—in accordance with the moral constitution which the Creator has so kindly and bountifully bestowed upon him. The good man who cultivates the salutary principles of self-government, in the first place, subjects all his powers, intellectual, moral, and physical, to the control of an enlightened and righteous conscience, under the guidance of the Divine Will. Around this standard of moral excellence, are rallied all the intellectual powers, the moral feelings, the will, and the whole host of physical powers, including the senses, the instincts, the appetites, and passions,—all mar-

shall be in due subordination to each other,—each occupying its legitimate sphere of usefulness, and discharging its own peculiar duties for the promotion of the general good of all the associate powers,—forming one beautiful, sublime, and pure embodiment of moral excellence, as found in the self-government of a wise, just, and good man.

Guided by the light of history through all antiquity, we find that national government has ever been found good, prosperous, and happy, in exact proportion as it has approximated to this standard of self-government. And here is seen the vast superiority of the American economy over all other governments—the great secret of its unparalleled success,—the main-spring of American enterprise. It would seem that Heaven had reserved for American genius, the discovery and development of the great and sublime principle, that *self-government* must be made the basis of all national government, and national prosperity. Our fathers, having discovered this important principle, and conscious of its great excellence and utility, framed the constitution in accordance with its spirit; which, in fact, is nothing more than a political chart, applying the principles of self-government to the government of the nation. In this new and surprising economy, these immortal patriots placed at the head of the government, the laws and judiciary; which control and supervise all the affairs of the nation, and all departments of state; answering substantially the same purposes in national government, as the conscience of the good man does in the great work of self-government. The object of American jurisprudence is justice and well-doing; and the office of an enlightened, righteous conscience is the same.

Next in subordination to this first and leading power in national government, is the legislative power, whose legitimate business

consists in cultivating and aiding the great cause of national conscience or justice ; by modifying, adapting, and improving the national jurisprudence, according to the increasing and varying interests of a growing, democratic republic. The analogy between the operations of the intellectual powers, in aiding, enlightening, and promoting, the salutary government of conscience, in the wise and good man ; and the official duties of legislation, in sustaining and promoting the laws of the nation, is too clear and striking, to be overlooked by the most superficial observer. Nor does our simile end here. Not only does a well-regulated conscience, in self-government, answer to a sound and wise jurisprudence in the national government, while the intellectual powers and state legislation are equally harmonious in their labors of wisdom and love ; but we may trace a similar analogy between the *will*, which executes the mandates of conscience and the intellect, upon the same principles as the American President, in the just and rightful discharge of his duties, executes the laws of his country in obedience to his official oath ; which requires him only to *administer* the laws, without negligence, violation, or perversion.

While the moral affections in man, in their legitimate sphere, under the control of the conscience, the intellectual powers, and the will, occupy by far the most extensive control in the domain of self-government ; so on the other hand, in the affairs of state, the great majority of the American people are governed more by the all-pervading power of moral suasion or public opinion, founded on their evangelical religion and the diffusion of useful knowledge, than by the power of legal coercion. As the physical powers of man harmoniously aid and sustain the intellectual powers, the conscience, the will, and affections of the well-

disciplined man ; so the physical resources of the country, and the ligaments of commerce, nourish and bind together the body-politic with as much stability, success, and harmony, as self-government promotes the highest and best individual interests. On these principles is founded the American government ; which has clearly revealed to the world the new and astounding principle, that a free, educated, and religious people can govern themselves without the aid of kings or queens, and in the absence of royal aristocrats, or the pomp of nobility.

Unity of diversity has long been regarded as an elementary principle of social law. Those three significant Latin words, "E PLURIBUS UNUM," which so gracefully adorn the American flag, are full of meaning, and contain volumes of sound philosophy, as well as a fundamental principle of national stability. The literal translation of this admirable motto, is well understood by every schoolboy to be—"ONE FROM MANY ;" but the more extensive and momentous meaning, is truly a sublime thought. The American Union, both in fact and philosophy, is one nation ; formed from all the civilized and Christian nations of the earth. It is the embodiment of all that is great and good, excellent and useful, wise and durable, which has ever appeared in other nations, together with all the improvements which American virtue, wisdom, and liberty could add. Here are found the republican principles, the moral virtue, the pure religion, the jurisprudence, the elements of government, and useful institutions of all nations which are worthy of being preserved. The American people have emigrated only from civilized and Christian nations, and are composed only of such as are lovers of freedom. No tyrant, savage, or pagan, has ever been found among American immigrants. They are one in all the founda-

mental principles of civilization, morals, religion, and republican government; and although a greater diversity of races is not found in any other nation, yet this diversity is so symmetrically harmonized in unity of principle, unity of interest, unity of duty, unity of feeling, and national unity, that it is difficult to conceive of more permanent principles of national stability. Unity of diversity is a rare excellence; but wherever it exists, it combines vastly more strength and durability, than where there are no conflicting interests to be reconciled, or antagonistical elements to be combined, or discords to be resolved and harmonized. This unity is the perfection of art, the ornament of literature, a fundamental law of civil society, and the great desideratum in international law.

Notwithstanding the unlimited freedom of the press and liberty of speech, where every citizen can freely write, publish, and discuss all the measures of government, and criticise public men and their measures, where a wider range of debate, and a much greater diversity of interests and principles exist than in any other government, where all have equal rights and privileges, yet, after a full and fair examination of all these numerous topics, conclusions are reached, and decisions are made, in which all finally acquiesce. And after a full review of all the great questions of state which have agitated the nation for more than half a century, they are found to be merely questions of policy, as to the best method of administering the laws and government; where statesmen have entertained an honest difference of opinion as to the constitutionality, the legality, or expediency of measures. No question has ever been entertained as to the clear and fundamental principles of the government contained in the constitution, no voice has ever been heard in favor of abolishing the government, or dis-

turbing a single feature of the fundamental law. The public debates of the American Congress, ever since the adoption of the constitution, contain a greater variety of subjects, a greater range of thought, more extensive research and force of logic, in relation to all the affairs of state, than can be found in the records and history of any other nation—England not excepted. When any great question of national policy is raised, it undergoes a full and searching examination of both Houses of Congress, aided by thousands of the ablest pens, expressing public sentiment through the voice of the press, in every part of the country; while every citizen in the nation has access to the public prints, by the daily mail which passes every man's door. After this discussion has been carried on, sometimes for years by these hosts of eloquent debaters and powerful reasoners, both in Congress and out, and after all the people have read both sides of the question, and all the truth has been elicited, the question is finally decided, according to the weight of evidence, and in harmony with law, to the satisfaction of all.

And in this way, America has clearly demonstrated the safety and utility of that elementary principle of a true democratic government, that truth never suffers by free and unlimited investigation. Here then we find a great nation of twenty-five millions of inhabitants, scattered over a territory of more than three millions of square miles, all freely debating the affairs of state, from the Capitol of the country to every mansion, villa, cottage, hamlet, and cabin in the republic, where all are equally interested, a state of things every way calculated to produce division, discord, faction, and anarchy, according to the logic of eastern governments; yet, in America, where all talk and investigate, and

all directly or indirectly legislate, every, and any question, is finally settled to the satisfaction of all. Now, the principle which controls all these political phenomena is this: there exists amid all this diversity, a unity of principle, of feeling, of interest, and action, which so thoroughly pervades every bosom on all matters of importance, that, only give the people a full and fair opportunity to investigate, reflect, and act, and all remain the same *E PLURIBUS UNUM*—a beautiful and sublime embodiment of unity of diversity.

American unity is so diffusive in its nature, that it is both individual and universal—national as well as local. It pervades the principles, feeling, acts, language, religion, literature, dress, manners, customs, and interests of all classes; extends through all the ramifications of society, and harmonizes all the laws into one grand system of jurisprudence. The American people have only one country, one government, one nation, and one common destiny.

Unlike all other nations, and as a safeguard against dissolution, the American government is founded on the philosophical principles of the division of labor. Every human being within the national domain has his peculiar work allotted him, in conducting and sustaining the affairs of state. All national power originally belongs to the people, all govern all, and all are governed by all. Government power is philosophically divided into five general branches, namely—The power conferred on the towns, county power, state power, federal power, and popular power. The minutiae of government, embracing the common affairs of individual and social life, are placed under the supervision of the towns. These primary officers of government have the jurisdiction of the peace of community, provide for the necessities of the

poor, regulate the educational interests, administer justice in all minor matters, and superintend generally such domestic concerns of state, as cannot, with propriety, be entrusted to individuals, or the higher officers of government. Town government is one of the main pillars of all well-regulated nations, and, in America, it has been enlarged, improved, and perfected, until it far excels all other republics, and is the chief corner-stone of the American Union. These little republics are the nurseries of the nation; where sound public opinion, republican principles, public improvements, and public men originate. The town was the first branch of government organized by the Pilgrim Fathers, and has ever remained inviolate.

The next branch of popular government in the history of the American Union, is the power of the county. This department of state is composed of several towns, and is organized for the purpose of superintending and controlling such general and conflicting interests of the several towns as they cannot well manage themselves. In process of time, these counties became so numerous, their business so onerous, and their interests in some instances so conflicting, that state organizations were necessary. The power of the state is supreme over the towns and counties, in all matters conferred by the constitution, which is the fundamental law of the land. They are supreme, independent nations in all things, except so far as they are subject to the control of the federal government. The states, in the course of time, found by experience, that their powers were inadequate in many respects, to carry out and enforce the popular will; and the people, therefore, organized the American Union, with such powers as could not well be exercised by the states, for the general protection and benefit of the whole body politic.

Over all these several departments of government, the people in their sovereignty exercise a supreme control, by improving and correcting each according to law. These several governments are independent of each other in the discharge of their respective duties; subject to those laws of review which the counties have over the towns, the states over the counties, the federal government over the states, and the people over the whole. By these general divisions of government, so wisely constructed upon the philosophical principles of dividing labor, the people are so completely surrounded and bound together by the net-work of law and government, that dissolution is impossible.

This salutary principle of dividing the labors of government into its separate and appropriate departments, where every organ of the public body performs its peculiar function in harmony with each other, and the whole system—in analogy with the vegetable and animal economy—nowhere displays more wisdom and stability, than in the independence of Church and State. While the people have assigned to the state the temporal duties of government, and those matters which are under the control of legal coercion and military force; they have, with equal propriety, reserved for the Church, which is the nursery of an enlightened and sound public opinion, the spiritual interests of community, and the power of moral suasion, under the united influence of learning and religion. Although these two prominent departments of government move in different orbits, each having different spheres of usefulness, yet their interests are the same, and, like Siamese twins, live, feel, and act, for the mutual good and happiness of each other, in a wonderful existence, both individual and social, which never can be amalgamated nor separated. It is the province of the American Church to control

by kindness, benevolence, and public opinion, the educational, moral, and religious interests of the country ; while the state passes into permanent laws such principles as the good sense, virtue, and wisdom of the people suggest, and the interests of the country require. And while the power of the government is made to bear on the rebellious and disobedient few, in sustaining and promoting the best interests of the country, the literature of the schools, in harmony with the voice of the press and the eloquence of the pulpit, are daily wielded with a moral power, in favor of the general good of all, and the spiritual interests of each individual, vastly more effective than all the other powers of the nation.

