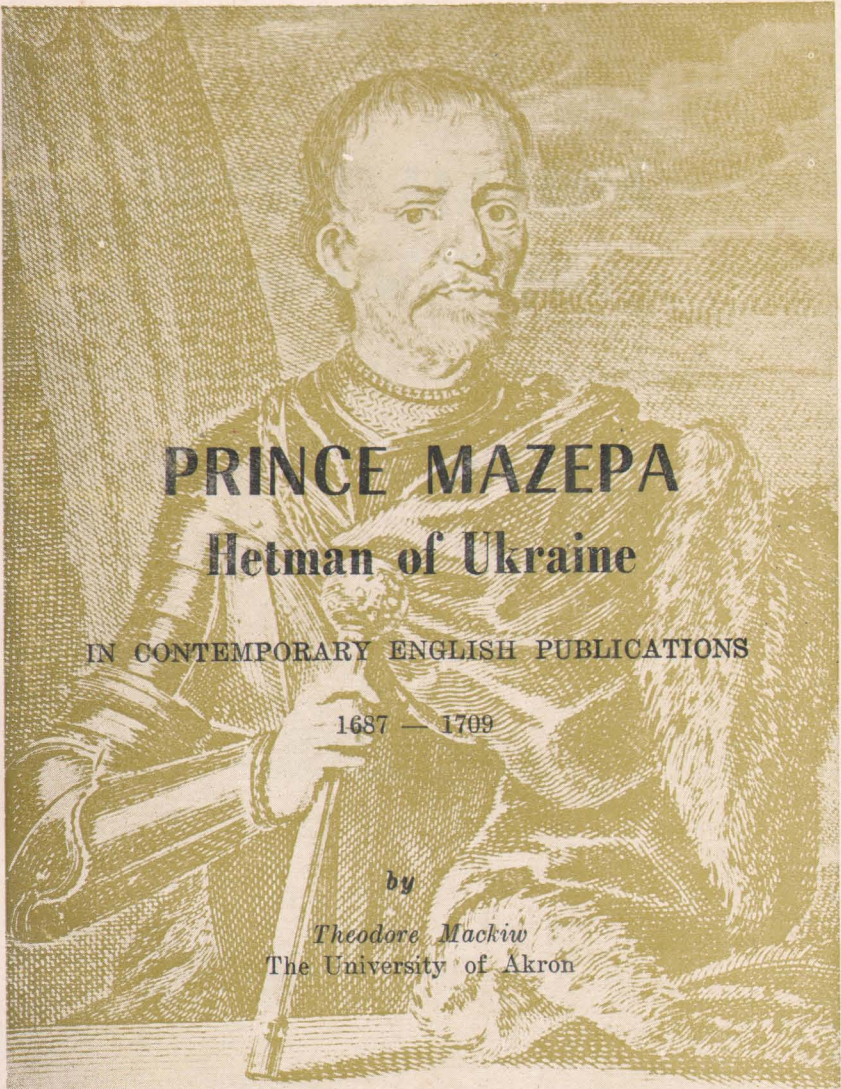


3655



PRINCE MAZEPA
Hetman of Ukraine

IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS

1687 — 1709

by

Theodore Mackiw
The University of Akron

Johannes Mazepa
Cosaccorum Zaporoviensium
Supremus Belli Dux.

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Ukrainian Research and Information Institute, Inc.

Chicago 1967

THE AUTHOR



Theodore Mackiw was born in 1918 in Strutyn, Ukraine, where he completed his undergraduate training. The end of World War II found him in Germany, where he served as head of Search Section of Documents Intelligence, Records Division, United Nations Relief Rehabilitation Administration, CHQ, APO 757 US Army. His graduate work in History and Russian was completed at Frankfurt University, where he received his Ph. D. (cum laude) in 1950. He also studied at Seton Hall University, Harvard Extension School and was granted a Post-Doctoral Research Fellowship at Yale in 1959. In 1962 he attended an International Summer Seminar in Linguistics at Jesus College, Oxford University, and the 2nd International Summer Seminar in East European Languages in Vienna (1962).

Dr. Mackiw served on the faculty as a visiting professor at "Maria Hilf" Collegium in Schwyz, Switzerland, as professor and chairman of the History Department at Lane College, taught at Albertus Magnus College, Seton Hall University, the University of Rhode Island, and since 1962 has been on the faculty of the University of Akron as associate professor of Modern Languages and East European History.

Professor Mackiw is a member of many professional organizations and author of a number of publications in the field of East European History. He represented the Shevchenko Scientific Society at the 11th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Stockholm, and at the 12th Congress in Vienna he represented the University of Akron.

PRINCE MAZEPA, HETMAN OF UKRAINE
IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS,
1687 — 1709



*Johannes Mazepa
Cosaccorum Zaporoviensium
Supremus Belli-Dux.*

From: *Die Europaeische Fama*, (Leipzig: 1706), Vol. XXV, p. 1.
(Also in edition of 1708, and 1712).

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The University of Akron

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Центральна української молоді
"МОЛОДА ПРОСВІТА"
ім. Митр. А. Шептицького
Філадельфія — 23-а і Браун авеню

PREFACE

The personality and activities of Mazepa have attracted the attention of not only contemporary diplomats and many historians, but also of poets such as Byron, Hugo, Pushkin, Ryleyev, Slowacki; composers such as Liszt, Maurer, Pedrel, Pedrotti, Tchaikovsky; and painters such as Boulanger, Gotschall, and Vernet.

Mazepa's participation in the Great Northern War, on the side of Augustus II of Saxony, King of Poland (1697), aroused a great deal of interest in him, not only on the continent, but also in England. His alliance with the Swedish King, Charles XII (1708) and the defeat at Poltava (1709) provided especially rich material for the press.

The purpose of this essay is the presentation of contemporary English sources concerning Mazepa, i. e. memoirs, and press reports, and an analysis of the sources as far as historical facts are concerned.

Although the contemporary English magazines and newspapers of Mazepa's time cannot be considered prime historical sources, they nevertheless can serve as a barometer of English public opinion of the time and may help to explain various facts and circumstances of the period in which Mazepa lived.

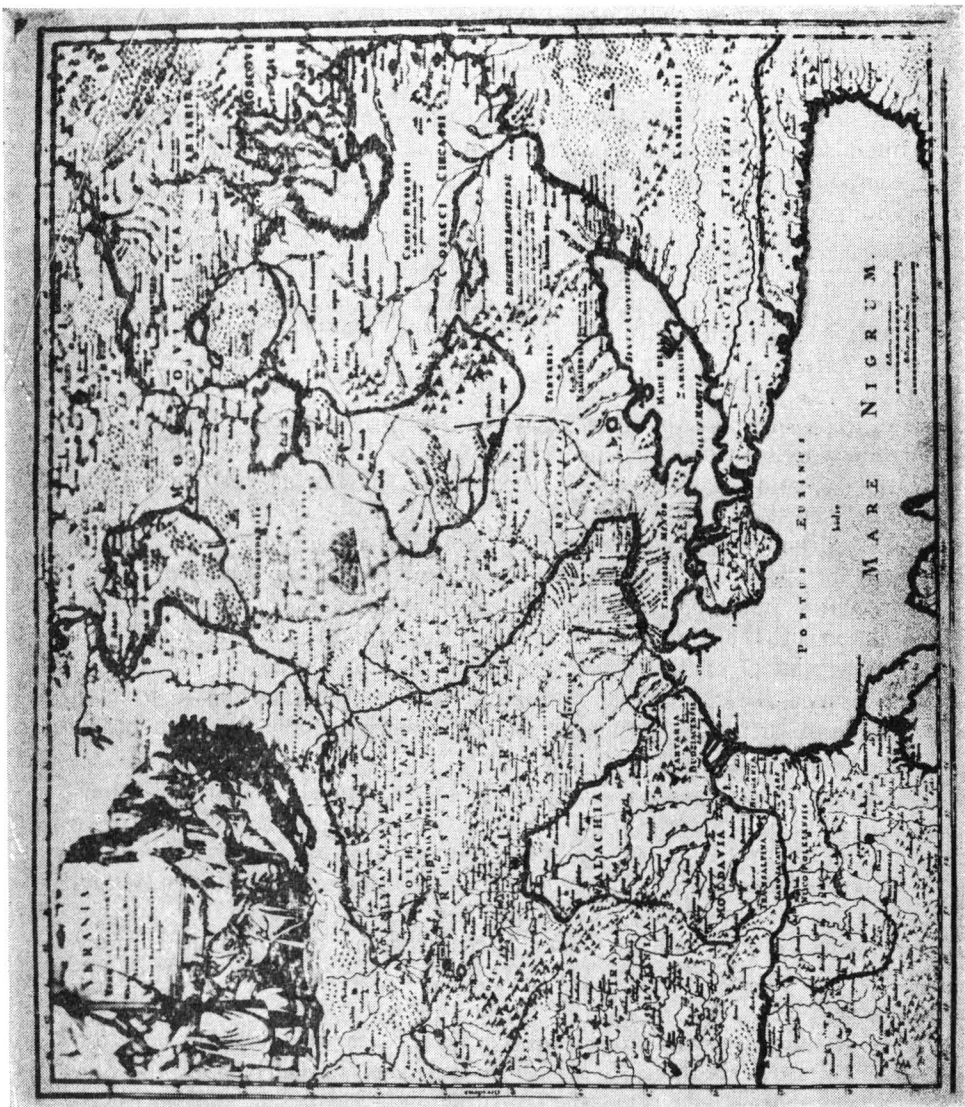
Since these English magazines and newspapers have become rare and difficult of access, several excerpts have been included in the appendix.

This essay is the result of a Post-Doctoral Research Fellowship at Yale University, for which I take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to the Graduate School of Yale University. Much appreciation is extended to the University of Rhode Island and the University of Akron for the grants allowing my further research. I also wish to thank the librarians of the Yale Library and the British Museum for their kind assistance in finding my sources.

In addition, the author also wishes to express his appreciation to Professors George W. Knepper and Don R. Gerlach of the Department of History at the University of Akron, as well as Alexander Ohloblyn, formerly Professor of History at Kiev University, for their valuable advice. Finally, the author wishes to thank Professor John W. Pulley, Jr., Mrs. Paul Stux for reading and correcting of proofs, and Dr. Toma Lapychak for his financial assistance in the publication of this book.

Akron, November 12, 1966.

T. M.



Map of the Ukraine of the XVIII century.
 From: Johann Baptist Homan, *Neuer Atlas ueber die gantze Welt*,
 (Nuremberg: 1714), p. 166.

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FOREWORD

Dr. Theodore Mackiw, a noted researcher in the field of Ukrainian history of the 17th - 18th centuries, particularly of the Mazepa period, gave special attention to printed and handwritten non-Ukrainian sources of that time.

The subject of this foreword is the recent study conducted by the author. It opens for us a hitherto almost unknown world of English (in the wide sense of the word, because the author also includes materials published in America), printed sources of the history of the Ukraine (and Eastern Europe in general) in the period of Prince Ivan Mazepa — Hetman of the Ukraine, 1687 - 1709. The center of attention of the author lies in the English language newspapers, magazines and memoirs of the time. In this work, the author gives a critical analysis of the contemporary English press and of the memoirs as well.

The author also analyzes the influence of Russian propaganda on Western-European public opinion during the period of Peter I.

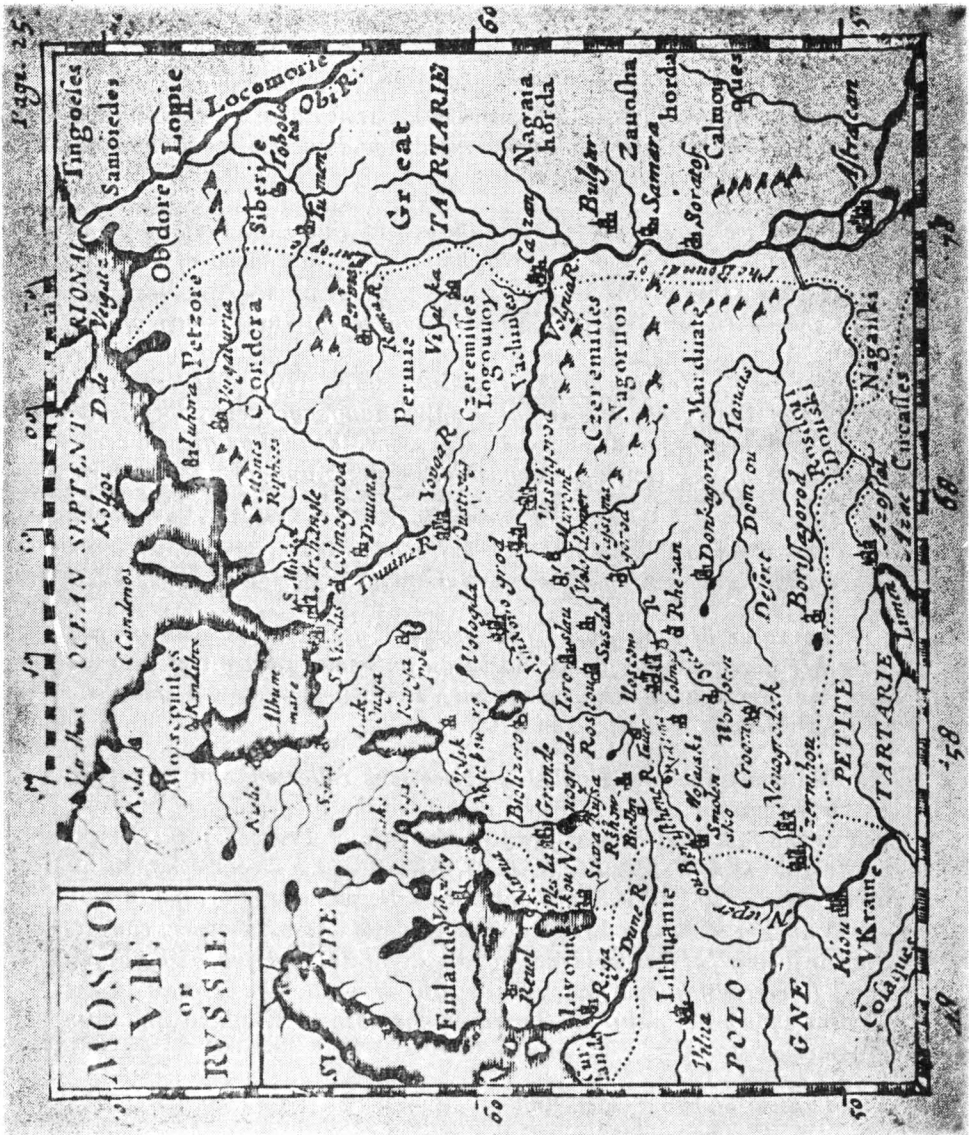
The value of this work is increased by numerous photographs and other illustrations, particularly an authentic portrait of Mazepa from the German monthly magazine, Die Europaeische Fama, vol. XXV, published in Leipzig in 1706.

The contemporary English publications collected and investigated by the author add a few new details to the biography of Mazepa, such as the fact that he was granted the title of Prince by the Emperor Joseph I on September 1, 1707, a fact which became known in England as early as 1708, although the title was never officially conferred during Mazepa's lifetime. The value of these, however, consists of their being further evidence of events of that period and adding detail to already known facts. They also illustrate the interest in the Ukraine shown not only in Germany, but also in England and even in America.

Ludlow, February 16, 1965.

ALEXANDER OHLOBLYN,
*formerly Professor of History,
Kiev University*

**Світлячівня української молоді
"МОЛОДА ПРОСВІТА"
(м. Митр. А. Шептицького
Філадельфія — 23-а і Бранч 874**



Map of Russia in the XVII century.
 From: P. Gordon, *Geography Anatomized, or Compleat Geographical Grammer* (London: 1693), p. 25.

INTRODUCTION

At the mention of the name Mazepa, most English-speaking persons think of Byron's mythical hero rather than of an historical person, and yet, the historical Mazepa is very different from the one depicted in literature.

Hetman¹ Mazepa was the chief executive of the Ukrainian autonomous state under the protectorate of Russia, a condition which at that time was quite common, even for such countries as Holland under Spain (1559 - 1648), Prussia under Poland (1525 - 1668), and Estonia and Livonia (Latvia) under Sweden (1648 - 1721). Although the Ukraine was a Russian protectorate, nevertheless, as Hans Schumann, the German historian, has observed in his dissertation, Ukraine had her own territory, (there was a clear distinction between the Ukraine and Russia as can be seen on the adjacent contemporary maps by J. B. Homann and P. Gordon), people, language, law, administration, specific democratic system of government, and military forces, namely the Cossacks². The word "Cossack" is of Turkish origin, and meant a guard, a free soldier, or a robber. In the fifteenth century in Eastern Europe, the Cossacks developed themselves into a sort of military auxiliary force for special services. There were Cossacks in Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and the Ukraine. In the Ukraine, the Cossacks evolved into a social class of military forces, whose objective was to defend the Ukraine from the attacks of the Turks and who went into Turkey as far as Constantinople (Istanbul). This caused frequent tension between Turkey and Poland. In addition, the Ukrainian Cossacks protected the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the populace from maltreatment by the Polish nobility. This led to frequent Polish-Ukrainian wars, which were ended by the great national insurrection in 1648 led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who established an autonomous military republic (better known as the Hetmanate) first under the Poles, and from 1654 under a Russian protectorate³.

¹ Hetman literally translated means "Head man", the official title of the chief executive of the Ukraine from 1648 to 1764.

² Hans Schumann, *Der Hetmanstaat 1654 - 1764* (Breslau: 1939), p. 4; cf.: George Vernadsky, *Bohdan, Hetman of Ukraine* (New Haven: 1941), p. 118.

³ For details see: D. I. Evarnitsky, *Istoria Zaporozhskikh Kozakov (History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks)*. (St. Petersburg: 1892, 1895, 1897), 3 vol.: V. A. Golobutsky, *Zaporozhskoye Kozachestvo (The Zaporozhian Cossacks)*, (Kiev: 1957);

M. Hrushevsky, *Istoria Ukrainy Rusy (History of Ukraine - Rus)*, (New York: 1956), Vol. VII; also brief English translation of *A History of Ukraine*, edited by O. J. Frederksen, (New Haven: 1948), pp: 144 -216: See also

Although Mazepa's rights were limited by the so-called "Kolomak Terms"⁴, he still exercised the full power of his civil and military authority and was regarded as the chief executive by contemporary foreign diplomats in Moscow. For example, Jean de Baluse (1648 - 1718), the French envoy in Moscow, visited Mazepa in 1704 in Baturyn, the Ukrainian capital at that time, and remarked in his letter: "...from Muscovy I went to Ukraine, the country of the Cossacks, where for a few days I was the guest of Prince Mazepa, who is the supreme authority in this country"⁵.

Mazepa's contemporary, the brilliant English journalist Daniel Defoe (1661 - 1731), wrote in his book about Czar Peter I, that "... Mazepa was not a King in Title, he was equal to King in Power, and every way Equal if not Superior to King Augustus in the divided Circumstances, in which his Power stood, even at the best of it."⁶ As a matter of fact, Mazepa was aware of his position, and considered himself "a little less than the Polish King"⁷.

Undoubtedly, Mazepa was an unusual man, who was famous not only in the Ukraine, but also became a controversial figure in world history. The crux of the controversy is as much the question of Mazepa's character (selfishness, desire for power, revenge, Machiavellianism, etc.) as the question of whether or not he invited Charles XII to enter the Ukraine and then failed to give the help he had promised.

Finally, one detail should be elaborated, namely the spelling of the name Mazepa. It is widely accepted that his name is spelled with a double "pp", which does not correspond to historical fact, as may be shown from Mazepa's available letters bearing his own signature, written with only one "p".

A Russian historian, Nicholas Ustrialov, published in his history

G. Stoeckl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums (The Origin of the Cossacks)* (Munich: 1953).

For the status of the Cossacks in Mazepa's time, see: V. A. Djadychenko, "Ukrainskoje kazatskoje vojsko v kontse XVII - nachale XVIII v." (The Ukrainian Cossack Forces at the End of the 17th and the Beginning of the 18th Century), *Poltava* (Sbornik statej - Collection of Essays), (Moscow: 1959),

⁴ N. Kostomarov, *Mazepa i mazepintsy (Mazepa and his Followers)*, *Poltavoje Sobranje Sochynenij* (St. Petersburg: 1905), Vol. VI, pp. 391-392.

⁵ Baluse's letter was discovered by the Ukrainian historian Elias Borschchak in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris under "Fonds Baluse", Vol. CCCLI, and was published in a Ukrainian translation as an appendix to his article "Mazepa. Ludyna i istorychnyj dijach" (Mazepa as a Man and as a Statesman), *ZNTS* (1933), Vol. 152, pp. 28-30; cf., V. Sichynsky, *Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions*, (New York: 1953), p. 113.

⁶ D. Defoe, *An Impartial History of the Life and Actions of Peter Alexovitz... Czar of Muscovy*, (London: 1729), p. 208.

⁷ N. Kostomarov. *op. cit.*, p. 422.

of the reign of Peter I, Mazepa's three letters, where his name is spelled with one "p".⁸

There are fifty-four letters of Mazepa to the Polish *voyevode* Adam Sieniawski (1704 - 1708), bearing Mazepa's own signature, written with one "p".⁹

There are also three other letters of Mazepa to the Polish *voyevode* Zygmunt Galecki, which were captured by the Swedes in 1704, and were preserved in *Svenska Riksarkivet* in Stockholm under *Cosacica I*, and were published by a Swedish historian, Alfred Jensen, first in *Svenska Autografsaellkapetts Tidskrift* (1881), and then in *Zapysky Naukovoho Towarystwa im. Shevchenka* (1909) under the title "Try lysty Mazepy" (Mazepa's three letters).¹⁰ In all three letters Mazepa signed his name with only one "p".

Further evidenced that Mazepa used only one "p" in spelling his name is his letter, undated but presumably written in 1707, to Emperor Joseph I. This letter is located in the *Reichsadelsakten* of the Austrian State Archives in Vienna, and a photostatic copy of it was published by the author of this work in a Ukrainian weekly *Shlakh Peremohy*, (Munich, August 28, 1930, No. 35).

James Millington had already noted this detail, when translating into English Melchior de Vogue's *Mazepa: La Legende et l'histoire* (1881), stating that "...I follow the orthography of Western Europe, but the name ought strictly to be written with one "p", Mazepa..."¹¹

In order to acquaint the reader with Mazepa's life as far as it is concerned with this work, a brief biography is introduced with emphasis on such specific details as the popular story of Mazepa being bound to a horse, and his alliance with Charles XII.

⁸ N. Ustrialov, *Istoriya Tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikogo (History of the Reign of Peter the Great)*, (St. Petersburg: 1858 - 1863), Vol. II, pp. 479-482. (These letters were proven to be false; cf., Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 416; A. Darowski, "Intryga Salomonka", *Szkice historyczne*, (Warsaw: 1901), pp. 191-237.

⁹ P. Khrushch (Chruszcz), "Neznani oryginalni lysty Hetmana Ivana Mazepy do Adama Sieniavskoho, vojevody belzkoho z 1704-1708 rr." *Analecta Ordinis St. Basilii Magni*, (Lviv: 1935), Vol. VI, pp. 219-223.

¹⁰ See Mazepa's signature on the adjacent copy of his letter of August 8, 1704.

¹¹ J. Millington, *The True Story of Mazepa*, (London: 1884), pp. 95-96. (For details see my article "Mazepa or Mazeppa?", *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. X, No. 4, (1963), pp. 42-45.

Zog tedy redyga, gdy wiatryj Wm Pana ocecmfendar ditor, oraz Jan
Wm Pana abdy, amies cononis amplexa; Z tymi; ve-
tosi amore orz etre marizabaiqz, Zem ist.

Wm Pana uprozmic z puzhlym
Bratem y sluga powolaja.

Jan Mazepa
Bratem y sluga powolaja

in Archiv 2 Pod Berdyelawa
A. 1704 August 8.

Mazepa's signature in his letter of August 8, 1704 to the Polish voyevoda of the city of Kalish, Zygmunt Galecki, is preserved in the *Svenska Rikssarkivet* in Stockholm under *Cosacica I*, and was published by the Swedish historian Alfred Jensen first at *Svenska Autografsaellkapets Tidskrift* (1881), and then in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*. (Publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, further quoted as "ZNTS"), (Lviv: 1909), Vol. XCII, p. 241.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF MAZEPA

Hetman Ivan Mazepa - Koledynsky was born of a noble Ukrainian family¹ at his ancestral seat at Mazepyntsi, near Bila Tserkov in the Ukraine.

The date of his birth is not certain and is still a matter of dispute, but March 20, 1639 can be accepted. Some authors such as N. Kostomarov and F. Umanets accept 1629. Others, such as D. Doroshenko and M. Vozniak, accept 1632. However, if Mazepa was born at that time (1629 - 1632), then in 1708 he would have been from seventy-six to seventy-nine years old. This contradicts the estimate of about sixty by such eyewitnesses at the Swedish headquarters as G. Adlerfelt, G. Nordberg, and J. Bardili. If Mazepa was born in 1643 as Al. Storoshenko accepts, then in 1659, when Mazepa was sent to Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky as an envoy of the Polish King Jan Casimir, he would have been fifteen years old, which would be almost impossible.

The most authoritative testimony should be considered. Mazepa's closest associate and his chancellor, Philip Orlyk, in his letter of August 22, 1741, wrote, "... I am seventy years of age, as Mazepa was in Bender... (in 1709)"². Therefore, 1639 should be accepted as the year of his birth. The day and the month given by a Polish poet, T. Padura (1801 - 1872), can be accepted without doubt.

Mazepa's mother, Maryna Mokievsky, was descended from an old, noble Ukrainian family. After the death of her husband (1665), she entered a convent in Kiev where she later became Mother Superior. This, however, did not prevent her from taking an active part in the political life of that time. Her son, as Hetman, often came to her for advice. She died toward the end of 1707 at approximately ninety years of age.

His father, Stefan Adam Mazepa, was a Ukrainian nobleman. Although he was in the service of the Polish King, in the war against Poland he joined the Ukrainian Hetman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1648 - 1657), creator of the Hetmanate. The difficult and drawn-out war with Poland led to an alliance between the Ukrai-

¹ J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, "Pochodzenia i herb Hetmana Mazepy" (Descent and coat of arms of Hetman Mazepa). *Praci Ukraïnskoho Naukovoho Instytutu (Publications of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, further quoted as "PUNI")*, (Warsaw: 1938), Vol. XLVI, pp. 53-63.

² Cf.: O. Ohloblyn. *Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta joho doba (Hetman Ivan Mazepa and his Era)*, ZNTS. (New York-Paris-Toronto: 1960), Vol. CLXX, p. 21. The English newspaper, *The Daily Courant*, No. 2239, of December 29, 1708, relying on the Russian source of information, also questioned that Mazepa was 70 years of age. (Actually he was 69 years old in 1708.)

ne and Russia in 1654 known as the Treaty of Pereyaslav. Since Russia did not carry out the terms of this treaty, Khmelnytsky's successor, Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky (1657 - 1659), broke with Russia and formed an agreement with Poland known as the Treaty of Hadiach (September 17, 1658). According to this treaty, the Ukraine was returned to Poland but as a separate, autonomous state. Stefan Adam Mazepa supported Vyhovsky's policy. This may explain his promotion and his son Ivan's appointment as a page at the court of the Polish King Jan Casimir after he first obtained an education at the Ukrainian College (Kollegium) in Kiev. He studied, according to the Ukrainian chronologist Velychko, at the Jesuit College in Warsaw. The King sent Mazepa to Germany, France, Italy, and Holland to complete his military studies and, upon his return, sent him on several diplomatic missions from 1659 to 1663 to the Ukrainian Hetmans. In 1663, Mazepa left the royal court for his home in the Ukraine.

The most popular story of Mazepa's reason for leaving the royal court is told by the Polish nobleman Jan Chryzostom Pasek in his memoirs³ and by Voltaire in his *History of Charles XII*⁴. Both authors wrote that Mazepa had a love affair with Madame Falbowski (the Christian name was not mentioned), the young wife of an aged Polish nobleman Falbowski, one of Mazepa's neighbors in Volhynia. Falbowski caught his wife with Mazepa and decided to punish him in an unusual way. He ordered Mazepa to undress himself, and then he put the naked Mazepa, bound hand and foot, backward on a bare-back horse, and fired a pistol to startle the horse. Falbowski expected that the ride through the thick forest on a furiously galloping horse would eventually result in the death of Mazepa. Fortunately for Mazepa, his horse brought him to his own estate, but in such a state of mutilation that his servants could not recognize him at first. There they freed and cared for him.

However, there are some differences between Pasek's story and Voltaire's story. Pasek did not name the place, mentioning only that the action took place in Volhynia, while Voltaire did not mention the name of the location at all. Furthermore, the fact that Pasek did not indicate in any way that he was in this region, but rather far away in the city of Smolensk, negotiating with the Russians, implies the strong suspicion that Pasek heard this popular story only at second hand.

³ Jan Ch. Pasek, *Pamiętniki (Memoirs)*, (Cracow: 1929), p. 312-318.

⁴ Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII* (Rouen: 1731). I used the English translation by John J. Stockdale, *The History of Charles XII, King of Sweden* (London: 1807), pp. 258-262. Kostomarov mentioned several variations of this episode. *op. cit.*, pp. 387-389.

Such stories were not unusual at that time. For example, the French diplomat, Foy de la Neuville (1649 - 1706), mentioned in his memoirs a similar story about a Scot in the Polish service, who had a love affair with the wife of a Lithuanian Colonel.⁵

The reason that Pasek wrote in this fashion is this: Mazepa denounced Pasek, who served with him at the Polish court of King Jan Casimir. In 1661, Pasek was involved in an army plot against the King. Mazepa revealed this to the King. Pasek was tried, sentenced, and his estates were confiscated. Though he was later pardoned and reinstated, Pasek could not forget what Mazepa had done to him, and apparently took advantage of the story in order to revenge himself for Mazepa's revelation to the King. Pasek called Mazepa a liar, thief, and adulterer, and mentioned his love affairs indiscriminately. Pasek's story can not be considered truthful because, as Kostomarov in his well-known monograph remarked, "... Pasek was a staunch personal enemy of Mazepa"⁶, and Alexander Brueckner, a prominent historian of Polish literature, points out that Pasek was "an incredible liar"⁷.

How Voltaire obtained the information of the story could be answered thus: Pasek's memoirs, completed about 1688, were quite popular in Poland at that time, and they survived either orally or in several manuscripts. They were partially published in the Polish magazine *Astrea* in Warsaw, in July, 1821. The first complete edition of the memoirs was published in 1836, almost a hundred years later than Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* (1731). It is evident that Voltaire obtained this information from the exiled Polish King, Stanislaw Leszczynski, whose daughter, Maria, married the French King, Louis XV. Leszczynski lived in Paris, and Voltaire, who was not sure of the veracity of the story, asked the exiled King to confirm the story in a written statement. Leszczynski did this more than once.⁸

According to the German historian Otto Haintz, Voltaire's history is worthless as an historical source, because he used a worthless compilation of his countryman H. de Limiers⁹ as his source. The de Limiers book was supposedly based on the book by

⁵ Foy de la Neuville, *Relation curieuse et nouvelle de Moscovie etc.*, (The Hague: 1699). I used the English translation: *An Account of Muscovy As It Was In The Year 1689* (London: 1699), pp. 4.

⁶ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 589.

⁷ A. Brueckner, *Literatura Polska (Polish Literature)*, (Paris: 1947), p. 101.

⁸ T. Besterman, *Voltaire's Correspondence* (1958), Vol. XXXVI, pp. 225-235. Cf.: Holubnychy, "Mazepa in Byron's Poem and in History", *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (New York: 1959), Vol. XV, No. 4, p. 334.

⁹ H. F. de Limiers, *Histoire de Suede sous le regne de Charles XII (History of Sweden under the Reign of Charles XII)*, (Amsterdam: 1721).