The great mass of the American people are governed, or govern themselves by sound principles and moral duties, without the legal coercion of the state ; and hence it is, that the few cases of disobedience which are corrected by the power of state, leave comparatively very little for the government to do, in controlling those temporal interests which must be reached by moral influence alone. The great secret of maintaining a *separate* and yet *united* Church and State, each having its peculiar duties and jurisdiction, while both pursue the general and best good of each other, and of all the country, depends upon the well-known philosophical principle of a judicious division of labor, well understood by every farmer and mechanic in the country. To build a watch skilfully, profitably, and the most advantageously, requires the skill of forty-three trades ; and the labor is divided between two hundred and fifteen different mechanics, each confined to his own peculiar department, in harmony with all the others ; and by their united and separate labors, the surprising mechanism is

produced, in the greatest perfection known to the art.* So in the American government; instead of the *one-man-power*, which controls nearly all other nations of the earth, the duties of government are divided by the people into separate departments, where each performs its own appropriate labors in harmony with all the others; and this union and distinction explain the relation of Church and State—one of the strongest bonds of the American Union.

One of the strongest ligaments in the American Union, is its wisely balanced power. The division of both federal and state government into legislative, executive, and judicial departments; each of which is again subdivided into several branches, in such proportions, and with such mutual and reciprocal checks upon each other, that no one or more of the public officers or departments of state can subvert or corrupt the others; while all move on in their several orbits without any collision or disturbing forces, forming one beautiful, symmetrical, and harmonious whole, is a government not found in any other nation, ancient or modern.

As an additional safeguard, our American fathers, at a very early day, adopted the republican principle of rotation, or change in office. The abuse of long continued power seems to be a common failing of human nature. The corrupting influence of

* A watch consists of nine hundred and ninety-two pieces, and forty-three trades are employed in their construction. The chain, eight inches in length, has one hundred and sixty-five links, each containing three plates and two pins; making in all eight hundred and twenty-five pieces, and passes through fifteen hands, men, women, and children of three trades, before it is finished; allowing five hands to each trade. The labor of manufacturing a watch is divided between two hundred and fifteen persons.—*Wayland's Elements of Political Economy*, p. 80.

political power, both on rulers and subjects—exposed as it is to all the frailties and temptations of public life ; and the uniformity of its dangerous consequences, as attested in all history and all nations—early suggested to the founders of our government, the almost divine principle of frequently changing the officers of state. That an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure, is an elementary principle in the science of government, as well as in physic. This republican principle, which is originally and exclusively American, places it beyond the power of any public officer to mature and execute any treasonable plan within the short time of his continuance in office. No American president has ever held his station more than eight years, and the majority of them only four. The limited period of senators, from two to six years, and representatives from one to two years ; while the judiciary, army, and all others retain their power for equally limited periods, or during good behavior ; constitute a political organization as free from dangerous innovation and dissolution, as can possibly be found. And hence it is, that the American government presents the only example in the history of nations, where no act of treason has ever been committed since the organization of the republic. The government is so wisely constructed, that no temptation to treason exists. The principle of official rotation, the abolition of feudal tenures, the prevention of noble titles, and the small salaries merely sufficient for expenses with the best economy, are sufficient preventives against treason and corruption.

In addition to all these elements of national stability, we have the institution of free and universal suffrage. We say *universal suffrage*, because the exceptions are so few, as to scarcely deserve notice. The right of suffrage extends generally to all male

citizens who are twenty-one years of age, without any property qualification ; and this liberal law is so equitably framed, as to allow all citizens and subjects, both male and female, who are excluded from the ballot-box, to be fully and fairly represented in every branch of both state and federal government. Nor is it by any means to be overlooked, in estimating our invaluable rights of suffrage, that every voter can quietly repair to the polls and deposit his vote, without the apprehension of intimidation or corruption, after fully canvassing the comparative merits of the public candidates, and the measures submitted for his approval or rejection. As additional safeguards for the protection and purity of popular elections, where the majority rule, the fundamental law has secured the right of petition, the freedom of the press, and the liberty of speech.

America can boast of a jurisprudence, equal in all respects, and superior in many, to any other nation. Her judicial codes combine every salutary principle of law, ever known in ancient or modern states, worthy of being retained by a free people ; and in addition to all these, American wisdom has adopted many laws of the first importance, which have not heretofore adorned the judiciary of any other people. One of the chief excellencies of American jurisprudence is its strict conformity to natural and moral law ; which are the foundation of justice and natural rights. With such a wise adaptation of things, where the union of justice and equity, interest and duty, are the elements of all law ; where the government requires nothing more of any citizen, than to promote his individual interest, in harmony with the general good of all, we should naturally expect to find precisely such a state of society as exists in the United States. The laws are made for the greatest good of the greatest number, in harmony with indivi-

dual interests, without favoritism or monopoly. No country can boast of so pure, so excellent, and so useful a system of land-law. Every American citizen has, or can have, a homestead of personal and real property, sufficient to secure to himself and family all the necessaries and comforts of life, with economy and industry; free from all feudal tenures, protected from the improvidence and misfortune of debt, and exempt from taxes, except a few shillings for the expenses of state. Every citizen, with one year's labor, can purchase of the government as good a farm of one hundred acres, as the sun ever shone on. The unlimited right of owning property in allodial fee, both personal and real, which descends equally to heirs and kindred, constitutes a system of jurisprudence, which is peculiarly and exclusively an American institution. This American *home system* forms one of the principal elements of national stability; where every man, woman, and child, has an interest in the soil, which no power on earth can filch from its happy owner. That country is safe—doubly safe—where the laws throw her tender and parental arms around every citizen and subject, from his embryo existence to the last quiet slumbers of the tomb; where the government and people are reciprocally bound together by the indissoluble ties of “Home, sweet home.” Such a system of law, “has her seat in the bosom of God, and her voice is the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage; the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power. Both angels, men, and creatures, of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.”*

The physical structure of the United States bears on its face

* Hooker.

the most striking features of national stability. Every foot of American territory, on land or water, mountain or valley, in city or country, is wisely adapted to the numerous and various wants of the people. The country seems to have been originally designed by the Creator for the people who inhabit it, and the government which rules it. With an extent of territory, measuring three thousand millions of acres—the largest national domain in the world; where every acre of land can be tilled,—every valley can be made an Eden,—every mountain can be terraced with vegetation or worked for minerals,—where every morass can be cultivated, and every yard of water profitably used for navigation, irrigation, or hydraulic purposes; with twenty-five millions of able-bodied, industrious citizens, to cultivate the soil, navigate the waters, work the mines, and conduct the manufactures,—how is it possible to imagine or even dream of dissolution?

Nor is this all. This land of the beautiful, home of the brave, and country of the free,—extending from the Atlantic on the east, to the Pacific on the west,—from the awful plunge of Niagara on the north, to the golden sands of California on the south,—in almost equal distances of two thousand miles each,—is nearly surrounded on all sides by navigable waters; with a sea-coast on the east, south, and west, of more than ten thousand miles; including the lake, and river coast on the north, rivalling that of the ocean. The whole interior of the country is conveniently divided, traversed, and intersected by more than twenty-five thousand miles of navigable rivers, lakes, and gulfs; and five thousand miles of canals; together with ten thousand miles of railroads; all connected by good public roads, traversing every part of the country, passing every man's door, and accommodating every market.

All this extensive country is covered with a fertile soil, carpeted with every variety of vegetation; with a salubrious climate above, and inexhaustible resources of all kinds of valuable minerals beneath. The whole surface is usefully, beautifully, and sublimely arched at convenient distances, with mountains and hills, gradually sloping from their lofty summits down their sunny sides to the valleys between them; through which the great American rivers bear on their swelling bosoms the rich produce of the fertile soil,—amounting to more than one hundred and fifty millions of annual exports; with a much larger amount of imports; in a shipping of nearly four millions of tonnage.

This vast extent of territory, embracing one-sixteenth of the whole land surface of the globe; for the purposes of commerce and wealth, is most conveniently divided by two great ranges of mountains, running from north to south, into three great natural sections, namely: the Atlantic slope, the Mississippi valley, and the Pacific slope. The Alleghany chain is more distinguished for its length than its height; and there is no tract of country in the world, that preserves the mountain character over so great a space, with so little elevation. Their mean height varies from two to three thousand feet; nearly one half of which consists of the elevation of the mountains above their base; and the other of the elevation of the adjoining country above the sea. Thus the country rises to this height, by an almost imperceptible acclivity from the ocean, at the distance of two or three hundred miles on the one side, and from the channel of the Mississippi, at nearly an equal distance on the other.

A gradual elevation of one thousand or twelve hundred feet, upon a horizontal surface of two or three hundred miles, would give the surface of the country on the eastern slope an average

rise of from three to four feet in a mile ; and from two to three feet on the western side ; making due allowance for the height of the channel of the Mississippi above the sea.

To this small degree of inclination the people of the United States are indebted for their unparalleled extent of inland navigation ; and, by the course of the Mississippi, and its branches—the Missouri, Ohio, Alleghany, and other tributary rivers—in connection with the law above stated, vessels ascend over an inclined plane of between three and four thousand miles in extent, to the surprising elevation of nearly two thousand feet, without the aid of canals or locks.

The next great range of American mountains,—and, perhaps the most remarkable in the world, is the Rocky Mountains. This towering ridge, though more elevated than the Alleghanies, is also more distant from the Mississippi on the east, and the Pacific on the west. From the Mississippi to the Pacific, in latitude forty degrees, is about fifteen hundred miles ; and the Rocky Mountains, which crown this gradually-swelling surface, rise, with the trifling exception of some insulated peaks, to an elevation of about nine thousand feet. Now, it is worthy of notice, that this height is about three times as great as that of the Alleghanies ; while the Mississippi, which is the common reservoir of the streams descending from both, is nearly three times farther from the higher range, than from the lower ; thereby forming nearly the same declivity on both sides of this immense basin, included between those two lofty ranges of mountains ; and hence the streams flowing from the Rocky Mountains are as easily navigated as those coming from the Alleghanies.

In addition to all these remarkable facilities for navigation and commerce, the Mississippi valley forms a southern declivity, by

which it gradually descends from the high table land of the centre of the continent, to the level of the ocean on the Gulf of Mexico. From this table land, which rises from fifteen hundred to two thousand feet above the sea, descend the great rivers of North America ; including Mackenzie's River, flowing two thousand miles to the Northern Ocean ; the St. Lawrence descending to the Atlantic on the east, a distance of twenty-five hundred miles ; and the Mississippi which empties into the Gulf of Mexico on the south, measuring nearly five thousand miles.* On the west of the Rocky Mountains, the descent to the Pacific is greater and more rapid, yet the Columbia River is navigable from the ocean to nearly its source ; which rises near the origin of the Missouri on the opposite sides of the mountain.

From this general view of the physical structure of the country, it appears that railroads and canals can be constructed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or in any other direction, from one extremity of the national domain to another, with such slight and gradual elevations, as not to impede the course of a locomotive or a canal boat, from one ocean to the other ; excepting perhaps a very few inclined planes or locks.

The numerous and lofty mountains of America, which so beautifully and usefully arch the surface of the country, are not only designed to please the eye and delight the heart with their sublime and enchanting scenery, but they are so many inexhaustible mountains of natural manure, to fertilize the valleys and plains below for the sustenance and happiness of man. An erroneous opinion generally prevails, that the barren rocks and mountains

* This measurement of the Mississippi includes the Missouri as a branch ; if the latter be rejected, the length of the former will remain between twenty-five hundred and three thousand miles.

of a country are so much waste territory, made in vain, and answering no wise purpose in the economy of nature ; whereas, in truth, they are by far the most valuable portions of the earth's surface. For, over and above the rich mountain scenery they furnish, their mineral wealth, the valuable animals which inhabit them, and the inexhaustible fountains of fresh water which they contain, supplying the seas, lakes, rivers, and springs of the country, they provide the arable land with abundant fertility. No country in the world possesses such admirable proportions of mountains and plains in such surprising extent, as the United States of America.

It might easily be demonstrated, would our limits permit, that considering the present depth and superficial extent of the American soil, and the alluvium that covers it, in connection with the quality and quantity of the mountain rocks, to supply all waste and deficiencies, together with the numerous and inexhaustible fountains of water to irrigate the land, the country will never fail in its fertility, with a civilized, educated, and virtuous population, as dense as one to every quarter of an acre. It is an elevating and inspiring theme of contemplation, to trace the indissoluble connection of causes and effects, which Providence has established between the physical geography of America and its people, in adapting the fertility of the soil to the numerous wants of the dense population which seems designed to occupy it in a very few centuries. We know of no instance in the works of creation, where more divine skill is displayed than is found in the wise economy of balancing the action of all the minute causes of waste and supply, and rendering them conducive to the general good. This providential adaptation nowhere appears in nature more strikingly, than in the provision made for forming and pre-

erving the soil, or the coat of vegetable mould, which the liberal hand of the Creator has so kindly spread out over the surface of the earth. The geological student will not fail to notice, that this coat, which consists of loose materials and minute particles, is easily blown away by the winds, and is continually carried down by the rivers into the lakes and seas. This law operates so uniformly, by removing the earth, not only in the form of sand and gravel, and sometimes large fragments of rocks, but its finer particles, suspended in the waters, tinge the rivers with the native color of the soil, so that its effects are obvious to every one in all quarters of the globe.

The quantity of earth thus removed from the soil by winds, snows, and rain, and carried down to the ocean by the rivers, varies according to circumstances. It has been computed in some instances, that the waters of a river in time of flood contain earthy matter suspended in it amounting to more than the two hundred and fiftieth part of its own bulk. By these admirably adjusted laws, the soil is continually diminished by removing its particles from higher to lower levels; and finally deposited in the sea, for the purpose of forming new islands, new continents, and new alluviums, for the future sustenance of man and beast, when a more dense population will inhabit the globe. To counterbalance this law of waste and change on the earth's surface, the Creator has so arranged the economy of nature, that the soil has remained the same in quantity and quality, ever since the earth has been inhabited by man; particularly in America, and other parts of the world where the country has an abundant supply of rocky mountains. These rocks are continually pulverized by the grinding machinery of nature, by the force of the winds, by the atmosphere, by the frost, by the undermining tor-

rents that separate and carry off the materials, by volcanic action and other causes; while the continued supply of these rocky particles are scientifically mingled with the valleys and plains, to supply the exhaustion caused by the constant action of other laws, which waft and float the old soil to the oceans. Who can fail to admire this wonderful economy, where time is constantly at his work pulverizing the flinty rocks, and with his stalwart arms and shivering blows is ever hewing down the cloud-capped mountains, for the sustenance of ungrateful man?

In all this physical geography of gradually arched mountains and broad sinking valleys, cut and traversed by the numerous navigable rivers, which are fed by the former and irrigate the latter, he who fails to recognize the hand of the Great Architect who has so wisely and benevolently formed this extensive and rich territory of the first and only free government in the world, must be madly determined in his infidelity. Thus it would seem from the physiology of the country, that it was designed only for one nation, one people, and one family, all occupying one great farm, without any international divisions or barriers, never to be divided or dissolved.

The remarkable increase of the population of America, forms a new chapter in the history of the human family; and contains one of the most prominent elements of national stability. The first census of the United States, taken in 1790, shows a population of 3,929,328. The second census, taken in 1800, contains a population of 5,309,758. The third, in 1810, swells the number to 7,239,903. The fourth census, of 1820, amounts to 9,638,166. The fifth, taken in 1830, numbers 12,858,670. And the sixth, in 1840, equals 17,062,566. The census of 1850, enrolls the surprising number of nearly twenty-five millions,

including the inhabitants of the newly acquired territory from Mexico, about twenty millions of whom are whites, and the remainder are Africans and Indians. The first census contained 3,172,464 whites; 697,897 slaves; and 59,465 free colored persons. The whole number of American Indians at the time of the first census, who then occupied the present territory of the United States, though it cannot be definitely determined, has been estimated at three millions; and now are probably reduced to less than two millions.

These facts show that the white population have nearly doubled every twenty years; while the Indians have been continually diminishing, and the Africans very slowly increasing.*

Allowing the same rate of increase for the future :

In 1870 our population will be	.	.	50,000,000
“ 1890	.	.	100,000,000
“ 1910	.	.	200,000,000
“ 1930	.	.	400,000,000
“ 1950	.	.	800,000,000
“ 1970	.	.	1,600,000,000
“ 1990	.	.	3,200,000,000

These data reveal the astounding fact, that in the short period

* The census of 1850 when complete, making the usual allowance for absentees and the aboriginal inhabitants of the old and newly acquired territory, will contain nearly twenty-five millions; embracing twenty millions of whites, three millions of slaves, and two millions of Indians and free negroes, with the mixed races. In doubling the population every twenty years the usual allowance is also made for absentees, and an increasing immigration, which some years is found to be in the proportion of one for two births.

of only one century and a half, the United States, which includes only about one sixteenth of the habitable globe, will contain more than three times the whole number of inhabitants which now occupy the earth. During this period, the United States will, at its present rate of progression, accomplish vastly more in the work of physical, political, literary, moral, and religious improvement, than the whole world has done for the last sixty centuries. Nor can the important fact be passed over in silence, that all this herculean work of individual, social, and national improvement, has been performed thus far by the Caucasian race—the invincible descendants of Japhet; while the Indians, the children of Shem, have been constantly decreasing; and the Africans, the heirs of Ham, have been very slowly increasing.

These surprising facts, in relation to American population, naturally lead us to investigate its causes and consequences. Political science is indebted to the unparalleled progress of the United States, for first clearly unfolding the true principle on which the multiplication of human beings depends. We now know with both mathematical and moral certainty, that a prosperous country, like the American Union, where all possess an abundance of fertile land in allodial fee, where all are educated, and all possess every comfort of life, and all enjoy a free government, with equal rights and privileges; with unlimited physical and moral attainments, not found in any other nation, will double its population every twenty years.

It is capable of demonstration, that North and South America contain more than ten millions of square miles, each capable of supporting more than five hundred persons, amounting to the astounding number of over five thousand millions of souls; a number five times larger than the present population of the globe.

And, what is vastly more surprising is, that at the present rate of increase, including the whole population of America, this almost countless number of inhabitants, will be occupying this country, within the short period of one century and a half, from the time of writing these lines in 1851.

If we divide the territory of the United States, which now equals nearly three thousand millions of acres, equally between the population of the year 1990, which, as we have seen, will be three thousand two hundred millions, it will give each inhabitant about one acre ; which, after making all due allowances for water and waste lands, will be amply sufficient for their support, under a high state of cultivation.

In all probability, according to the present laws of human longevity, which prolong life in some instances to one hundred and fifty years, and in many cases to one hundred years,—there are infants now slumbering in the arms of American mothers, who will live to behold and enjoy that day of wonders, when the population of the American Union will exceed three thousand millions of souls ; a number equal to three times the present inhabitants of the earth. And yet each one of this vast number can be supplied with a sufficient quantity of land, and ample sustenance from the soil, waters, and commerce of the United States ; a density of population, by no means equal to some other countries, in ancient and modern history.

We freely hazard the statement, though it may not, perhaps, escape the criticism of our transatlantic brethren, that the American Union, in less than two centuries, will re-people and govern the whole habitable globe. If the same ratio of increase continue for the short period of two centuries—and we know of no reason why it should not—the United States will fill the world with a

population, sufficiently dense, to allow one person to every acre of land on the surface of the earth. And at the same rate of increase, in five centuries—a period less than one half the lapse of time since king Egbert ascended the throne of England—the world will not be able to contain its inhabitants.

But all our apprehensions of the future, in relation to the supposed evils which may arise from a too dense population, are at once relieved by considering other laws, which are designed to counterbalance these anticipated inconveniences. Laying out of view those great periodical calamities, which have, and may again depopulate the earth to a considerable extent; the union of natural and moral law will ever continue to furnish ample resources for the increasing numbers of future generations, where they are permitted to operate freely. For, while on the one hand, the laws of nature, which are but the regular manifestations of the Deity Himself, are constantly employed in forming new islands and continents, and enlarging the old ones; by the silent and progressive labors of alluvial deposits, volcanic action, and the coral; that are daily forming new homes for the residence of man and beast,—laws, which for aught we know, may continue to operate until the oceans and seas may become new continents of arable land, similar to those now inhabited by the human family:—at the same time the laws of moral science are equally industrious and effective, by constantly improving the social, political moral, and religious, condition of man; and thereby rendering a population more happy and virtuous, in proportion as its density increases.

It needs no argument to prove what may already be regarded as well settled in political economy, that in proportion as individuals as well as society, improve in moral excellence, in the same

ratio, pride, war, vain-glory, luxury, prodigality, and useless consumption of wealth are diminished; and a virtuous and prosperous political economy is increased; thereby leaving a greater amount of productions for market, and additional means for their purchase,—according to the continual increase of inhabitants to be supported. It is a lamentable fact in the moral history of our race, that the most squalid, intemperate beggar, who rolls daily in the ditches and sinks of vice, is the most expensive and prodigal consumer in community. And if we balance the columns of his life's ledger, we find to our great surprise, that this miserable victim of vice, during a life of three score years and ten, has consumed, including a fair compensation for his worse than wasted time, and the principal and interest of funds actually expended—the surprising sum of fifty thousand dollars,—an ample fortune for any man. But the worst feature in the history of vice is, that the property thus expended, is actually consumed and destroyed, as effectually as if devoured by fire; so that no one is benefited, but many are injured, and the miserable intemperate or licentious pauper is ruined.