Daniel Defoe¹⁰, who had never participated in the Great Northern War.¹¹

There is no evidence to support Pasek's story, but there is, however, another non-legendary version of one of Mazepa's love affairs. According to the Kievian archivist, Kamanin, who found records of the year 1663 in the Central Archives in Kiev, there is evidence that a Polish nobleman, Zagorowski, asked for a divorce from his wife, Helen, because he had intercepted many presents and letters to his wife from his neighbor Mazepa. In one of the letters, Mazepa asked the wife to make a trip with her husband from their estate to the next village, Revushki. On the road, Mazepa intended to ambush and kill Zagorowski. Mazepa's plan, however, did not work out. The outcome of the story is not known.¹²

It is quite possible that the young, gallant Mazepa had some love affairs, but the story about Falbowski does not appear as serious as Pasek claimed in his memoirs. There is quite an accurate biography of Mazepa in the German weekly magazine in Hamburg, *Historische Remarques* of January 22, 1704, in its November 27, 1703, correspondence from Moscow. The writer mentions such very personal details concerning Mazepa as his marriage to a rich widow (Hanna Frydrykievyeh whom he married in 1668 or 1669), that she died in 1702, that they had one daughter who died very young, and that Mazepa's sister was married three times. The author could even give the names of her three husbands: Obydovsky, Vituslavsky, and Voinarovsky. The son from the third marriage, Andrew Voinarovsky, came to live with his uncle Mazepa, who then sent him to study philosophy in Kiev. The author accused Mazepa of denouncing his predecessor, I. Samoylovyeh. Logically, if the correspondent from Moscow had mentioned some personal affairs of Mazepa in the magazine, surely he would have mentioned the love story about Falbowski's wife. Evidently, it was unimportant, and the author chose not to mention the story.

Pasek's story seems to have little veracity, because if Mazepa had really been punished by Falbowski, as Pasek described, how could the Polish King have promoted Mazepa to a higher rank in 1665 after such a scandal? It is certain that Mazepa did not

¹⁰ *The History of the Wars of His Present Majesty Charles XII, by a Scots Gentleman in the Swedish Service.* (London: 1715), cf.: J. R. Moore, *A Checklist of the Writings of Daniel Defoe*, (Bloomington: 1960), p. 183.

¹¹ O. Haintz, *Karl XII von Schweden im Urteil der Geschichte (Charles XII of Sweden in the Judgment of History)*, (Berlin: 1936), pp. 7-8.

¹² I. Kamanin, "Mazepa i jeho prekrasnaya Yelena", (Mazepa and his beautiful Helen), *Kievskaya Starina* (1886), Vol. XI, pp. 522-535. Cf.: D. Doroshenko, "Mazepa v istorychnij literaturi i zytii" (Mazepa in Historical Literature and Life), *PUNI* (Warsaw: 1938), Vol. XLVI, p. 16.



Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky



Hetman Ivan Samoylovych



Hetman Peter Doroshenko



Cossack General-Judge
Vassilii Kochubey

From: D. N. Bantysh-Kamenskyj, *Istoriya Maloy Rossii* (*History of Little Russia*), (Moscow: 1830), Vol. II, p. 1.

leave the Polish court because of this love story. After Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King Charles XII, not one of his biographies mentioned the Falbowski affair. All of these biographies omitted any reference to this fact and they certainly would have mentioned any fact of Mazepa's life which would put him in a bad light.

In 1669, Mazepa joined the service of the Ukrainian Hetman Peter Doroshenko, whose ambition was to liberate the Ukraine from both Muscovy and Poland. These two powers had divided the Ukraine into two parts according to the Treaty of Andrusiv (1667). On the right bank of the boundary, the Dnieper River, was Doroshenko, first under the Polish King, and then under the Porte, and on the left bank was Hetman Ivan Samoylovych under the Russian protectorate.

Mazepa became Doroshenko's close associate and was often sent on diplomatic missions. In 1674 on a mission to the Crimea, Mazepa was captured by Ivan Sirko, the leader ("Koshovyj") of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, who had their own territory and administration. Sirko sent Mazepa to Hetman Samoylovych, who was Doroshenko's political opponent. Mazepa was in a dangerous situation, but Samoylovych, having recognized his education and diplomatic skill, quickly promoted him from private instructor of his children to the highest military rank and the position of Inspector-General ("assaul") in 1682. Since Mazepa's former commander, Doroshenko, recognized the authority of Samoylovych, Mazepa served the latter in many diplomatic missions, especially to Moscow. There he made many influential court acquaintances, chief among whom was Prince Vassili Golitsyn. In order to save his reputation at the court during his first unsuccessful campaign against Crimea (1687), Golitsyn persuaded the Cossacks to depose Samoylovych and elect Mazepa as Hetman.¹³ This was done on August 4 (July 25, o. s.), 1687.

Mazepa, having had such rich experiences, realized that any attempt to rid the Ukraine of Russia would fail and cause disaster to his country. He decided to be loyal to Moscow, and through his personal charm won the favor of the new Czar, Peter I. The Austrian envoy in Moscow, Otto Pleyer, in his report of February 8, 1702, remarked that "Mazepa is very much respected and honored by the Czar".¹⁴

Mazepa's policy was to strengthen the Ukraine internally, to improve education and socio-economic conditions,, to create strong lea-

¹³ Mazepa's election was described by General P. Gordon in his diary; cf.: Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

¹⁴ Ustrialov, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, part 2, p. 573.

dership, and to make the Ukraine so strong that Moscow could not easily weaken her autonomous status. Taking advantage of a period of peace, Mazepa initiated valuable steps in the fields of culture and education, and encouraged the building of schools and churches.¹⁵ In order to strengthen the position of the Hetman's office, Mazepa intended to make it hereditary. Since he had no children of his own, Mazepa planned to appoint his nephew, Andrew Voinarovsky, as his successor.

It is possible that Mazepa had good intentions. However, by being too loyal to Moscow and by approving and legalizing the abolition of the democratic system in the Ukraine introduced by his predecessor, Mazepa caused deep dissatisfaction and opposition among the Ukrainian people. One sign of dissatisfaction of the people and the Cossacks was the unsuccessful revolt led by Petryk Ivanenko, 1692-1696, who fled to the Zaporozhian Cossacks in 1691 and tried to persuade them to attack Mazepa in order to liberate the Ukrainian people from the "new landlords". Petryk counted on the Zaporozhians and also hoped to secure military help from the Crimean Khan, who, as a matter of fact, recognized Petryk as a Hetman of the Ukraine and promised him assistance. Mazepa's army awaited Petryk at the border, however, the Zaporozhians did not join Petryk as a body, and when the people learned that Petryk received a band of Tartars, they did not dare to revolt. After several attempts, Petryk was finally killed in 1696 and thus the revolt was ended.¹⁶

Those who attempted any uprising against the Hetman's administration were severely punished, and as the contemporary chronicist Velychko remarked in his chronicle, "there was silence and fear among the people." It is necessary to add that Mazepa made some attempt to ease the tension between the people and the officers (starshyna).

The discontent of the Ukrainian people grew when Peter I renewed the war with Turkey in 1695, and Mazepa sent the Cossacks against the Turks whenever the Czar demanded it. Then as soon as Peter had ended his war with Turkey, he joined the Saxo-Polish King, Augustus II, in an attack upon Sweden in order to secure an opening to the Baltic Sea. From 1700 on, the Czar demanded increasingly more Cossacks from Mazepa to fight against the Swedish King and his ally, the newly elected Polish King Stanislaw Leszczynski.

¹⁵ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 426; see also: M. Andrusiak, "Hetman Ivan Mazepa jak kulturnyj dijach" (Hetman Ivan Mazepa as Promoter of Culture), PUNI (Warsaw: 1939), Vol. XLVII, pp. 69-87. V. Sichynskyj, *Ivan Mazepa - ludyna i mecenat (Ivan Mazepa - the Man and Benefactor)*, (Philadelphia: 1951), and of the same author: "Ivan Mazepa -- Patron of Culture and Arts of Ukraine" *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (1959), Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 271-280.

¹⁶ For details see: Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-188, 190-192.

After the declaration of war on Sweden, August 8, 1700, Mazepa received orders from the Czar to march with 10,000 Cossacks to help the Saxo - Polish King Augustus II, in Livonia, whose troops were laying siege to Riga at that time. Mazepa had already made the necessary preparations when new instructions arrived, cancelling the previous order. Then came another order to send 12,000 troops to Narva. Mazepa sent the 12,000 men under the command of Colonel Ivan Obydovskyj. However, he arrived at Narva after the battle was over (November 20, 1700), and was directed to the vicinity of the city of Pskov, where he suddenly died (January, 1701). After the death of their leader the Cossack troops returned home.

In February, 1701, the Czar concluded a formal alliance with the Saxo-Polish King, promising him 15,000 troops and 100,000 rubles. In the same year, at the Czar's order, Mazepa divided his army into two parts, sending the smallest part, under the command of Colonel M. Borokhovych, to Pskov. Here Colonel Borokhovych joined the Russian troops under the command of Count Repnin, who was ordered to help the Saxo-Polish Army at Riga. With the rest of his army, Mazepa also marched to Pskov, but on the way he was ordered at Mohyliv to send a vanguard of 20,000 men and wait with the rest of his force for further orders. The Hetman sent 17,000 Cossack troops under the command of Col. D. Apostol to join the Russian General, B. Sheremetjev (June 26, 1701). Although Count Repnin was unsuccessful at Riga, General Sheremetjev, with Col. Apostol, defeated the Swedish troops under the command of General Shlippenbach at Erestferk (December 29, 1701.) Colonel Apostol also operated on his own in pursuing the Swedish cavalry, but, in the beginning of 1702 he was ordered to return home, leaving two regiments for the defense of Pskov and vicinity.

In 1702 the Swedish King seized Warsaw and Cracow, but the Polish people fared badly under Swedish rule, causing many of them to align themselves with Augustus II. Moreover, in the Ukraine, on the right bank of the Dnieper River, the Cossacks under the leadership of Colonel Semen Palij revolted against the Polish magnates. It was rumored that Mazepa supported this uprising, although this supposition was not quite true. At this time, the Polish magnates divided themselves into two parties. This came about when, at their conference in Sandomierz, some of these magnates decided to support Augustus II and remain loyal to the Russo-Polish treaty, thereby retaining Russian help against Charles XII and Palij, while the others preferred to come to terms with the Swedish King in order to gain his assistance in regaining that part of the Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper River held by Mazepa.

This Ukrainian problem played a very important role in Polish politics concerning the Swedish King and Mazepa. This also caused a very fierce struggle between the followers of Charles XII and Augustus II in Lithuania. The fighting was concentrated at the fortress of Bykhiv, which had been taken by Count Sapieha, leader of the Swedish supporters. Augustus ordered the *Starosta* Halecki to march against Sapieha and seize Bykhiv. At the Czar's order, Mazepa sent 2,500 men, led by T. Radych, an officer for special assignment, to assist Halecki at the beginning of this campaign. On July 27, 1702, the Hetman added 10,000 more troops, under the command of Col. M. Myklashevskij. On October 12, 1702, Myklashevskij forced surrender of the Polish troops. Instead of occupying Bykhiv himself, Colonel Myklashevskij gave it over to Halecki, a decision which displeased Mazepa so greatly that he reproached him for it. Nevertheless, Mazepa, for his assistance, received the highest Polish award, "The White Eagle" (Bialy Orzel). Mazepa also sent some small units elsewhere in Poland to assist the Polish Army.

In 1703, Mazepa did not participate in any military operation, but in 1704 the situation of Augustus II in Poland had worsened so that in April of that year Mazepa was ordered to proceed with all troops to assist the Polish King. In that same month Mazepa crossed the Dnieper River and proceeded into western Ukrainian territory. Establishing his headquarters at Perepyatykha, near Skviza, he received, in May, a message from the Polish King to send his troops as soon as possible, and Mazepa immediately sent him 3,000 Cossacks under the command of Colonel D. Apostol, who joined the Saxonian General Brandt, and 1,000 Cossacks to General M. Golitsyn, Commanding General of the Russian Troops, who also had been hastening to assist Augustus II.

Meanwhile, Mazepa, having taken the Western Ukraine, which was now free from the Polish magnates, decided to use this opportunity to unite the Ukraine under his leadership. However, being afraid of Paliy's popularity among the people, Mazepa treacherously arrested him and, falsely denouncing him of having been in communication with the Swedes, obtained Paliy's exile to Siberia. Furthermore, he explained to the Czar that as long as there was a pro-Swedish faction in Poland, the territory on the right bank should not be given to the Poles. The Czar agreed and thus Mazepa became the Hetman of the entire Ukraine.

On June, 15, Mazepa sent from his headquarters in Pavoloch one of his officers, D. Maksymovych, to Augustus II, who had his headquarters in Sandomierz, with a request for instructions. On August 10, Maksymovych returned to Mazepa and reported that Augustus II requested 30,000 Cossacks, and that with the

rest of the troops, Mazepa should take and devastate the estates of a Polish landlord, Count Lubomirski, who joined the Swedish King. Mazepa, however, reported to the Foreign Office in Moscow that, under the circumstances, he could not send 30,000 troops. He instead sent 10,000 Cossacks under the command of Col. Ivan Myrovyeh, who joined Augustus II at his headquarters near the city of Javoriv.

From Pavoloch, Mazepa moved to the vicinity of Berdychiv, where the situation was poor because of lack of food. Owing to the lack of action, the Cossacks requested of the Hetman that they be allowed to return home. At that time, on August 24, Mazepa received a message informing him that Augustus II had left Poland for Saxony and had asked Mazepa to devastate Lubomirski's estates, whereupon Mazepa moved to Lubar (Volhynia), but shortly afterward he received orders not to harm Lubomirski's estates because the latter had now joined Augustus II. Finally, Mazepa received instructions from the Russian envoy in Warsaw which stated that Augustus II wanted the Hetman to return home. Accordingly, Mazepa started for home, arriving in Khvastiv on October 18, and on October 29 he reached Baturyn, his own residence.

At the time that Mazepa was moving in Volhynia, Colonel Myrovyeh was sent by Augustus II to rescue Lviv (Lemberg). However, the Polish commandant of Lviv, Kaminski, turned the city over to the Swedes (August 26), and Myrovyeh, being pressed by the Swedes, retreated to the city of Brody, where he joined the Polish Commanding General Rzewuski.

Meanwhile, Colonel Apostol, under General Brandt, was successfully fighting the Swedish Major Leejonhelm. Later, the Cossacks were transferred to the command of the Livonian General in the Russian service, J. R. Patkul, who treated them shamefully, as in the city of Poznan, where he took away their horses and made them march on foot.

When the Cossacks, under Col. Myrovyeh, who was now marching together with Rzewuski towards Warsaw, learned what had happened to Colonel Apostol's men, they decided to retreat through Lublin.

In the meantime, the Cossack troops under Col. Apostol marched toward Cracow, and were met by the Swedish troops and the Polish units on the Swedish side of the city of Wielun, Silesia. In the ensuing battle, 1,620 of them were killed and only 80 Cossacks returned home.

In the spring of 1705, Mazepa received an order from the Czar to go to Volhynia; in May, to go to Brest; and in June, to go to Sandomierz, in great Poland, and to send 4,500 men to Lithu-

ania under the command of Col. Horlenko, who went to the city of Grodno.

Before moving, Mazepa, with a Russian representative, E. Ukraintsev, negotiated with the Tartars regarding the borders to the south. Then, on June 18, Mazepa moved with 40,000 men to Volhynia, and from there, at the request of the council of the city or Lviv (Lemberg), passing that city by,¹⁷ marched toward the city of Sandomierz, where he was supposed to join the Saxon troops of Augustus II. Since he did not receive further instructions from Patkul, who at that time was arrested by Augustus's orders, Mazepa moved to the district of Belz (August 23).

On the orders of the Czar, he moved from there to the city of Zamosc. Then, on November 12, he received the Czar's orders to leave half the troops in Belz and Kholm, and take the other half to Volhynia to establish his winter headquarters.

The situation in the winter of 1705 - 06 was changing in favor of the Swedish King. The Swedes attacked their enemies everywhere and therefore the Czar summoned Mazepa, with his troops, to the vicinity of Grodno. Finally, Grodno was surrendered and Mazepa moved to the Ukraine.

Again on the Czar's orders, Mazepa had to repair the Pechersky Fortress at Kiev (1706 - 07), because the Czar had some information that Charles XII would attack the Ukraine. This attack was only a maneuver to mislead the Czar, and the Swedish King moved into Saxony, where he forced Augustus II to make peace in Altranstaedt (September 14, 1706). Under these circumstances, Peter decided to call a general war council at the city of Zhovkva (near Lviv). Mazepa was invited to this council and arrived there on April 11, 1707.

After the war council, Mazepa was ordered to send a regiment from Zhovkva, under the command of Colonel A. Tansky, to the Polish General Sieniawski, who was still on the side of Augustus II, who had already abdicated in 1706. In May, the Czar ordered Mazepa to send more Cossacks, and again the Hetman sent a regiment under the command of his nephew, A. Voinarovsky. In June, Mazepa had to send more Cossacks, and again the Hetman sent a regiment and continued to send the Cossacks wherever the Czar demanded.

However, the Czar demanded not only combat-troops from Mazepa but also insisted that the Cossacks build fortresses at their own expense. In return for their services, the Cossacks received little gra-

¹⁷ The Ukrainian historian S. Tomashivsky found in the Library of Ossolinski Family Mazepa's letter of August 14, 1705, to the Council of the city Lviv, in which he promised to pass the city by. See: Tomashivsky, "Nezvisnyj lyst Mazepy do mista Lvova", (Mazepa's unknown letter to the city of Lviv), *ZNTS* (1909), Vol. XXXVII, p. 7-8.

titude. They received no pay, and were beaten, mistreated, and insulted in many ways.¹⁸ The English historian, L. R. Lewitter, observes in his essay "Mazepa" that "the treatment meted out to the civilian population of the Ukraine by the Russian army, with its daily routine of plunder, arson, murder, and rape, was more reminiscent of a punitive expedition than of allied troops movements."¹⁹

Such conduct on the part of the Russians must have caused gloom in Mazepa's heart. In addition, rumors were spread in military circles that the Czar intended to abolish the autonomy of the Ukraine and annex her as a part of the Russian Empire. Moreover, the rumor was that the Czar did not hide his intention of entrusting the office of Hetman to his favorite, A. Menshikov. These rumors were confirmed by a letter to Mazepa from a friend, the Countess Anna Dolska. The Countess in her letter described a conversation with two Russian Generals, Sheremetjev and Renne. She told Mazepa that when she made a friendly remark about him, Renne said: "O Lord, have pity on that good and clever man. The poor man does not know that the Count Alexander Danilovich (Menshikov) digs a grave for him, and after he is rid of him (Mazepa), then he himself will become the Hetman of the Ukraine." Sheremetjev confirmed Renne's words. Concerning Dolska's remark that none of Mazepa's friends wanted to warn him, Sheremetjev said, "We must not say anything. We suffer ourselves, but we are forced to keep quiet."²⁰

After his chancellor, Philip Orlyk, finished reading the letter Mazepa said, "I know well what they want to do with me and all of you. They want to satisfy me with the title of a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. They want the officer corps annihilated, our cities turned over to their administration, and their own governors appointed. If our people should oppose them, they would send them beyond the Volga, and the Ukraine will be settled by their people."²¹

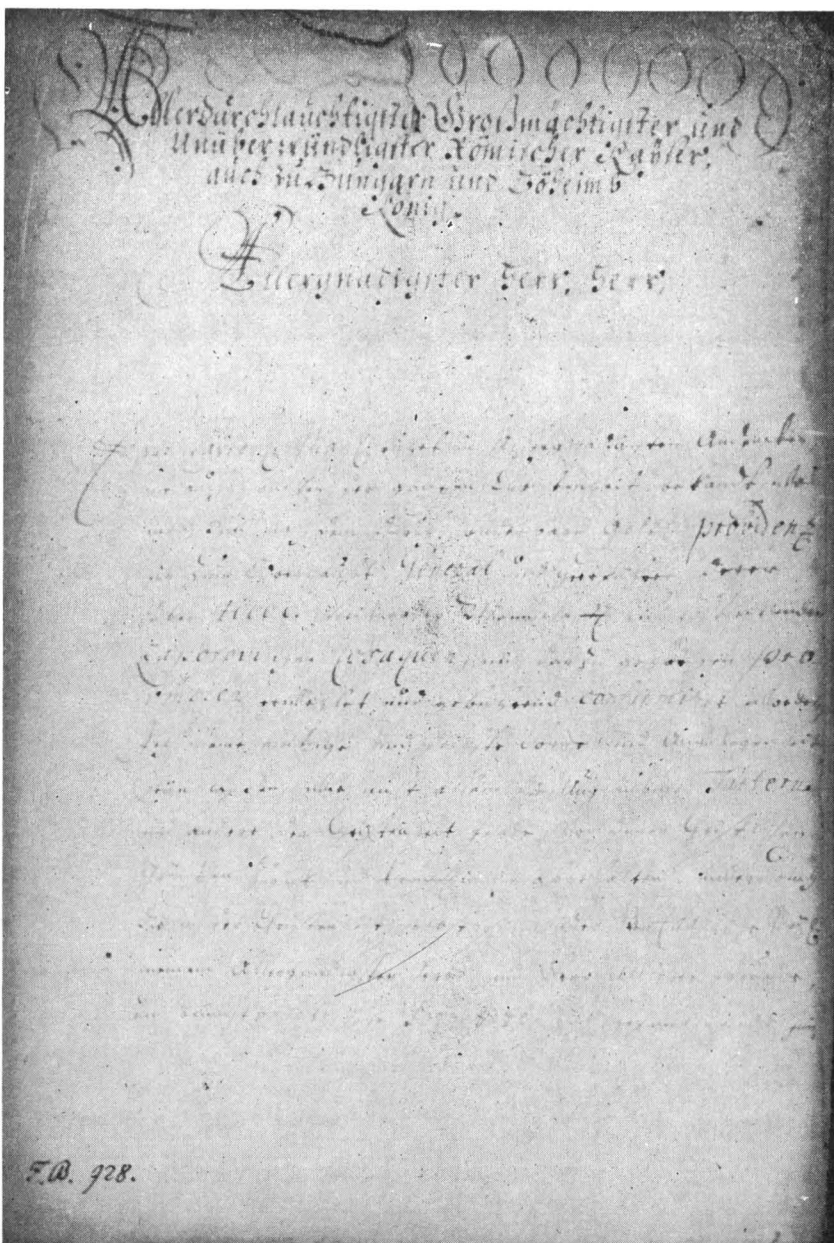
There is evidence that the Czar authorized his envoy to the Vienna Court, a German diplomat in the Russian service named Baron Heinrich von Huyssen, to request the Emperor Joseph I to grant Mazepa a title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Huyssen left his memoirs and notes to Peter van Haven (1715-1757),

¹⁸ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 476-477, 489-490, 524, 530, 541, 551-554; S. M. Soloviev, *Istoriya Rosii s drevnejshykh vremen* (*Russian History from the oldest times*), (St. Petersburg: 1864-1865), Vol. XV, pp. 1487, 1489.

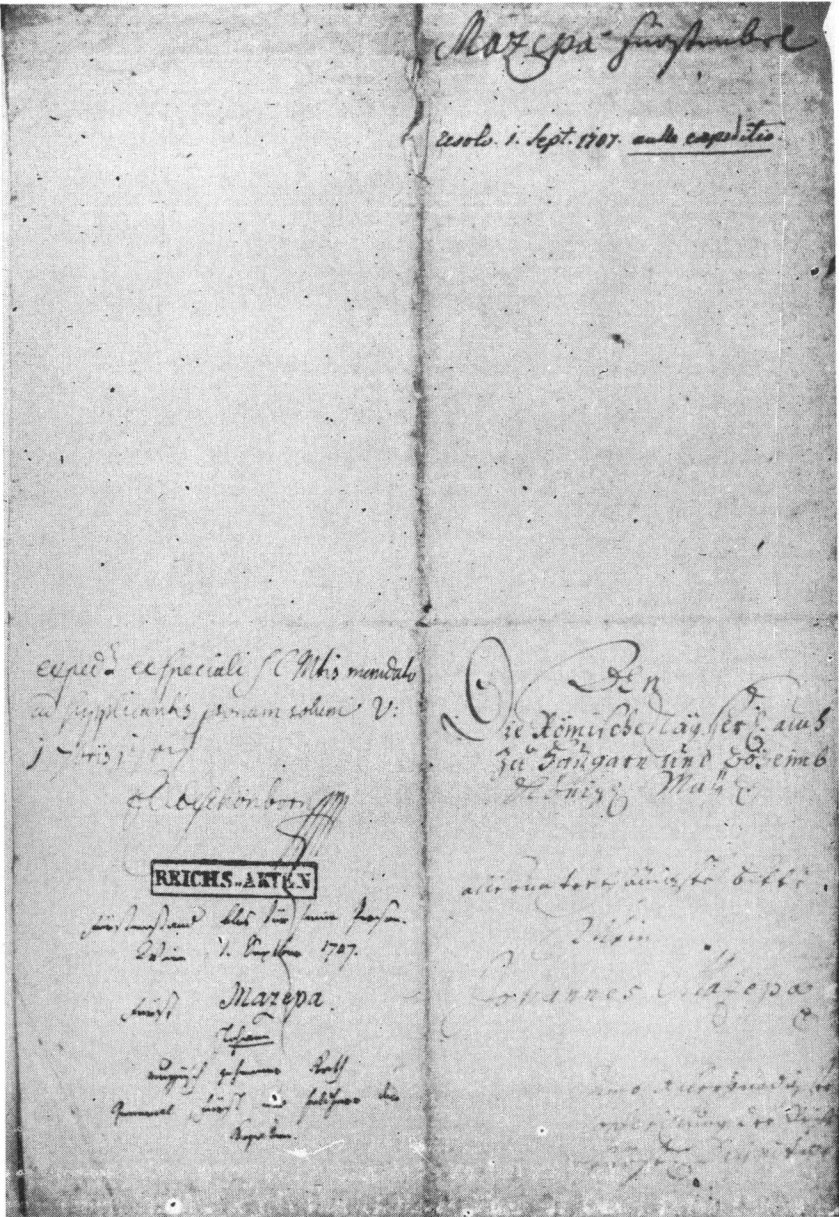
¹⁹ L. R. Lewitter, "Mazepa", *History Today* (London: 1957), Vol. VII. No. 9, pp. 593-594.

²⁰ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 550; Soloviev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, pp. 1490-1493. See also: O. Pricak, "Ivan Mazepa i Kniahynia Dolska" (Ivan Mazepa and the Countess Anna Dolska), *PUNI* (Warsaw: 1939), Vol. XLVII, pp. 102-117.

²¹ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 550; Soloviev, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 1491.



First page of Mazepa's letter to the Emperor Joseph I.



Last page of Mazepa's letter to the Emperor, where the grant of the title of Prince, effective September 1, 1707, can be seen.

a Dutch scholar whom he met on the boat returning from St. Petersburg to Germany before his sudden death in 1742. In them, he reported that Huyssen obtained from Joseph I the title of Prince for Menshikov, the title of Graf for G. I. Golovkin, Peter's Chancellor, and the title of Prince for Mazepa. The Emperor indeed granted Mazepa a title of "Prince of the Holy Roman Empire". The grant of the title of Prince, effective September 1, 1707, is recorded in an official register under "M", vol. XII, and is also on the back of Mazepa's letter (undated, but presumably written in 1707) to Emperor Joseph I, which to my knowledge was published for the first time in my article "Mazepas Fuerstentitel im Lichte seines Briefes an Kaiser Josef I." (Mazepa's Title of Prince in the Light of His Letter to Emperor Joseph I)^{21a}. The original letter is located in the *Reichsadelsakten of the Haus-, Hof- u. Staatsarchiv* (Austrian State Archives) in Vienna.

According to Huyssen, there was not enough money to pay for Mazepa's diploma,²² although Mazepa gave Menshikov 3,000 ducats for this purpose.²³ There is clear evidence that according to Huyssen's letter of June 8, 1707, to the Austrian Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Schoenborn, that Menshikov was immediately going to pay the necessary fees, as soon as the title of the Imperial Count was granted to Mazepa.²⁴

Huyssen's explanation noted by van Haven that Mazepa's diploma was not delivered to him because of lack of money, cannot be true.

Another possible explanation, given by S. Tomashivsky, and after him by B. Krupnycky and O. Ohloblyn,²⁵ is likewise impossible. These historians believe that the Czar actually requested the Vienna Court not to send the diploma. The fact that more than a year elapsed (September 1, 1707, to October 26, 1708) in which the di-

^{21a} *Archiv fuer Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. XLIV, No. 3. (1962), pp. 350-356.

²² P. van Haven, *Nye og forbedrede Efterraetninger om det russiske Rigz* (New Improved Accounts About the Russian Empire), (Copenhagen: 1747), 2 Vols.; I used the German translation: *Unterschiedene Abschnitte aus neuen verbesserten Nachrichten von dem Russischen Reich*, published by Anton Fr. Buesching in his *Magazin fuer die neue Historie und Geographie* (Halle: 1776), Vol. X, p. 319.

²³ M. Vozniak, "Benderska komisija po smerti Mazepy" (The Commission of Bender after the death of Mazepa), *PUNI*, Vol. 46, pp. 127, 131.

²⁴ "...Sa de Alte de Menzikow m'a ecrit il y a quelque temps, vouloir m'envoyer l'argent pour cet effet, aussitost qu'il verroit par la main de Votre Excellence, que Sa. Maj. Imp. ne refuseroit point cette grace au did Prince Mazépa..." *Austrian State Archives, Russica I* - 20. This excerpt of Huyssen's letter was published by S. Tomashivsky in "Mazepa i avstrijska polityka", (Mazepa and the Austrian policy), *ZNTS*, Vol. 92, pp. 244-245.

²⁵ S. Tomashivsky, "Mazepa i avstrijska polityka", p. 245; B. Krupnycky, *Hetman Mazepa und seine Zeit 1687 - 1709* (*Hetman Mazepa and His Era 1687-1709*), (Leipzig: 1942), p. 159; cf.: Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

ploma could have been delivered to Mazepa, indicates rather his lack of interest in it. It is true that later, after Mazepa went to the Swedes (October 26, 1708), the Czar, through his envoy in Vienna, Baron J. Chr. von Urbich, did request that the Emperor withhold the diploma.²⁶ However, after October 1708, it is doubtful that Mazepa himself cared about this title, which was actually in effect.

Even before October 1708, Mazepa did not care about this title, because, as Tomashivsky pointed out, he suspected that this title was merely a part of Menshikov's intrigue, which was "promoveatur ut amoveatur."²⁷ As was mentioned above, Mazepa's suspicions concerning this title and Menshikov's intrigue were correct.

Curiously, Mazepa's diploma is no longer in the Austrian State Archives, although the German historian, M. Gritzner, reported seeing it before 1887.²⁸ However, Count A. V. Dabyzha, a Russian diplomat in Vienna, apparently saw Mazepa's diploma and published his coat of arms.^{28a} The fate of the diploma since then is unknown.

Almost all historians agree that Mazepa was ambitious and independently minded; nevertheless, he was loyal to the Czar. Mazepa rejected several favorable offers from the Polish King. Soon, however, Mazepa found good reasons to mistrust the Czar.

In 1707 the Czar ordered Mazepa to surrender that part of the Ukraine which was on the right bank of the Dnieper River to those Polish magnates, who supported his ally, Augustus II.²⁹

Moreover, Mazepa learned that the Czar intended to abolish the autonomous status of the remainder of the Ukraine in order to incorporate it into the Russian Empire. With this step the Cossacks would be absorbed into the Russian Army, and the Cossack Officers ("Starshyna") would be arrested and exiled to Siberia.³⁰

²⁶ "...dass E. K. M. nachdem der Mazeppa dem Tzar meincydig worden und in schwedische dienst uebergegangen ist, das ueber die ihm chedessen zgedacht reichs-fuersstenwuerde gewoehnliche diploma nit expedieren, sondern den Mazeppa, wan er sich in Hungaren retiriren wuerde, dem Tzar aushaendigen lassen moegten...". *Austrian State Archives, Russica* 1-20; This excerpt from Baron Urbich's letter was also published by Tomashivsky in "Mazepa i avstrijska polityka", p. 245.

²⁷ Tomashivsky, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

²⁸ F. Siebmacher, *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch (Great and Universal Coat of Arms)*, (Nuremberg: 1887), Vol. I, p. 161, cf. J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

^{28a} A. V. Dabyzha, "Mazepa - kniaz i ero shlahetskii i kniazhetskii gerbv" (Mazepa — Prince and Knight, and His Coats of Arms), *Kievskaja starina*, (Kiev: 1885), Vol. XIII, p. 176.

²⁹ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 560-561. There is a copy of Peter's order to Mazepa to give up the right bank to the Poles, located in the *Swedish State Archives* in Stockholm, under *Diplomatica Cosacica I*.

³⁰ Philip Johann von Strahlenberg (1677-1747), *Das Nord- und Oestliche Theil von Europa und Asia, etc.*, (*The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia, etc.*), (Stockholm: 1730), p. 252; cf.: Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

Still further, the Czar refused Mazepa's request for military aid against a possible Swedish attack. In fact, at the War Council in Zhovkva, April 1707, the Czar expressed his refusal in these words: "... I can give you neither ten thousand nor even ten men. Defend yourself as well as you can..."³¹ But many of Mazepa's regiments were engaged in the Czar's service elsewhere. The remainder was insufficient for the defense of the Ukraine. Therefore Mazepa had no alternative. This was "dura necessitas", as M. Hrushevsky pointed out.³² Either he could remain faithful to the Czar and see the Ukraine invaded and plundered by the Swedes, or he could negotiate for Swedish protection. Thus he planned to submit himself to Charles XII, just as Khmelnytsky tried to do to the Swedish King Charles X in 1656.

Despite all precautions, in the Spring of 1708, two officers of his Staff, the General Judge V. Kochubej and former Colonel I. Iskra, informed the Czar of Mazepa's secret negotiations with the Swedish King. However, Peter ignored this denunciation, and both officers were condemned by the Czar to death.

Despite this, Mazepa, through a Serbian or Bulgarian Archbishop, a refugee, completed a secret alliance with Charles XII either in the city of Smorgony between February 11 and March 18, 1708, or in the city of Radaszkowice between March 27 and June 17, 1708.³³

The original document is not preserved. However, the terms of this Ukrainian - Swedish agreement were mentioned by an anonymous Swedish major in his memoirs, which were added to Gustave Adlerfelt's *Histoire Militaire de Charles XII, roi de Suede*. It would appear, however, that according to more recent research, this anonymous Swedish Major was Peter Sshoenstroem, a secretary at Charles XII's field-headquarters. P. Schoenstroem severely criticized several Swedish generals, and therefore preferred to remain an "anonymous Major".

This Ukrainian - Swedish Alliance of 1708 had raised the controversial question as to whether or not Mazepa had invited Charles XII to enter the Ukraine and failed to give the help expected

³¹ Solovjev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 1494; cf.: Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 5677:

³² M. Hhushovsky, "Shvedsko-ukrainskyj sojyz 1708 r." (Swedish-Ukrainian Alliance of 1708) *ZNTS* (1909), Vol. XCII, p. 12. See also: B. Krupnyckyj, *Mazepa v svitli psykholoichnoi metody* (Mazepa in the Light of the psychological Method), (Augsburg: 1949), pp 5-6.

³³ For details see, M. Andrusiak, "Zwiazky Mazepy z Stanyslavom Leszczynskym i Karlom XII". (The Relations of Mazepa and Stanislaw Leszczynski and Charles XII), *ZNTS* (1933), Vol. CLII, pp. 35-61; B. Krupnytsky, "The Swedish-Ukrainian Treaties of Alliance 1708-1709", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, (New York: 1956), Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 47-57; CC. J. Nordman, *Charles XII et l'Ukraine de Mazepa*, (Paris: 1958), Dissertation; O. Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-285.

by the Swedish King. For that Mazepa is blamed by some historians even today. However, as a matter of fact, Charles XII had no intention of entering the Ukraine, nor had Mazepa invited him to do so.

As to the campaign against Moscow, Charles XII already had his plan in Saxony. According to his plan, the Swedish Army was supposed to proceed as follows: From the North, General Lybecker would proceed in the direction of Ingria and Petersburg to pin down the Russian troops, while Charles XII himself, with the main Swedish Army, would proceed on the route between Smolensk — Moscow. At the same time from the South, the Polish King, Stanislaw Leszczyński with his Army and a Swedish Corps under the command of General Crassau would proceed to cut the Russian Army from the Ukraine.

Mazepa, according to this secret agreement with the Swedish King, was supposed to deliver the fortresses in Severia, supply the Swedish Army with food, and join Charles XII on his "march directly to Moscow."³⁴ Mazepa did not expect the Swedish King to enter the Ukraine, and when he learned that the Swedes entered it, he angrily remarked to his chancellor, Phillip Orlyk, " . . . it is the devil, who sends him here. He is going to ruin all my plans and bring in his wake the Russian troops. Now our Ukraine will be devastated and lost."³⁵

Charles XII was warned by his advisor, Count Charles Piper, not to go into the Ukraine. On the contrary, he urged his King to retreat in order to secure for General Loewenhaupt's Corps necessary military equipment and food, which was on the way from Riga to join the Swedish Army.³⁶ (It is true, however, that in the Spring of 1707, Mazepa asked the Swedish King to come to Ukraine, but at that time he refused Mazepa's offer.)³⁷

(Besides, according to the German historian Otto Haintz, a campaign against Moscow through the Ukraine at that time, from the strategic point of view, was impossible.³⁸)

Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King could have been successful if Charles XII had marched into Russia on the Smolensk

³⁴ G. Adlerfelt, *Histoire Militaire de Charles XII, roi de Suede* (Amsterdam: 1740), 4 Vols.; I used the English translation: *The Military History of Charles XII, King of Sweden* (London: 1741), Vol. III, pp. 193-194.

³⁵ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 615; Solovjev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 496.

³⁶ G. A. Nordberg, *Konug Karl XII's Historia* (Stockholm: 1740), Vol. I, p. 868. See also: *Historiska Handlingar* (Stockholm: 1902), Vol. XIX; Tomashivsky, "Iz zapysok karolinciv" (From the diaries of Charles XII's Followers), *ZNTS*, Vol. XCII, pp. 70-71.

³⁷ G. A. Nordberg, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 829.

³⁸ O. Haintz, *Koenig Karl XII, von Schweden (King Charles XII, of Sweden)*, (Berlin: 1936), Vol. I, p. 119.

- Moscow route, along the border between the Ukraine and Russia, as he had originally planned. If Charles XII had proceeded on this route, Mazepa, having been cut off from the Russians by the Swedish Army, could have continued to act more or less as an observer and could have made the final decision accordingly in the moment of victory. Charles was not able, however, to march directly toward Moscow, for the Czar had destroyed everything in his retreat, and the Swedish Army lacked food. Therefore, in September of 1708, the Swedish King suddenly turned south into the Ukraine. Many historians have assumed that he did so by Mazepa's invitation, but there is no clear evidence to support this assumption, for such an action would have been contrary to Mazepa's own intention. As a matter of fact, Mazepa himself was surprised by this step on the part of the Swedish King, and when he learned about Charles XII's entrance into the Ukraine, he made the above mentioned remark to his Chancellor.³⁹

The cause of the failure of the campaign of Charles XII against Moscow and his defeat at Poltava was neither his alliance with Hetman Mazepa, nor his decision to enter the Ukraine. He was simply forced to enter the Ukraine to save his army from famine, because, as contemporary eyewitnesses in their memoirs have attested, the Russians burned and destroyed everything on their retreat.⁴⁰

Charles XII's campaign against Moscow could have been successful if, first of all, the Swedish generals had carried out their King's orders at the right time and place. Charles XII's field secretary, Peter Schoenstroem, blamed the Swedish commanding generals, "who commanded separate bodies of the army, committed diverse mistakes, and were most unsuccessful everywhere."⁴¹

For example, General Lybecker, who "had sufficient forces to invade the provinces of Novgorod and Pleskow (Pskov)", and tie up the Czar's army, needlessly retreated from Ingria to Riga, without his King's order, thus leaving the Czar a free hand to attack General Loewenhaupt's Corps, (at Lesna, Sept. 29, 1709).⁴² General Loewenhaupt moved too slowly, and his "fatal delay

³⁹ For details see: O. Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-319.

⁴⁰ G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 43-44. (The Russian Fieldmarshal Sheremetjev "laid all the towns and villages in ashes, destroying everything within a circumference of ten or twelve miles; so that nothing but fire was seen any where, and the air was so darkened with smoke that we could hardly see the sun").

⁴¹ G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 198; cf.: *Remarques d'un seigneur Polonais sur l'histoire de Charles XII* (The Hague: 1741); I used the English translation: S. Poniatowski, *Remarks on M. de Voltaire's History of Charles XII* (London: 1741), pp. 18, 21, 22.

⁴² G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

...beyond the day fixed, was the real cause of misfortune, which afterwards befell the King of Sweden."⁴⁵ The King himself, being unaware of General Lybecker's retreat, did not hurry to help General Loewenhaupt, but instead, upon entering the Ukraine, sent his General Lagercrona to seize the fortress in Severia. General Lagercrona by his "own Fault and Negligence" failed to do so.⁴⁵ Gen. Crassau with his Corps never arrived from Poland to join the main Swedish Army.⁴⁶ Moreover, the other general, Field Marshal G. Rehnshoeld, who commanded the Swedish Army at the battle of Poltava (because the king was wounded), according to the Polish General S. Poniatowski, "was so at a Loss here, that he did nothing but run from one side to the other, without giving one necessary Order."⁴⁷

Because those Swedish generals failed to carry out their assignments, because the winter of 1708 - 1709 was extremely harsh, because the Russian Army was spread over the Ukraine and severely punished Mazepa's followers, and threatened vengeance to those, who would support the Swedes, and because the Swedes through their harsh treatment of the Ukrainian population did not win its support, the result was the catastrophe at Poltava (July 7, 1709), where Charles XII and Mazepa were thoroughly defeated. After the battle at Poltava, both the Swedish King and the Ukrainian Hetman fled to Bender under Turkish protection. After arriving at Bender, the aging Mazepa (70 years old) became very ill and on October 2, 1709 (n. s.), died in Varnytsia, a suburb of Bender.⁴⁸ On March 18, 1710, his body was transferred and buried at St. George's Cathedral in Galatz.⁴⁹

There is quite a great deal of literature written about Mazepa. It was Voltaire who wrote favorably about Mazepa, and made his name known throughout Europe in his History of Charles XII.⁵⁰ The Hungarian - German historian, Johann Christian von Engel, writing about Mazepa in the History of the Ukraine, expressed doubts that Mazepa should be condemned.⁵¹ The Ukrainian historian, Nicholas Kostomarov, although writing a very accurate biography of Mazepa, named him a traitor.⁵² Kostomarov's

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁴⁵ S. Poniatowski, *op. cit.*, p. 18; G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-211.

⁴⁶ O. Haintz, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

⁴⁷ S. Poniatowski, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁴⁸ B. Krupnytskyj, "Miscellanea Mazepiana", *PUNI* (Warsaw: 1939), Vol. XLVII, pp. 90-92.

⁴⁹ M. Vozniak, "Benderska komisija po smerty Mazepy" (The Commission of Bender after the death of Mazepa), *PUNI* (Warsaw: 1938), Vol. XLVI, p. 107.

⁵⁰ Voltaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-262.

⁵¹ J. Chr. von Engel, *Geschichte der Ukraine und der Kosaken* (*The History of Ukraine and the Cossacks*), (Halle: 1796), pp. 307, 321.

⁵² N. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 706.

monograph was used by E. Melchior de Vogue in his story "Mazepa: La legende et l'histoire", *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1881), Vol. 48, pp. 320-351), which was translated into English by J. Millington⁵³ and C. M. Anderson.⁵⁴ The turning point in the evaluation of Mazepa comes in F. Umanets's work "Getman Mazepa" (St. Petersburg: 1897) in Russian. In his research Umanets came to the conclusion that Mazepa should not be condemned as a "traitor."

In the English language, the English historian B. Sands, in his essay on Ukrainian history, mentioned Mazepa in a favorable light.⁵⁵ An essay about Mazepa was published in *History Today* by L. R. Lewitter, who often contradicts himself in his judgment about the Hetman.⁵⁶ In the United States, Clarence Manning wrote a book in which the author in a popular style favorably described the life and deeds of Mazepa.

Finally, some brief essays about Mazepa were published in a collection of articles and essays under the title *Ivan Mazepa — Hetman of Ukraine* (New York: 1960).⁵⁷

In general, all the Russian historians before the Revolution (1917) as well as the Soviet historians such as E. V. Tarle⁵⁸, V. E. Shutoj⁵⁹, L. G. Beskrovnyj, A. I. Kozachenko, V. A. Romanovskij⁶⁰ and others condemn Mazepa and regard him as a "traitor". Yet some Russian historians abroad, such as G. Vernadsky or S. Pushkarev, do not call Mazepa a "traitor" in their recent works.⁶¹ Moreover, the very well known Russian historian, a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, S. F. Platonov (1860-

⁵³ J. Millington, *The True Story of Mazepa*, (London: 1884).

⁵⁴ C. M. Anderson, "Mazepa as known in Legend and in History", *A Czarvitch of the Eighteenth Century*, (London: 1923), pp. 169-239.

⁵⁵ B. Sands, *The Ukraine*, (London: 1914), pp. 31-32.

⁵⁶ L. R. Lewitter, *op. cit.*, pp. 590-596.

⁵⁷ Some of these essays were published in *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (1959), Vol. XV, No. 2, 3 and 4.

⁵⁸ E. V. Tarle, *Severnaja vojna i shvedskoje nashestvije na Rossiju* (*The Great Northern War and the Swedish Attack upon Russia*), (Moscow: 1958), pp. 146, 222, ff.; "Karl XII v 1708-1709 godakh" (Charles XII in 1708-1709). *Voprosy istorii* (1950), No. 6, pp. 22-56.

⁵⁹ V. E. Shutoj, *Borba narodnykh mass protiv nashestvija armii Karla XII*, (*Struggle of the People against the Attack of Charles XII's Army*). (Moscow: pp. 66, 222, ff.; "Ismena Mazepy" (Mazepa's Betrayal), *Istoricheskiye zapiski*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 154-190.

⁶⁰ See their essays in *Poltava* (A collection of articles and essays, published by the Soviet Academy of Arts and Sciences), (Moscow: 1959), pp. 60, 303-305, 322, 350.

⁶¹ G. Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*, (New Haven: 1961), pp. 154-156; S. G. Pushkarev, *Obsor russkoj istorii* (*Outline of the Russian History*), (New York: 1953), pp. 292-293.

1933), justified Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King⁶², and Alexander G. Brueckner (1834 - 1896), a Russian historian of German descent,⁶³ not only justified his policy, but even regarded it as a masterpiece ("ein Meisterstueck") and his attempt to liberate the Ukraine as an "heroic act."⁶⁴

⁶² S. F. Platonov, *Geschichte Russlands, (History of Russia)*, (Leipzig: 1927), pp. 255-256.

⁶³ E. Shmurlo, *A. G. Bryukner (A necrology in Russian)*, (St. Petersburg: 1897).

⁶⁴ A. Brueckner, *Peter der Grosse (Peter the Great)*, *Onckens Allgemeine Geschichte*, (Berlin: 1879), Vol. IV, pp. 404-405.

SOURCES AND THEIR ANALYSIS

Surprisingly enough, there is a great deal of information about Mazepa in the diaries, memoirs and diplomatic reports of English eyewitnesses, and in the contemporary English magazines and newspapers as well.

In order to follow a chronological sequence, the sources should be divided as follows:

One of the earliest sources in which Mazepa is mentioned is the English translation of the memoirs of a French diplomat, Foy de la Neuville, *An Account of Muscovy as it was in year 1689*, (London: 1699).

Foy de la Neuville (supposedly Baillet Adrian), 1649 - 1706, came to Moscow as a diplomatic agent of the French Ambassador in Warsaw. During this time he met Mazepa in person, and in his memoirs made several interesting remarks about the Hetman. His memoirs are also valuable as an historical source of information about general conditions in Moscow at that time.

The diaries of General Patrick Gordon (1635 - 1699) are another early English source in which Mazepa is mentioned. These diaries were written from 1655 up to 1698 in six thick quarto volumes, 1227 pages, in English, which are still to be found in the Russian Archives of the Soviet Foreign Office. His diaries never have been published in the original English, but were translated into German by Dr. Maurice C. Posselt entitled *Tagebuch des Generals Patrick Gordon während seiner Kriegsdienste unter den Schweden und Polen vom Jahre 1655 bis 1660 und seines Aufenthaltes in Russland vom Jahre 1661 bis 1699 zum ersten vollstaendig veroeffentlichet durch Fuerst M. A. Obolensky und Dr M. C. Posselt* (Moscow: 1849), Vol. I, (St. Petersburg: 1851, 1853), Vol. II, III.

Some selections of Gordon's diary related to his native country; other events were transcribed by Dr. M. Poselt for Joseph Robertson, who edited them as *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon* (Aberdeen: 1859).

Patrick Gordon was born in 1635 at Auchlenchries in Aberdeenshire, where he completed his education. In 1651 he left Scotland and was successively in the service of the Polish King Jan Casimir, of the Swedish King Charles X, and of the German Emperor Leopold I. Finally in 1661 he entered the service of the Russian Czar Alexis Mikhailovich. Gordon, being in the Russian service, was sent on diplomatic missions to England (1665) and

A N
A C C O U N T
O F
M U S C O V Y,
As it was in the Year 1689.

In which the TROUBLES that hap-
pen'd in that Empire from the Present
Czar P E T E R 's Election to the Throne,
to his being firmly settled in it, are par-
ticularly related.

With a Character of Him, and his People.

By Monsieur DE LA NEUVILLE,
Then Residing at Moscow.

Foy de la Neuville

L O N D O N :
Printed for Edward Castle, next Scotland-Yard-
Gate, by Whiteball. 1699.

The front page from de la Neuville's *Memoirs* (1699).

also into the Ukraine, where undoubtedly he became acquainted with the Cossacks and the officers. He participated in the campaign against the Turks who supported Peter Doroshenko, Hetman of the Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnieper River. In this campaign Gordon distinguished himself by defeating the Turks. In 1678 he was promoted to Major-general and in 1679 to Lieutenant-general. He was appointed Commanding-general of the Russian forces in the Ukraine with headquarters in Kiev. He participated in the first campaign against the Crimea (1687) during which he described Mazepa's election as the new Hetman. He also participated in the second campaign (1689) and in the Turkish War (1695 - 1699), especially in the siege of the fortress Azov (1695 - 1696). After the campaign against the Turks, P. Gordon returned to Moscow where he died on November 30, 1699. His diary is very interesting and exact because he mentions in it even the price of everything he bought. Therefore his diary contains much valuable material and serves as an excellent historical source for that time.²

Gordon was a typical military adventurer of the seventeenth century; a brave, capable soldier, but ready to serve wherever he was best paid. He described in his diary without expression of pity or feeling the horrible execution of the revolted "streltzi" (a kind of Moscow guard) and the torture of a woman.

The son-in-law of General Patrick Gordon, General Alexander Gordon (1669 - 1752) mentioned and gave a short biography of Mazepa in *The History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, etc.* (Aberdeen: 1755), 2 Vols.³

Alexander Gordon was born on December 27, 1669, at Achintoull, Scotland, where he received his elementary education. Further education he obtained in Paris, where he studied until 1688. After his return he joined the Army under King James and was sent to France to assist Louis XIV, who promoted him to the rank of Captain. Later he returned to Scotland, where he remained until 1693. In the same year he arrived in Moscow and met General Patrick Gordon, who introduced him to the Czar. Peter accepted him into the Russian Army. It is told that Alexander Gordon, being insulted by some Russians during a party, knocked out six Russians in a fight and was reported to the Czar. After hearing Gordon's part of the story, Peter did not punish but promoted him to the rank

¹ N. Ustrialov, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 62, cf.: *Library of Congress, Catalog of Books*, (July 31, 1942), Vol. L, p. 295.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VIII, pp. 222-224; cf.: N. Ustrialov, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 86.

³ There is also a German translation, published in Leipzig, 1765.

of Major and soon to the rank of Colonel. Gordon never forgot this kindness of the Czar and always held a deep admiration for Peter I.

A. Gordon successfully participated in the siege of Azov (1696) and later commanded a regiment at Narva (1700), where he was taken prisoner of war by the Swedes and sent to Sweden, where he spent eight years. In 1707 he was exchanged and returned to Russia. After his return, Gordon resumed active duty in the Russian Army and was promoted to the rank of Brigadier, later to Major-general. At the Czar's order he fought against the Swedes at the Desna river and in October prevented the Swedish King from crossing the Desna in order to join Mazepa. Shortly before the battle at Poltava (July 7, 1709), Gordon was sent together with General Goltz and Prince D. Golitsyn to Poland to fight against the Swedish Corps under the Command of General Crassau, and the Polish King Stanislaw Leszczyński. Gordon remained in Poland until 1711, when he received a message from home that his father had died. Upon receiving this message, according to the information in the preface of Gordon's *History of Peter the Great*, he returned to Scotland, having been discharged from the Russian Army. However, according to the Russian historian, N. Ustrialov, Gordon was ordered at that time to return to St. Petersburg, and was not discharged or permitted to go home.⁴ After his return home, Gordon joined the revolutionary forces of Scotland against the English King, and because of the failure of this uprising, had to flee to France, where he remained until 1727. After his return home, Gordon lived happily for the rest of his life and died at the age of 82 at the end of July 1752.⁵

As mentioned above, Alexander Gordon owed his promotion to the Czar, and admired him always. Even when he left the Russian Army, Gordon read everything that was published about Peter the Great. Since he found a lot of inaccuracy about his hero, Gordon at first wanted to write his memoirs and describe what he saw or heard from authentic eyewitnesses, but unfortunately he changed his mind and decided to write a history of Peter the Great instead. But as the editor noted in the preface, Gordon was "no scholar" and actually what he did was "a plain narration of facts".⁶

Gordon, when dealing with Mazepa, confines himself to a straightforward biography. Apparently Gordon lacked notes, because he spelled names so badly that sometimes it is hard to recognize who is who. Although admiring the Czar, Gordon wrote about

⁴ N. Ustrialov, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 46.

⁵ A. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp: 3-20,

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Mazepa in an unbiased manner, in contrast to some German contemporary writers, who continually called Mazepa "traitor", etc.

Another contemporary English officer in the Russian Service who mentioned Mazepa and his alliance with the Swedish King, was Captain John Perry in his memoirs, *The State of Russia under the present Czar* (London: 1716).⁷

John Perry (1670 - 1732) was a civil engineer. In the summer of 1698 he arrived in Russia where he designed and supervised the construction of a canal between the Volga and Don Rivers (1700 - 1701). In September of 1701 he was ordered to Moscow and from there to Voronezh, where he established a dock which was completed in 1703. After that he was engaged in making the Voronezh River navigable which took him until 1710. In 1711 Perry was instructed to draw plans for a canal between St. Petersburg and the Volga. He drew up the plans and even started work, but because he had been receiving no payment, he wrote a petition to the Czar which ended in a quarrel. During his fourteen years of service he received, in all, the salary for one year. Perry, being afraid for his life, put himself under the protection of the English envoy, Lord Charles Whitworth. He returned in 1712 to England.⁸

In his book, Captain Perry described his duties and the condition under which he had to labor in such cities as Tsaritzyn (now Volgograd), Voronezh, St. Petersburg, and others. He complained mostly that he was not treated properly and was cheated in his pay. As far as Mazepa is concerned, Perry described the condition in the Ukraine, stating that the Russians treated the Ukrainian population very poorly. In addition, he gave a brief analysis of why Mazepa concluded an alliance with the Swedish King.

Very valuable remarks and information about Mazepa were written by the English envoy extraordinary in Moscow, Lord Charles Whitworth (1675 - 1725), in his diplomatic reports⁹ and in his memoirs entitled *An Account of Russia As It Was In The Year 1710* (Strawberry Hill: 1758).

⁷ French translation: *Etat present de la grande Russie*. (A la Haye: 1717); Italian translation: *Relazione Storico-Politica dell'Imperio di Moscovia per Mari Antonio Pandolfo Malesta*; also used in the first volume of the German work: *Das Glueckselige Russland unter der grossen Kayserin Anna* (Dantzig: 1736).

⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 45, pp. 35-36; cf.: N. Ustrialov, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 65-66.

⁹ Whitworth's reports were translated into Russian under the title: "Diplomatische doniesenija anglijskogo posla (Whitworth) s 1704 po 1708 god i s 1708 po 1711 god" (Diplomatic reports of the English Envoy (Whitworth) from the year 1704 to 1708, and from the year 1708 to 1711). *Sbornik Imperatorskogo Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva* (Collection of Works of the Imperial Russian Historical Society). (St. Petersburg: 1886), Vol. L.

Lord Charles Whitworth was born in 1675 at Blowerpipe, where he received his elementary education. He continued his education at Westminster (where he was admitted as a Queen's scholar in 1690) and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where in 1699 he received his B. A. degree. Besides his general education, Lord Whitworth devoted his time to the Arts of Diplomacy. After completing his studies and at the recommendation of the well-known contemporary poet and diplomat, George Stepney (1663 - 1707), Whitworth was appointed in February, 1702, as the English representative to the German Diet in Ratisbon. After his return, again at the recommendation of Stepney, Whitworth was appointed on September 2, 1704, as an envoy extraordinary to Moscow, where he served for six years. After his return from Moscow, he successfully completed several diplomatic missions. Early in 1711, he was appointed as Ambassador to Vienna; on April 30, 1714, he was sent as a representative to the German Congress in Baden; in 1716 he was sent as a representative to the German Congress in Baden, and was appointed as envoy extraordinary to the Prussian Court; from here he was transferred to the Hague in 1717; and from there to Berlin in 1719. In 1721 - 1722 he was appointed to represent England at the Peace Congress at Cambray, which was his last diplomatic mission. After his return to London, he was elected to Parliament, representing Newport. However his health was not very good, and on October 23, 1725, he died in London.¹⁰ According to the opinion of the contemporary English historian, John Mackey (d. 1726), Lord Charles Whitworth was "a man of learning, good sense, of perfect address and was handsome." (In the preface to Whitworth's memoirs, written by Horace Walpole (1717 - 1797), there is a remark that indicates how popular Whitworth was among women. The second wife of Peter the Great, Catherine I, whom Whitworth had known as a country girl from Livonia, and now the Empress, honoring him by dancing a minuet with him, "squeezed him by hand, and said in a whisper 'have you forgotten little Kate'?"¹¹)¹¹

Lord Whitworth, writing about Mazepa, presented only the facts as he knew them and did not call him a traitor. Although the well-known Russian historian, E. Tarle, in his work about the Great Northern War severely criticized Whitworth reports,¹² ne-

¹⁰ *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXI, pp. 161-162; see also: preface to Whitworth's memoirs, pp. 1-20.

¹¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXI, p. 162.

¹² E. V. Tarle, *Severnaja vojna i švedsskoje nashestviye na Rossiju (The Great Northern War and the Swedish Attack upon Russia)*, (Moscow: 1958), p. 6.

vertheless, we cannot suspect that Whitworth could have had any interest in defending or giving a report favorable to Mazepa, and therefore, his remarks about Mazepa are to be trusted and considered valuable.

Although Mazepa was mentioned only once in the *Memoirs of Peter Henry Bruce, a Military Officer in the Service of Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain* (Dublin: 1783), the remarks and information about Peter the Great and his close associate, Alexander Menshikov, as well as references to the conditions in the Russian Army at that time are sufficiently valuable to deserve notice.

Captain Peter Henry Bruce (1692 - 1757), at first served under the Duke of Malborough, and in 1710, at the suggestion of his relative, General Jacob Bruce, Commander of Russian Artillery, decided to enter the Russian service. In 1711 Captain P. H. Bruce was introduced to the Czar in the city of Javoriv, where he was accepted and was even witness of the second marriage of the Czar to Catherine, later known as the Czarina Catherine I. Captain Bruce participated in the campaign against the Turks and was at Pruth in 1711. After this, he was sent on several diplomatic missions. The descriptions of these missions were noteworthy, especially that of the mission to Constantinople. However, Captain Bruce did not wish to stay in the Russian Service, and after being discharged in 1724, he left for Scotland. From here he went to the West Indies where he spent several years. In 1745 he returned home and stayed in England until his death (1757).¹³

In his memoirs, Captain Bruce described such cities as Moscow and St. Petersburg, and the customs and life of the Russian people. Mazepa was mentioned by Captain Bruce in connection with the personality of Cantemire, Prince of Moldavia, a vassal of the Turkish Sultan. Cantemire, in order to protect his people from Turkish atrocities, joined the Russian Czar against the Turks but was not branded a traitor. Mazepa, who did the same, was named a "traitor".

In speaking about English contemporary sources, *The History of the Wars of his Present Majesty Charles XII, King of Sweden, written by a Scots Gentleman in the Swedish Services* (London: 1715), and *An Impartial History of the Life and Actions of Peter Alexowitz, the Present Czar of Muscovy; From his Birth down to this present time, written by a British Officer in the Service of the Czar* (London: 1728), should be mentioned.

However, according to John Robert Moore, those two books were written by the brilliant contemporary English journalist,

¹³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VII, pp. 113-114, cf.: Ustrialov, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, LXVII-LXXII.

writer, and author of *Robinson Crusoe*, Daniel Defoe.¹⁴ Defoe (1661 - 1731) was born in Crripplegate in 1661 (his exact birthdate is not known) and attended the Academy at Newington Green, where he obtained a fine education. He spoke fluent Latin, Spanish, Italian, and could read Greek and French. His special field of interest was history, which he knew very well. In his youth he travelled to France and Spain.

Defoe became prominent as a writer in defense of the last year of the reign of William III (who died on March 8, 1702). About that time (February 1, 1704), Defoe started to publish his weekly *Review of the Affairs of France and of all Europe, as influenced by that Nation*, which after eight weeks was published three times a week. In 1705 Defoe changed the title to the *Little Review*, and from 1712 to June 11, 1713, the title appeared simply *The Review*. In *The Review* Defoe discussed all the chief political questions of the day, and, for his independent criticism, he was often attacked by his opponents.

Defoe also contributed to other newspapers such as *Whitehall Evening Post* (1718 -- 1720), *The Daily Post* (1719 - 1723), *Appleebee's Journal* (1720 - 1726), and the *Universal Spectator* (1728 - 1729).

Besides his journalistic activities, Defoe wrote 254 books, of different character. Among his works are also books of a scholarly nature, as for example, *Histoire of Union*, for which he used historical documents. The most famous of Defoe's writings is, of course, *Robinson Crusoe*, of which the first volume appeared on April 25, 1719, and already on August 8, 1719, appeared in a fourth edition of two volumes.

Defoe was a very productive journalist and writer, and his writings are of the highest value as an historical indication of his time. Defoe was active almost until his death, April 26, 1731.¹⁵

Among Defoe's historical books in which Mazepa is mentioned, there are the above mentioned works about the *History of the Wars of his present Majesty Charles XII King of Sweden* and a biography of Peter the Great. Since Defoe never was employed in a foreign country,¹⁶ these two works cannot be considered as memoirs, but as contemporary compilations of facts, of which Defoe as a diligent journalist was well aware.

¹⁴ J. R. Moore, *A Checklist of the Writings of Daniel Defoe* (Bloomington: 1960), pp. 126, 183; cf.: O. Haintz, *Karl XII von Schweden im Urteil der Geschichte (Charles XII in the judgment of the History)*, (Berlin: 1936), pp. 7-8.

¹⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XIV, pp. 280-293.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

Describing the life of Peter the Great, Defoe not only mentioned Mazepa, but gave a quite accurate biography of him. Defoe's *Impartial History* calls to mind in the title and content an anonymous German author of a biography of Peter the Great entitled *Des Grosseen Herrrens, Czaars und Grossfuersten von Moscau Petri Alexiewitz, Des gantzen grossen, kleinen und weissen Russlandes Selbsthalters, etc. Leben und Thaten aus besonderen Nachrichten beschrieben von J. H. v. L.* (Frankfurt und Leipzig: 1710).

As additional contemporary sources about Mazepa, the following English magazines and newspapers should be considered: *Modern History, or the Monthly Account of all Considerable Occurrences, Civil, Ecclesiastical and Military; with all Natural and Philosophical Productions, and Translations* (London: October 1687 - June 1688). This magazine was published by an anonymous author who concealed himself under the initials "F. B." Unfortunately, there was nothing to be found about this magazine in all known histories of English journalism. There also was nothing to be found about another London magazine, *A General View of Worlds or the Marrow of History*, which mentioned Mazepa in the issue for November 1700.

A third London magazine, *The Monthly Register, or Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe*, in the edition of 1704, frequently mentioned Mazepa and the participation of his Cossacks helping the Polish King Augustus II in the military operations against the Swedish King.