This law, of course, must gradually lead to emigration from the American Republic to every part of the earth, for room and sustenance; who will carry with them their American blood, their language, their republican government, their evangelical religion, their arts, sciences, literature, and American institutions; and in the course of two centuries—a period about one sixth of the national existence of Rome, Asia, Africa, Europe, America and Oceanica, will become the homes of our children and their descendants.

History is quite uniform in its testimony, that nearly all social, physical, intellectual, moral, political, and religious improve-

ments, spring from the reciprocal influence of a dense population, and the general diffusion of useful knowledge ; and wealth, power, science, and learning, all follow in the train of numbers, of general intelligence and freedom.

Who then can calculate the state of society two centuries hence, when the English language will be, probably, both spoken and written throughout the world ? When all Asia, Africa, Europe, America, and Oceanica, will be bound together by the ties of seas, lakes, rivers, canals, railroads, telegraphs, and the more powerful bands of commerce, interest, and moral principle ! When the mountains of all nations will be terraced with agriculture, cottages, and villas ! When the deserts and morasses will be converted into fertile fields and meadows ! When the temples of freedom, science, and religion, shall pierce the heavens with their glittering spires, in every section and town of the habitable globe.

Should any one suspect these statements to be mere drafts on the imagination, he may readily quiet his fears, by examining the history of the American Union, during the first half of the nineteenth century. Let him pause, and examine well the surprising strides of this gigantic republic, in numbers, in wealth, and in learning ; as well as in social, political, and moral improvements. Let him look well to his arithmetic, which trembles in estimating the unparalleled prosperity of this model nation of the world,—and then say, what power on earth can stop its progress, short of the full enjoyment of all these future realities.

It has long been considered a well settled principle in political science, that the increase of population is always in proportion to the physical, political, literary, social, moral, and religious prosperity of the people. And if we apply this rule to the United

States, as doubtless we may, it shows the American Republic in advance of all other nations in excellence and national glory.

The North American Republic has now enjoyed a national existence of nearly seventy-five years, since the Declaration of Independence in 1776. During all this time, the nation has never been involved in foreign war, except in a few cases of necessary self-defence; nor has the country ever been distracted by civil war among its own citizens. This cannot be said of any other nation ancient or modern, in any part of the globe, during the first seventy-five years of national life. And so long as America continues her policy of strict neutrality, and international justice; abstaining from aggressive war and defending her own honor, this element of stability will ensure the future success of the national union. The ravages of war have destroyed more than eight tenths of all the nations, which have fallen since the origin of human society. It has been estimated that the expenses of all the wars recorded in history, including principal and interest, if equally divided among the present inhabitants of the earth—allowing them to be one thousand millions—would give each person a dividend of fifty thousand dollars. And if we add to this, the property destroyed, and other losses—to say nothing of the many millions of valuable lives lost, it would give a dividend of more than one hundred thousand dollars to every human being on earth. And yet the three defensive wars—the revolution, the last war with Great Britain, and the Mexican war, together with the Indian skirmishes in which America has been necessarily involved, form but a very small fractional part of this enormous sum. With a navy which has successfully tried titles with the mistress of the seas, in the late war with Great Britain; with an educated, citizen soldiery, of more than five millions, every one a swordsman,

a fatal shot, or an able general ; with a military school, which annually educates at the public expense, scores of men of the first order of talent, many of whom are capable of leading an army to victory, against a Napoleon or a Wellington ; together with ample munitions of war, in a republican government, where every citizen is freely intrusted with arms both in war and peace, —there is nothing to fear from foreign invasion or internal rebellion.

The decentralization and equal diffusion of the government through every part of the nation, is another interesting phase of its perpetuity. The undue centralization of government has ever been one of the most fatal rocks, on which nations have been wrecked. It ruined Nineveh, Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Poland ; and has frequently dethroned and beheaded the sovereigns of England and France. The old, but false motto of the “ Eternal City,” “ That all the world was Rome, and Rome was all the world,” has ever been the ruling principle of tyrants. The centralization of all national power and national institutions at the court and capitol of the nation, is the crushing evil of monarchical governments. Such a policy leaves the remote parts of the country without protection, without improvement, and without representation ; and, of course, the citizens soon lose all attachment to a government which treats them with such cold neglect. England learned this lesson under the tyranny of James the Second ; and wisely reformed. France has opened her eyes to its fatal consequences a few years since ; and the tyrants of Europe are now preparing to discuss the question with the people, sword in hand, with the arguments of cannon. America foresaw this national evil, and, wisely rejecting this aristocratic policy, from the beginning, pursued a system of

decentralization, by equally diffusing government power through every vein and artery of the body politic; freely flowing and circulating from the heart of the nation, at the capitol of the country, to every extremity of the whole system. Government power is so generally and equally divided among the numerous public officers, that every citizen partakes equally of its protection and benefits, however near or distant from the public capitol. And so equally, justly, and democratically, are the blessings of government distributed through every part of the country, that no citizen, however great or humble, is dwarfed by distance or magnified by nearness; while the government is sufficiently central, to act as the main-spring, in moving the whole national machinery.

One of the strongest ligaments of national stability, is wealth, or the right of freely acquiring and enjoying property; and wherever this principle is equally diffused among the people, there all have a common interest to be protected from ruinous innovations. The political economy of America differs from all other nations. It creates no overgrown or aristocratic fortunes; grants no monopolies or hereditary offices; but gives every citizen an equal dividend in the benefits of government, and allows all freely to enjoy the rights of property. The consequence of this system is, that the whole nation constitutes a kind of partnership or firm, in which every one invests his capital or labor, and draws his dividend, sharing in profit and loss. The capitalists of Wall-street, of Chesnut-street, and of the country generally, invest their funds in factories, lands, commerce, produce, mines, canals, railroads, shipping, and stocks, in every section of the Union, while the inhabitants perform the labor, cultivate the soil, work the factories and mines, and thus render

the union of capital and labor equally productive to all parties. These interests are all linked together by the railroads, canals, rivers, oceans, lakes, and public highways of the country ; constructed and navigated, not by the government, as in the eastern continent, but by the labor and funds of the people, who are bound together by the indissoluble ties of individual and common interest. Although but few large fortunes, like Astor and Girard, are acquired in America, yet all have, or can have competent livings ; and in many instances secure ample fortunes. So intimate and sensitive are these commercial ligaments and pecuniary ties, that the failure of a state to pay interest, the loss of a vessel, a steamboat, or the bankruptcy of an individual, is felt, hundreds and thousands of miles distant, in various sections of the nation. Thus the benefits of the federal government yield a daily pecuniary dividend to every citizen, which could not be realized without it. To this portrait of American wealth, it is only necessary to add the inexhaustible riches of the public lands and mines ; with an annual revenue of fifty millions of dollars—more than sufficient to meet all the expenses of government, without taxing the people, or incurring a national debt. That a nation of twenty-five millions of inhabitants, occupying a territory of three thousand millions of acres, sustaining a commerce not surpassed by any country, and equalled but by few, should be carried on harmoniously and successfully, with an average annual expenditure of fifty millions of dollars—about one half of what it costs the British government to support the queen's infants—is a political phenomenon in the history of nations.

No country equals America, in its facilities for the acquisition of wealth, learning, and fame. Every youth, both male and female, by industry, virtue, and economy, can acquire an ample

fortune, a liberal education, or both. In this extensive country, embracing thirty-one states, six territories, and one district, with an annual inland commerce of more than one thousand millions of dollars—more than twice the amount of the foreign commerce of the nation—every American youth, by various branches of industry, can save from his earnings, annually, besides his necessary expenses, from one to three hundred dollars a year; an income, which, with its annual profits and interest, in the course of a life of ordinary duration, is an ample fortune of itself for any man. This can be done by agriculture, mechanical labor, mining, commerce, merchandize, school teaching, by literary pursuits, by the learned professions, and official stations; all of which afford nearly equal opportunities for the attainment of wealth and distinction. The pursuits of industry, professional life, literary productions, the navy, army, the State and the Church, all throw open their doors to a laudable ambition and useful competition, where all have an equal chance of success. Every American mother rocks her infant babe with equal hopes of his becoming a future president of the United States, a general of the army, a commodore of the navy, a man of wealth, a distinguished statesman, a profound jurist, a skilful physician, an eminent scholar, or a doctor of divinity.

American literature, using the term in its broadest sense, is another distinctive feature of the government peculiar to itself, differing widely from all other nations; and, like all other American institutions, is founded on intrinsic excellence and practical utility. Instead of founding a few universities and colleges, and making a few eminent scholars, which has ever been the policy of European nations, the American States very early adopted the wiser and better policy of creating cheap and free

schools in the several districts of each town, for the education of every citizen, in addition to their universities, colleges and other seminaries of learning. In these primary schools every child is or may be educated, until he has acquired all the elements of a sound, practical education ; sufficient to qualify him for any business, profession, or situation in life. Here the children are early taught to love and obey their parents, their country, and their God ; and govern themselves and others by the all powerful law of moral suasion. There is no nation on earth, where the vernacular tongue is universally spoken with so much purity and uniformity, where useful knowledge is so universally diffused through all classes. These schools numbering in all more than three hundred thousand, including common schools, family schools, select schools, academies, colleges, universities, and all other institutions of learning, in which more than one third of the American population of twenty-five millions are constantly educated, form the strong bulwark of the country, the principal element of national stability. Most of these schools and institutions of learning have libraries and philosophical apparatuses, sufficient for all useful purposes ; with a permanent fund of more than two hundred millions of dollars, to sustain them from its annual income.* In these institutions, are taught the same arts and sciences, the same religion, the same politics, morals and religion, forming a literary unity throughout the republic. If a three-fold chord cannot be easily broken, surely a twenty-five million chord of educated citizens never can be sundered.

* These estimates have been carefully compiled from the reported statistics of the states, and other reliable sources of information ; and are supposed to be less than the full numbers and amounts, and by no means over rated.

America is the world's university, the common school of nations, the only institution on the globe where the principles of human liberty are rightly understood, and correctly and freely taught to all who wish to learn, without money and without price.

After all these indissoluble and heaven-born ties, were any stronger ligaments necessary to secure the future stability of the American Union, they are found in the democracy, the progression, the relations, the morals, the religion, and in the mutual forbearance and reciprocal concessions of the people. One of the most distinguishing features between America and all other nations, is her democracy. Unlike the unbridled, savage democracy of the Cossacks, or the aristocratic liberty of Europe, which allows a few nobles to do as they please—rule or ruin; American democracy, composed of the pure elements of virtue, wisdom, liberty, equality, fraternity, benevolence, reciprocity, law, government, progression, morals, and religion, makes superiors condescending, equals courteous, and inferiors respectful; and binds together all classes with the ties of equal rights, founded on the greatest good of the greatest number.

The motto of the American government has ever been—"ONWARD." This sacred principle has never been departed from since the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. It is the genius of American progression, to distinguish between destructive innovation, and useful improvement. The former is satisfied with reckless change, regardless of permanent utility, and the general weal; while the latter delights in the general good of all, and perseveringly aims at perfection. By this principle, no valuable acquisition is lost or impaired; but, holding fast to the good already established, supplying deficiencies, and refusing only what is clearly wrong, the utility of the past is symmetrically

united with the salutary reforms of the future, in a beautiful and sublime whole.

More than two thirds of American citizens within the United States, are the children of the New England, the Virginian, and Pennsylvanian fathers; who, scattered in every part of the nation, are connected with the remaining white population by marriage, and the other social relations; and all so intimately bound together by the ties of friendship, consanguinity, and interest, that it would be difficult to find one in the whole fraternity, who could, if he would, strike a blow at the government, without stabbing to the heart his father or mother, brother or sister, child or servant, friend or lover.

The numerous and indissoluble ties of social intercourse, which bind together American society, furnish ample security for the future stability of the Union. The people of the United States are the first nation in history where all speak the same vernacular language, the same dialect. Nearly all the fallen states of antiquity, were ruined in a great measure, by the conflicting interests of numerous languages, and still more numerous dialects; and wherever this state of society exists in any nation, the same discord, misunderstanding, jealousy, faction, and national ruin prevail. Fortunately for America, the English language has ever been the prevailing and dominant tongue throughout the country. It is the only idiom for the transaction of public business and for the administration of justice; and the only language in which public records and laws are recorded. Through this universal channel of unity, the people of all classes can freely communicate their thoughts and feeling, without misapprehension, or the imperfection of translation.

It has been estimated with as much accuracy as the nature of

the case will admit, that the whole number of newspapers, periodicals, and tracts, issued daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, in various sections of the United States, on a fair average, would give one weekly periodical print in every town in the country; supposing each town to contain two thousand inhabitants. If we add to this estimate the thousands of literary works, which are daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly appearing in volumes,—the whole catalogue of public prints and bound volumes, would give a dividend of one to every two inhabitants throughout the nation; more than four fifths of whom can read them in the English language. These facts, surprising as they may seem at first, will be found to be clearly within the limits of truth; and rather under than over rated. These literary ligaments are the strongest ties of affection, the most indissoluble bands of union, which can bind a people together. Educated in the same schools, academies, colleges, and seminaries,—speaking and writing the same language,—reading the same papers and books—all advocating the same pure literature, sound government, just laws, equal rights, moral conduct and devout religion; the people present to the world a political anomaly—a national unity of principles, feelings, and actions, which never has been found in any other country.

With a view of strengthening the American Union, and drawing the chords of national affection still closer, the government has established a post office system, which brings daily to every man's door the news of all parts of the world; aided by telegraphs, which furnish all necessary information in advance of the mail every hour of the day. Such a system of social intercourse, where a nation of twenty-five millions of people, scattered over a territory of three millions of square miles, can converse with each other daily through the mail, the press, and twenty-five thousand

miles of telegraphs, with the rapidity of lightning, leaves no room for disunion or dissolution.

In addition to all these social and national ties, the American people who are educated, and eminently social in their feelings, are constantly associating with each other on terms of respect and equality; where every one is appreciated according to his moral worth, without caste or aristocratic distinction,—mingling in their families, in their neighborly parties, their religious worship, in their literary, political, and benevolent meetings, and by their travels in every part of the country, meeting together in their innocent amusements, and schools of learning, while they are constantly improving their social principles, friendly feelings, and amiable conduct, which form a sure protection against national discord.

The American Union was organized in a spirit of compromise and conciliation,—upon the principle of mutual forbearance and reciprocal concession—for the general and individual good of all; and on this union the government has ever been wisely conducted. This national confederation never requires the sacrifice of compromising the primary laws of a sound republican government,—by confounding right and wrong, by infringing on human rights, and doing injustice; but confines itself, as it justly should, to those minor differences; which involve a choice of evils, in the selection of the best means for carrying out and enforcing the great and fundamental principles of the constitution and laws.

It has ever been regarded as no ordinary element of stability in any government. that the people voluntarily and habitually control themselves by the sound principles of moral science. It has frequently been remarked by unprejudiced, intelligent foreigners, who have travelled in America, that the moral institutions of

the country, including the Sabbath, the marriage contract, the temperance enterprise, the general diffusion of useful knowledge, the charitable societies for the poor and unfortunate, have become so familiar, and reached such a degree of eminence, that they have almost become a second nature to the people. The cause of temperance has so generally diffused itself through all classes of society, that you may travel from one extremity of the nation to the other, without meeting a squalid beggar, or a staggering drunkard. The domestic relations of American society are held in such profound veneration, and the Christian Sabbath so sacredly regarded, that were a general law enacted abolishing them, the number of families and marriages would not be diminished, nor the sanctity of the Sabbath disregarded. Wherever misfortune overtakes a human being, no matter who he is, or where he came from, he finds a well-regulated hospital at hand to relieve his distress.

America is the world's asylum! Here the persecuted, the oppressed, and disconsolate of all nations, find a happy home—a safe retreat from tyranny. Here the liberty-loving exiles of Jerusalem, Greece, Rome, Poland, Hungary, and Ireland, find a balm for their wounds, which they have received in battling for freedom's cause—a cordial for all the fears and frowns of despots.

But the top stone, the crowning arch of this sublime structure, which binds together this national edifice with indissoluble stability, is the Christian religion. American religion, like all other American institutions, differs from other nations, ancient or modern, in many particulars. It is emphatically the religion of the Bible. The pure principles of the Christian religion, it is true, are substantially the same in all civilized nations. But it

has been the misfortune of all countries, except America, to commence their national existence with Paganism. And, although most of them still remain pagans, yet it is to be regretted that many of those nations who have abandoned heathenism and embraced the Christian faith, have unfortunately retained too much of the alloy of paganism, in form or substance. But, it will ever be the boast of America, in humble gratitude and dependence on the Great Master of Salvation, that no American citizen ever bowed the knee to Baal, no Pagan temple was ever erected on American soil. And although American religion is above all law in matters of conscience, and all religious sects which do not interfere with the rights of others, are freely tolerated; yet all religious associations embrace substantially the same Bible doctrines—one eternal, all-powerful, wise, benevolent, glorious, and just God, the free agency and immortality of man, salvation through Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the final judgment and general retribution; with other kindred principles of gospel faith, in harmony with moral excellence and utility.* The motto of every American is—

“Our country—may she ever be right!

But, right or wrong—our country!”

America can never fall, except by the quintuple crime of treason, fratricide, matricide, infanticide, and suicide, a compound

* Roger Williams was the first person in modern Christendom to assert in its plenitude the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law; and in its defence he was the harbinger of Milton, the precursor and the superior of Jeremy Taylor. And this may be considered as a fair specimen of the patriotism, integrity, and devotion, by which the American Fathers were generally actuated in the organization of the American government.—*Bancroft's Hist. of the United States*, I. p. 315.

felony, as yet unknown in heaven, earth or hell. Surely a nation of such providential and marvellous history, constructed upon the wisest principles, must be safe, where the greatest diversity is combined in the most perfect unity, where every power has its just and equal balance, while the labors of government are discreetly and safely divided between the people and their public officers, equally diffused throughout the republic; where the only object of the government is the general weal and the greatest good of all; a national union founded on sound law, pure morals, and the Bible's religion; in a land where civil and aggressive war has never been known; a country where every facility for the acquisition of wealth, learning, fame, and happiness are freely offered to all; where a free and happy people are indissolubly united and bound together by every social tie of interest, affection, virtue, and bliss; where the laws of society in all their relations, adaptations, excellencies, and utility, are understood and obeyed; where justice is the only test of right, and moral excellence is the only standard of merit; such a government, embracing so many principles of national stability, never can be shaken, until it is dissolved by the "crush of worlds."

That the American government has imperfections, and needs improvement, is not denied; and were it otherwise, it would be heaven and not America. And it is equally true, that it is the best government the world has ever seen, and contains more excellence and utility, and more principles of national stability, than all the other governments of ancient or modern times. Its value is beyond all computation or human estimate; its support is found in the heart of every freeman, every patriot, and every

lover of humanity on the globe; and its durability is unmeasured by the flight of years, or the dateless eras of futurity.

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!”

To think of dissolving such a government, for weal or woe, would be the height of madness and folly, as well as universal ruin to all. Suppose the Union dissolved—who in the nation would be, in the least, benefited? Or who in the universe of God would not be injured? Who could wish to survive, the ghastly, bleeding, groaning, expiring ruins of his country? How would you divide the territory of three thousand millions of acres, in which all the inhabitants are tenants in common? How would you divide the salubrious atmosphere, the broad seas, the wide rivers, the expanded lakes, the sublime cataracts, the mineral waters and sweet gushing fountains? Where can you find a court, except in Heaven’s high chancery, which has jurisdiction to dissolve the partnership of twenty-five millions of freemen, and close up the business of the firm, justly and satisfactorily to all the parties concerned? What dismal, ill-fated characters shall express the equation or proportion for dividing twenty-five millions of husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, friends, relations and lovers? What doomed figures can be selected from the whole universe, which would consent to stand, as the exponent, for the dividend each citizen should have in the graves of our common ancestors, and the bones of our heroes? Give us the arithmetic of each citizen’s dividend in the ashes of Washington and his generals! What American Judas—what human demon would dare to annihilate

the model government of this world, and, for aught we know, of other worlds, and then meet in a future existence, the frown, the withering scowl of cold contempt, from Washington and his heroes? Who could endure, for a single day, the finger of scorn, the curse of God, and of all creation, "*that is the wretch who dissolved the American Union?*" Dissolve the Union! Perish the thought before High Heaven! Never think of it, until the sun, moon, and stars shall be turned to darkness, and rush madly from their orbits, wandering rayless, and trackless through infinite space!

Dissolve the Union! For what purpose? For good, or evil? For evil? Never—until the last sabre shall be shivered to atoms, and the heart of the last American shall cease to beat! For good? Impossible—until it shall be necessary to light a taper at noonday to improve the light of the blazing sun, or dip an oar to hasten the plunge of Niagara, or wave a lady's fan to increase the fury of the tornado!

CHAPTER XXIII.

RESTORATION OF POLAND.

National Responsibility—National Offences—National Retribution—National Reform—Reasons for Restoring Poland.

WE have now conducted the reader very rapidly through the varied fortunes of Poland, from their national infancy to their final conquest. We have traced the origin of the nation from the regions of Mount Ararat, where all nations were cradled in the family of Noah, and followed Japhet and his descendants into the plains of Sarmatia. We have traced the Poles through their Armenian, Caucasian, Scythian, and Sarmatian ancestors ; from the luxuriant forests and fields of Asia, over the Caucasian mountains and northern valleys, into the land of Polish nativity, whence the modern civilized nations of Europe and America imported the raw material of republican freedom and military prowess. And after tracing the history of the Poles back into the far distant regions of antiquity for nearly three thousand years, and after examining more than one hundred volumes in relation to their rise and fall and varied history, and after years of labor spent in recording this history of their errors, their rights

and wrongs, many good reasons are found in favor of Poland's restoration, and no sound argument can be urged against it.

All the events of life may be divided into four general classes, namely—impossible, possible, probable, and certain events; and the restoration of Poland may be regarded as a *certain*, at least a *probable* event. Nations are bound by the same moral obligations as individuals, and rulers are subject to the same law.