The editor of the *Monthly Register* was Samuel Buckley (1673 - 1741), who, according to the contemporary English writer, John Dunton, publisher of *The Athenian Mercury*, was "a proficient linguist, and careful translator from Latin, French, Dutch, and Italian, a fair critic, a punctual man of business, an acute tradesman, and a man of honour and propriety." He was also the editor of the first daily newspaper *The Daily Courant*.¹⁷

One of the earliest English newspapers which mentioned Mazepa was the semiweekly official paper of the government, *The London Gazette*, the beginnings of which go back to 1665. In that year, because of a plague, the Royal Court moved from London to Oxford where the first number of the official organ of the government, *The Oxford Gazette*, was published on November 16, 1665. When the plague was over, the Royal Court returned to London the following year. The newspaper was also transferred to the capital, adopting the name *The London Gazette*, on February 5, 1666. The paper was placed under the control of Sir Joseph Williamson, the

¹⁷ Alexander Andrews, *The History of British Journalism* (London: 1859), Vol. I, p. 100.

Modern History,
OR, A
Monthly Account
Of all Considerable Occurrences, *Civil,*
Ecclesiastical, and *Military*;
With all Natural, and Philosophical Pro-
ductions and Transactions.

With Allowance

L O N D O N.

Printed by J. B. and are to be Sold by Randall
Taylor, near Stationers-Hall in Ludgate-
street. MDCLXXXVII.

The front page of the London magazine *Modern History*, (1687).

A General VIEW
OF THE
WORLD:
OR, THE
Marrow of History.

YALE
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY.

IN TWO PARTS.

The FIRST, Containing
The History of the WORLD, from the CREATION
To be Continued to this present Year.

Giving an ACCOUNT of
The several Empires, Kingdoms, Commonwealths, Provinces,
Cities, Islands, Mountains, Rivers, and other memorable Places there
in; With the Religion, Laws, Government, Customs, Manners, and
Morals of the Inhabitants of each Country; Also the Lives of the
Emperours, Kings, Illustrious Princes, Philosophers and great Cap-
tains; and the Establishment and Progress of Religion in all Ages;
The Lives and most Remarkable Actions of the Patriarchs, Judges,
and Kings of the Jews, and of our blessed Saviour and His Apostles:
Together with the Primitive Fathers, Doctors, Bishops, Popes,
Cardinals, and Prelates of the Church, &c.

THE SECOND,
An Account of the Present State of AFFAIRS.

To be Continued Monthly.

This for the Month of *November* 1700.

London, Printed for J. Nutt, near Stationers-Hall; where may be had
those for *January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, Sep-
tember, and October.* Price Six Pence

The front page of the London magazine *A General View of the World*, of November, 1700.

Under-Secretary of State, and was registered as the property of Thomas Newcombe, who died on February 16, 1705. The publication was carried on by his wife.¹⁸ *The London Gazette* is still being published.

The London Gazette appeared as a standard English late seventeenth-century newspaper, beginning as a single page, later expanding to a four-page paper, double-columned, half folio, principally occupied, according to Lord Macaulay, in publishing foreign affairs rather than domestic news.¹⁹ As a final note, according to J. Dunton, "*The London Gazette* had the best authority."²⁰

A great deal of information is to be found in the first English daily newspaper, the *London Daily Courant*, which was published by the above mentioned editor of *The Monthly Register*, Samuel Buckley. Buckley decided to publish this as a daily because, as he pointed out in the first issue of March 11, 1702, "...*The Courant* (as the title shows) ...being designed to give all the material news as soon as every post arrives..." and not "having private intelligence", the editor assures that he will not "impose any additions of foreign circumstances to an action, but give his extracts fairly and impartially, at the beginning of each article he will quote the foreign paper whence it is taken, with the allowance of that government, so that the reader may better judge of the credibility and fairness of the relation."²¹

The Daily Courant appeared as a standard late seventeenth century paper; the first nine issues were printed on one side, then four pages, double-columned, half folio, containing translations of foreign news from the *Paris Gazette*, and such Dutch newspapers as *Amsterdam Courant*, the *Harlem Courant*, and the *Leiden Gazette*. *The Daily Courant* continued to be published up to the year 1735. Insofar as the news and reports about Mazepa are concerned, they are quite accurate and even helpful in establishing the date of birth of Mazepa. (*The Daily Courant*, No. 2239, December 29, 1708).

As further sources the following thrice weekly London newspapers may be cited: *The Post-Man*, and *the Historical Account*; *The Post-Boy*, i. e., *An Historical Account with Foreign and Domestic News*; and *The Flying Post*, or *The Post Master*.

¹⁸ A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 65-66; cf.: James Grant, *The Newspaper Press: Its Origin, Progress and Present Position* (London: 1871), Vol. I, pp. 43-44; Stanley Morison, *The English Newspaper, some Account of the Physical Development of Journals Printed in London Between 1622 and the Present Day* (Cambridge: 1932), pp. 5, 43.

¹⁹ J. Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 44.

²⁰ A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

²¹ A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 90-100; cf.: J. Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol: I, pp. 85-86; S. Morison, *op. cit.*, pp 73-74.

In the seventeenth century the word "post" was quite popular with the publishers, and they often used it as part of the title of their newspaper, such as: *The London Post* (1645), *The Parliament's Post* (1645), *The Weekly Post Master* (1645), and *The Faithful Post* (1653).

The Post Boy was established on May 14, 1695, by A. Roper, E. Wilkinson, and R. Cavel, and in the beginning it came out on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The next year, for some reason, it became semiweekly and appeared on Tuesday and Friday. At the same time (1695) another publisher, Robert Baldwin, joined the publishers of *The Post Boy*, but after six months severed relations and on October 22, 1695, established his own newspaper, *The Post-Man and Historical Account*, which appeared on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. Baldwin adopted for his paper two wood-cut headings, one on the right side of the title — a postman on horseback blowing his horn — and one on the left depicting a packet-boat in full sail. In the eighteenth century *The Post-Man* was edited by M. Fonvive, a French Protestant, whose learning, according to J. Dunton, "deserves respect..." "To carry on his weekly chronicle (as to foreign news) he settled a good correspondence in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Flanders, Holland, etc."²²

The publishers of *The Post-Boy* also adopted two wood-cuts. The right side displayed a fame sounding the trumpet with the motto "Viresque acquirit eundo" and the left side showed a Post-boy riding on horseback.

Since both newspapers had the same outlook and wood-cut headings, there was a great deal of competition between the publishers and confusion among the customers. In order to distinguish themselves from the *Post-Man*, the publishers of the *Post-Boy* dropped the subtitle "an Historical Account" and added "with the Freshest Advices, Foreigne and Domestick", but finally in 1711, they decided to use simply *The Post-Boy*.²³ In the beginning of the seventeenth century the publisher of *The Post - Boy* was Boyer, who according to Dunton, was "the greatest master of the French language, most impartial historian, author of *Annales of Queen Anne and Letters of Wit, Politics, and Morality*."²⁴

Besides these two above - mentioned thrice-weekly newspapers, another publisher, William Hurt, of Great Carter Lane, established *The Flying Post, or The Post Master*, which appeared on Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. Hurt also adopted wood cuts. On the right side of the title was a seated postmaster writing at a desk, and on

²² A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 102-103.

²³ S. Morison, *op. cit.*, pp. 60.

²⁴ A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 102.

SEPTEMBER (353) VOL. II. NUMB. IX.

THE
MONTHLY REGISTER,
OR,
MEMOIRS of the Affairs of *EUROPE*, &c.
Digested from the several Advices that came
to *ENGLAND* in *September*, 1704.

The title page of the London Magazine *The Monthly Register*,
of September, 1704.

Vol. II.

Numb. 48.

The British Apollo:

OR,

Curious Amusements for the **INGENIOUS.**

To which are added the most


Material Occurrences Foreign and Domestick.

Perform'd by a Society of **GENTLEMEN.**


From ~~Wednesday~~ September 7th. to ~~Friday~~ September 9th. 1709.

The title page of the London newspaper *The British Apollo*, of
September 9, 1709.

Numb. 1774. EEEEE



The Post-Man :
AND
The Historical Account, &c.



From Tuesday April 29, to Thursday May 1, 1707.

Numb. 1973 BBB




The Post Boy,




With the Freshest Advices, Foreign and Domestick.

From Tuesday December 30, to Thursday January 1, 1707.

BBB Numb. 3095.



THE
Flying-Post :
OR, THE
POST-MASTER.



From Tuesday July 21, to Thursday August 2, 1711.

The nameplates and ears of contemporary London newspapers.
(For more details concerning the nameplates and ears see: Albert
A. Sutton, *Design and Makeup of the Newspaper*, (New York:
1948), pp. 331 - 332).

the left side, a fame whose trumpet bore a banner reading "fama volat." In 1722 the new publisher, M. Jenour, replaced the cuts with new ones showing on the right side two galloping postmen, and on the left a flying fame with a trumpet in one hand and an inscription of "Fama volat" in the other.²⁵ The writer for the *Flying-Post* in the beginning of the eighteenth century was Ridpath, a Scotsman, who was "a considerable scholar, and well acquainted with the language, author of *The History of the Works of the Learned*... He writes *The Flying Post*, which is highly valued and sells well."²⁶

Although there was quite a great deal of competition among these similar-looking papers, nevertheless, as Dunton remarked, all of them were good. "*The Daily Courant* is the best critic, *The London Gazette* is the best authority, *The Post-Man* is the best everything, *The Post-Boy* is best for the English and Spanish news, *The Flying Post* for the Scotch news."²⁷

Besides these valuable newspapers, a sort of cheap semiweekly London newspaper, *The British Apollo or Curious Amusements for the Ingenious. To which are added the most Material Occurrences Foreign and Domestick. Performed by a Society of Gentlemen.* *The British Apollo* appeared on February 15, 1708, and continued to be published for three years. This newspaper had such contemporary imitators as *The Hermit*, *The Surprise*, *The Inquisitor*, *The Pilgrim*, *The Instructor*, *The Lover*, *The Plebian*, *The Spinster*, and *The Freethinker*. The editors of those newspapers, by paraphrasing or changing the first or the last letters of certain words, simply copied directly from other respectable newspapers,²⁸ and therefore, *The British Apollo*, although containing references to Mazepa, is worthless as a source.

Far away from the shores of England, one of the oldest American newspapers, *The Boston Newsletter*, reporting on the Great Northern War, on several occasions mentioned the name of Mazepa and his military operations.

The Boston Newsletter, a weekly, printed at first on one sheet later on a four-page folio, was established on April 24, 1704, by John Campbell.²⁹ Campbell (1653 - 1728) was a Scot who arrived in Boston between 1695-1698. In 1702 he became the Boston Postmaster. Since the Post Office was a center of information at that time, Campbell, utilizing this opportunity, decided to establish his

²⁵ S. Morison, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

²⁶ A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 102.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

²⁹ Frank L. Mott, *American Journalism* (New York 1950), pp. 13-14; cf.: A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 299.

weekly.³⁰ He also used such English newspapers as *The Post-Man* or *The Flying Post* as his source of information. Although Boston was some two months away from Europe at that time, Campbell attempted to record all news in a chronological order, so that *The Boston Newsletter* would be up-to-date. The weekly was printed by Bartholomew Green, a printer of Harvard University at Cambridge.³¹

Unfortunately, nothing is mentioned about Mazepa's alliance with Charles XII, because for eight months of the year 1709, *The Boston Newsletter* encountered some difficulties and was suspended. Afterwards it resumed publication and continued in print until 1774.³²

A great deal is owed to the accounts of contemporary eyewitnesses written in other languages: the Diary of the Secretary of the Austrian Legation in Moscow in the time between April 1, 1698, and July 23, 1699; Johann Georg Korb's *Diarium itineris nobilis domini de Guarient, et Rall.. ab Imperatore Leopoldo I ad Tzarum et Magnum Ducem Petrum Alexowicium anno 1698 ablegati extraordinarii, descriptum a Ioanne Georgio Korb, secretario ablegationis Caesareae*. (Vienna: 1700 or 1701)³³; the excerpts from the above mentioned letter of a French envoy in Moscow, Jean de Baluse³⁴; the diaries of a Swedish eyewitness, field-chaplain, and historian, Georg Andrew Nordberg (1677 - 1744), *Konung Karl XII's Historia* (Stockholm: 1740), 2 vols.³⁵; the diary of the official Swedish historiographer and eyewitness, Gustav Adlerfelt (1671 - 1709) *Histoire militaire de Charles XII, roi de Suede* (Amsterdam: 1740), 4 vols.³⁶; the memoirs of a Swedish Colonel, Carl Gustafson Klingspor (1665 - 1742), *Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden*, translated from manuscript by John A. Gade, (Boston and New York: 1916); the work of a Swedish scholar, Philip Johann von Strahlenberg (1677 - 1747), who in the rank of Lieutenant-colonel was captured at Poltava, and spent thirteen years in Russia, and after his return wrote: *Das Nord und Oestliche Theil von Europa und Asia (The North-and-East Part of Europe and*

³⁰ *The Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: 1948), Vol. III, pp. 456.

³¹ A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 299.

³² Clarence S. Bridham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers 1690-1820* (Worcester: 1947), Vol. I, pp. 328-329.

³³ I used the English translation by MacDonnel, *Diary of an Austrian Secretary of the Legation* (London: 1863), 2 vols.

³⁴ See footnote No. 5 (Introduction).

³⁵ German translation: *Leben Carl des Zwoelften Koenigs in Schweden* (Hamburg: 1745-1751), 2 vols.; French translation: *Histoire de Charles XII, Roi de Suede* (The Hague: 1748), 2 vols.

³⁶ I used the English translation: *The Military History of Charles XII, King of Sweden* (London: 1740).

Asia), (Stockholm: 1730); memoirs of the German eyewitness field-chaplain, later professor of history, Johann Wendel Bardili (died 1740), *Reise-Beschreibung von Pultawa durch das Desert Dzikie Pole to Bender* (*A Description of Voyage from Poltava through the Desert Dzikie Pole to Bender*), (Stuttgart: 1714), which was included in another volume of his under the title *Des Weylands Durchl. Printzens Maximilian Emanuell Hertzog in Wuerttemberg ... Reisen und Campagnen durch Teutschland, in Polen, Lithauen, roth und weics Reussland, Volhynien, Severien; und Ukraine* (*The Voyages and Campaigns of Prince Maximilian Emanuel of Wuerttemberg through Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Red and White Russia, Volhynia, Severia, and Ukraine*), (Stuttgart: 1730)³⁷; the reports and diary of the Prussian representative at Charles XII's headquarters, Lieutenant-Colonel David Nathaniel von Siltmann³⁸; the diplomatic reports of the Prussian envoy in Moscow, Baron Georg Johann von Kayserling³⁹; the reports of the Austrian envoy in Moscow, Otto Pleyer⁴⁰; the memoirs of the German diplomat in Russian service, Baron Heinrich von Huysen, whose memoirs were used by a Danish scholar, Peter van Haven, in his book *Neye og forbedrede Efferraetningre om det russiske Rige* (*New Improved Accounts about the Russian Empire*) (Copenhagen: 1747), 2 vols.⁴¹; the valuable remarks of the eyewitness, a friend and adjutant of Charles XII, General Stanislaw Poniatowski's (*Remarques d'un seigneur Polonois sur l'histoire de Charles XII*) (The Hague: 1741)⁴²; the work about Russia of the Hanoverian envoy, Friedrich Christian Weber, *Das veraenderte Russland* (*The Changed Russia*), (Frankfurt - Leipzig: 1721), Vol. I, (Hannover: 1739 - 1740), Vol. II and III.

³⁷ I used the edition published in Frankfurt-Leipzig, 1739.

³⁸ Report and Diary of von Siltmann, according to the German historian Otto Haintz, are located in the Prussian Secret Archives in Berlin-Dahlem, and are translated into Swedish by A. Quennerstedt, *Karolinska Dagboecker* (Lund: 1901-1918), Vol. III. I used the Ukrainian translation by S. Tomashivskij, "Iz zapysok Karolinciv pro 1708-9 r." (from the Diaries of Charles XII's Followers), *ZNTS*, (1909), Vol. XCII, pp. 66-92.

³⁹ Kayserling's reports are located in the *Prussian Secret Archives* in Berlin-Dahlem, Rep. XI, "Russland 19a". I used B. Krupnyckij's publication "Z donesen' Kayserlinga 1708-1709 rr." (From Kayserling's Reports in the Years 1708-1709), *PUNI* (Warsaw: 1939), Vol. XLVII, pp. 24-35.

⁴⁰ Pleyer's reports are located in the *Haus-, Hof- u. Staatsarchiv* in Vienna, *Russica* I-20. Ustrialov published them till 1706, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, and IV. Excerpts from Pleyer's reports 1708-1709 were published by Tomashivsky: "Z donesen avstrijskoho posla Pleyera v Moskvi 1708 i 1709 rr.", *ZNTS*, Vol. XCII, pp. 242-244. Full text of these reports (1708-1709) were published by the author in *Mazepa im Lichte der zeitgenoessischen deutschen Quellen*. *ZNTS*, Vol. 174, (1963), pp. 77-100.

⁴¹ Partial German translation by Buesching, *op. cit.*, Vol. X, pp. 279-364.

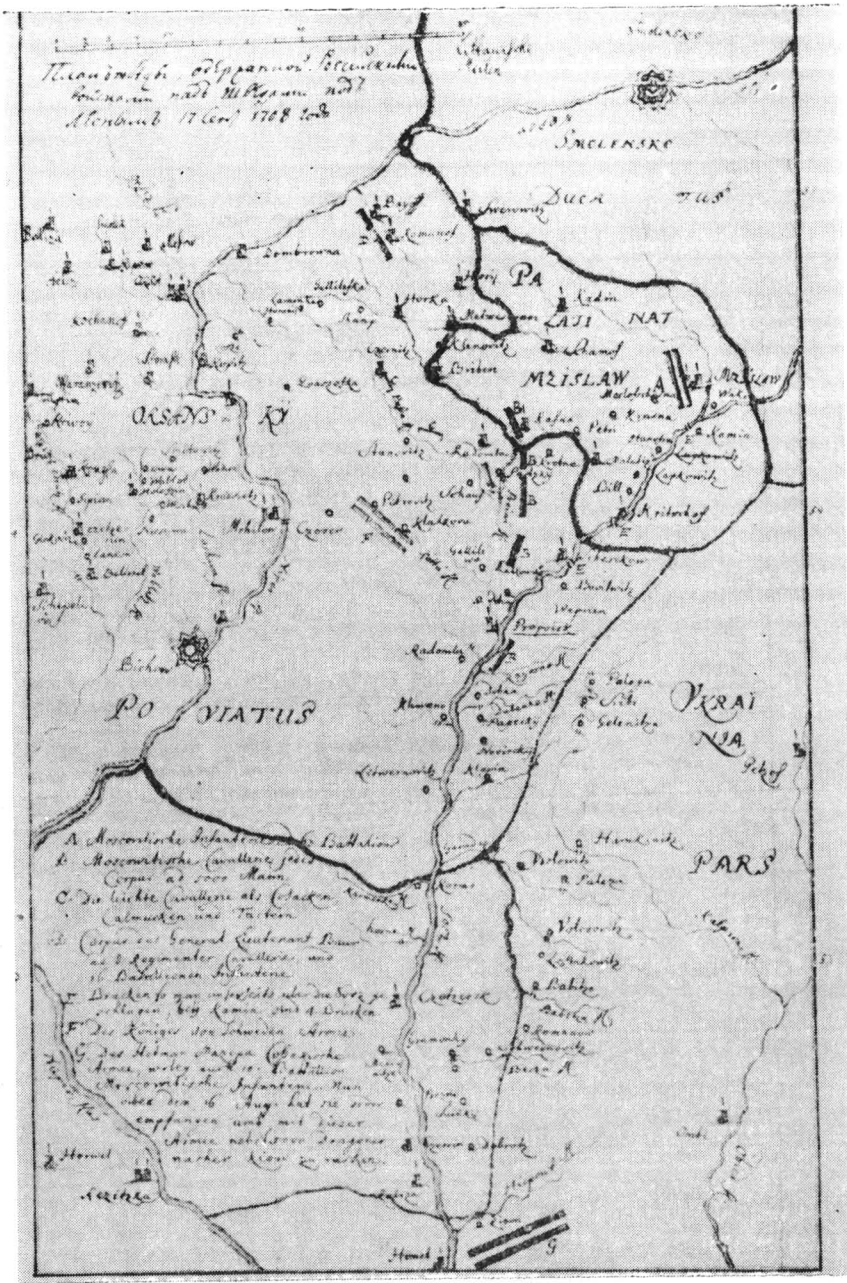
⁴² S. Poniatowski, *Remarks on M. de Voltaire's History of Charles XII, King of Sweden*, etc. (London: 1741).



Map of the Eastern Europe at the time of the Great Northern War.

Витальня української молоді
 "МОЛОДА ПРОСВІТА"
 ім. Митр. А. Шептицького
 Філадельфія — 23-а і Браун вул.

3655



Location of the Russian Troops and Mazepa's Cossack Army, August 16-17, 1708. From: *Poltava*, collection of essays, (Moscow: 1959). p. 369, map. No. 2.

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PRESS

According to the historian of the English press, Alexander Andrews, the English newspaper has been developed "from a miserable sheet of flimsy paper, blotted with coarse letter-press... issued stealthily, read under the breath, circulated from hand to hand unseen."¹ Its beginning goes back to the sixteenth century. One of the earliest English newspapers is considered to be *The English Mercurie*, 1588. The form of the newspaper of that time reminds us rather of a book than of a newspaper of today.

However, it is neither our purpose nor our competence to write a detailed history of the English press. Nevertheless, it is necessary to present a brief outline of its development in order to be able to evaluate the quality of the information concerned with Mazepa published at that time. Therefore, we shall discuss the development of the English press from that point when Mazepa was mentioned by the English press, namely the year 1687.

According to A. Andrews, the English press at that time (seventeenth century) was quite developed and influential when the Ecclesiastic authorities, namely Archbishop Laud, issued a decree of July 11, 1637, limiting the number of newspapers to twenty. From now on the newspapers were licensed and appeared with such notices as "by order", "by authority", "cum privilegio", "with license", or "with allowance." Actually, the censorship of the English newspapers goes back to the time of Elizabeth I.²

However, the censorship did not stop publishers from publishing unlicensed newspapers. As a result the House of Lords passed on September 30, 1647, a decree "prohibiting any person from making, writing, printing, selling, publishing, or uttering, or causing to be made, etc. any book, etc. etc. sheet or sheets of news whatsoever, except the same be licensed by both or either House of Parliament with the name of author, printer, and licenser affixed, under pain of a penalty on the writer of forty shillings, or forty days' imprisonment; twenty shillings on the printer or twenty days' imprisonment, and the breaking up of his press and printing materials; and on the hawker a whipping as a rogue, and the seizure of his papers."³

As can be seen, the English newspapers were under severe censorship which was even more increased in the time of King

¹ A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 56.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Charles II, who tried to suppress the English press by his decree of May 12, 1680, in which he ordered "strictly to prohibit and forbid all persons whatsoever to print or publish any news, books, or pamphlets of news not licensed by his majesty's authority."⁴

However, the situation was changed when William and Mary ascended to the English throne in 1692. William, being a wise ruler, did not restrain the press, and within four years the number of newspapers increased to twenty-six. The demand for news was big and publishers did not hesitate to satisfy their customers in printing more newspapers. The contemporary English newspaper, *The British Mercury*, No. 369, of July 30 to August 2, 1712, complained that "some time before the Revolution, the press was again set to work... that hence sprung the inundation of Postmen, Postboys, Evening Posts, Supplements, Daily Courants, and Protestant Postboys, amounting to twenty every week, besides many more, which have not survived to this term."⁵

Such a rapid increase and free development of the English press was then slowed down by the weak and hesitating Anne, who, being influenced by some persons at the royal court, issued on March 26, 1703, a proclamation against "printing and spreading false news,"⁶ which meant, more or less, introducing the licensing system of her uncle.

No wonder that the English newspapers at that time, especially the official paper *The London Gazette*, according to the English historian Lord Macaulay, omitted domestic affairs, except for some unimportant events at home or speeches in Parliament, and preferred to publish news about foreign affairs.⁷ This was noticed even by the contemporary English newspaper, *The Evening Post*, No. 1, of September 6, 1709, which remarked that "we read more of our affairs in the Dutch papers than in any of our own"⁸ Here should be added that at that time there was a great intimacy between the English and Dutch Courts.⁹

This does not mean that the editors of the English press at that time were not interested in their own affairs or that there was difficulty in getting local news. No, there was, rather, fear of the law, since as Andrews remarked, "in all the papers of this time the foreign intelligence is the fullest and best reported,"¹⁰ and there was a high standard of newspaper writing. The editors or

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁷ J. Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 44.

⁸ A. Andrews, *op. cit.*; Vol. I, p. 103.

⁹ J. Grant, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 29.

¹⁰ A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 101, 104.

writers of the above-mentioned newspapers fluently commanded such foreign languages as French, Dutch, German, and Italian. For example, the editor of the *Postman*, Fonvive, was very well-educated, and, as mentioned above, he regularly obtained his information directly from major European cities.¹¹

Since the English press used the German newspapers as a source of information, it would be proper therefore to mention the development of the German press. Although the beginnings of the German press date back to the 15th and 16th centuries, only at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century would one find the development of the real German press.¹²

In the 17th century, not only large cities like Frankfurt, Strassbourg, Vienna, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Leipzig, Berlin, and Hamburg had their own newspaper appearing at regular intervals, but even small cities which were on the post route had journals.¹³

There was not a clear difference between magazines and newspapers then, except perhaps that magazines had more pages per issue. In form, both resembled books. The differences lie in the amount of pages and the length of time between dates of publication.¹⁴

The character of the magazines was scientific or scholarly. The writers were usually well-educated.¹⁵ Magazines were published in quartos, or folios, like books. The title usually took the entire page. Because the post offices were usually centers of news, the publishers generally were the postmasters.¹⁶

At that time newspapers were not political organs. Instead, the objective was, as a German historian of journalism, E. Consentius, remarked, to elaborate the incoming news and bring it to the public in a clear manner. The journals were careful to avoid making any predictions or voicing opinions. The duty of the paper was solely to present the days' events as they happened.¹⁷ Often in fact, many publishers simply copied the news from other journals.¹⁸

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹² L. Salomon, *Geschichte des deutschen Zeitungswesens (History of the German Journalism)*, (Oldenburg-Leipzig: 1900), p. 1.

¹³ R. E. Prutz, *Geschichte des deutschen Journalismus: (History of the German Journalism)*, (Hannover: 1845), Vol. I, p. 92.

¹⁴ J. Kirchner, *Die Grundlagen des deutschen Zeitschriftwesens (Foundations of the German Journalism)*, (Leipzig: 1928), Vol. I, pp. 23-24.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁶ Prutz, *op. cit.*, p. 92; Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁷ E. Consentius, *Die Berliner Zeitungen (The Newspaper of Berlin)*, (Berlin: 1904), pp. 1-2.

¹⁸ Kirchner, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Prutz, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

Because newspapers appeared regularly, correspondents were needed to send news regularly. The big papers, in fact, sent their own correspondents to places of action.¹⁹ As a rule, the names of the reporters were kept secret. One of the possible reasons for this was the severity of censorship. The publishers were held responsible for all that their paper contained, and any offense against any reigning monarch was strictly punished. It was not unusual for a publisher to be punished for so slight an offense as neglecting to print "His Majesty" in front of the name of an enemy king.²⁰ The main centers of information were Amsterdam, Antwerp, Augsburg, Cologne, Danzig, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Paris, Prague, Regensburg, Rome, Strassburg, Vienna, and Venice. As far as Mazepa is concerned, the German press was supplied with information concerning him either from Russia, Poland or sometimes directly from the Ukraine.

In Russia the natural center of information was Moscow. Here was a large group of foreigners of many nationalities, which was known as "the German colony" (*nemetskaja sloboda*), and it is natural that Germans either privately as correspondents or officially at the order of the Russian Government, wrote reports about current events. Usually those reports were under a strict censorship.²¹

But there were other ways to escape the censorship. Information about Russia to the German press was supplied by another information center, namely the city of Koenigsberg (at present Kaliningrad) in East Prussia, where the reports came from Moscow, Riga, Vilna, and other cities.²²

In Poland the information centers were such cities as Warsaw and Lviv, where there were always many foreigners and correspondents. As a matter of fact, in Poland a German newspaper was printed to inform foreigners about current events.

In the Ukraine, the fortress Bila Tserkov was also a center of information, as far as Mazepa and that time is concerned. The reports were supplied by the commandant of that fortress, a German officer, Colonel Rappe, and his successor, Colonel Greben (1687), to Leipzig or Berlin.

It is to be added that Vienna also was well-informed about the events in Eastern Europe at that time.

¹⁹ Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

²⁰ H. Bingel, *Das Theatrum Europaeum, ein Beitrag zur Publizistik des XVII u. XVIII Jahrhunderts (The Theatrum Europaeum, a Contribution to the Journalism of 17th and 18th Centuries)*, (Berlin: 1909), pp. 111-112; Salomon, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

²¹ Prutz, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

²² *Ibid.*

Since 1516, there were regular post routes for transmitting news. The communication was well organized, e. g., from Frankfurt to Hamburg, a week on horseback; from Frankfurt to Leipzig, after 20 post offices in about 5 days.²³

Besides using his own correspondents, the Czar succeeded in organizing an apparatus of propaganda in Western Europe, especially in Germany, which will be briefly analyzed in the next section.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

A SHORT ANALYSIS OF PROPAGANDA AT THE TIME OF PETER I.

After the battle at Narva (November 20, 1700), where Charles XII with 8,000 troops routed 40,000 Russians, the way to defenseless Moscow was open. As a matter of fact, the Swedish generals advised their King to march toward Moscow and defeat the Czar first. However, the King considered Augustus II more dangerous than the Russians.¹ While the Swedish King plunged himself into a six-year struggle in Poland and Saxony, the Czar feverishly worked on the reorganization of his army and building his young navy. For that purpose he badly needed foreign engineers, officers and all kinds of experts and tradesmen, whom he tried to recruit everywhere. This was no easy task in view of the prevailing opinion of Muscovy in the West, not to mention the general fear of the victorious Swedes.

Russia had a poor reputation in Western Europe during the reign of Peter the Great. She was considered a barbaric country, and was described as such by several contemporary diplomats in their diaries and memoirs. The French diplomat, Foy de la Neuville, made in his memoirs the following remark: "... The Muscovites, to speak properly, are Barbarians, Suspicious, and Mistrustful, Cruel, Sodomites, Gluttons, Covetous, Beggars, and Cowards; all Slaves except three Families of Foreigners; ... Besides, they are so dull and brutish, that were it not for the Germans, who are very numerous in Moscow, they could do nothing well..."² The secretary of the Austrian legation in Moscow, Johann Georg Korb, writing in his diary, remarked "... the whole Russian race is rather in a state of slavery than of freedom. All, no matter what their rank may be, without any respect of persons, are oppressed with the hardest slavery... Foreigners whom chance or choice has led into Muscovy they condemn to the same yoke, and will have them be slaves of their monarch..."³ Korb's remark was not because of his hostility to Russia, on the contrary, as N. Ustrialov noted, Korb wrote it "with deep respect to Peter, and with love to truth..."⁴

The reaction to Korb's diary was so disturbing that in a report by the Russian envoy to Vienna, Peter A. Golitsyn, it was written that "upon us everyone looks now as barbarians."⁵ Because of in-

¹ O. Haintz, *Koenig Karl XII*, p. 52.

² Foy de la Neuville, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

³ J. G. Korb, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 192, 193, 195.

⁴ N. Ustrialov, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 44.

⁵ N. Ustrialov, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

creasing hostility towards Russia on account of Korb's diary, the Russian Chancellor, Feodor A. Golovin, requested the Austrian government to prohibit further sale.⁶

It can be said that there was general enmity against Russia for political reasons. According to the report of June 5, 1702, by Andrew A. Matvjejev, Russian envoy to the Hague, some German professor (name not given) had published in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder a pamphlet in honor of the Prussian King, in which he praised the Swedish victory over the Russians. Furthermore, this Prussian professor, analyzing the existing situation, pointed out that the Christian rulers should not let Russian ships pass because if the Russians should take Livonia (Latvia), they would also take Poland, which would be considered a great danger to Prussia.⁷

The above mentioned pamphlet was not unique. Causing special sensation was a publication of a German scholar, Martin Neubauer, a graduate of the University of Leipzig and a former tutor of Peter's son, Alexey Petrovich (1701 - 1702) in Moscow. In 1704 Neubauer published a pamphlet, *Schreiben eines Vornehmen deutschen Officiers an einen Geheimen Rath eines hohen Potentaten (A letter of a noble German Officer to the secret Advisor of a high Ruler)*, in which the author describes the bad treatment of foreign officers in Moscow. As illustrations he cited some examples such as: Colonel Bodeween was executed because his servant killed a physician of the Czar's favorite; Colonel Strassberg was beaten publicly because for some reason he did not want to follow the Czar's order; Major Kirchen was publicly insulted by the Czar himself because Kirchen, being a Major, did not want to accept a position as Captain.⁹

According to the report of the above-mentioned Russian envoy, A. A. Matvjejev, of late Fall 1704, from the Hague, the stories in Neubauer's pamphlet were confirmed by some German officers. Serving in the Russian army under the command of the German General von Korrenberg, and having returned home, they told the other officers that to go into the Russian service meant to become a slave, that it is better to serve in the Turkish service, that the Russians keep foreigners and do not let them go home. Matvjejev complained that in the Hague people talked about nothing but Russian barbarism and that the Hague had become a center of anti-Russian propaganda.¹⁰

⁶ *Ibid.*, Cf.: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. XVI, pp. 701-702.