Of all our recollections of the past, those connected with the cradle, with infancy, and childhood, are the most dear to the heart. The illusions of self love, the pleasures of youth, and the corroding cares of manhood, do not recur with the same charm to the memory; but on the contrary, we frequently find in them bitterness and pain, and old age seldom fulfils the expectations and promises of youth. The slightest circumstances revive in the heart the recollections of infancy with fresh charms. In the meridian and decline of life, after the absence of years, we visit the scenes of our childhood with mingled emotions of joy and grief, while we view with rapture the hills where we romantically scrambled, the valleys where we carelessly wandered, the forests where we heedlessly sported, the murmuring streams where we happily angled, the placid lake where the merry boatmen rowed us over its swelling bosom, and at the same time we live over again our early years, in fond recollections of the bliss of by-gone days. The thrilling moments of our riper years, the sweetest smiles of manhood, the warmest tears of grief, and the deepest emotions of soul, are mingled with these heart-stirring scenes of infancy and childhood, when the prodigal son, or the child of fame, revisits the home of his nativity. The sight of the old mansion, or more humble cottage, that sheltered us in youth,—the tree that waved its shady branches over us,—the nursery that

gave us birth,—the cradle that rocked us in helpless infancy,—the old arm chair in which a dear mother fondled and kissed us, and a venerable father blessed us,—the graves of our ancestors, the altars of our plighted love, and the house of God where we first bowed in our devotions,—instantly re-kindle in our heaving bosoms those alternate bursts of joy and grief, of tears and smiles, which link our hearts to our homes and native country, with ties which never can be sundered by time, nor severed by the blades of tyrants.

The same feelings, the same patriotism, and the same love of home have ever, and will ever animate and inspire the hearts of the Poles for the restoration of their country. Despots may crush them, monarchs may exile them, but they never can change the original constitution of man—they never can annihilate their love of home, nor subdue their hatred of tyranny. And it is this element of human nature, this love of home, this indissoluble attachment to the land of our nativity, and the scenes of infancy and childhood, which always inspire the reaction of a fallen, injured people, to burst the chains of tyranny, and restore their injured country. These patriotic feelings are sure guaranties for the restoration of Poland.

The laws of nations are founded on the same principles of justice, equity, and good conscience, as those which govern the responsibility of the individual citizens.* By national law in its broadest sense, we are to understand those fundamental rules of right and wrong, by which nations govern themselves, control their subjects, and regulate their intercourse with other states. The faithful observance of this law is essential to national character, national prosperity, national existence, and the happiness of

* Lieber's Political Ethics.

mankind ; and without it, no nation can long stand. This code of national jurisprudence is founded on the principle, that different nations are bound to do each other as much good in peace, and as little injury in war as possible, without injury to their true interests.*

National law is not a mere system of positive institutions, founded upon consent and usage ; but it is essentially the same as the law of nature and Divine Revelation ; both of which are in perfect harmony, when applied to the conduct of nations, who sustain the character of moral persons, susceptible of moral obligations and laws. This national code embraces not only the instituted or positive law, founded on usage, consent, and agreement ; but it comprehends natural and moral law, and derives its force and dignity from the same principles of moral obligation, eternal justice, the same principles of right reason, the same views of the nature and constitution of man ; and the same sanction of Divine Revelation, as those from which moral science is deduced for the government of individuals. The code of national responsibility combines and embraces both the natural and positive law of nations. Natural law requires every state in its connections and relations with other states to act with justice, good faith, and benevolence.

All that skeptical philosophy, which erroneously divorces and separates the science of public law from moral science, and falsely encourages the dangerous principle, the fatal rock on which all fallen nations have been wrecked—that governments are not so strictly bound by the moral obligations of truth, justice, and humanity, in their dealings and relations to other nations, as they are in the management of their own local concerns, in the social

* Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, b. i., ch. 3.

relations of life, is false and unfounded. In the Court of Heaven, where the judge of all the earth does right, whose watchful eye scans the motives and surveys all the actions of men and nations, upon the same principles of moral equality and justice,—all states or bodies politic are held responsible as moral persons,—having a public conscience, intellect, and will,—capable and free to do right,—to act right or wrong,—responsible to the awful retributions of Heaven. Each nation and public officer, in addition to the individual responsibilities of private citizens and subjects, not only carries with him in the public walks of life, while actually engaged in the service of the community, the same binding laws of morality and religion, which should regulate his conduct in private life ; but both the state and its public officers, who are the mere agents of society to carry out and execute the public will, are bound by all the social responsibilities of administering the government for the greatest good of the whole, in obedience to the will of God,—doing all the good they can to other nations, without any more injury than what is absolutely necessary for the purposes of self-defence.

The law of nations, in its complex nature and duties, consists of the general principles of right and justice,—equally competent, and adapted to the government of individuals, in all the natural, equitable, and social relations of life,—and to all the multifarious and complicated relations and obligations of nations. It combines in one harmonious unity, the duties and principles of natural and revealed religion,—with those usages, customs, and opinions, the growth of civilization and commerce, which promote the greatest individual and national good, in harmony with the Divine Will,—equally binding on all nations and individuals in all ages *

* Edinburgh Review, April, 1843. Manning's Commentaries on the Law of Nations b. 2., ch. 1. Kent's Commentaries. sec. 2. p. 22.

We examined in a former chapter the principles of social law in the constitution of society ; and the mutual social contract entered into between society on the one hand, and the individuals who compose it on the other, and the obligations devolving on both. Society is bound to protect its individual members from all infractions of the law of reciprocity, and to redress their wrongs when they are injured. But it is evident that the obligation cannot be discharged by the whole of society as a body. If a man commit murder, the whole community cannot at once abandon all their occupations to detect, try, and punish the murderer. But upon the principle of the division of labor, the social community chooses from their members suitable persons as public officers, to transact this and all other public business for them ; who, as agents of the body politic, devote their time to public duties for a reasonable compensation ; and hence a civil government is that system of delegated agencies by which these obligations of society are fulfilled to each individual, according to the spirit and intent of the social compact. And as every society may have various obligations to perform with other independent societies, the same system of agencies is adopted for the transaction of their international business. These several agencies or officers of government, are not only intrusted with the same powers to act, as their constituents had, so far as official duty is concerned, but they are bound to perform them in good faith and justice, and are to conduct all their official business in accordance with the moral obligations of good and worthy citizens.

From these considerations it is manifest, that national government derives its authority from society, of which it is only the agent,—society derives its authority from the compact formed by the individuals who compose it,—civil society and the social rela-

tions of its members, are the ordinance of God ; and of course, the officers of government, including the sovereign or chief magistrate of the nation, are bound by the law of God, to perform the duties of his office in obedience to that law. The code of national obligation may then be summed up in a few words : 1. The cultivation and practice of virtue and moral excellence. 2. The administration of pure and impartial justice to all. 3. The strictest observance of the laws of reciprocity. 4. The practice of benevolence to all nations and individuals. 5. The diffusion of useful knowledge among the people. 6. The greatest good of all, and injury to no one. 7. The belief and practice of the religion of the Bible. These rules of moral, natural, forensic, and national law, are equally applicable and binding on all human beings, in their individual, social, official, and national capacity

This standard of national obligation, by which all nations must be measured, weighed, and compared, and by which they must stand or fall, ere the close of the nineteenth century, very clearly reveals those national offences which cannot be perpetrated with impunity. War, both civil and foreign, except as a last and necessary resort for self-defence and the protection of national honor,—the slave-trade,—Paganism and idolatry of all kinds,—fraud and bad faith,—the unjust violations of treaties and international law,—the conquest of other nations,—neglect of diffusing civilization and useful knowledge among the people,—neglect of the Bible and its religion,—the monopoly of human rights for the selfishness and aggrandizement of aristocrats, princes, and tyrants,—the oppression and slavery of the masses, regardless of the general good, and reckless of national obligation and the laws of God,—are national offences of the deepest dye, and most ruinous in their consequences. National transgressions, like the sins

of individuals, are in their nature and consequences the same,—insulting to the majesty of Heaven—contrary to the natural organization of all things,—violations of both natural, moral, judicial, national, and religious laws—degrading to the nature and true dignity of man,—invariably productive of temporal punishment, and ruinous to the best interests and eternal happiness of man.

Although life is designed as the period of individual and national probation, where temporal rewards and punishments are but partially administered by the equitable hand of Providence, reserving the balance of justice for the judgment which awaits us in a future state,—yet not a lingering doubt remains that the affairs of nations, as well as individuals, are generally visited with severe temporal punishments even in this world. Almost every page of history contains the admonishing, sorrowful, record of national retributions, as the natural consequence, and merited punishment of national transgressions. At a very early day in the history of the world, all the nations of the earth were destroyed by the deluge, as the chastisement of Heaven for their crimes. Early in the history of Assyria, the nation commenced their national crimes of conquest, tyranny, and idolatry, which soon led to their conquest and vassalage. Egypt under the command of Sesostris conquered the world as far as their geographical knowledge extended, and soon fell the victim of their mad ambition; and in their turn became the slaves of those they had so recently conquered and so deeply wronged. Scythia swept over the world like fire and pestilence, desolating and devouring all nations with whom they came in contact; but they soon fell, and were buried in the same graves with their former victims. Greece, in her mad ambition, extended her conquests over the entire continent;

but like all other nations which have transgressed the laws of nations, of nature, and nature's God, the revolution of their subdued provinces in a few years conquered their victors.

Rome, in her turn, sacrificed everything at the shrine of military conquest; and after subjugating the world to her unhallowed ambition and thirst for war, swayed the sceptre as mistress of the world, not even half the time she had occupied in her conquests; and then, yielding to the invariable fate of all nations who pursue a similar course of national crime, fell never more to rise. Jerusalem, once the favored people of Heaven, strayed from the path of rectitude, and for their national sins were compelled to drink the chalice of Divine vengeance to the very dregs. Spain has been suffering the pangs of national death for more than a century, until her lingering, expiring, national existence, has well-nigh terminated in death, for her cruel, national offences, so offensive to God and man,—committed in her unjust inquisitions, murderous persecutions, and inhuman conquests in Peru, Mexico, and other nations. France, under Napoleon, tried the experiment of unjustly conquering the world,—but most disastrous was the failure,—most severe was the punishment, which she has ever since suffered, and probably will long continue to experience, for her national offences, and particularly for her insult to Heaven,—for sacrilege and infidelity unequalled in any civilized nation. And it is greatly to be feared, that the national misfortunes of this gallant, but infidel nation, will never cease, so long as the republic has no Christian Sabbath, except a day devoted to political elections, fandangoes, horse races, and theatrical amusements

Unless the laws of nature and of an angered God are reversed, and wrong usurps the throne of right,—Russia, Austria, and Prussia, will ere long suffer the merited punishment of their

national offences, for crushing Poland, Hungary, and other similar crimes. And the same causes—the same justice, which have operated in the punishment and fall of other nations for similar transgressions, will yet restore Poland, and punish her cruel victors.