⁷ S. Solovjev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 1354.

⁸ Solovjev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 1351-1352.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1353.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1534.

The English envoy to Moscow, Lord Charles Whitworth, also remarked in his memoirs that Russia "began to emerge from barbarism in the year 1710."¹¹

Captain John Perry, who was in the Russian service as military engineer, also referred in his memoirs to barbarism in Russia. Among other details he wrote "...it being a thing common in Russia to beat their wives in a most barbarous manner, very often so inhumanely that they die."¹² In another place Perry complains about the perfidiousness of the people, the superstitions and illiteracy, and especially of the drunkenness of the people and the priests, "...there is nothing more common than to have both the People and the Priest too, go to the Church on a Holyday in the Morning, and get drunk in the Afternoon long before Night; especially the greater the Holiday, the more it is excusable, and the Custom to be drunk. It is very ordinary at such Times, if you ride through Moscow in the Evening on a great Holiday, to see the Priests, as well as other Men, lie drunk about the Streets."¹³ Russia was not only described as a barbaric country by the foreign officers in the Russian service, by the contemporary diplomats in Moscow, but also by the Western European Press. For instance, the very popular German magazine publisher in Nuremberg, *Neu-eroeffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, when reporting about Muscovy, referred to it as "eine barbarische Nation" (a barbarian nation).¹⁴ The Nuremberg magazine, according to the historian of the German Press, R. E. Prutz, was not alone in writing in such a manner about Russia.¹⁵ Anti-Russian public opinion existed not only in Germany, but also in Holland where a few years earlier Peter had been greeted with joy. The type of civilization in Russia at that time was known also to the English press. One very popular London newspaper, a weekly, *The Observer*, Vol. VII, No. 91, of December 29, 1708, reporting about Russia, expected that "the present Czar (Peter) be better polish'd than his Predecessors..." yet it commented upon "the Barbarity of the Russian Mob still existing there."

It is clear that under such circumstances the Czar could not find volunteers even for a good salary. He well realized that as long as public opinion in Western Europe was against him, no one would go into his service. He now decided to do everything possible to stop the anti-Russian propaganda.

¹¹ Chas. Whitworth, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

¹² John Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-227.

¹⁴ *New-eroeffneter Historischer Bildersaal*, Vol. IV, pp. 427, 596.

¹⁵ R. E. Prutz, *Die Geschichte des deutschen Journalismus (The History of German Journalism)*, (Hannover: 1845), Vol. I, p. 153.

First, through diplomatic channels, Peter succeeded in persuading the governments in Saxony and Prussia to forbid the publication of anything hostile to Muscovy.¹⁶ Further, he authorized a Livonian adventurer, Johann R. Patkul, to take all measures to persuade German scholars and writers to work for Russia. In 1702 Patkul succeeded in engaging a German lawyer, Heinrich Baron von Huyssen from Essen, for the Czar's service.¹⁷ Huyssen's service in Moscow and his diplomatic activity in Western Europe were described by a Danish scholar, Peter van Haven.

Peter van Haven (1715 - 1757) attended the University of Copenhagen and Helmstaedt, where he received his Doctorate of Theology. In 1737 he travelled to Petersburg, Moscow and the Asov. On his return trip in 1742 van Haven met von Huyssen, who told about his activities as a Russian diplomat. Von Huyssen, who died on the boat, left his very interesting memoirs and notes to van Haven. Using this material as his source of information, van Haven wrote a book about Russia.¹⁸ It is to be added that van Haven later became a chaplain at the Danish Embassy in Petersburg and after his return in 1747, he taught at the University of Soroe.¹⁹

According to van Haven, von Huyssen began his activities immediately after entering the Russian service. He travelled to such centers as Basel, Berlin, Geneva, the Hague, Hamburg, Leipzig, Paris, Prague, and Vienna, trying to enlist officers to join the Russian Army and trying to persuade German scholars and writers to write favorably about Russia.²⁰ Although Huyssen was quite successful in this work, the Czar apparently needed him in Moscow and ordered him to report there, where he arrived at the end of 1703. Here he took the position of an adviser at the Foreign Office. In 1705, however, the Czar sent him as his official envoy to Germany, where he was active until 1707. During this time, Huyssen succeeded in winning for the Czar such German newspapers and magazines as *Die Europaeische Fama* in Leipzig, *Historische Remarques* in Hamburg, *Neu - eroeffneter Historischer Bilder - Saul* in Nuremberg, *Monatlicher Staats-Spiegel* in Augsburg, *Neu-er-*

¹⁶ *Pisma i Bumagi*, Vol. III, p. 879.

¹⁷ For details see: H. von Gluemer, *Heinrich Huyssen, ein Essener Stadtkind als Gelehrter und Diplomat im Dienste Peter des Grossen (Heinrich Huyssen the native of Essen as a Scholar and Diplomat in the Service of Peter the Great)*, *Beitraege zur Geschichte von Stadt und Schrift* (Essen: 1910), Heft No. 33.

¹⁸ See footnote No. 22 (Introduction).

¹⁹ Johann Chr. Adelung, *Gelehrten Lexikon (Lexikon of Scholars)*, (Leipzig: 1787), Vol. II, p. 828-829; *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon (Danish Biography)*, (Copenhagen: 1936), Vol. IX, p. 478.

²⁰ A. Buesching, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

oeffneter Welt- und Staats-Spiegel in the Hague²¹ and others. From that time on, those newspapers and magazines began to publish favorable articles about Russia.²²

²¹ This newspaper was published by Johann E. Zschackwitz, who for some reason was afraid to publish in Germany and used the name of the Hague as the place of publishing. For details see: Joachim Kirchner, *Das deutsche Zeitschriftwesen, seine Geschichte und seine Probleme* (Wiesbaden: 1958), Vol. I, pp. 39-40.

²² A. Fr. Buesching, *op. cit.*, p. 319; cf.: F. Duckmeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 82; for details see: P. Pekarskij, *Nauka i literatura pri Petre Velikom* (*Science and Literature at the Time of Peter the Great*). (St. Petersburg: 1862), Vol. I, pp. 62-107.

MAZEPA IN THE LIGHT OF ENGLISH MEMOIRS

Although Foy de la Neuville was not an Englishman, yet he was one of the first of foreign eyewitnesses who met Mazepa in person, and in his memoirs brought him to the attention of the public in Western Europe. His memoirs were published in French in 1699 and also translated into English in the same year. Thus de la Neuville introduced Mazepa to English readers. The author presented the Hetman as a man of great intelligence although not overly prepossessing in his physical appearance. Said de la Neuville — “...this Prince is not comely in his person, but a very knowing Man, and speaking Latin in perfection. He is Cossack born...”¹ Although there is no doubt today that Mazepa is of Ukrainian descent, yet he was referred to in many contemporary memoirs as a Pole after he joined the Swedes. However, as early as 1689 de la Neuville stated that Mazepa was “Cossack born”.

Next, Patrick Gordon's Diary should be considered. Gordon spent a considerable amount of time in the Ukraine and was well acquainted with Ukrainian problems. For instance, he clearly distinguished Russian troops from the Cossacks, stating in his diary of June 1687, that the Cossacks were not part of the Russian forces but “allies of the Invading force of Crimea”.² Patrick Gordon was an eyewitness to Mazepa's election as the new Hetman (Aug. 4, 1687) at the Kolomak River during the first campaign against Crimea and described it in detail in his diaries. He also described Mazepa's participation during the Russo-Turkish War, particularly in the years 1695 and 1696. This material has been used and evaluated by Nicholas Kostomarov in his well-known monograph *Mazepa i Mazepintsy*, and therefore I feel that analysis of Gordon's Diary would be a repetition.

Mazepa was also mentioned by Patrick Gordon's son-in-law, Alexander Gordon. In his memoirs, Alexander Gordon mentioned that Mazepa was appointed as the new Hetman by Prince Golitsyn during the first campaign against Crimea.³

In connection with the siege of Azov, Gordon remarked that Hetman Mazepa, together with General Sheremetjev, was successful in seizing several Turkish towns on the Black Sea.⁴ (For his

¹ Foy de la Neuville, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

² *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon* (Aberdeen: 1859), p.164.

³ A. Gordon, *op. cit.*, Vol I, p. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

services the Czar honored Mazepa with the order of St. Andrew in 1700).

During the campaign against the Swedes in 1705, Gordon mentioned that the Hetman commanded 60,000 Cossacks (actually 40,000). He noted that "the Czar (was) with his greatest force in Lithuania and Marshal Sheremetoff at a still greater distance; so that Mazepa with the greatest ease imaginable might have joined the King of Sweden, who ...might have marched to the city of Moscow without meeting with any opposition", and who could have "rent that great empire in pieces, especially in conjunction with the Cossacks, who would have furnished provision for his army and themselves too."⁵

As is known, Mazepa was at that time faithful and did not take chances. Furthermore, Gordon wrote that Charles XII turned from the route to Moscow to the Ukraine because of Mazepa's invitation and promise. However, according to Gordon, many Cossacks returned to the Czar who allowed them to elect Colonel I. Skoropadsky in place of Mazepa. About Mazepa Gordon gives a quite accurate biography⁶ which he obtained from Russian sources, and which were previously published in the German Hamburg weekly, *Historische Remarques* of January 22, 1704, as correspondence from Moscow of November 27, 1703.

Generally, it can be said that Gordon wrote about Mazepa in a neutral fashion, stating only facts.

Although Captain John Perry, who was in the Russian service from 1698 to 1714, did not know Mazepa personally, he was, however, familiar with the affairs of the Great Northern War, and could not omit mentioning him in his memoirs, *The State of Russia Under the Present Czar*.

According to John Perry, the Swedish King Charles XII came into the Ukraine because he was invited by Mazepa, the Hetman of the Cossacks, who were under the protection of the Czar, as they used to be before they came under the protection of the Polish King, and "being now made uneasy by the Breach of their Privileges and Exactions from them the Russians, during the War... Mazepa... corresponded near two Years with the King of Sweden, and promised to revolt to him upon his Arrival on that side of the Country (Severia) on Conditions of being re-instated under the Protection of the Poles."⁷ However, "by the Interception of some Letters and Circumstances concurring, the Design was discovered," remarked Perry, and Mazepa with several Staff Officers escaped to Charles

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 280-285.

⁷ J. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

XII. "Upon Discovery of this Conspiracy," continued Perry, "Prince Mentzikoff immediately surprised the Garrison of Buttriu (Baturyn, Mazepa's residence), which was to have been surrendered to Swedes." (As is known, he destroyed the city completely and put to death approximately six thousand inhabitants without distinction of age or sex).⁸ The destruction of Baturyn did not discourage the Cossacks, who according to Perry, "gather'd for a time in Parties, and assisted the King of Sweden with Provisions", but afterwards the Cossacks were "ruin'd by the Czar's Forces".⁹

Furthermore, Perry mentioned that the Swedish King escaped to the city of Bender with the assistance of the Hetman Mazepa who knew the country very well.¹⁰ Perry did not go into details about the battle of Poltava because "the particulars of this battle were known throughout Europe."¹¹

Mazepa's objective was to wait and stay neutral in order to avoid military action in his country and the possible hardship of Swedish occupation. Mazepa did not believe that the Czar would be victorious because, as Perry remarked, it was the general feeling in Russia that, if the Czar lost the war against the Swedes, "not only the Cossacks, but the Russes too" were ready for a general uprising like that of the Don-Cossacks in 1707.¹²

As far as Perry's statement that Mazepa intended "to be reinstated under the Protection of the Poles" is concerned, Perry was apparently under the influence of Russian propaganda at that time. In November, 1708, the Russians intercepted one of Mazepa's letters to the Polish King Stanislaw Leszczynski. The Czar, publishing this letter in his manifestos, tried to convince the Ukrainian people that Mazepa wanted to bring the Ukraine again under the Poles. There was an agreement between Leszczynski and Mazepa. However, this was only a tactical maneuver on Mazepa's side, for the Polish King could not act without consent from Charles XII because Poland was actually under his domination.¹³

Some very valuable information and remarks about Mazepa were written in the diplomatic reports of the English envoy in Moscow, Lord Charles Whitworth, and were translated into Russian under the title: "Diplomaticheskije donesenija anglijskogo posla s 1704 po 1708 god i s 1708 po 1711 god" (Diplomatic reports of the English envoy from the year 1704 to 1708, and from the year 1708 to 1711) and were published in *Sbornik Imperatorskogo Rus-*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25, 26

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

¹¹ *Ibidem.*

¹² J. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹³ E. Borshchak, "Mazepa", etc. *ZNTS*, Vol. XLII, p. 3.

skogo Istoricheskogo Obschestva (Collection of Works of the Imperial Russian Historical Society), (St. Petersburg: 1886), Vol. L. Since Whitworth's reports have already been mentioned by B. Krupnycky in his work *Hetman Mazepa und seine Zeit (1687-1709)* (Hetman Mazepa and his Era (1687-1709), (Leipzig: 1942) and by V. Sichynsky in *Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions* (New York: 1953), to comment on them again would be repetition.

Besides the above-mentioned diplomatic reports, Lord Charles Whitworth wrote memoirs: *An Account of Russia As it Was in the Year 1710*. In his memoirs, Whitworth, giving a brief history of the Ukraine, the Cossacks and the Zaporozhians, whom the author distinguishes from the Russian Don Cossacks, also mentioned Mazepa and his alliance with Sweden. According to Whitworth, the riches of the Ukraine "drew upon them (the Cossacks) the envy of the Muscovite Nobility and Government, who by Decrees made several Incroachments on their liberties, and from hence sprung a universal Discontent, and the Revolt of Mazeppa with the King of Sweden, which being ill-managed, the Residence Town of Bathurin was immediately taken and burnt, and above six thousand Persons put to the Sword without Distinction of age or sex."¹⁴

Whitworth further reports that while the people of the Ukraine were shocked and disorganized by the massacre in Baturyn, the Cossacks of the Zaporozhe had openly acknowledged Mazepa and upheld their loyalty to him until the end. Two or three thousand of these followed their leader to Bender and, at the time of writing, were still with Charles XII. The rest had been largely butchered and the remaining few were very reluctant to acknowledge their part in Mazepa's career.¹⁵

Describing cultural affairs in Moscow, Whitworth remarked that the education of the Russian clergy was very poor, except for some few who were educated in Kiev.¹⁶ Although Captain Peter Henry Bruce, who entered the Russian service in 1711 when Mazepa was dead (October 2, 1709), had not met him, he mentioned in his memoirs Mazepa's name in connection with the Russian campaign against the Turks in 1711.

On June 14, 1711, at the Dnister River at the tent of Lieutenant-General Jacob Bruce was held a war council during which was read a letter from Demetrius Cantemire, *Hospodar*, of Moldavia, which at that time had an autonomous status under the Turks simi-

¹⁴ Lord Charles Whitworth. *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25-26.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 46; ("...their Parish Priests and Chaplains are very ignorant, their utmost Education being to repeat the Service with a musical Accent and to read a Chapter in the Bible... their Monks and dignified Clergy though almost equally ignorant, except some few educated at Cioff (Kiev)...").

lar to the Ukrainian Hetmanstate under the Russians. Cantemire requested the Czar to continue his march into Moldavia in order that he might join the Russian troops. All the Generals approved except a German in the Russian service, General Nicholas von Hallard, who remarked that the King of Sweden's misfortune did not serve as a sufficient warning; for the prince had been misled by the advice of the "traitor Mazeppa."¹⁷

As Bruce further narrated in his memoirs, Cantemire joined the Czar, participated in this war against the Turks, and was besieged on the Pruth. As a matter of fact, one condition of the peace terms was the deliverance of Cantemire to the Turks. Nevertheless, the Czarina, Catharine I, saved him in her coach and the Czar "gave him several landed estates both in Russia and the Ukraine, besides settling a pension of 20,000 rubles — 4,000 pounds a year upon him."¹⁸

In *The History of the Wars of His Present Majesty Charles XII King of Sweden*, Defoe actually does not bring in anything new or of importance. He emphasized the fact that Mazepa offered his assistance to the Polish King Stanislaw Leszczynski, a protege of Charles XII, that the Swedish King changed his plans and entered the Ukraine because Mazepa promised him that the Cossacks would revolt against the Czar and that he would bring reasonable military aid in the struggle against the Czar. However, this rebellion did not work out because Menshikov attacked Mazepa's residence, the city of Baturyn, and executed all the inhabitants, an event which had an influence on the rest of the Cossacks who elected a new Hetman, Colonel Skoropadsky.¹⁹

In the *Impartial History of the Life and Actions of Peter Alexowitz, the Present Czar of Muscovy*, Defoe, although well informed about the events of the Great Northern War, is inconsistent in his judgment about Mazepa. When Mazepa is on the side of the Czar, Defoe writes: "...and the General Mazeppa, the famous Chief of the Cossacks advanced to join..."²⁰ (the Polish followers of Augustus II). However when Mazepa joined the Swedes, Defoe changes his opinion, saying that Charles XII "...carry'd on a secret Intelligence with that ruin'd Traytor Mazeppa, having found Means by Bribery and other Methods to corrupt him, who had indeed, the Ukrainian Cossacks much at his call..."²¹ As soon as this alliance

¹⁷ P. H. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53; cf.: Solovjev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XVI, p. 60. However, Bruce did not analyse this case; for him Cantemire was a hero, Mazepa a "Traitor".

¹⁹ D. Defoe, *The History of Wars*, p. 280-291.

²⁰ D. Defoe, *The Impartial History*, etc., p. 201.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 202. Similar accusations were made by the German Nuremberger magazine *Neu-Historischer Bilder-Saal*, Vol. VII, p. 253. However, these accusations are without ground.

was concluded, Charles XII to the "Surprise, not of the Russians only, but of all the World, left the direct Road to Moscow, and turn'd away South... and march'd Directly to Chernikiov on the River Desna, on the Frontiers of the Cossacks Country, and where he had more immediate Correspondence with the Rebel Mazeppa"²²

According to Defoe, Mazepa joined the Swedes with 10,000 Cossacks,²³ (actually 2,000 or 3,000 Cossacks joined Mazepa in his alliance with Charles XII).

Furthermore, Defoe described already known events, such as the destruction of Baturyn by Menshikov, the election of a new Hetman, and the Battle of Poltava.²⁴

In conclusion, it may be said that contemporary Englishmen even in the service of the Russians wrote in a neutral manner about Mazepa and his alliance with the Swedish King, stating facts, and trying to explain Mazepa's action because of Russian suppression of the Ukraine.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 203.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 206-208, 209-230.

MAZEPA IN THE CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

The name of Mazepa became known in Western Europe in connection with the "Holy Anti-Turkish Alliance" which was organized by the Emperor Leopold I (1684), and to which belonged Austria, Venice, The Church State, Poland, and Moscow. Since this war had an international character, since the Cossack forces together with the Russian forces had participated in this war, and since Mazepa was elected as the new Hetman during the campaign against Crimea, many German newspapers reported Mazepa's election.¹

Furthermore, the election of Augustus II of Saxony as King of the Polish Kingdom (1697), to which belonged a part of the Ukraine (the right bank of the Dnieper River), aroused such public interest about the Ukraine and the Cossacks in Germany that even the History of Poland, written by an English physician in the service of the Polish King Jan III Sobieski, Dr. Bernard Connor, was translated into German.²

Mazepa's participation during the Great Northern War on the side of Augustus II aroused public opinion not only in Germany, but also in England and even across the Atlantic Ocean in America. Finally, Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King Charles XII, and his defeat at Poltava, again provided rich material for the press.

The name of Mazepa was mentioned for the first time in the English press in connection with his election as a new Hetman during the military campaign under the command of the Russian Prince Vassilii Golitsyn against the Crimea in 1687, as a part of the war operations of the "Holy League" against Turkey. In this campaign, fifty thousand Ukrainian Cossacks participated, led by their Hetman, Ivan Samoylovych (also known as "Popovych", 1672-1687). When this campaign proved a failure, Golitsyn, in order to save his prestige at the Court in Moscow, persuaded the higher Cos-

¹ *Leipziger Post- und Ordinar-Zeitung*, Part I of the 39th week, 1687, (a correspondence from Moscow of August 13, 1687); *Berliner Sonntag-Postillon*, 1687, No. 38 (a correspondence from Moscow of August 13, 1687); *Berliner Dienstag Fama*, 1687, No. 37 (a correspondence from Lemberg of August 28, 1687); *Berliner Dienstag-Mercurius*, 1687, No. 38 (a correspondence from Jaslowicz of August 28, 1687); *Theatrum Europeum*, (Frankfurt A. M.), 1698. Vol. XIII, pp. 67-68; *Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, (Nuremberg: 1710), Vol. V, p. 853. See also: B. Krupnyckyj, *Hetman Mazepa v osvvitleniu nimeckoi literatury joho chasu (Hetman Mazepa in the Light of the German Literature at his time)*, (Zhovkva: 1932).

² *Beschreibung des Koenigreiches Pohlen und Gross-Herzogthums Lithauen* (Leipzig: 1700).

sack officers ("starshyna") to depose Samoylovych, accusing him of a connection with the Tartars. Although that was not true, the Tsarevna (princess) Sophia and Golitsyn, disregarding the valuable and honest services rendered by Samoylovych, decided to depose him. Thus, Samoylovych was arrested and later sent with his eldest son to Siberia, not having been granted a trial, and died in 1689. In the meantime, on July 25 (August 4, n. s.), 1687, Mazepa was elected Hetman.

The first English newspaper to mention Mazepa was *The London Gazette* of October 3 - 6, 1687. Using information from Hamburg dated September 30, 1687, *The London Gazette* reported that according to the news from Kiev, Samoylovych and his son were being taken to Moscow by Golitsyn to answer charges of treason, because Samoylovych was suspected of giving the enemy reports of plans and army movements. In the meantime, Golitsyn put "the Mareppa"³ (Mazepa) in charge of the Cossack forces, who had an excellent reputation for bravery and honesty. Mazepa was ordered to march to the Dnieper River, where he was to block any Tartar attempt to cross.

Mazepa's election was also reported in the London magazine, *Modern History, or a Monthly Account of All Considerable Occurrences*, etc., No. 3, December, 1687. It stated that General Golitsyn returned home without any military successes, and, in order to justify his fiasco, he blamed Samoylovych and his son, accusing them both of treason. Later, both were arrested, their estates confiscated, and "Mareppa (Mazepa), a Soldier of Fortune", was appointed as new Hetman."⁴

The May, 1688 edition of *Modern History*, No. 8, added, in connection with Mazepa's election, that the Cossacks revolted because they were opposed to his appointment. Up to this time, it had been customary for the Cossacks to elect their leader out of their "own Nation",⁵ and now they heartily disapproved of any violation of this tradition. The center of this rebellion was Kiev, where many rebels were jailed and executed. There was also a general unrest among the Zaporozhian Cossacks, but, with the help of Russian troops, peace and order was restored. The Cossacks, however, bitterly resented this violation of their privileges and customs.⁶ It

³ See the full text of this report in Appendix No. 1.

The Nuremberger magazine *Neu-Eroeffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, Vol. V, p. 853, also reported about Mazepa as "Mareppa".

⁴ *Modern History*, No. 3, p. 19. See the full text in Appendix No. 2.

⁵ Mazepa was accused by some Cossacks as being a Pole; however, contemporary eyewitnesses such as the French diplomat Foy de la Neuville remarked in his memoirs that "Mazeppa is Cossackborn...", *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁶ *Modern History*, No. 8, pp. 14-15. See the full text in Appendix No. 3. The German press also reported about this Cossack mutiny, e. g., the Leipziger

might be said that the mutiny among the Cossacks, especially at Fort Kodak and the city Hadiach, broke out as soon as the news of the arrest of Samoylovych reached the Cossack Army. Although the mutiny was suppressed by the Russian troops and some mercenaries, tension and general discontent existed among the Cossacks for a long time.

It also should be noted that after Hetman Samoylovych was deposed, many Cossacks left their camp and took this opportunity to wreak vengeance on some of the officers: however, it was not a rebellion against the election of Mazepa at that time. Because of this rebellious action on the part of some Cossacks, Mazepa received a unit of Russian soldiers to accompany him to the Hetman's residence city of Baturyn. As far as the Zaporoger Cossacks were concerned, they were largely under the jurisdiction of each Hetman. However, they always chose their own local leader — *koshovyj* — to whom they owed allegiance, sometimes even to the point of opposing the Hetman. For example, the Zaporoger opposed Mazepa when, at the order of the Czar, the Hetman built fortresses at the Samara River for the purpose of repulsing possible attacks from the Tartars.⁷

As far as the second campaign against the Crimea (1689) is concerned, there is little coverage in the English press about Mazepa or the Cossack forces. There is only a small amount of general information in two editions of *The London Gazette* of July 19-22 and October 21-24, 1689, in which the editor, using information of June 22 and September, 1689 from Warsaw, reported that the Cossack troops together with the Russian forces were successful in fighting the Tartars.

There was also very little about Mazepa and the Cossack Army in the English press during the Russo-Turkish War, 1695 - 1699, although the Cossacks under the command of Mazepa or his officers fought against the Tartars and the Turkish strongholders. In the edition of August 16-19, 1695, *The London Gazette*, using information from Poland through Hamburg of August 19 (n. s.), reported that the Cossacks "have made use of this opportunity to possess themselves of several Castles belonging to the Tartars". The Cossacks captured such fortresses as Kiserkimen, Mustryt-Kirmen, and Mubarek-Kirmen. In the edition of January 13-16, 1695,⁸ *The Lon-*

newspaper *The Leipziger Post and Ordinar-Zeitung*, of August 28, 1687. For details see: B. Krupnyckvj, *Hetman Mazepa v osvittleniu nimetskoj literatury joho chasu*, (Zhovkva: 1932), pp. 8-9.

⁷ Cf., Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-394

⁸ In England until 1762, New Year's Day was celebrated on March 25. Consequently, up to that date, the previous year was listed. All dates quoted henceforth in the text are given according to the new calendar.

ion Gazette, using the Czar's letter of January 7, 1696 as its source of information, corrected the previous report about the seizure of Azov, stating that this fortress was not captured "because of the numerous Garison there". *The London Gazette* of September 7-10, 1696, using reports from Moscow of August 16, 1696, finally confirmed that "Fortress Asaf (Azov) surrender'd on the 28-th of July."

The English press gave more coverage to Mazepa and the Cossack forces at the beginning of the Great Northern War. As soon as the Czar had ended his war with Turkey, he joined Poland in an attack upon Sweden. In connection with the military preparations to defend Narva against the Swedes, the London monthly magazine, *A General View of the World, or the Marrow History*, of November, 1700, reported that "General Mazespa (sic!) is likewise advancing with 50,000 Cossacks " to Narva.⁹ As a matter of fact, however, at the Czar's order Mazepa sent to Narva only 12,000 troops under Colonel I. Obydovskyj, who arrived after the battle.

Another London paper, *The Post-Boy*, of December 5-7, 1700, reported that, according to information from Mittau (Livonia), 3,000 Cossack troops had arrived in Livonia to fight the Swedes. This information was published by *The English Post with News Foreign and Domestic*, February 26-28, 1701. Mazepa indeed sent two Cossack regiments under the command of Colonel J. Lysohub to the vicinity of the city of Gdov on the Russian-Swedish border, where they attacked Swedish troops and devastated Swedish estates.

Although in 1702 Mazepa sent troops to fight the Swedes and their Polish allies, unfortunately there seems to be no reports in the contemporary English press about their military operations. Only *The Daily Courant* of September 19, 1702, using information from the *Harlem Courant* of September 14, 1702, reported that a "Body of Cossacks" harassed the Swedish troops and other Cossacks troops together with the Wallachians "incommoded the Swedes to secure Provisions" — according to information from Warsaw, August 31, 1702.

Moreover, the December 15, 1702 issue of *The Daily Courant*, using information from Warsaw of November 17, 1702, reported some interesting details about the uprising of the Cossacks on the right bank of the Dnieper River. According to the news, "the Cossacks, after having taken Niemirow, have possess'd themselves of the Fortress of Bialocerkiw, and defeated troops of the Starosta Chmielneski." This information is quite accurate. The Cossack Colonel Samusj defeated the Polish Troops under the command of the *Sta-*

⁹ *A General View of the World*, November, 1700. p. 166.

T H E

Master Mercury :

B E I N G

An ABSTRACT of the Publick NEWS

Monday, September 25. 1704.

The front page of the London magazine *The Master Mercury* of September 25, 1704.

Hamburg, August 15 Our Advice from *Livonia* say, That the *Muscovites* have taken *Derpas* by Storm, and put the whole Garrison to the Sword, except the Governour and 100 men. They write from *Poland*, That the *Muscovites*, under the Command of Prince *Galinza*, and the *Cossacks* Commanded by the famous *Mazepa*, consisting of 19000 choice men, with a Train of Artillery of 36 Pieces of Cannon, have join'd King *Augustus* near *Zawarsna*. That Prince has taken a strong Castle belonging to Prince *Lubomirski*, and found therein 60 Pieces of Brass Cannon, and some Ammunition.

From: *The Boston News-Letter*, January 22-29, 1705, No. 41, p. 2.

rosta of Khmelnyk, J. Potocki and Colonel D. Rushyts, at Berdychiv on October 17, 1702. At the end of October, 1702, with the help of the local population, Colonel Samusj and Colonel Abazyn seized Nemyriv, and finally, at the beginning of November, 1702, after seven weeks of siege, the fortress Bila-Tserkov was taken by the leader of this uprising, Colonel Palij. There is some indication that Mazepa helped them with ammunition, and that they wished to pledge allegiance to Mazepa as their Hetman.

There are no reports in the English press in 1703, because Mazepa did not participate in any military operations during this time. At the beginning of 1704, the Czar, having regained the Baltic provinces, increased his aid to his ally, the Saxo-Polish King, by sending him Russian troops and calling on Mazepa for the Cossack regiments. Consequently, Mazepa appeared in the pages of the press.

In connection with the Czar's assistance to Augustus II, the May 8, 1704 *Daily Courant*, based on news in the *Amsterdam Gazette* of May 13, 1704 (n. s.), reported that "there is certain Advice that 12,000 Muscovites are already arrived in Lithuania; and that 12,000 Foot more of them with 4,000 Cossacks Horse are on their March by the way of Kiova (Kiev), to join his Majesty, who has given the Command of the Cossacks to General Potocki". At the Czar's order, Mazepa indeed sent 3,000 Cossack troops under the command of Colonel D. Apostol and 1,000 under Count Golitsyn to aid Augustus II at the beginning of 1704. In the edition of July 1, 1704, *The Daily Courant*, relying on information from the *Leiden Gazette* and the *Amsterdam Gazette* of July 1 (n. s.), confirmed the information of May 8, 1704, about the Cossack troops on their way to Poland. *The London Gazette* of August 14-17, 1704, using a report from Berlin of August 12, 1704, also mentioned that "five or six Thousand Cossacks" were on their way to the city of Sandomierz to assist Augustus II.

In April, 1704, the Czar ordered Mazepa to take all his forces into the western Ukraine, there to crush those Polish magnates who were supporting the Swedes, and then proceed toward Poland to assist the Polish King. While proceeding with his military operations in the western Ukraine on June 15, 1704, Mazepa ordered one of his officers, D. Maksymovych, to Sandomierz for Augustus II's instructions. The Dutch and, especially the German, presses gave extensive coverage to Mazepa's military operations.¹⁰

¹⁰ Many German newspapers reported about Mazepa's operations; to mention only a few: Hamburg weekly, *Historische Remarques*, No. 31, of July 29, 1704. The Leipzig magazine *Europäische Fama* on this occasion even published Mazepa's biography, (pp. 57-60), and in the second edition (1706) his engraving on the first page. This engraving was made by a German engraver, Martin

N. O. No. 427.

The Boston News-Letter.

Published by Authority.

From Monday January 22. to Monday January 29 1704. 5.

*From the Duke of Marlborough's Camp at Seinhelm,
August 17. N. S.*

OUR Army, after the Glorious Victory obtained the 13th Instant, over the French and Bavarians, lay that night upon their Arms in the Enemy's Camp, and the 14th made a small Motion, and came with the Right to *Wittingling*, and the Left to this Place. The Elector of Bavaria, and the Marshal de *Marsin*, with the remainder of their Army, passed the Danube the same day over the Bridge of *Leuening*, which they burnt as soon as they were got over, and marched to *Burlesflingen*, near *Ulm*. Yesterday they retired further up the River towards the *Iler*: We have since repaired that Bridge, as also another at *Hochstet*. We have an Account, That yesterday morning early, the Troops that were in Garrison at *Augsburg*, quitted the Town, and are marched to join the Elector; The Garrison of *Munich* has done the like: And this morning two Despatches came from *Augsburg* to wait upon my Lord Duke, and pray his Grace's Protection; whereupon a Detachment is ordered to march and take Possession of that Place. The Number of Prisoners taken from the Enemy escapes every day, by the coming in of those who in the Rout escaped into the Country; They amount now to above 10000, besides more than 1200 Officers. The Marshal de *Talard*, with 16 General Officers, and 13 Colonels, which he has requested may be with him, will be going the 19th towards *Frankfurt* and *Hannan*, with a Guard to attend them. Our Army is to advance at the same time towards *Ulm*, in order to oblige the Enemy to decamp from the Neighbourhood of that Place, which is the last where they have any Magazines in this Country; so that when they have lost that, they must of necessity retire over the Rhine for want of Subsistence on this side. The French Forces which were in that Town are marched out of it; and the Garrison there consists now only of Bavarians. Monsieur de *Talard* confides their Army consisted of 81 Battalions, and 147 Squadrons; whereas we had but 64 Battalions, and 166 Squadrons, whereof 1500 Horse, under the Command of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, had been detached for the Siege of *Inghelad*. The Troops on the Left, Commanded by his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, have taken 34 Pieces of Cannon, with 35 Standards, and upwards of 90 Colours, besides 13 Pieces of Cannon taken by our Right Wing under Prince *Eugene*, with a great many Colours and Standards, whereof we know not yet the Number. This Day was observed as a day of Thanksgiving throughout the whole Army, for the Glorious Success wherewith it has pleased God to bless us, and in the Evening a triple Diebarge was made of all our Artillery and small Arms.

We refer you to our Number 33, in which is the Duke of *Marlborough's* Letter to the Secretary of State, which gives an Account of the Battle.

A List of the Chief Prisoners taken at the Battle at Blenheim.
The Marshal de *Talard*, Marquis de *Montpreou*, Maître de Camp General of Horse; Monsieur de *Mantseviller*, Maître de Camp General of Dragoons; Marquis de *Marsin*, Lieutenant General; Marquis de *Biarlan*, Mar-

General of the *Gen's d'Arms*; Marquis de *Soffenay*, Aid de Camp, and Souverain-law to the Marshal de *Talard*; Marquis de *St. Franco*, The Chevalier de *Legendre*, Colonel of Horse; Marquis de *Nemas*, Colonel of the Regiment of *Provençes*; Count de *Tavanax*, Count de *Sebec*, Monsieur *Bainemur*, Monsieur *Saubert*, Count de *Leau*, Marquis de *Daffy*, Baron de *Rijen*, Colonels of Foot; Marquis de *Vaffy*, Marquis de *Orrival*, Colonels of Dragoons; Prince *Manberg* of *Lorraine*, Captain of Horse; Marquis de *Avant*, Captain of the *Gen's d'Arms*; Monsieur de *Carman*, Second Lieutenant of the *Gen's d'Arms*, and Colonel; Monsieur de *Quilart*, Esquire of the *Gen's d'Arms*; Monsieur *Jaiffen*, Guidon of the *Gen's d'Arms*.

A List of the French Troops made Prisoners at Discretion in the Village of Blenheim, the 13th of August, 1704.
Four Regiments of Dragoons, viz. That of the Maître de Camp General, *La Reine*, *Vaffy*, *Rouen*, consisting of 3 Squadrons each; Seventeen Regiments of Foot, viz. *Navarre*, 3 Battalions, *Southerre*, & *Grador* German 2, *Oai* 2, *Artois* 2, *Provençes* 1, *Languedoc* 2, *Blas* 1, *Argenton* 1, *Sulauze* 2, *St. Second* 1, *Leff* 1, *Bouamono* 1, *Adouroux* 1, *Montfort* 2, *Royal* 3, Of the Artillery 1; in all 28 Battalions.

Berlin, August 19. On the 17th Instant, Monsieur *Bersheim*, Aid de Camp to the Prince of *Ansbach* *Dassau*, passed through this Place going to *Perswaldt*, where the King of *Prussia* is at present, with an Account of the Glorious Victory obtained by the Allies over the French and Bavarians at *Blenheim*, which has caused an universal Joy in these Parts. Our last Letters from *Poland* say, That the King of *Sweden* continued to advance towards *Rusland*, with intent, as was supposed, to attack the King of *Poland*, and that the *sew* *Klug* expected the Issue at *Warsaw*, and in the mean time was preparing to march with about 5 or 6000 Men of the Crown Army, who have been brought over to his Party, towards the Greater *Poland*, to oppose the Forces which are moving that way from *Saxony*. They write from the King of *Poland's* Camp at *Zarslaw* of the 4th Instant, That an Express was arrived there on the first from Prince *M'finswick*, who Commands a Body of the Forces of *Lithuania*, with Advice of his having taken the *Kber Schanz*, with the Slaughter of 250 Swedes, & afterwards possessed the *Duna*, & blocked up *Seibourg*, a Castle where there was a Garrison of 400 Swedes, which he hoped to be Master of in a little time, & then to make an Excursion towards *Riga*. Some *Muskovite* Troops are marching to join him, & it is believed they intend to block up that Place in the Winter.

Frankfurt, August 20. The French Army under the Marshal de *Villars* advanced lately to near our Lines at *Stoibessen*, that our Forces there expected to be attacked; but the Enemy thought fit to retire without attempting any thing; and some Advices add, that he intends to repeat the Rhine. The Siege of *Inghelad* is turned into a Blockade; & it is said Prince *Lewis*, with part of the Troops which were before that Place, is marching in order to rejoin the main Army.

Hague, August 26 N. S. There has lately been a Rising at *Ghent* & *Brussels*, where part of the *Inhabitants* had gathered together, who would cut. Long time King *Charles*

The front page of *The Boston News-Letter* of January 22-29, 1705.

Following the lead of Dutch and German press, and often using it as their source of information, such English magazines as *The Monthly Register or Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe*, *The Master Mercury Being an Abstract of the Publick News*, etc., and newspapers as *The Daily Courant*, *The Flying Post*, *The London Gazette*, *The Post-Man*, and others, widely publicized Mazepa's activities in the campaign against the Swedes and their Polish followers, however, sometimes inflating the number of troops and misspelling the names, as was quite common at that time.

One of the first English papers, *The Flying Post or The Post-Master*, of August 10-12, 1704, using information from Warsaw of July 23, 1704, reported that on August 4, messengers arrived from Mazepa at the King's headquarters to inform him that the Cossacks were on their way to Poland and were waiting for instruction, whereupon Augustus II decided to leave his headquarters in order to meet them.

The Daily Courant of August 14, 1704, drawing information from the *London Gazette* of August 7, 1704, reported that "Mazeppa the Commander-in-Chief of 20,000 Cossacks (40,000) has sent several Messengers to his Majesty to acquaint him that he waited his orders either to joyn him or to make a Diversion." In the same edition, *The Daily Courant*, using the *Leiden Gazette* of August 14 (n. s.) as its source of information, reported that "King of Poland dispatch'd Several Couriers to the 20,000 Cossacks that waited his Orders, to desire them to make haste to joyn him." Mazepa did not come in person and sent Augustus II only 10,000 Cossack troops under the command of Colonel Myrovych.

The Post-Man of August 15, 1704, using information from Hamburg (August 15), remarked that "the Cossacks commanded by famous Mazeppa, consisting of 19,000 Choice men with a Train of Artillery of 36 Pieces of Cannon have join'd King Augustus near Jaworow." In fact, Mazepa did not join him; he only sent 10,000 men.

In the edition of August 24-26, 1704, *The Post-Man*, relying on information from Warsaw of the eighth of August, reported that Mazepa arrived in the neighborhood of the city of Zharazh with 30,000 Cossacks (40,000) and was joined by 20,000 Russians to assist Augustus II.

Berningroth, 1670-1733. (K. H. Heineken, *Dictionaire des Artistes*. (Leipzig. 1788), Vol. II, p. 601; *Allgemeiner Portrait Katalog*, (Hamburg: 1931, p. 497), and not by Daniel Beyel from Zurich, 1760-1823, as indicated by the German historians, U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Kuenstler*, (Leipzig: 1909), Vol. XI, p. 231. For details see my article "Graviura Mazeppy z 1706 r." (The Engraving of Mazepa from 1706). *Ukrainskyj Istoryk*, Vol. III, No. 1-2. (1966), pp. 69-72. See also in the Viennese papers: *Post-tacglicher Mercurius* of May 17. 1704, and *Wienerisches Diarium* of July 16, 1704.

The London Gazette of August 25-28, 1704, using reports from Hamburg of August 22, 1704, reported that Augustus II had reviewed in his headquarters near Jaroslav a unit of the Cossacks who had lately arrived to be of assistance to him.

The Monthly Register, or Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe of August, 1704, also reported that about the end of July, General Golitsyn, with 16,000 Russians and 3,000 Cossacks (1,000), joined Augustus II in Javoriv." Similar information was also mentioned by *The Daily Courant* of September 7, 1704. This information refers to help which Mazepa sent to the King before he proceeded to Poland.

The English press continued to report on Mazepa's march to Augustus II, and as late as October 9, 1704. *The Daily Courant*, based on the *Leiden Gazette* of October 4, 1704, reported that Augustus expected Mazepa, "who is in full march towards him with 40,000 Cossacks," to join him. But as we have noted, Mazepa did not come in person: he sent only 10,000 men.

At times the editors were confused about names, and when they reported about the Cossacks, they always mentioned the name of Mazepa. A good example of this confusion is found in the report of *The Monthly Register* of September, 1704, which reported that the commanding Polish General "is said to be within a few Leagues of Lemberg with a Body of Poles and Cossacks (under Colonel Myrovyeh), and that he expects to be join'd by a very considerable Number of Cossacks commanded by General Maseppa."¹² Also, *The Daily Courant* of October 9, 1704, referring to the *Leiden Gazette* of October 14 (n. s.), reported that Mazepa was "in full March with 40,000 Cossacks" to join Augustus II.

The weekly magazine, *The Master Mercury: Being an Abstract of the Publick News*, reported even less about this matter, stating that Augustus received an additional 20,000 Cossack troops, "besides the Army he left near Lemberg to face the Swedes."¹³ In fact, Mazepa at that time was devastating Count Lubomirski's estates in Volhynia. Colonel Myrovyeh, retreating with 10,000 Cossacks after Lviv had been seized by the Swedes (August 26), joined the Polish General Rzewuski.

The Daily Courant of September 21, 1704, having information from Warsaw of September 6, reported that the Saxon General Brandt (under whose command Mazepa sent Colonel Apostol with 3,000 men) arrived on August 31, 1704, in the vicinity of the city of Sokal to besiege the Swedish General Horn. On September 3, General Brandt sent messengers to General Horn, demanding his

¹¹ *The Monthly Register*, Vol. II, No. 8, p. 328.

¹² *The Monthly Register*, Vol. II, No. 9, p. 367.

¹³ *The Master Mercury*, etc. of September 25, 1704, No. 15, p. 59.

surrender and warning that unless he did so, the Cossacks would kill his men, as they did at Latowice. According to Kostomarov, Colonel Apostol helped General Brandt defeat the Swedish Major Lejonhelm. In this battle, the Cossacks killed 460 Swedes and brought 300 Swedish prisoners to Augustus II. However, the Swedish historian, G. Nordberg, stated that the Swedes surrendered to General Brandt, but the Cossacks killed them. General Horn surrendered in Warsaw, where the Cossacks also participated in the engagement.¹⁴

On this event, *The London Gazette* of September 18-21, 1704, referring to the information from Berlin of September 16, reported that Augustus II sent the Cossack troops to Sokal and expected the arrival of more Cossacks.

The London Gazette, in the editions of October 9-12, 1704, utilizing news from Berlin of October 14, 1704 (n. s.), reported that the Saxon, Cossack, and Russian forces, under the command of General Patkul, besieged the city of Poznan (Posen). *The Monthly Register* of October, 1704, also mentioned the Cossack troops under the command of General Patkul.¹⁵

Concerning Colonel Myrovych and his retreat from a further campaign against the Swedes in Warsaw, *The Daily Courant* of October 18, 1704, referring to the *Amsterdam Gazette* of October 11, 1704, reported that "15,000 (10,000) Cossacks under the command of General Mironowicz (Colonel Myrovych) ...after having ravag'd the Country between Zloczow and Olesko, is march'd ... toward Brody, where they expect to be join'd by 30,000 Cossacks, detach'd from General Mazepa, who with the rest of his army is on the Ukraine and Volhynia." Here it must be said that Colonel Myrovych retreated from his march on Warsaw on October 20, at which time Mazepa was close to Baturyn. Based on news in the *Amsterdam Gazette* of October 31 (n. s.), the October 27, 1704 *Daily Courant* once more confirmed the retreat of Colonel Myrovych, who was to join the main force of Mazepa.

Concerning Mazepa's return home, *The Daily Courant* of December 1, 1704, referring to the reports from Dresden of November 27 in the *Amsterdam Gazette* of December 5 (n. s.), wrote that "Mazepa, General of the Cossacks, has put troops into Lubar, Pawolocz, Piatki, and other places, and he is gone toward the Borysthens (Dnieper) River."

There is quite an accurate report in *The Daily Courant* of December 15, 1704, utilizing the *Brussels Gazette* of December 16,

¹⁴ Cf., Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 529.

¹⁵ *The Monthly Register*, Vol. II, No. 10, p.396. Cf.: Kostomarov. *op. cit.*, pp. 529.

The Daily Courant.

Friday, May 23. 1707.

From the Leiden Courant, dated May 25.

Lemberg, April 27.

THE Czar has solemniz'd the Easter Holidays at Zolkiew, and held a Council of War there on the Operations of the approaching Campaign, with the Generals Zeremer, Mazepa, and others. All the Dragoons have receiv'd their new Cloathing and Mounting, but only Part of the Foot are new cloth'd. The Archbishop of this Place is carried from Dubno to Kiow.

Shells, May 17. There are many Privateers upon our Coast, so that no Ships dare venture out of our Port. A Squadron of Ships part off this Place 2 Days ago, which we suppose to be French.

Cruisers, May 19. To Day was brought in by the Walker of Flushing, Captain Samuel Peraro Commander, the Chafle Sufannal of Granville a French Caper of 12 Guns and 85 Men, taken 5 Days ago off the Start.

London, May 23.

Her Majesty has been pleas'd to constitute and appoint a new Lieutenancy for this City: Whose Names are as follows.

The Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen.

Sir Henry Alhurst, Sir Benj. Ayloff, Sir Robert Adams, Sir Jonathan Andrew, Daniel Allen, Edward Allen.

Sir John Buckworth, Sir James Bateman, Sir William Benton, Edmund Boulter, Richard Britlow, William Beckford, Richard Beauchamp, Abraham Beake, John Billers.

Sir James Collet, Sir Ambrose Crowley, Awntham Churchill, Henry Cornith, John Cullum, John Coggs, John Craddock, Richard Craddock, Edward Coulton, Thomas Coulton, Richard Crawley, Robert Child, William Coatesworth, John Cholimley, Charles Cox, Richard Cock, Gerrard Con-

John Deagle, Duncan Dee, Tho. Death, William Derbovery, Paul Docaminique, Josiah Dilton, Charles Dubois, Daniel Dorville, Peter Deline, John Denew.

Sir Stephen Evance, William Etrick, Fr. Eyles, Thomas Lyre.

Sir Bazil Firebrake, Sir William Fazakerly, Sir Henry Furnesse, Thomas Frederick, Will. Faulkner, Edward Fowler, Robert Foot.

Sir Barth. Gracedeu, Nath. Gould, Tho. Guy, Edward Gould, Richard Gough, Tho. Gibson, Peter Godfrey, Will. Gunn.

Sir Tho. Halton, Sir Will. Hodges, Sir Will. Humfreys, Henry Hatley, Urban Hall, Tho. Hall, James Hallet, Fred. Herne, Nath. Herne, William Hooker, Abraham Houbion, John Hauger, John Hlibbert, Lawrence Hatfell, John Hide, Sam. Hayward.

Sir Theod. Janston, Peter Joy, John Jeffrey's.

John Knap, Henry Kelfey.

Sir John Lathialier, Sam. Lock, John Lordell, Henry Liyell, Sam. Lethialier.

Sir John Mordant, John Morgan, Henry Meriton, Robert Mitchel, William Mead junior.

Sir George Newland.

Samuel Ougley.

John Page, Phil. Papillion, Alexander Pitfeild, William Proctor, Richard Perry, Charles Peers, Jerre Powell, Peter Parker, Peter Paggan, Tho. Powell, Micaiah Perry, Coll. Richard Peirce, Sam. Powell.

Sir Gabr. Roberts, Robert Raworth, John Rudge, Benjamin Rokeby, Jacob Reynoldson.

Sir William Scawen, John Sawyer, Will. Strong, John Sherbrooke, Sam. Sheppard, Tho. Scawen, John Scott, Gab. Smith, Tho. Stiles, Benj. Smith, John Shipman, John Shure.

Nath. Tench, George Thorold, John Townsend.

Sir Peter Vandeput, Sir Tho. Vernon.

Sir Tho. Webster, Benjamin Witchcott, Will. Walker, Godfrey Webster, John Ward,

The newspaper report of Mazepa's participation at the Council of War at Zhovkva in *The Daily Courant* of May 23, 1707.

1704 (n. s.), which reported that according to the information from Charles XII's headquarters in Traustau (Silesia), of November 22, the Swedes attacked 2,000 Cossacks under the command of Colonel Apostol and killed most of them. There were 1,700 Cossacks of whom 1,620 were killed by the Swedes at the city of Wielun, Silesia, and only 80 Cossacks returned home.¹⁶

Reports about Mazepa even reached America. One of the oldest contemporary American newspapers, New England's *The Boston News-Letter*, reporting on the Great Northern War, mentioned Mazepa several times. Using information of June 25, 1704, from Kamnits-Podolsky and Lviv through Dresden, *The Boston News-Letter* of August 15, 1704, reported that "...4,000 (40,000) Cossacks Horse under General Mazeppa, passed the Nieper the 21st of May and will reach the King's Army at Sandomir."¹⁷

In the edition of January 22-29, 1705, *The Boston News-Letter* copying the London semi-weekly, *The Post-Man*, of August 26, 1704, reported verbatim the same news about Mazepa.¹⁸

The issue of February 5, 1705, of *The Boston News-Letter*, relying on reports from Hamburg of August 22, 1704, reported that "the King of Poland had review'd that day part of Cossacks" at his headquarters.¹⁹

From 1705 to 1708 there was only sporadic newspaper coverage about Mazepa's military activity for that period, although he was very active. On June 18, 1705, Mazepa moved with 40,000 Cossack troops to Volhynia and from there toward Sandomierz, where he was supposed to join Augustus II. Concerning these military operations, such English newspapers as *The Daily Courant*, *The London Gazette*, and *The Post-Man* brought several reports.

The Daily Courant of May 5, 1705, using the *Amsterdam Gazette* of May 3, 1705, reported that according to information received from Lviv, "Tartars are to attack Podolia," and that "the General of the Cossacks, Mazeppa," concentrated his troops near the Dnie-

¹⁶ Cf., Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

¹⁷ This information is presumably taken from *The Daily Courant* of July 1, 1704.

¹⁸ From *The Boston News-Letter*, from Monday, January 22, to Monday, January 29, 1705 (o. s.): "Hamburgh, August 15, 1704. Our Advices from Livonia say, That the Muscovites have taken Dorpat by Storm, and put the whole Garrison to the Sword, except the Governour and 100 men. They write from Poland, That the Muscovites, under the Command of Prince Galuzen (sic!), and the Cossacks Commanded by the famous Mazeppa, consisting of 19,000 choice men, with a Train of Artillery of 35 Pieces of Cannon, have join'd King Augustus near Jaworow. That Prince has taken 2 strong Castles belonging to Prince Lubomirski, and found therein 60 Pieces of Brass Cannon, and some Ammunition". (See reprint, p. 79).

¹⁹ This information was taken from *The London Gazette* of August 28, 1704.

The Daily Courant.

Wednesday, December 29. 1708

London, December 29.

Yesterday arriv'd the Mail from Holland of Friday last.

From the Harl. and Amst. Cour. &c. dated Jan. 5.
From the Czar of Muscovy's Camp near the River
Defna, Nov. 16.

GENERAL Mizeppa, aged 70 Years, Commander in chief of the Cossacks, had been engag'd by the Swedish Generals to come over with his Troops to their Army; the Swedes proposing by gaining the principal Forces of the Cossacks, to subvert themselves the more easily. Accordingly Mizeppa pass'd the Defna with his Troops, under Pretence of making some Attempt against the Swedish Army; and being pass'd over, he drew up his Men in Order, and communicated to them his Intention to join the Swedes. But far the greater Part of his Body of Troops, who had long been dissatisfied with him, declaring loudly their Abhorrence of such an Action, he found there was no other Way to avoid the Punishment he had deserv'd, and to save his Life, than to make off to the Swedish Army with about 1000 Cossacks who adher'd to him: No Officers accompany'd him; but he carried with him by Force 3 Colonels, Mirogradzky, Brilucky, and Lubinsky. The remaining Troops of the Cossacks repass'd the Defna, and join'd our Army. Hereupon his Czarish Majesty sent out circular Letters for Electing a new General of the Cossacks: Pursuant to which the Archbishops of Kyof, Czernickof, and Berenslaf, with the other Heads of that Nation, assembled at Gluchou; and there having first renew'd their Oaths of Allegiance to the Czar, unanimously chose M. Skoropacky for their General. Further, by Order of his Czarish Majesty, Prince Meozikof march'd with a Body of Troops to Baturni, the ordinary Town of Residence of Mizeppa; enter'd it by Assault; put to the Sword 5 or 6000 rebellious Cossacks, and caus'd some of the chief to be broken on the Wheel. In that Place were found Effects of considerable Value belonging to Mizeppa, and a numerous Artillery with great Stores of Ammunition and Provisions. General Skoropacky has join'd our Army with his Cossacks. Upon this Disappointment, the King of Sweden has caus'd his Army to intrench themselves between Staradub and Czernickof; but as soon as a hard Frost comes, his Czarish Majesty proposes to pass the Defna and attack the Swedes.

From the Harlem Courant, dated January 5.

Sarre and the Moselle, has given Directions for raising the Lines on the latter considerably higher, as also for making the Intrenchments along the Moser much stronger, and erecting Redoubts on them at the Distance of 150 Paces one from the other. From which 'tis conjectur'd, that the Design of the Court of France is to act defensively in these Parts the ensuing Summer, that they may draw off their best and oldest Regiments to employ them in the Netherlands. Great Diligence is us'd in this Province to raise Recruits; which not only sometimes occasions Disorders, but makes those who are liable to the Service fly the Country. All the Magazines in Alsace are to be fill'd by the End of February.

From the Harlem Courant, dated January 5.

Francfort, Dec. 30. The French have order'd 20 Battalions from Alsace to Flanders.

From the Antwerp Courant, dated January 4.

Doway, Dec. 31. The 15th at Noon, the Marshal de Boufflers with the Chevalier de Luxembourg arriv'd here Post from Versailles. [The Marshal (*says the Paris Letter*) has the Command in Chief of all the French Forces in Flanders, and is to concert with the Elector of Bavaria the best Measures for the Service of the two Crowns.] Yesterday the Chevalier de Luxembourg set out to Lyons, to see that the Magazines of that Place be fill'd with all manner of Stores; it being apprehended that at the opening of the Campaign the Enemy will attack that City. We work Day and Night to cast Cannon; but 'tis talk'd that for the better Security of our Foundation, it will be remov'd this Winter to Dunkirk.

Namur, Jan. 1. Men are kept working continually on our Fortifications. Some new Works are making between the Town and the Castle; and in short, our Preparations are such as if we were apprehensive of being besieg'd. Our Governour M. de Saillant, sets out to Morrow for the Court of France. Three Regiments which two Days ago arriv'd here from the Country of Luxembourg, proceeded this Morning to Charleroy.

Paris, Dec. 31. On the Remonstrances of the Duke of Orleans, the King has caus'd a great Sum of Money to be sent to the Count d'Estain, for paying the Troops in Spain: Our Court design to augment their Forces on that Side. The Duke de Noailles will speedily be going to Roussillon; several Men of War are fitting out at Toulon with all Expedition; and our Court flatter themselves they shall be able to open the Campaign in Catalonia with the Siege of some Place of Importance; But many are apprehensive, that the Allies by being

The Newspaper report of Mazepa's joining the Swedes in *The Daily Courant* of December 29, 1708.

per River, "which will do great service to the King of Poland." Actually, Mazepa participated in the commission which was established to settle the border problems with the Turks.

In the edition of May 24-28, 1705, *The London Gazette*, using the information from Lviv of May 13, reported that "General Mazeppa, who commands the Cossacks in the Service of the Czar has passed the Nieper near Kiow (Kiev), and is marching towards Brescici (Brest) in order to join the Saxon forces under General Schnylenberd (Schulenburg), Mazepa did not join General Schulenburg but was ordered to march in the vicinity of the city of Slutsk.

In connection with the march of the Swedish King to Lithuania in the winter of 1705, Mazepa was summoned to the vicinity of Grodno to attack the Swedes' flank, and *The London Gazette* of February 21-25, 1706, using information from Warsaw of February 16, reported that "The King of Poland whose headquarters at that time was in the city of Nowogrodek in Lithuania has lately dispatched an Express to General Mazeppa, who commands the Muscovite Forces at Grodno."

After Grodno was surrendered to the Swedes, Mazepa returned to the Ukraine, where he was supposed to repair several fortresses. However, there are no reports about Mazepa's activity in the Ukraine. In the years 1706 and 1707, we have only two notices in *The Post-Man* of May 15, 1707; according to information from Lviv of April 27, 1707, Mazepa was summoned by the Czar to a great war council to be held in Zhovkva, near Lviv. This information was also published on the first page of *The Daily Courant* of May 23, 1707.

In the edition of August 9, 1707, *The Post-Man* reported that according to information received from Warsaw in Danzig of August 3 (n. s.), 30,000 Cossacks were shortly expected there. In fact, Mazepa sent several regiments to aid the Polish generals, who fought against the Swedes.

Sporadic information about Mazepa and his commanders is to be found in *The Boston News-Letter*. In the edition of March 19-26, 1705, *The Boston News-Letter*, using information from Danzig of September 20, 1704, reported that "the Cossacks have entirely ruin'd the Paternal Estat of Primate," and that 24,000 Cossacks commanded by Mazepa, were "marching to joyn the Lithuanians under Prince Weizienomski" (Michael Servatius Wisniowiecki, Commanding General in Lithuania). In another edition, *The Boston News-Letter* of July 8-15, 1706, using information from Lithuania through Danzig of March 24, 1706, reported that "General Ogiloy (George B. Ogilvi, a Scotsman in the Russian Service), received Provisions," that the Czar was at Orsa on the Dnieper River and that, "we have no manner or Advice from General Mazeppa since

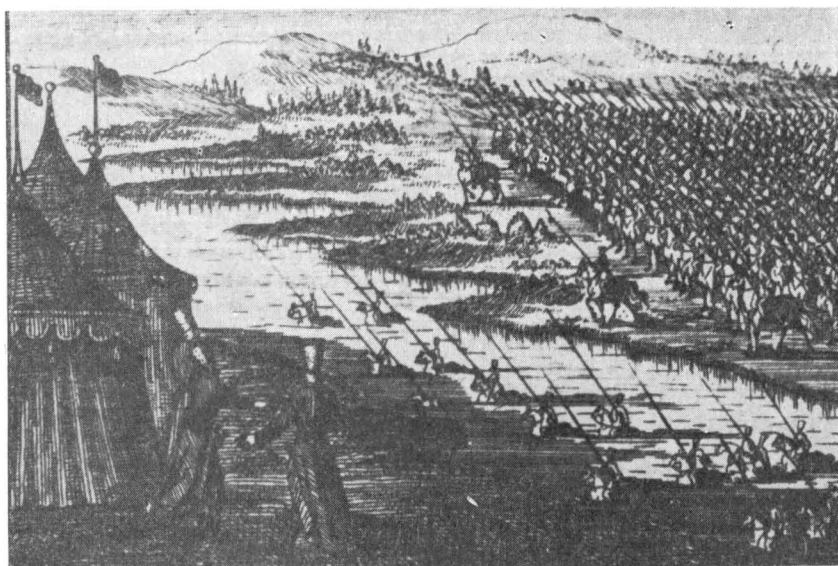
he march'd from his Quarters... (in the vicinity of the city of Slutsk)." Apparently, Mazepa was on his way to Grodno. Based on information from Warsaw of July 19, 1706, *The Boston News-Letter* of January 12-19, 1708, reported that 6,000 Cossack troops had lately arrived in the city of Lublin. Being more specific, the editor wrote in *The Boston News-Letter* of January 26 — February 2, 1708, that according to information from Danzig of July 23, 1706, "the Cossacks under the Command of General Wisnarowski (Voinarovsky), Nephew to General Mazeppa, are arriv'd in the Neighbourhood of Lublin, from whence they are to continue their March towards Great Poland, to joyn the main Body of the Muscovites." Mazepa indeed sent 5,000 men under the command of his nephew, Andrew Voinarovsky, but to aid the Polish General, Adam Sieniawski. There is a note in *The Boston News-Letter* of February 23 — March 1, 1708, that according to information received from Warsaw in Danzig of August 3, 1707, "30,000 Cossacks are shortly expect'd there."²⁰ The same edition of *The Boston News-Letter* once more repeated the report about the arrival of Mazepa's nephew, Voinarovsky, in the vicinity of Lublin, noting, however, that the source of information was Jacobwice.

From the end of 1708, there was a great deal of newspaper coverage of Mazepa, because of his well-known alliance with Charles XII. When it became known that Mazepa joined the Swedes (October 26, 1708), it was a great surprise to the Ukrainian people and to the Czar as well. Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King came not only as a surprise in diplomatic circles in Moscow²¹ and a subject in the reports of the foreign representatives at Charles XII's field headquarters,²² but it was also a sensation in world po-

²⁰ This information was taken from *The Post-Man* of August 9, 1707.

²¹ The English envoy Whitworth's report of November 19, 1708, see: *Diplomateskiye doneseniya*, Vol. L, p. 108; cf.: B. Krupnyckyj, *Hetman Mazepa und seine Zeit*, p. 161; envoy Pleyer's supplementary report of November 16, 1708, *Austrian State Archives*, "Russland I-20", excerpts of these reports were published by S. Tomashivskysj in "Z. donesen avstrijskoho posla Pleyera v Moskvi 1708 i 1709 rr." (From the Reports of the Austrian Envoy in Moscow in the Years 1708-1709, *ZNTS*, (1909), Vol. XCII, p. 242; Prussian envoy Kayserling's report No. 40 of November 21-10, 1708; see: B. Krupnyckyj, "Z donesen Kayserlinga 1708-1709 rr." (From Kayserling's reports of 1708-1709), *PUNI*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 25-27.

²² The Prussian representative at the Swedish headquarters, Colonel-lieutenant David Nathaniel von Siltmann, made many remarks about Mazepa in his reports and diary, which are translated into Swedish by A. Quennerstedt, *Karolinska Krigares Dagbocker* (Lund: 1907-1918), Vol. III; see S. Tomashivskyj, "Z donesen Karolinciv pro 1708-9 r." (From the Reports of Charles XII's Followers about the Year 1708-09, *ZNTS*, Vol. XCIII, pp. 76-77; *Remarques d'un seigneur Polonois sur l'histoire de Charles XII*, (the Hague: 1741), also in the English translation: *Remarks on M. de Voltaire's History of Charles XII, King of Sweden* (London: 1741). The Slovak emissary of the Lutherans to Charles



The retreat of those Cossacks, who did not wish to follow Mazepa and to join the Swedes.