The history and events of the nineteenth century, and particularly the signs of the times at the present day, clearly indicate that a great crisis in the affairs of nations is at hand. Time will soon reveal to the world, a great national reform throughout all the nations of the earth, which will redress the wrongs of an injured and oppressed people, and punish the injustice of national tyranny and national crime. The habitable globe is undoubtedly designed ultimately, and at no very distant day, to be divided into seven great and free confederated republics, divided into states, cities, and towns, similar to the American Union. These national confederations, including, 1. North America and Central America; 2. South America; 3. Europe; 4. Asia; 5. Africa; 6. Western Oceanica, and 7. Eastern Oceanica, before the last setting sun of the nineteenth century, and very probably in less than a quarter of a century, will be grouped together in one general government, represented by a congress of all nations of the earth, who will have jurisdiction of those general international matters, which are now neglected, and which national power cannot reach in their present condition. Such an international congress by the power of moral suasion, and by such limited constitutional powers as may be conferred by the nations, can do the world immense good, in diffusing useful knowledge, civilization, morals, and religion, by arbitrating national collisions, and thereby superseding war,—by extending national discoveries,—by the improvement of government, law, and social order,—and by

numerous other improvements which such an institution only can control. And the "World's Fair," may be regarded as the harbinger of an international congress—the precursor of better days, and the exponent of the slumbering genius of the people, about to be awakened for the redemption of the world, and the organization of the coming kingdom of Heaven.

Judging from these premises and reasoning from cause to effect on sound principles of analogy, the restoration of Poland would seem to be a certain event, at no very distant date. The certainty of this event is guaranteed by the laws of nature, of nations, and of God. That love of country, of home, and of the land of our nativity, which the finger of the Creator has indelibly engraved on the heart of every human being, and which is possessed in an eminent degree by the Poles, together with the kindred law of revenge for gross injustice, will soon produce a reaction which will result in the restoration of Poland. In addition to this, national obligation, the punishment of national offences, the great national reforms soon to be introduced in Europe, and the other quarters of the globe, national dependence, national interest, and common justice, cannot fail to restore Poland to their national rights. Their conquest never has been, and never can be any benefit to the victors; but on the contrary a serious injury, which will soon prostrate the conquering nations. The philosopher, the statesman, and every person of reflection, who calmly surveys the political horizon of the world, cannot fail to see that a great and terrible crisis in the history of nations is not far distant. All Europe seems to be in a state of rapid transition; and the whole continent rocks and heaves like an angry volcano, just ready to burst its swelling bosom, and consume tyranny with the devouring flood of its avenging lava. The setting sun of the nineteenth

century will reveal the grave of the last tyrant ; and the moon will illuminate the path of that band of patriots, who have attended the funeral of the last despot. And before another half century shall be numbered with the centuries of by-gone ages, the welkin of the universe will ring with the world's jubilee of free nations, while the music of the spheres will encore the anthems of the free.

Then let the conquerors of Poland take warning, and restore Poland at once, voluntarily, and freely ; and escape the thunderbolts of justice now leveled at their devoted heads. Nations, as well as individuals, should never forget, "that to err is human—but to pardon is divine ;" and the most ample forgiveness is the sweetest revenge. Fallen Poland has suffered enough, has repented with tears, and reformed with joy. Time has thrown its friendly mantle over the past, and the memory of their errors and crimes is merged in the consideration of their virtues, and the great services they have rendered in defending Christendom from the devouring jaws of the Turk. Remembering only her merits and her misfortunes, let the world pity, forgive, and restore.

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING ILLUSTRATIONS AND DOCUMENTS.

No. 1.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE REIGNS AND DEATHS OF THE KINGS OF POLAND.

	Commence- ment of reign.	Continu- ance of reign.	Deaths, A. D.
ANCIENT PRINCES AND KINGS PREVIOUS TO THE REIGN OF THE PIASTS.			
Lechus I.,	550	uncertain deposed	
Visimirus, (Guagnini only mentions) Twelve Waywodes,			
Krakus,	700		
Lechus II.,			
Venda,	750		
Twelve Waywodes,		deposed	
Lechus I.,	760	16	776
Lechus II.,	776	28	804
Lechus III.,	804	6	810
Popiel I.,	810	5	815
Popiel II.,	815	15	830
COMMENCEMENT OF THE PIAST DYNASTY.			
Piast,	830	31	861
Ziemovitus,	861	31	892
Lechus IV.,	892	21	913
Ziemovistus,	913	51	964
Mieczylas I.,	964	35	999
Boleslas Chroby,	999	26	1025
Mieczylas II.,	1025	9	1034
Casimir I.,	1034	25	1059
Boleslas II.,	1059	23	1082
Wladislas Hermannus,	1082	21	1103
Boleslas III.,	1103	37	1140
Wladislas Sputator,	1140	6	1146

	Comme'ce- ment of reign.	Continu- ance of reign.	Deaths, A. D.
Boleslas Crispus, - - - -	1146	28	1174
Mieczylas III., - - - -	1174	4	1178
Casimir II., - - - -	1178	17	1195
Lechus V., - - - -	1195	8	
Wladislas Lasconogus, - - - -	1203	3	1206
Lechus V., re-established, - - - -	1206	22	1228
Boleslas V., - - - -	1228	51	1279
Lechus Niger, - - - -	1279	11	1290
Henry I., - - - -	1290	6	1296
Premislas, - - - -	1296	7 mon.	1296
Wladislas Lokieteck, - - - -	1296	4	
Winceslaus, King of Bohemia, - - - -	1300	5	1305
Wladislas Lokieteck, restored, - - - -	1305	28	1333
Casimir III., the Great, - - - -	1333	37	1370
Louis, King of Hungary, - - - -	1370	12	1382
JAGELLON DYNASTY.			
Queen Hedwiga, - - - -	1382	4	1386
Jagellon or Wladislas V., - - - -	1386	49	1435
Wladislas, - - - -	1435	21	1446
Casimir IV., - - - -	1446	47	1493
John Albert, - - - -	1493	8	1501
Alexander, - - - -	1501	6	1507
Sigismund I., - - - -	1507	41	1548
Sigismund II., - - - -	1548	26	1574
ELECTIVE KINGS.			
Henry of Valois, - - - -	1574	5 mon.	1575
Stephen Batory, - - - -	1575	11	1586
Sigismund III., - - - -	1587	45	1632
Wladislas VII., - - - -	1632	16	1648
John Casimir, - - - -	1648	22	1670
Michael Wicnowiecki, - - - -	1670	4	1674
John Sobieski, - - - -	1674	23	1697
Frederic Augustus, or Augustus II., - - - -	1697	5 mon.	deposed
Stanislas Leszczynski, - - - -	1704	11 depos	1766
Augustus II., restored, - - - -	1709	24	1733
Augustus III., - - - -	1733	30	1763
Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski, - - - -	1764	31	1798
RUSSIAN SOVEREIGNS.			
First Partition, Catharine II., - - - -	1772	24	1796
Second Partition, - - - -	1793		
Third Partition, - - - -	1795		
Paul I., - - - -	1796	19	1815
Alexander, - - - -	1815	10	1825
Nicholas, present king, - - - -	1825		

No. 2.

THE OLD PACTA CONVENTA OR POLISH CONSTITUTION.

1. That the King shall not assume to himself the quality of heir of Poland, nor will appoint any to be his successor; but on the contrary will preserve and maintain inviolable the laws and constitution made for the free election of a King.

2. That he will pretend to no right of coining money, but will entirely leave that power, and the profit thereof, in the hands of the republic.

3. That he will ratify and confirm all the former Articles of Peace made with foreign princes.

4. That he will make it his principal care, to preserve and maintain the quiet and tranquillity of the public.

5. That without the consent of the Diet, he will not declare war against any prince, bring any foreign troops into the kingdom, suffer no soldiers to go out of it, nor levy any new troops.

6. That all the field officers shall be either Poles or Lithuanians, or at least natives of such provinces as depend upon the Crown of Poland.

7. That all the Officers of his regiment of guards shall be likewise either Poles or Lithuanians; that their Colonel or chief commander shall be a Polish Nobleman, and who shall take an oath of fidelity to the republic, and that all the officers in general shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Grand Marshal.

8. That as to affairs which concern the republic, he shall not make use of his privy seal.

9. That in six weeks after any charge or office vacant, he shall take care to bestow it on some worthy and well qualified Polish gentleman, and on no other.

10. That he will not confer on any one person, the offices, benefices, or dignities, which the laws of the kingdom prescribe to be enjoyed by more.

11. That he will not marry, but according to the laws, and with the consent and approbation of the Senate, who shall assign his Queen that retinue only, which they think fit and convenient.

12. That, together with his council, he will regulate the number of horse and foot which is necessary, to the end that the republic may have no need of foreign troops, nor be put to an unusual expense, and that he will take care to preserve such good discipline among the soldiers, that they shall commit no disorders, either in their quarters or their march

13. That if it be necessary for the interest of the State to have a fleet, that he shall build none without the consent of the gentry and advice of the Senate.

14. That he will no ways diminish the treasure repositied in the castle of Cracow, but will rather study to increase and augment it.

15. That he will borrow no money, nor consent that any shall be borrowed for his use, without the knowledge and approbation of the Diet.

16. That he will always administer justice by the advice of the senators and counsellors which attend him.

17. That for the expenses of his table, he shall be contented with those revenues that have been granted by the republic to the kings his predecessors : and moreover that he shall enjoy them only for life.

18. That he shall not introduce any strangers of what rank or quality soever, into his council ; and that he will bestow no offices, dignities or governments upon them.

19. That for the preservation of his power and dignity, he will not diminish or abrogate any of the offices at his disposal, either in the republic or court.

20. And lastly, that he will inviolably keep, maintain, defend, and confirm by his letters patent, all the rights, liberties, immunities and privileges, lawfully granted by former kings, either to the Poles or Lithuanians, or to any of the provinces which depend upon either of those two nations.

To these articles they sometimes add several others, which vary according to the circumstances of time, or quality of the person elected king.

No. 3.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE PACTA CONVENTA OATH.

We, Frederick Augustus, duly elected King of Poland, and great

Duke of Lithuania, Duke of Russia, Prussia, Masovia, Samogitia, Thiovia, Vollynia, Podolia, Podlachia, Livonia, Smolensko, Severia and Czernicovia, do promise to Almighty God, and swear upon the holy evangelists, that we will observe, maintain and fulfil all the conditions agreed upon at our election, between our ambassadors, and the senators and deputies of the kingdom of Poland, and the great duchy of Lithuania, which were confirmed by the oath of our said ambassadors; and that we will moreover perform the same in all rigor, vigor, points, articles, clauses and conditions therein contained. All which we promise to ratify and confirm by oath on the day of our coronation.*

No. 4.

THE MODERN PACTA CONVENTA.

1. The kingdom of Poland shall be maintained in the right of electing its sovereign, and never become hereditary.

2. No king shall be elected who is not a member of the Roman Catholic Church, and does not swear to continue in the same communion.