From: *Neu-eroeffneter Historischer Bilder Saal* (Nuremberg: 1719), Vol. VII, p. 258.

lities; it is no wonder that this event was widely described and commented on by the contemporary, and especially the German, press.²³

One of the early English newspapers which reported about Mazepa's joining the Swedish King was *The Daily Courant* of December 29, 1708. Referring to the official Russian reports of November 16, 1708, which had originated in the Czar's headquarters on the Desna River²⁴, and published in the *Harlem and Amsterdam Courier* of January 5, 1708 (n. s.), *The Daily Courant* reported on the first page that "General Mazeppa, aged 70 years, Commander in Chief of the Cossacks, had been engaged by the Swedish Generals to come over with his Troops to their Army..." The account went on to say that "Mazeppa pass'd the Desna with his Troops, under Pretence of making some Attempt against the Swedish Army and being pass'd over, he drew up his Men in Order, and communicated to them his Intention to joyn the Swedes." However, the majority of the Cossacks, who for a long time had been dissatisfied with Mazepa, disapproved of his plan and recrossed the Desna, leaving him with an Army of 1,000 men and three colonels taken by force. Mazepa, according to their report, "found there was no other Way to avoid the Punishment he had deserv'd, and to save his Life" joined the Swedes. It was reported that when those Cossacks returned (see the contemporary picture), the Czar sent out "circular Letters" to the Ukrainian Bishops and commanding officers to elect a new Hetman in the city of Hlukhiv. The Cossacks chose Colonel I. Skoropadsky. Further, the Czar ordered Menshikov to seize Mazepa's residence, the city of Baturyn, which he assaulted, taking the artillery and the food supply, and where he executed 5,000 to 6,000 of the population. The report ended with the statement that

XII, Daniel Krman, mentioned Mazepa in his reports which were published in *Monumenta Hungariae Historica Scriptorum* (Budapest: 1894), Vol. XXXIII, pp. 425-494; cf.: S. Tomashivskij, "Slovackij vyslannyk na Ukrainu" (Slovak Emissary in the Ukraine), *Naukovyj Zbirnyk prysviachenyj M. Hrushevskomu* (Lviv: 1906), pp. 301-345.

²³ *Leipsiger Post- und Ordinar-Zeitung*, supplementary part to the 52nd week of 1708; the Austrian semi-weekly, *Post-taeglicher Mercurius* (Vienna: December 26, 1708); *Europaesische Fauna*, Vol. LXXXV, pp. 38-39. *Neu-eroeffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, Vol. V, p. 253; *Theatrum Europaeum*, Vol. XVIII, p. 273; the Dutch newspaper, *Harlem-Amsterdam Courier* of January 3, 1709; the French monthly magazine, *Mercure historique et politique*, (A la Haye: January, 1709), Vol. XLVI; the Swedish paper, *Stockholmske Post-Tiender*, (Stockholm: December 29, 1708), No. 52.

²⁴ Copies of this report were distributed among foreign representatives at the Czar's headquarters, and were also sent abroad. For full text, see my *Mazepa im Lichte der Zeitgenossischen deutschen Quellen*, ZNTS, Vol. CLXXIV, pp. 82-83.

the new Hetman, I. Skoropadsky, joined the Czar's Army, and that the Russians intended to attack the Swedes.²⁵

Using the Russian report, *The Daily Courant* could not be expected to check or verify the facts. In fact, Mazepa was not persuaded by "the Swedish Generals to come over." It was circumstances which dictated his decision to join the Swedes. On October 24, 1708, it was evident that Menshikov would see Mazepa in person at his field headquarters at Borzna, a move that Mazepa feared would lead to his arrest. It was then that the Hetman Mazepa decided to join the Swedes.

Furthermore, Mazepa did not join the Swedish King because of personal motives, as was suggested in this Russian report, but rather because he knew that the Czar intended to abolish the autonomous status of the Ukraine. The Hetman tried to preserve this autonomy, and save the Ukraine from the possible devastation of military operations.

It is also not true that "no Officers accompany'd Mazepa, and that "he carried with him by Force 3 Colonels," namely, D. Apostol of Myrhorod, D. Horlenko of Pryluky, and D. Zelenskyj of Lubni. As a matter of fact, as Captain J. Perry mentioned in his memoirs, all the officers and officials of his staff joined him.²⁶ These officers as named by O. Ohloblyn were Colonels I. Lomykovskyj, V. Chujkevych, P. Orlyk, M. Hamalija, D. Maksymovych, I. Sulyma, and F. Myrovych. Besides the above-mentioned colonels, there were others, such as A. Kandyba of Korsun, K. Mokievskyj of Kiev, later of Chyhyryn, I. Galagan, T. Koshuehovskyj, and J. Pokotylo — colonels of the regiments of special services ("kompanijski polky").²⁷ The number of troops is not certain. Some eyewitnesses stated that Mazepa took with him 1,500 men (Galagan), 2,000 men (Apraxin), 4,000 men (Cederhjelm), or 5,000 men (Gyllenstierna). According to O. Ohloblyn, the number of 3,000 men is acceptable.²⁸

Referring to the *Paris Gazette* of January 5, 1709, *The Daily Courant* of January 18, 1709, mentioned the alliance of Mazepa and

²⁵ For the full text of this report see in Appendix No. 4.

²⁶ Cf.: J. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

²⁷ O. Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

²⁸ Almost eight months later, *The Daily Courant* of August 22, 1709 reported that the Swedish General Rehnschöld, when captured by Russians, stated that here were 30,000 troops. He estimated that of these 30,000 troops, 19,000 were Swedish regulars and the rest were Cossacks. As of April 8, 1709, 8,000 Zaporoger Cossacks joined Mazepa; consequently, it may be assumed that the remaining 3,000 Cossacks were Mazepa's. For details, see: J. Bardili, *op. cit.*, p. 438, N. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 671-672, O. Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 346-347:

The London Gazette.

Published by Authority.

From Thursday December 30. to Monday January 3. 1708.

Vienna, December 26. N. S.

ON Sunday last Te Deum was sung here in St. Stephen's Church, the Emperor and Empress present, and the Guns thrice discharged from the Walls of the Town, for the News of our Army's having forced the Passage of the Scheldt, and having obliged the Enemy to raise the Siege of Brussels, and to surrender the Citadel of Lille. Monsignor Piazza, late Nuncio in Poland, is soon expected here from Rome. He is to take upon him the Character of Nuncio to this Court, as soon as the present Differences between the Emperor and the Pope are finally terminated. We have Advices from the Russian Camp in Ukraina, that Count Mazepa, General of the Cossacks, was gone over to the King of Sweden; but that he had carried along with him only three Colonels, and a small number of his Body, the rest having declared they would continue faithful to the Czar. Some few Days after that General's Defection, the Prince of Meuzikow marched with a Body of Troops and a Train of Artillery to Haurin, the Place of General Mazepa's Residence, whither the General had sent 6000 of his Men for the Security of his Estate; but the Prince made himself Master of the Town, and put all he found in it to the Sword. The Muscovites have prevailed on the Cossacks to proceed to the Election of a new General; and the Choice is said to have fallen on a Nobleman called Skoropacki. The Czar had been endeavouring, for some time past, to procure to General Mazepa the Dignity of a Prince of the Empire, as a Recompence for his past Services. Those Letters from the Russian Army say, that the King of Sweden was encamped between Starodub and Czernikow on the River Desna; but we have been long without direct Advices from the Swedish Army.

Berne, December 29. N. S. The Strength and Interest of the new Council increase every Day, and the Inhabitants of Kirchberg have submitted to it in the same manner with the other Parts of their Dominion. The Preacher of that Place had prevailed upon his Parishioners to take up Arms, and refuse Payment of any Taxes imposed by the Council, upon which many Outrages were committed, and the Persons of the Officers who were to receive those Impostions insulted. This ill Treatment of those who acted by their Commission, obliged the Government to send Deputies, with 240 Men under their Command, to reduce those of Kirchberg to their Obedience. The Deputies have condemned the Leaders of the Mutiny to pay great Fines, and banished the Priest who fomented those Divisions out of their Dominions for ever, on Pain of being beheaded, if after a certain Day he is found within their Territories. The last Letters from Paris say, there were great Divisions at the Court of France, and that the Ministers were at a Loss what Resolutions to take in the present Conjunction. It is said,

between the Emperor and the Pope. Letters from Savoy say, that the Count de la Tour, who has served his Royal Highness in several Courts, and was a Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of Peace at Ratiswick, died at Thonon on the 8th Instant.

Berlin, December 29. N. S. When the Emperor desired this Court to let 2000 of their Troops advance from the Ferrareze to Rome, if there should be occasion, his Majesty returned Answer, that he was not only ready to order the 2000 desired, but also the whole Body of his Troops in Italy to march into the City of Rome, if his Imperial Majesty thought it necessary. Letters from the Place bordering on the River Willa tell us, that in the Action which happened between the Palatin of Kiow, and the Count de Graze Army under the Command of Monsieur Ribinski, the former had the Advantage in the beginning of the Engagement; but that Monsieur Ribinski, having rallied his Troops, put the Palatin to Flight. It is said, that if the Night had not come on, the Defeat would have been much greater. The same Letters say, that General Wenzelauer has joined his Master the King of Sweden with 5000 Men; so that the Advices we lately received, that General Mazepa had embraced the Swedish Interest, and that since his Arrival in their Camp, he had obtained an Advantage over the Muscovites.

Brussels, January 7. N. S. On Friday last his Grace the Duke of Marlborough came from Ghent to this Place, and was attended the next Morning by the Council of State, the States of Brabant, the Magistrates, and other Persons of Quality, who made their Compliments upon his happy Conclusion of the Campaign. On Wednesday next his Grace designs to set out with Prince Eugene for the Hague. We have an account from Mons, that the Elector of Bavaria has been at Valenciennes, to concert and take Measures with the Marschal de Boufflers, and that he returned to Mons three Days ago. Te Deum will be sung here next Sunday, (which will be observed as a Day of Thanksgiving) for the surrender of Ghent and Bruges to their lawful Sovereign, and the other Successes of the Campaign.

Hague, January 8. N. S. The States General have resolved to augment their Forces with the Addition of 6000 Men, and have sent that Resolution to their respective Provinces for their Approbation. The Squadron which is designed for the Mediterranean will sail within few Days, if the Wind continues fair. The States have written to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough in the most earnest manner, to defer his Return into Great Britain, and represented the Necessity that either his Grace or the Prince of Savoy should stay in Holland in the present Conjunction; but 'tis thought that Prince Eugene, after having been some Days in this Place, will be obliged to return to the Court of Vienna.

St. James's, December 31. On the 10th of this Instant his Grace the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the

The Newspaper report of Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King in *The London Gazette* of December 29, 1708 — January 3, 1709.

Charles XII. The terms stipulated that the Cossacks were to provide food and a certain number of troops for the Swedish King.²⁹

Amazingly enough, this information published by *The Daily Courant* of January 18, 1709 corresponds with the terms described by an "anonymous Swedish Major," Peter Schoenstroem, a secretary at the Charles XII's field headquarters, in his memoirs, which later had been added to Gustav Adlerfelt's *Histoire Militaire de Charles XII*.³⁰ According to the major, "such were the conditions of this treaty, which was concluded so artfully and kept so secret that no one had the least knowledge of it, except the King of Sweden, King Stanislaus, Mazepa, Count Piper, a certain Polish Senator, whose name I have forgot, and the Arch-bishop of Severia of Bulgaria, who was banished from his country for what reason I know not."³¹ Since on July 12, 1709, the Swedish King ordered General Locwenhaupt to burn all the documents at Perevolochna,³² this information in *The Daily Courant* is of great interest.

Until the battle of Poltava (July 7, 1709), there were no further reports about Mazepa in *The Daily Courant* or other English newspapers. The result of this battle was a surprise. It is understandable that all presses widely comment about such an important event as the battle of Poltava. The contemporary German historian and philosopher, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716), remarked that it decided the fate of Sweden and Russia.

The Daily Courant of August 16, 1709, using the *Amsterdam Gazette* as its source of information, reported that according to de Leith, the Russian envoy in Berlin, he had received a letter written by the Czar on July 27, and sent from his headquarters near the city of Jaroslaw to General Goltz. In this letter the Czar informed the General that the Swedish King had been defeated at the battle of Poltava, and that he had escaped across the Dnieper River in the direction of Volhynia. The Czar ordered General Goltz to pursue and intercept the Swedish King without delay, in order to prevent his joining his troops in Poland. In the reports from the Czar's

²⁹ See the full text of this report in Appendix No. 5. This information was also published in *The British Apollo* of January 14-19, 1709, copying it almost literally from *The Daily Courant* of January 18, 1709.

³⁰ Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 193-196; ("...Fourthly, that as soon as Mazepa had acquitted himself of what was contained in these three articles, his Majesty would put himself in motion, and march directly to Moscow, whilst Mazepa on his side should join him with all his troops, and those of the Cossacks of Bialogrod and Don, with the Malecontent Camucks (Kalmucks). That as to what concerned the subsistence of the Swedish Army, Mazepa obliged himself to draw provisions from the Ukraine and the provinces of Bialogrod, which are some of the most fertile in the whole world...")

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 245.

headquarters of July 7 (n. s.) and from Dresden of August 14, it is once more repeated that the Swedish Army had met with defeat, that Charles XII had escaped in the direction of Volhynia, that Menshikov had successfully demanded the surrender of the remains of the Swedish Army under the command of General Loewenhaupt, and that "General Mazeppa took another Route to escape the Muscovites, who are in pursuit of him and of the King of Sweden."³³ At first, Charles XII indeed wanted to escape not to Volhynia, but to the province of Podolia in order to join his protégé, the Polish King Stanislaw Leszczynski, and his General Crassau. But under the pressure of the Russian pursuit made by General G. Volkonsky and General G. Kropotov, and at the advice of Mazepa, the Swedish King decided to flee southwards to Turkey. This was later confirmed by the English press.

In the edition of August 22, 1709, *Daily Courant*, using the *Leiden Gazette* as its source of information, according to the news from Moscow of July 17, 1709, reported the further details about the victory at Poltava. Among the many particulars, there is one very interesting detail which has been already mentioned previously. This concerns the number of Swedish troops. When the Czar inquired of General Rehnshoeld as to the number of Swedish troops, Rehnshoeld replied that though only the King knew for sure, he believed that there were about 30,000 men all together, i. e., 19,000 regular troops and 11,000 Cossacks.

Further, *The Daily Courant* repeated already-known details previously mentioned, but corrected the route of the Swedish King from Volhynia to Transylvania. Publishing the details of the capitulation of Swedish General Loewenhaupt at Perevolochna, *The Daily Courant* also mentioned the terms of this agreement. The fifth article of the treaty stated that "the Zaporogians and the Rebels now among the Troops of Sweden shall be immediately delivered to his Czarish Majesty."

The same edition of *The Daily Courant*, again using the *Leiden Gazette* for its information, reported another detail: fifteen days before the battle, the Czar had offered a very favorable peace treaty to the Swedish King. However, the King rejected this offer saying that he wished to dethrone the Czar, regain all lost possessions, and force the Czar to pay him a large indemnity. After the battle, however, the King's secretary, Johan August Meijerfelt, in the King's name, ordered Count Piper to arrange "Peace on the Conditions the Czar had offer'd; but the Czar's chief Minister answer'd that the Face of Affairs was too much chang'd."³⁴

³³ See the full text in Appendix No. 6.

³⁴ See the full text of this report in Appendix No. 7.

As might be expected, the fact that Mazepa joined the Swedes was also published in another English newspaper. *The London Gazette* of December 27-30, 1708, using reports from the Hague of January 4, 1709 (n. s.), reported that according to the "advices from Poland ... General Mazepa had form'd a design to carry over to the Swedish Army the whole Body of Cossacks, but was not follow'd by above 1,000 men...", that the majority of the Cossacks returned to the Czar, that Menshikov destroyed Baturyn, and that the Cossacks elected "Monsieur" Skoropadsky as the new Hetman.³⁵ Apparently, this information of Mazepa's joining the Swedes was not sufficient for *The London Gazette*. The editor confirmed this information, adding other details in the next edition.

Referring to reports from Vienna of December 26, 1708,³⁶ and confirming information printed in the previous edition, *The London Gazette* of December 30 — January 3, 1708³⁷ published on the front page that "Count Mazepa, General of the Cossacks" joined the Swedes, however, with a small number of troops and three colonels, because the majority of the Cossacks decided to return to the Czar; that afterwards, Menshikov seized Mazepa's residence, the city of Baturyn, which had a garrison of 6,000 men, and "put all he found in it to the Sword," that the Czar permitted the Cossacks to elect a new Hetman, "a Nobleman Skoropadski." In addition, "the Czar had been endeavouring, for some time past 1707, to procure to General Mazepa the Dignity of Prince of the Empire."³⁸ At the end of this report, *The London Gazette* commented that, according to the Russian sources (the report from the Czar's headquarters at the Desna River of November 16, 1708), the Swedish King "was encamped between Starodub and Czernikow (Chernihiv) on the River Desna; but we have been long without direct Advices from the Swedish Army."³⁹ The same report was published in *The British Apollo* of January 3-7, 1709, copying almost literally from the above-mentioned report in *The London Gazette* of December 29, — January 3, 1709.

Until the battle of Poltava, *The London Gazette*, like *The Daily Courant*, did not publish any particular reports about Mazepa. After the battle, *The London Gazette* of August 13-16, 1709 reported that according to news from Vienna of August 7 (n. s.), "the account

³⁵ See the full text in Appendix No. 8.

³⁶ *The London Gazette* may have used as its source of information the Viennese newspaper, such as *Das Wienerische Diarium* of December 22-25, 1708, and *Der Post-Taegliche Mercurius* of December 26, 1708, which for their part used the Russian reports from the Czar's headquarters.

³⁷ As mentioned above, in England until 1752 New Year's Day was celebrated on March 25.

³⁸ Cf., *Reichsadselsakten* of the Austrian State Archives in Vienna.

of the victory over Swedes in Ukrania is very circumstantial," that there was no doubt about it, except that the Russian envoy in Vienna had not yet received confirmation. On the other hand, the Swedish envoy said that the information from the Polish King Stanislaus Leszczyński was completely contrary to the Russian statement. The envoy insisted that the Swedish King "hath obtained the Victory, and was Master of Pultava." In the same edition, *The London Gazette* published the Czar's letter of June 27 (o. s.) from his headquarters to General Goltz, which stated that, "by God's Assistance and the Bravery of our Troops" the Russians had obtained complete victory. *The London Gazette* also added more particulars about the defeat of the Swedes.³⁹ The Czar's letter was published in an abbreviated form by *The Daily Courant* of August 16.

In addition to this report from Vienna and the Czar's letter from his headquarters, *The London Gazette*, using the news from the Hague of August 20 (n. s.), mentioned, among other details about the battle of Poltava, that "the King of Sweden himself escaped by swimming over the Boristhenes (Dnieper River) being followed by only eight hundred of his Horse; and that General Mazeppa hath also saved himself by Flight."

In the edition of August 27-30, 1709, *The London Gazette*, using information directly from Moscow of July 13 (o. s.), reported that although "We are still unacquainted with many important Circumstances of the Action and Victory near Pultowa on the 27th (July 7) of the last Month," the Russian Express made public details from the Czar's letter, describing the battle in detail. At the end of the report about the battle of Poltava, *The London Gazette* added that "Mazeppa, with his Body of Cossacks made his Escape from a distant Post, where he was placed with the Baggage." This also is an indication that Mazeppa did not participate actively in the battle at Poltava, but was located with the Swedish reserve troops near the village of Pushkarivka.⁴¹ The report ended with a statement that the Swedish King "had marched towards the Neiper" (Dnieper) River.⁴² The condensed description of the battle of Poltava was also printed by *The Post-Boy* of December 31, 1709 — January 3, 1710.

Using information from the Hague of September 3, 1709, *The London Gazette* of September 3-6, 1709 reported that Charles XII safely arrived at Oczakow, but according to the Russian sources, "the Nephew of General Mazeppa (A. Voinarovsky) and several consi-

³⁹ See the full text in Appendix No. 9.

⁴⁰ See the full text in Appendix No. 10.

⁴¹ Cf., Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

⁴² See the full text of this report in Appendix No. 11.

derable Ministers were taken Prisoners." However, this was not the case. Voinarovsky was captured on August 21, 1716 in Hamburg by the Russian agent Boetticher, a German by origin, and was sent to Yakutsk in Siberia.⁴³

In connection with the Czar's attempts to present a friendly attitude towards the Cossacks abroad, *The London Gazette* of September 6-8, 1709, using information from Bern of September 4, 1709 (n. s.), reported that information to news received from Constantinople, "the Moscovite Ambassador at the Ottoman Port hath declared that the design of his Czarish Majesty is only to reduce the Cossacks to subjection." In fact, after the battle of Poltava, the Zaparoger were executed,⁴⁴ an extreme form of subjugation.

The London Gazette of September 8-10, 1709, using the Russian sources of information, reported that "General Mazeppa, and some principal Ministers of the Swedish Majesty were brought Prisoners to the Czar at Kiovia (Kiev)." A similar report was published in *The British Apollo* of September 7-9, 1709, using reports from Warsaw of August 23, 1709, stated "that the Cossack General Mazeppa parted from his Majesty (Charles XII) in the Neighbourhood of Oczakow; that on the Frontier of Silistria the Basha of that Province caused him to be seiz'd and sent to Kiow at the Czar of Muscovy Request."⁴⁵ It is true that the Basha of the city of Oczakow impeded some Cossack and Swedish troops in crossing the Boh (Bug) River in Turkish territory, but he neither arrested nor extradicted Mazeppa. It is true, however, that the Czar, through his envoy in Constantinople, P. Tolstoj, in his letters of the 10th, 14th, and 27th of July, 1709, demanded from the Sultan Mazeppa's extradition, even offering quite a large sum of money (300,000 ducats), but the Sultan refused to accede to the Czar's demand.⁴⁶ Mazeppa died on October 2, 1709, at the age of seventy, in the village of Varnytsia, near Bender.⁴⁷

The Russian propagandists had to admit this mistake, and informed the European press that Mazeppa was not captured. Some German newspapers were forced to correct their previous statements.⁴⁸ *The London Gazette* of September 20-22, 1709, using

⁴³ J. Chr. von Engel, *op. cit.*, p. 328. For details see: Lubomyr Vynar, *Andrij Vojnarovskij*, (Munich: 1962), pp. 68-95, (in Ukrainian).

⁴⁴ Cf., Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 705.

⁴⁵ This false information was published in Germany. Cf., *Europaeische Fama* Vol. XCII, p. 642.

⁴⁶ Cf., Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 710; V. E. Shutoj, "Positsija Turtsii v gody Severnoj Vojny 1700-1709". *Poltavskaia Pobjeda* ("Position of Turkey in the Years of Great Northern War 1700-1709", *The Victory at Poltava*). (Moscow: 1959), pp. 142-145.

⁴⁷ R. Krupnyckij. "Miscellanea Mazepiana." *PUNI*, Vol. XLVII, p. 92.

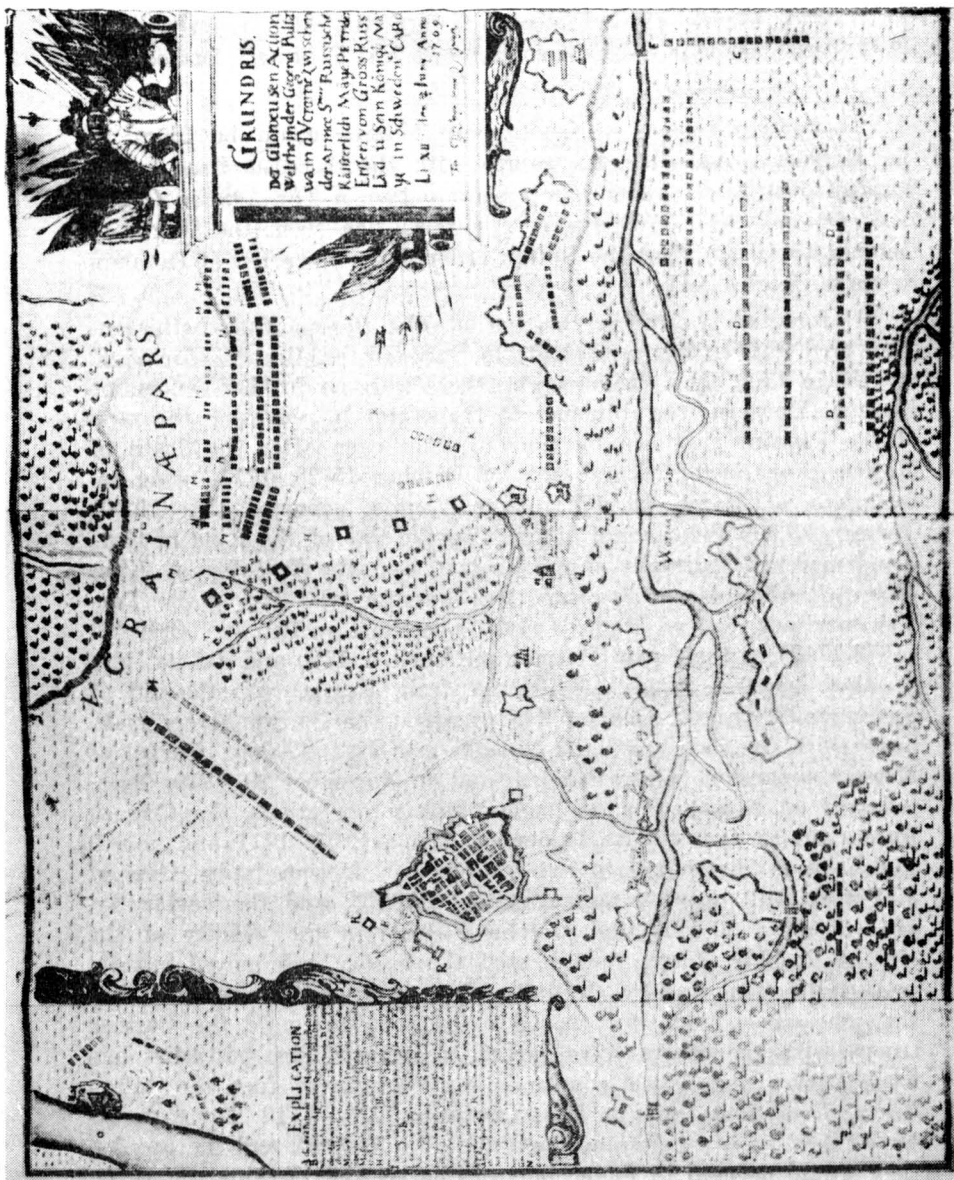
⁴⁸ For example, this correction could be found in the *Europaeische Fama*, Vol. XCIV, p. 788.

the Russian sources from Moscow of July 31, 1709, reported that "...General Mazepa with some few of his Followers passed the Nieper (Dnieper River) before the King of Sweden."

No further reports or notes about Mazepa could be found in the English press after his escape with the Swedish King under Turkish protection, except for a short notice in *The London Gazette* of October 9-11, 1709, based on information from the Hague of October 15 (n. s.), that the Sultan ordered the Governor of Oczakow to assist Charles XII.

Unfortunately, during this period *The Boston News-Letter* encountered difficulties and had to suspend publication for eight months in 1709. This explains why there were no further reports on Mazepa. However, the diligence of the editor in recording the news of the Ukraine is shown by the fact that even after the death of Mazepa, *The Boston News-Letter* of October 15-22, 1711, using information of March 16, 1711, from Vienna, reported that 25,000 Tartars, 19,000 Poles and Cossacks "in the Pay of the King of Sweden" marched "directly into Ukrainia, and the Palatine of Kiow (Kiev)." After Mazepa's death, the Cossacks, who fled to the Turkish territory, elected Philip Orlyk (sometimes spelled as "Orlik"), (1672-1742) as their new Hetman on April 5, 1710 and did not give up their hope of liberating Ukraine from Russia with the aid of Sweden and Turkey. Charles XII promised that he would not make peace with the Czar until the Ukraine was free. Turkey, fearful of Russian expansion, joined Sweden, and on November 20, 1710, declared war on Russia. For the main military operations, the Cossack Forces under Orlyk left Bender on January 31, 1711 and joined Polish troops belonging to the pro-Swedish faction under General J. Potocki (all together approximately 10,000), and the Tartar Army (25,000 - 30,000) under Mehmet Gerej in the vicinity of the city of Rashkiv. There they crossed the border and moved rapidly in the direction of Kiev. Initially they were quite successful, but then the whole campaign proved to be a failure, and the Cossack troops with the others were forced to retreat. The hostilities between Turkey and Russia continued. As a matter of fact, the Sultan declared war four times on Russia between 1710 - 1713. The Cossacks hoped that, with the help of the Turks, the Tartars, and the Swedes, they would succeed in their plans to liberate the Ukraine. However, the Cossacks were used by their allies for their own purposes, and when the Turks concluded a peace treaty with the Russians on June 5, 1713, the fate of the Ukraine and the Cossacks was sealed.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ For details, see: O. Haintz, *Koenig Karl XII von Schweden*, (Berlin: 1958), Vol. II, pp. 96-145.



The plan of the battle of Poltava, as drawn by the contemporary German military engineer in Russian service, Christopher Jacob Schwartz. From: L. Goldenberg, "Kartograficheskiye istochniki XVIII v. o vojennykh dejstvijakh v 1708 - 1709 gg.", (Cartographical sources of the 18th C. concerning military operations 1708-1709), *Poltava*, Collections of Essays, (Moscow: 1959), pp. 385, map No. 8.

CONCLUSION

The contemporary English writers wrote about Mazepa in a neutral manner. General Patrick Gordon mentioned Mazepa in his memoirs as a successful commander in the war against the Turks.¹

Gordon's son-in-law, General Alexander Gordon, Peter I's devoted admirer, also remarked in his memoirs that Mazepa was successful in the war against the Turks,² and that Mazepa made an alliance with the Swedish King, who "undertook to make him sovereign of the whole Ukraine."³

However, Alexander Gordon did not take Mazepa's side. He also pointed out that the Cossacks' colonels "...seemed all of them much surprised" at Mazepa's speech in which he "stressed the tyranny and barbarity of the Russians," who "had encroached upon the liberties and privileges of the Cossacks," and appealed to them "to shake off that yoke and make Ukraine hence forward a sovereign, independent nation.. and... invited them all to march with him to join the King of Sweden with all their force, and fight with him against the perfidious Russians... ." The colonels, however, did not follow Mazepa, but returned to the Czar, giving him an account of the whole, and promising fidelity, saying withal, that if they had been able, or had had any of their troops with them, they should have brought Mazepa prisoner to his majesty.⁴

Captain John Perry remarked in his memoirs that Mazepa joined the Swedes, because the Czar was abolishing "Privileges and Exactions from them (the Cossacks) during the war," and "it is certain that not only the Cossacks, but the Russes too, who were everywhere ripe for Rebellion, and who had before taken arms in several Places, and had been defeated (Don Cossacks commanded by their Ataman K. Bulavin) would, if the Czar had lost the Battle of Poltava, have made a general Revolt."⁵

The English envoy to Moscow, Lord Charles Whitworth, writing his report of November 10, 1708, expressed his doubt that Mazepa, as a man of seventy years, very rich, childless, enjoying the confidence and affection of Peter, and exercising his authority like a monarch, would have joined Charles XII for selfish or other perso-

¹ N. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

² A. Gordon, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 283.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 283-284.

⁵ J. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 27.

nal reasons.⁶ In his memoirs, Whitworth also emphasized that because the Russian administration made "several encroachments" on the liberties of the Cossacks in the Ukraine, "from hence sprung an universal Discount and the Revolt of Mazepa with the King of Sweden."⁷

As to the expression, "Mazepa traitor", repeated by Captain P. H. Bruce in his memoirs after L. N. Hallard, a German general in the Russian service, and also frequently used by Defoe in his two above-mentioned books, it must be said that according to the contemporary witnesses, Mazepa took the Swedish side because the Czar refused Mazepa's request to send him troops to defend the Ukraine from the Swedes.⁸

Therefore, Mazepa felt that in making an alliance with Charles XII, he would prevent the devastation and occupation of the Ukraine, and at that same time preserve the autonomy of his country.

Contemporary witnesses cite another direct reason why Mazepa joined the Swedes. They agree that the Russians treated the Ukrainian people badly, ("...the treatment meted out to the civilian population of the Ukraine by the Russian Army, with its daily routine of plunder, arson, murder, and rape was more reminiscent of a punitive expedition than of allied troop movements..."⁹).