3. Liberty of conscience shall continue inviolable, and for what concerns the Greek Church, it shall be considered at the Diet of the Coronation.

4. No sum of money or present shall be taken from those who shall solicit any public employment or starosty.

5. The queen shall not intermeddle in any affairs of state.

6. In regard to the administration of military affairs, the example of Wladislas IV. and John Casimir shall be followed.

7. The alliances shall be renewed.

8. The king shall endeavor to recover the Ukraine, and to conclude a perpetual peace with Muscovy.

9. The revenues of the mints shall not be applied to the king's particular advantage, nor any money stamped without the consent of the republic.

10. No foreign troops shall be introduced into the kingdom without the concurrence of the republic.

* Connor II., 146, let. 4.

11. Only gentlemen of considerable fortunes shall be employed in embassies.

12. No person shall be qualified for naturalization, that has not rendered important services to the republic.

13. No person shall be qualified for the administration of the king's household, who has not rendered great services to the crown.

14. No person shall be qualified, not even with the consent of the senate, to enjoy the lesser revenues of the crown, without the approbation of the republic.

15. No person shall hold two considerable offices, such as marshal and general at the same time; but those who are in the present possession of offices shall continue in employment, and enjoy their revenues without any diminution.

16. The method or order usually followed in the administration of justice, shall be preserved entire.

17. When Caminieć shall be retaken, the king shall fortify it at his own expense; but the republic shall keep it in repair ever after.

18. The king's court and guard shall be composed of natives of the kingdom.

19. If the king marries, he shall take advice of the senate, in the choice of his consort. If she be a stranger, she shall not have above six foreigners in her court.

20. Only the Latin and Polish languages shall be used in the king's letters.

21. In the trials called *Post Curialia*, the laws called *Pacta Henricea* shall be observed; and when any difficulty shall arise, it shall be regulated by the opinion of the counsellors assessors.

22. As soon as possible the differences shall be concluded which subsist.*

* * * * *

23. No new economy shall be introduced at the king's table; but the ancient shall be exactly observed.

24. The places vacant, when the Diets are not assembled, shall be filled up in six weeks.

25. The militia shall be regulated in such manner at the approach-

* The remainder of this article was secret.

ing coronation, that there shall be no occasion for foreign troops; and care shall be taken, that military discipline be exactly observed.

26. Salt shall be taxed, and distributed into all the palatinates according to ancient custom.

27. Every gentleman shall be exempt from the duty upon salt, and have free possession of mines.

28. The ancient liberties of the palatinates shall remain inviolable.

29. Regales (certain fiefs held under the crown) shall be re-established in places where they have been abolished.

30. All the privileges of the university of Cracow and other cities, as well ecclesiastic as secular, and all articles agreed upon oath at the coronation of the kings, Henry, Stephen, Sigismund, Wladislaus, John Casimir and others, shall be renewed in this election; and in case of violation, the inhabitants of Poland and Lithuania shall be free and discharged from all obedience.*

No. 5.

CORONATION OATH.

We, Frederick Augustus, duly elected king of Poland, Great Duke of Lithuania, and Duke of Russia, Prussia, Masovia, Samogitia, Kiovia, Volhynia, Podolia, Podlachia, Livonia, Smolensko, Severia, and Czernicovia; by all the orders of both states of Poland and Lithuania, and by all the provinces incorporated and depending thereupon, do sincerely promise and swear before Almighty God, and upon the evangelists of Jesus Christ, to maintain, observe, keep, and fulfil in every of the circumstances, particulars and articles, all the rights, liberties, immunities, and privileges, both public and private, (excepting such as are contrary to the common rights and liberties of both these nations, or to any law, either ecclesiastical or civil,) that have been justly and lawfully established by our predecessors the Kings of Poland, Great Dukes of Lithuania, and Dukes, &c.; or which have been granted by all the orders during the interregnum to the Catholic churches, lords, barons, gentry, citizens, and inhabitants, of what rank or condition

* Parthenay's Hist. of Poland, I., 94.

soever, together with the *Pacta Conventa*, agreed upon between our ambassadors and the orders of the kingdom of Poland, and great duchy of Lithuania. We do, moreover, promise to maintain and acquiesce, in whatever has been enacted or established in the Diet of our election, as we do likewise to what shall be agreed upon in that of our coronation. Also, that we will restore, both to the kingdom and great duchy, whatever has or shall be aliened and dismembered from their lands or revenues. Moreover, we promise not to lessen the bounds of either the kingdom or the great duchy, but rather to defend and enlarge them. We swear likewise, to establish courts of justice throughout the kingdom and great duchy, and to see that justice be rendered everywhere without intermission or delay, without any regard to, or favor of, persons or things. And lastly we consent, that if it should happen (which God forbid) that we should in any wise violate this our oath, or any part thereof, that the inhabitants of the kingdom, and all our dominions shall be totally discharged, and exempt from paying us obedience and fidelity.*

No. 6.

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER OF POLAND GIVEN BY ALEXANDER.

SECTION I

Political Relations of the Kingdom.

ART. 3.—The crown of the kingdom of Poland is hereditary in our person, and that of our descendants, heirs, and successors, according to the order of succession established for the imperial throne of Russia.

ART. 8.—The external political relations of our empire, shall be common to the kingdom of Poland.

SECTION II.

General Guarantees.

ART. 11.—The Roman Catholic Religion, professed by the greatest part of the inhabitants of the kingdom of Poland, shall be the object of

* Connor II., 157, let. 4.

the peculiar care of the government, but without derogating at all from the liberty of other forms of worship, which, without exception, may be followed, and enjoy the protection of government. The difference in Christian sects makes none in the enjoyment of civil and political rights.

ART. 16.—The liberty of the press is guaranteed. The law will regulate the means of repressing its abuses.

ART. 17.—The law equally protects all citizens, without distinction as to class or condition.

ART. 19.—No person shall be arrested, but according to the forms, and in cases determined by law.

ART. 21.—Every individual arrested, shall be brought within three days at farthest, before a competent tribunal, to be examined or judged according to the prescribed forms. If he is acquitted at the first investigation, he shall be set at liberty.

ART. 22.—In cases determined by law, bail shall be granted.

ART. 29.—Public employments, civil and military, can only be exercised by Poles.

ART. 31.—The Polish nation shall have, forever, a national representation; it shall consist of the king and two chambers. The first shall be formed of the senate, the second of deputies and delegates of the commons.

SECTION III.

ART. 35.—The government rests in the person of the king. He exercises the functions of executive power in all their plenitude. All executive or administrative authority can only emanate from him.

ART. 45.—All our successors to the kingdom of Poland, are bound to be crowned kings of Poland in the capital, according to the form which we will establish, and they shall take the oath below;

“I swear and promise, before God, and on this Gospel, to maintain and support the constitutional charter with all my power.”

ART. 47.—All the king's orders and decrees shall be countersigned by a minister at the head of the department; and who shall be responsible for everything that these orders and decrees may contain, contrary to the constitution and laws.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Regency.

ART. 58.—The regent of Russia shall take the same oath in the presence of the members of the regency of the kingdom.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Lieutenant and Council of State.

ART. 63.—The council of state, presided over by the king, or his lieutenants, is composed of ministers, state counsellors, master of requests, as well as persons whom it may please the king to appoint specially.

ART. 65.—The state council is divided into the council of administration and the general assembly.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Branches of the Administration.

ART. 76.—The execution of the laws shall be intrusted to the different branches of public administration mentioned below; namely:—

1. The commission of worship and public education.
2. The commission of justice, chosen from the members of the supreme tribunal.
3. The commission for the interior and the police.
4. Commission for war.
5. Commission for finance and the treasury.

These different commissions shall be each presided and directed by a minister named for that purpose.

ART. 82.—The chief minister of the departments and the members of the commissions of government shall answer and are responsible to the high national court, for every breach of the constitutional charter, laws, or decrees of the king of which they shall be guilty.

SECTION IV.

National Representation.

CHAPTER I.

ART. 86.—The legislative power rests in the person of the king, and

in the two chambers of the Diet, conformably to the arrangements of the Article 31.

ART. 87.—The ordinary Diet assembles every two years at Warsaw, at the time determined by the king's commons. The session lasts thirty days. The king can prorogue, adjourn, and dissolve it.

ART. 93.—When the Diet do not vote a new budget, the old one is to be in force till next session. Nevertheless the budget ceases at the end of four years, if the Diet is not convoked during that period.

ART. 97.—It rests with the king to lay the motions of the council of state before the chamber of the senate, or that of the deputies; excepting the motions about finance laws, which must first be carried in the chamber of deputies.

ART. 102.—Motions are carried by a majority of votes.

ART. 103.—A bill thrown out in one chamber cannot be modified by another.

ART. 105.—If the king gives his sanction, the bill passes into a law. The king orders the publication in the prescribed forms. If the king refuses his sanction, the bill is void.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Senate.

ART. 108.—The Senate is composed :

Of princes of the blood, imperial and royal—of bishops—of palatines— of castellans.

ART. 109.—The number of senators cannot exceed half the number of members and deputies.

ART. 111.—To be eligible for a candidate to the office of senator, palatine, or castellan, one must be thirty-five years old, and pay taxes yearly to the amount of 2000 Polish florins, and unite the conditions required by the fixed laws.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Chamber of Deputies.

ART. 118.—The chamber of deputies is composed :

1. Of seventy-seven members elected by the dietines or assemblies of nobles, at the rate of a member for every district.

2. Of fifty-one representatives of the commons.

The chamber is presided by a marshal, chosen from the members and named by the king.

ART. 120.—The members of the chamber of deputies remain in office during six years; they are renewed in thirds every second year. Consequently, and for the first time, only one-third of the members of the chamber of deputies will remain in office during two years and another third four years. The list of members going out at these periods shall be formed by lot.

ART. 121.—To be eligible to the chamber of deputies, the age of thirty years is requisite, the enjoyment of civil rights, and to pay taxes of one hundred Polish florins a year.

ART. 124.—The king has the right to dissolve the chamber of deputies. If he makes use of this right, the chamber separates, and the king orders in the course of two months new elections of members and deputies.

SECTION V.

Of the Judicial Order.

ART. 138.—The judicial order is constitutionally independent.

Justices of the Peace.

ART. 144.—There shall be justices of peace for all classes of the inhabitants.

ART. 155.—All former laws and institutions contrary to the present are abrogated.

Given in our royal castle at Warsaw, on the 15-27, Nov. 1815.

(Signed)

ALEXANDER.

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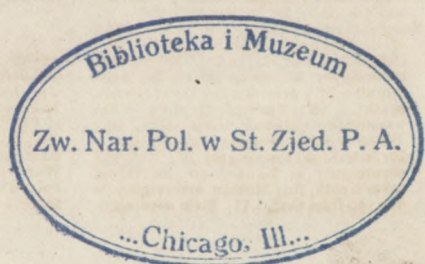
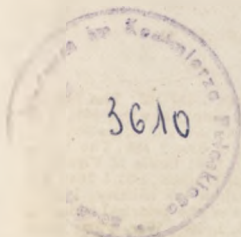
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