The Prussian envoy in Moscow, Baron Georg Johann von Kayserling, wrote in his report of November 17-28, 1708, the following comments on Mazepa: "there could not be a doubt that this man is loved as well as respected by his people, and that he will have great support from his nation... Especially the Cossacks like him very much, because the present government treats them very badly and they are robbed of their liberties. Therefore, it is rather to be believed that either all the people, or at least the bigger part of them will follow the example of their leader."¹⁰

⁶ Cf. B. Krupnyckyj, *Hetman Mazepa und seine Zeit*, p. 161; V. Sichynsky, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁷ Charles Whitworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

⁸ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 567; Solovjev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 1494.

⁹ Lewitter, *op. cit.*, pp. 593-594. The Russians' behavior was so outrageous that the Czar himself in his letter of June 24, 1707 to Mazepa wrote that he issued to the Russian Army an order "to pass by modestly without doing any harm or destruction to the inhabitants of Ukraine, (in original, the Little Russia) under our extreme anger and punishment by death"; (prochoditj skromno, ne chynia nikakich obid i razorenia malorossijskogo kraju zhyteliam pod opasenijem zhestokoho nashego gneva i kazni), *Pisma i bumagi*, Vol. V, p. 334.

¹⁰ Kayserling's reports were published by B. Krupnyckyj under the title "Z donesen Kayserlinga 1708 i 1709 rr." (From Kayserling's Reports in the Years 1708 and 1709), *PUNI*, (Warsaw: 1939), Vol. XLVIII, p. 27, ("...Jedenoch ist nicht woll zu glauben, dass dieser Mann, der bey seiner Nation ebensohr sehr geliebet als geehret gewesen, nicht einen groessren Anhang gehabt haben sollte. Zumahlen da die Cosaken sonder dem mit dieser Regierung, von welcher

Johann Wendel Bardili, a German eyewitness and historian, who met Mazepa in person at the Swedish headquarters, a man doubtless acquainted with Mazepa's objectives, considered him as an Ukrainian patriot and hero, whom even his former foe, the Turkish Sultan, refused to extradite to the Czar, in spite of the latter's insistent requests and even threats. The Sultan justified his stand because of an old law of asylum, and according to Bardili, he did not see any "reason of importance for extradition of such a person, who because of freedom, liberty, and rights of his own people endeavoured so much and suffered so many persecutions and tortures to promote the liberation of his people from the Moscovitian yoke. For this reason at first he (Mazepa) had to ask for the Swedish and now the Turkish protection..."¹¹

The Swedish eyewitness and historiographer, Gustav Adlerfelt, also pointed out that Mazepa had good reason to join the Swedish King. He, too, maintained that the Russian administration treated the Ukraine badly.¹²

Philip Johann von Strahlenberg, a Swedish officer who spent thirteen years in Russia as a prisoner of war after the battle at Poltava, remarked in his work about Russia that after Mazepa had found out about the Czar's intention to destroy the autonomy of Ukraine, he told this to his officers and tried to persuade them to join the Swedes in order to preserve it.¹³

This was recognized already by the Czar's closest associate, A. Menshikov, who immediately understood all the political importance of Mazepa's step, when he reported to Peter on October 27. "...if he (Mazepa) did this, it was not for the sake of his person alone, but for the whole of Ukraine."¹⁴

In analyzing English contemporary sources written by eyewitnesses, such as General Patrick Gordon, the English envoy in Mos-

sie sehr hart öffentlicher Verletzung ihrer Freyheiten tractiret worden, zuirieden seyn. Dahero ist vielmehr zu besorgen, dass entweder diese ganze Nation oder doch wenigstens der grosste Theil derselben dem Exempel ihres Chefs folgen werde...").

¹¹ J. W. Bardili, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107, ("...so fandte es doch an dem Tuerkischen Hof keinen Beyfall, indeme man die Raisons nicht von der Wichtigkeit zu seyn erachtete, eine solche Person zu extradieren, die vor die Freyheit, Sitten und Recht ihres Volcks so eyfertig sich bemuehet und so viele Untergebenen nicht unter des Moskowitische Joch gedemuethiget, sondern solchen zu entgehen erstlich Koeniglichen Schwedischen und jetzo Tuerkischen Schutz suchen muessen...").

¹² G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 16.

¹³ P. J. von Strahlenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

¹⁴ *Pisna i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, Vol. VIII, Part 2, pp. 864-865 ("...ponezhe kogda on (Mazepa) seye uchynil, to ne dla odnoj svojej osoby, no i vsej rady Ukrainy...").

cow, Lord Charles Whitworth, or Captain John Perry, one must conclude that they wrote about Mazepa in a neutral manner and stated facts as they saw or heard about them. Furthermore, they tried to justify his alliance with Charles XII. Therefore, it is no wonder that even modern Soviet historians, such as E. V. Tarle, accused Lord Whitworth's reports as unfriendly towards Russia.¹⁵

The English contemporary press, using the Russian reports through German and Dutch channels without having information from Swedish sources,¹⁶ reported in an unbiased fashion about Mazepa and his joining the Swedish King, merely giving details without comments. This is a contrast to the contemporary German press which called Mazepa "a traitor who did not fear God," "super-rebel," "selfish," etc.¹⁷

¹⁵ E. V. Tarle, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁶ Charles XII neglected apparently to organize properly his bureau of information so that not only such newspapers as *The London Gazette* of December 30, 1708 - January 3, 1709, but even the Swedish paper, *Stockholmske Post-Tidener* of December 29, 1708, complained "We did not have information from the Swedish headquarters."

¹⁷ Cf., *Europäische Fama*, Vol. XCI, p. 566; *Theatrum Europaeum*, Vol. XVIII, p. 273; *Neueröffnete Historischer Bilder-Saal*, Vol. VII, p. 527.

APPENDICES :

Appendix No. 1.

From : *The London Gazette*, No. 2283, October 3-6, 1687 :

“Hamburg, Sept. 30, ...They write from Kiovia that Gen. Galitzen carrying with him to Moscow Samuelouitz, the Chief Commander of the Cossacks with his Son, there to answer his Treachery, in holding a Secret Intelligence with the Enemy, and discovering to them all that passed in the Army, had in the mean time placed at the Head of those Troops the Sieur Mareppa, a Person of Great Reputation for his Valor and Conduct, who has Orders to continue on the Borysthenes, to hinder the Tartars from passing the River to enter to Poland that way...”

Appendix No. 2.

From : *Modern History, or, A Monethly Account of all Considerable Occurrences, Civil, Ecclesiastical and Military; With all Natural and Philosophical Productions and Transactions..* Printed by J. B. and are to be Sold by Randall Taylor, near Stationers-Hall in Ludgatestreet. London: MDCLXXXVII, December, Num. 3, p. 19 :

“Certain it is that the Muscovites are returned home without doing more than threaten. General Galitzen, who Commanded all that numerous Army having charged the fault of all the Miscarriages of the Campagne upon Samuelowitz General of the Loyal Cossacks, and having accused him with keeping Correspondence with the Tartars. he took him and his Son into Custody, Confiscated their Estates, and had them convey'd to Moscow, conferring the Command of the Cossacks upon Marepa a Soldier of Fortune, and with whose Experience he is thoroughly acquainted. Some say the Russian Court has approved of what Prince Galitzen has done, Others that this Precaution did not prevent his being Empeach'd and Accus'd of all the Miscarriages of the Campagne, and that he is in Disgrace. Understanding or at least Spiteful People believe all this to be Grimace, and imagine that if this Numerous Army of the Muscovites did tothing all this Summer, they had Orders to do nothing; and that notwithstanding the League which has made so much noise in Europe, and to intimate which, express Embassies have been sent to all Christian Potentates, the Muscovites had not any Design to break with the Tartars.”

Appendix No. 3.

Modern History, or a Monthly Account, etc., London; May 1688, No. 8, pp. 14-15; Poland and Muscovy.

“...As the Dyet at Grodaaw began very disorderly, several of the Members reinforcing their Debates with Club-Arguments, or (which is as bad) with their Scymitars, so we gave an Account in our last of its being broke-up with sutable effects, and without coming to any Resolution. All they did was to shew no less Aversion to chuse the King’s Son in case his Majesty resigned up his Crown than Inclination for the Duke of Lorrain; May some letters tell us that the King Expostulating with them, and valuing the great Services he had done their Kingdom, was briskly answered by the Palatin of Russia that his Majesty had indeed since his accession to the Throne done one great Service for the Germans, but had done none to the Poland-Treaty about several Matters now in Dispute. Endeavours are used ers... The Brandenburg Envoy wants sufficient Powers to enter ~~the~~ there’s no great Prospect of their doing so, considering the Internal to prevail with Muscovites to act more vigorously this Campagne; But Discords rais’d by the Cosaques, who disapprove of the Election made the Czarrs of Mareppo for their General, and pretend to the satisfaction of chusing themselves one of their own Nation according to Ancient Custom. These Disputes will render abortive the Designs of the Muscovites Operations against the Infidels, being rather intent upon reconcilling and remedying their Domestique Differences, than without their Confines to venture upon the uncertainty of Acquisitions. And this the rather since our last Advices inform us, that new Conpiraces laid by the Cossacks had been discovered at Kiov, and that the Principal Authors were imprison’d, and twelve condemned to the Gallows. That there was no less a ferment in Zaporavia, where there was brooding in he minds of that Nation no small bitterness upon the Innovation made of introducing National Muscovites into the Chief Posts among the Soldiery, contrary to their Privileges and Customs...”

Appendix No. 4.

From: *The Daily Courant*, London, Wednesday, December 29, 1708 (o. s.), No. 2239 (Front page).

“London, December 29.

Yesterday arriv'd the Mail from Holland of Friday last. From the Harl. and Amst. Cour., etc., dated Jan. 5. (n. s.) From the Czar of Muscovy's Camp near the River Desna, Nov. 16.

GENERAL Mazeppa, aged 70 Years, Commander in chief of the Cossacks, had been engag'd by the Swedish Generals to come over with his Troops to their Army; the Swedes proposing by gaining the principal Forces of the Cossacks, to subsist themselves the more easily. Accordingly Mazeppa pass'd the Desna with his Troops, under Pretence of making some Attempt against the Swedish Army; and being pass'd over, he drew up his Men in Order, and communicated to them his Intention to joyn the Swedes. But far the greater Part of his Body Troops, who had long been dissatisfied with him, declaring loudly their Abhorrence of such an Action, he found there was no other Way to avoid the Punishment he had deserv'd, and to save his Life, than to make off to the Swedish Army with about 1000 Cossacks who adher'd to him: No Officers accompany'd him; but he carried with him by Force 3 Collonels, Mirogradszky, Brilusky, and Lubinsky. The remaining Troops of the Cossacks repass'd the Desna, and joyn'd our Army. Hereupon his Czarish Majesty sent out circular Letters for Electing a new General of the Cossacks: Pursuant to which the Archbishops of Kyof, Czernikof, and Berenslaf, with the other Heads of that Nation, assembled at Glouchou; and there having first renew'd their Oaths of Allegiance to the Czar, unanimously chose M. Skoropacky, for their General. Further, by Order of his Czarish Majesty, Prince Menzikof march'd with a Body of Troops to Baturmi, the ordinary town of Residence of Mazeppa; enter'd by Assalt; put to the Sword 5 or 6000 rebellious Cossacks, and caus'd some of the chief to be broken on the Wheel. In that Place were found Effects of considerable Value belonging to Mazeppa, and a numerous Artillery with great Stores of Ammunition and Provisions, General Skoropacky has enjoyn'd our Army with Cossacks. Upon his Disappointment, the King of Sweden has caus'd his Army to intrench themselves between Starodub and Czernikof; but as soon as a hard Frost comes, his Czarish Majesty proposes to pass the Desna and attack the Swedes.”

Appendix No. 5.

From: *The Daily Courant*, No. 2256, Tuesday, January 18; 1709:

“From the last Paris Gazette, dated Jan. 5.

Hamburg, Dec. 21. The Swedish Officers raise Recruits and new Regiments in Pomerania and in the Dutchies of Bremen and Ferden; and have also made new Levies with like Success of Francfort and in other Cities of the Empire. And we hear, that the King of Sweden has given Orders for raising the fifth Man throughout his Kingdom, to serve in his Troops; and 'his talk'd a Capitation will be laid throughout his Territories in Germany. The News which was written from Wilna the 30th of last Month, that his Swedish Majesty had defeated 60000 Muscovites, is not confirm'd; the Letters from Konigsberg of the 13th of this Month, and those of Wilna of the 7th making no mention of it. We are only inform'd, that the Swedish Army having continu'd their March towards the Ukraine, beyond the Borysthene, arriv'd in the Dutchy of Czernichow. That the 6th of November, the King of Sweden fix'd his Head-Quarter in the Town of Czernichow, Capital of that Dutchy, on the Dezna: That he had made a Treaty with the Cossacks, by which they oblig'd themselves to furnish Provisions to his Army, and a certain Number or Troops; and that the Muscovites desiring to prevent him from taking Quarters in that fertile Country, abounding in Provisions and Forage, had posted themselves within thirty five Leagues of Pozcop and Radohop, near the Source of the Ulica, which falls into the Dezna above Czernichow. Tis hop'd that for the future we shall receive News more regularly from the Swedes, because the Muscovites cannot any longer intercept their Couriers, and 'tis believ'd Commerce will be intirely re-establish'd in Poland, where the Cold Weather has put an End to the Plague almost all over the Country.”

Appendix No.6.

From: *The Daily Courant*, No. 2437, Tuesday, August 16; 1709:

“From the Amsterdam Gazette, dated Aug. 20.

Berlin, Aug. 13. M. de Leith, Envoy of Muscovy, has receiv'd a new Express from Lieutenant-General Goltz, dispatch'd the 27th of July from the Army of the Crown near Jaroslow, with the Copy of a Letter written to that General by the Czar, and a Relations of what passe'd in the pursuit of the Remains of the Swedish Army after the Battle of Pultowa; by which we learn, that the King of Sweden after his Defeat there, swum over Borysthenes, with the Generals Spar and Lagerkroon, and 300 chosen Horse, and made off towards Volhinia. The Czar's Letter to General Goltz is as follows.

We have already sent you Advice of the happy Victory which we gain'd over the King of Sweden our enemy, the 27th of June O. S., and we subjoyn to this Letter a Relation which will inform you how our Troops overtook the Remains of the Enemy's Army, and made them yield at Discretion; and by this you will see what a compleat and unheard of Victory the Almighty has given us over the Enemy. The King of Sweden having escap'd with a few Men, and Information being given me that he has taken his Flight toward Volhinia, you are, without Loss of Time, to order some regular Horse to march and intercept him, to endeavour to take him Prisoner, and to hinder him from joyning his Troops in Poland.

From the Army near Peltova, July 7, 1709. O. S.

Signed: PETER.

The Relation contains, among other things, that Prince Menzikof who was sent in Pursuit of the Swedes, overtook them the 10th of July on Bank of the Boryshenes, in Number Fifteen thousand Men under the Command of General Leuwenhaupt; who being summon'd to surrender, deputed 3 Officers, with whom 'twas agreed that they should all surrender at Discretion, with their Baggage, Colours, Standards, etc.. That General was reduc'd to this Extremity, by Want of Provisions and Ammunition. General Mazeppa has found Means to escape. General Goltz, upon the Receipt of the Czar's Letter, sent out several Detachments to intercept the King of Sweden.

Dresden, Aug. 14. a Continuation has been printed here of what pass'd after the Defeat of the Swedes at Pultowa; containing in Substance, that Prince Menzikoff having overtaken the rest of the Swedish Army the 30th of June old Style, near Perero.Locina, under the command of General Leuwenhaupt, summon'd them to yield themselves Prisoners of War: Whereupon that General sent to the

Prince Major-General Creutz, Collonel Ducker, Lieutenant-Collonel Trautsetter, and Adjutant-General Douglas. A Capitulation was agreed, by which all those Swedish Troops, consisting of fifteen thousand Men, were oblig'd to yield themselves at Discretion to the Muscovites: who yet engag'd to treat them honourably. The same Day the King of Sweden pass'd the Borysthenes, accompany'd by the Generals Lagerkroon and Spar, with two thousand chosen Horse. General Mazepa took another Route to escape the Muscovites, who are in pursuit of him and of the King of the Sweden."

Appendix No. 7.

From: *The Daily Courant*, No. 2442, Monday, August 22, 1709:

"From the Leiden Gazette. dated Aug. 27.

Letters from Moscow of the 17th of July advise, that the 12th the Hereditary Prince of Muscovy receiv'd an Express from the Czar his Father, with the News of the Defeat of the Swedish Army by that of his Czarish Majesty, and the Particulars of that Action; whereupon the Bells were rung, the Cannon fir'd, and the other Rejoycings made 3 Days successively, and Expresses were dispatch'd to carry the News into all the Provinces of the Czar's Dominions. Among other Particulars concerning this Battle, 'twas advis'd, That the Czar was in the thickest of the Fire, so that a Musquet-ball pass'd through his Hat, and 4 Horses were kill'd under him; That his Czarish Majesty himself took Major-General Slippenbach: That after the Fight he invited all the Swedish Generals who were taken Prisoners to dine with him; receiv'd them in the most obliging Manner, and ask'd them divers Questions Among others, having ask'd General Reinschild how strong the Swedish Army was before the Battle, he answer'd that no Person knew exactly but the King only, but that he suppos'd them to be 30000 Men, that is 19000 of regular Troops and the rest Cossacks. His Czarish Majesty demanding further, how they durst enter his large Dominions with such a Handful of Men, he answer'd, that what had been done was not always with the Counsel and Approbation of the Swedish Generals, but that they were oblig'd to execute the Orders of the King their Master, as being his faithful Servants; upon which Words, the Czar took his own Sword from his Side and gave it to the said General, telling him 't was Reward for his Fidelity. The Muscovites are said to have lost but 500 Men in this Battle. The Muscovite General Ronne was mortally wounded.

Berlin, Aug. 17. The King of Prussia has nominated M. Kameke Gentleman of his Chamber to go to the Czar of Muscovy in Quality of his Ambassador, M. Kniphuysen to the King of Denmark with the Character of Envoy, and M. Marschal to Poland with the same Character. His Majesty will forthwith give out Commissions for a new Levy of 4000 Men, with which he has resolv'd to augment his Troops. The Danish Forces that are returning from Hungary, are to march directly to Holstein where they are to be recruited.

On Wednesday last arriv'd before the Gates of this City an Express from the Czar of Muscovy, with Letters for his Prustian Majesty, and for M. Kniphausen his Czarish Majesty's Minister. It being apprehended he had come trough Places infected with the Plague, Entrance was refus'd him; But he declaring that he came by the Way of Transilvania, Hungary, and Silesia, where there is no contagious Distemper, he was permitted to enter; and being conducted to the King who was newly return'd from Charlottembourg, he deliver'd the Czar's Letter to him, and related to him at large the Particulars of the Battle fought near Pultowa in the Ukraine the 27 of June between the Muscovites and the Swedes, and of what pass'd in the Pursuit of the Remains of the Swedish Army, who were made Prisoners of War the 30th of the same Month near the Borysthenes.

Being ask'd what was become of the King of Sweden, he answer'd that he had made his Escape with 6 or 700 chosen Horse, having Swum over the Borysthenes 3 Hours before the Arrival of Prince Menzikoff at that River in Pursuit of him; that 'twas believ'd he had taken his Way towards Transilvania and Hungary; but that Prince Menzikoff having immediately sent after him 6000 light Horse, 'twas hop'd he would be overtaken, the rather because Count Leuwenhaupt and a Surgeon who had dress'd him divers times both reported, that his Majesty was shot through the Right Heel just under the Ankle with a Musquet-shot before Pultowa, that his Leg was swell'd before he pass'd the Borysthenes, and that 'twas in danger of being gangren'd because of the excessive Heats and the great Fatigues his Majesty had undergone. This Express, whose Name is Westoffski, was 5 Weeks on his Journey hither; and to Morrow he will proceed to the Court of Denmark with the same News. He brought with him the two following Pieces.

The Capitulation concluded and sign'd in the Camp of Perewoloca the 30th of June O. S. between Prince Menzikoff General in Chief of the Army of his Czarish Majesty, and Count Leuwenhaupt Commanding General of the Remains of the Army of his Swedish Majesty.

The underwritten Agreement shall be concluded in the Name of his Czarish Majesty the Emperour of Great Russia on the one

Part, and of the King of Sweden on the other Part, by the subscribing Generals.

I. All the Swedish Troops without Exception, who are commanded by Count Leuwenhaupt, as well Generals and Officers, as Soldiers, shall with their Servants yield themselves Prisoners of War to his Czarish Majesty.

II. All private Soldiers, Troopers, Dragoons and Musqueteers, shall lay down their Arms, and remain Prisoners of War till their Exchange or Ransom; But they shall keep their Mounting and all that they have, except their Arms and Ammunition. And all their Horses, except those belonging to the Officers, shall be delivered to his Czarish Majesty.

III. All the General-Officers and other Officers shall keep their Baggage and Equipages, and their Persons shall be releas'd without Ransom or Exchange, as soon as Peace shall be made between his Czarish Majesty and the King of Sweden. In the mean time they shall be honourably us'd, and be permitted to go for a while to their own Country, on their Parole.

IV. The Swedish Artillery, all the Ammunition, Colours, Standards and Instruments of Musick, shall be deliver'd to his Czarish Majesty; as shall likewise the Military-Chest (or Camp-Treasure) of the King of Sweden, in the State it now is.

V. The Zaporogians and other Rebels now among the Troops of Sweden, shall be immediately deliver'd to his Czarish Majesty.

VI. For the Security and Confirmation of this Agreement, the foremention'd Articles shall be sign'd by the Generals commanding the Army of his Czarish Majesty and that of the King of Sweden; and a Duplicate shall be made of this Capitulation. Done in the Camp of Perewolocz, the 30th of June O. S. 1709. Sign'd.

Alexander Prince of Menzikof
The Count of Leuwenhaupt.

Addition. All the Generals and Officers shall not only retain their Baggage, but likewise their Servants; and the Commissaries, Auditors, Secretaries, Chaplains, and Surgeons, shall likewise be permitted to keep their Baggage and Servants as the Officers.

A List of the Swedish Troops who surrender'd themselves Prisoners to his Highness Prince Menzikof, the Day of the Date above-mention'd, in Execution of the Capitulation.

Count Leuwenhaupt General of Foot and Governour of Riga; M. Creutz and Cruse Majors-General; the Counts Douglas and Bonde, Adjutants of Field-Marshal General Reinschild.

Regiments of Horse. Life Guards, Catelia, Standard of the Swedish Nobility, Standard of the Nobility of Livonia, Abosch and Berne-

bourg, Smaland, Nieland, North-Scania, South-Scania, Cruse, and Osten-Gotten. *Regiments of Dragoon*. Guards, Wennerstadt. Prince of Wirtemberg, Slippenbach, Schrottenwels, Meyerfeld, Helms, Tauben, Ducker, Alfendeil, Guldenstern. In these Regiments were 7 Collonels, *nam'd in the List*, 10 Lieutenant-Collonels and 16 Mojors *nam'd*, 182 Captains, 217 Captain-Lieutenants, 215 Cornets, 10 Quarter-Masters of Regiments, 17 Adjutants, 522 inferior Officers, and 8637 Corporals and private Soldiers; besides 26 Chaplains, 4 Commissaries, 48 Clerks, 20 Surgeons, 44 Surgeon-Servants, 13 Kettle-Drummers, 67 Trumpeters and Hautbois, 98 Drummers, 528 Provost and necessary Attendants on the Troops.

Of the King's Foot Guards. Collonel Baron Possen, Major Count Oxenstiern, 8 Captains, 19 Lieutenants, 31 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant; 121 inferior Officers, and 1196 Corporals and private Soldiers; besides 1 Commissary, 1 Provost of a Regiment, 6 Chaplains, 7 Clerks of Regiments, 6 Hautbois, 53 Drummers and Fifes, 13 common Provosts. In all 1465.

Regiments of Foot, or Remains of them. Upland, Duikerl, Westmandland, Westergotz, Sundermanland, Werk and Warmanland; Oster-Gotten, Jenkoping, Wester-Gott, Cronenbourg, and Colmar. In these Regiments were 2 Collonels *nam'd*, 4 Lieutenant-Collonels *nam'd*, 3 Majors, *nam'd*, 60 Captains, 2 Volunteer-Captains; 62 Captains-Lieutenants; 8 Quarter-Masters, 6 Adjutants; 71 Ensigns, 299 inferior Officers, and 3059 Corporals and private Soldiers; besides 5 Commissaries, 6 Chaplains, 4 Volunteers, and 15 Surgeons and their Men. In all 3606.

Officers of Artillery, and Men employ'd in the Train. Collonel Bierone, since dead of his Wound; Lieutenant-Collonel Appelman, 1 Post, 1 Major, 4 Captains, 1 Captain-Lieutenant, 6 Sub-Lieutenants; 6 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, with Gunners, Matrosses, Miners; Fireworkers; Bombardiers, and Artificers, to the Number in all of 535.

The Total. 16287 Persons, besides these following of the King's Household, Charles Guntser Chamberlain, Sirchigel, Apothecary of the Household and Army, Schimbers Quarter-Master, Asil Bier and Bramt Commissaries, 5 Purveyors, and other Servants.

Colours and Standards 142. *Brass-Cannon* 4 five pounders, 1 of five pound and half ball, 12 of three pound ball, 3 Russian Pieces of three pound ball taken by the Enemy at *Wesprick*, 2 Hauwitzers of sixteen,Mortars of six and 4 of three, with 2 Iron Cannon of three pound ball.

From the *Leiden Gazette*, dated August 27.

Letters from Hamburg of the 23rd of August advise, that the 19th a Privy Secretary of the Czar of Muscovy pass'd through that Palace in his Way to Copenhagen. He reported in Hamburg, that the King of Sweden was wounded with a Sabre in his left Shoulder in the Battle of Pultowa, and in the Heel with a Musquet-ball, and there was an Inflammation about his Wound; that the Main Actor lasted but an Hour, that General Leuvenhaupt had with him 16000 Men, Swedes Cossacks and others, when he surrender'd to Prince Menzikof who had but 12000. That 15 Days before the Battle of Pultowa, the Czar offer'd Peace to the King of Sweden, and to restore all he had taken from him except Schanfterney; but his Swedish Majesty persisted that he would have the Czar detron'd, and that besides Restitution of Places, he should pay him 30 Millions. That presently after the Battle, this Secretary saw General Meyerfelt give Order to Count Piper, in the King's Name, to make Peace on the Conditions the Czar had offer'd; but the Czar's Chief Minister answer'd, that the Face of Affairs was too much chang'd. This Secretary added, that the Czar had refus'd Count Piper his Sword, tho' he permitted all the Swedish Generals to wear theirs.

From the Hague Courant, dated August 28.

Hague, August 27. Last Night arriv'd a Captain of the Czar of Muscovy's Guards, with Dispatches for the Muscovite Ambassador here. He left the Army near Pultowa the 31st of July, when the Czar had divided his Troops into Two Bodies; with the strongest of which he had resolv'd to march into Poland, and to send the other into Livonia to block up Riga. This Express reports, that the Detachment which pursued the King of Sweden came up with about 700 Swedes who had follow'd His Majesty, lying intrench'd on the Side of a River not far from the Black-Sea in the Crimea. Of these they kill'd about 200, and the rest yielded themselves Prisoners. Those Swedes said, that the King had pass'd that River but few Hours before, with no more than 60 Men; and that they had intrench'd themselves to secure his Escape. His Majesty is since said to have reach'd the Frontiers of Tartary. He receiv'd the Wound in his Foot 14 Days before the Battle in the Trenches before Pultowa. This News the said Ambassador has notified to the States."

Appendix No. 8.

From: *The London Gazette*, No. 4501, From December 27 - 30, 1708:
(front page)

“The Hague, Jan. 4, 1709, N. S.

...Advices from Poland say that General Mazeppa had form'd a Design to carry over to the Swedish Army the whole Body of Cossacks, but was not follow'd by above 1,000 Men; the Chief of which Number are return'd to the Muscovites. Those Letters add, that Prince Menzikoff, since the Revolt of General Mazeppa, had seized the Town of Baturin, which was the Place of that General's Residence. Monsieur Skoropatsku is chosen in his stead, General of the Cossacks...”

Appendix No. 9.

From: *The London Gazette*, No. 4502, From Thursday December 30, to Monday January 3, 1709 (o. s.). (Front page).

Vicna, December 26. N. S.

“ We have Advices from the Russian Camp in Ukraina, that Count Mazeppa, General of the Cossacks, was gone over to the King of Sweden; but that he had carried along with him only three Colonels, and a small number of his Body, the rest having declared they would continue faithful to the Czar. Some few Days after that General's Defection, the Prince of Menzikow marched with a Body of Troops and a Train of Artillery to Baturin, the Place of General Mazeppa's Residence, whither the General had sent 6,000 of his Men for Security of his Estates; but the Prince made himself Master of the Town, and put all he found in it to the Sword. The Muscovites have prevailed on the Cossacks to proceed to the Election of a new General; and the Choice is said to have fallen on a Nobleman called Skoropacki. The Czar had been endeavouring for some time past to procure to General Mazeppa the Dignity of Prince of the Empire, as a Recompence for his past Services. Those Letters from the Russian Army say, that the King of Sweden was encamped between Starodub and Chernikow on the River Desna; but we have been long without direct Advices from the Swedish Army.”

Appendix No. 10.

From: *The London Gazette*, No. 4574, From August 13, to Tuesday August 16, 1709:

Vienna, August 7, N. S. The Dyet at Ratisbonne is preparing a Deputation to be sent from their Body, to assist at an ensuing Treaty of Peace in the Name of the Empire. The Emperor has signified his readiness to agree to it, provided it be settled according to the Laws of the Empire, and do not any way infringe the Authority of the Emperor, as Head of the Empire. The Account of the Victory over the Swedes in Ukraina is so very Circumstantial, that it seems to leave no ground for doubt except only that the Czar's Minister at his Court, has no direct advice of it by Express; his Intelligence comes by the Post, that an Express had brought the News of the Victory to General Goltz in Poland. The Swedish Ministers say, that they have Letters from King Stanislaus importing quite the contrary, viz. that the King of Sweden had obtained the Victory, and was Master of Pultawa. Marshall Heister has sent a Courier hither with the News of his having taken the Castle of Scimeck in Lower Hungary. The Signors Morosini and Dolfino, Ambassadors-Extraordinary from the Republick of Venice, are arrived here. Sir Philip Medows, Envoy-Extraordinary from her Britannick Majesty to the Imperial Court, intends to begin his Journey towards Great Britain to Morrow.

Berlin, Aug. 3, N. S. The King went on Monday last from Oranienburg to Charlettenburg, where his Majesty and the Queen are at present; the Princess Royal, as also the young Princess her Daughter, are at Berlin, in perfect Health. We received Advice on Saturday last, that the Muscovites had entirely defeated the Swedes near Pultawa; but having had frequent Accounts from these Parts which were never confirmed by following Advices, that Intelligence met with little Credit 'till the arrival of Monsieur Blumenthal, Chamberlain to King Augustus, from Dresden, who confirmed that News, and assured this Court that he had seen the Original of the following Letter from the Czar himself.

A Letter from the Czar to General Goltz, from the Camp at Pultawa, June, 27, O. S. 1709.

This brings you an Account of the great Victory which, by God's Assistance, and the Bravery of our Troops, we have obtained over the Enemy with very little lost on our side, in the following manner: The Enemy having this Morning attacked our Cavalry with their whole Army, obliged them, after a vigorous Defence, to retire: After this the Enemy drew up in order of Battel before our Camp; we observing

their Disposition, ordered our Infantry to advance toward them, and posted our Horse on the Right and Left of our Line. The Enemy began the Attack, but in a very little time were entirely routed. We have taken several Standards and Cannons; and the Generals Rheinschild, Slippenback, Stalkenberg, Hamilton and Roses are taken Prisoners besides several thousand others, as well Officers, as private Soldiers. Cout Piper, the Chief Minister, and two Secretaries of State, Hermen and Cederhielm, are also taken. We shall give you the Particulars of this Victory as soon as possible, being in very great haste at present. In a word, the whole Army of the Enemy have met with the Fate of Phaeton, but we hear nothing of the King, whether he be with us, or with our Fathers. The Lieutenants-General Galiezin and Bayer are commanded to persue the Enemy in their Flight. We thought fit to advise you of this great Victory, and congratulate you upon it.

Peter.

P. S. This Moment the Prince de Wirtemberg, a Kinsman of his Swedish Majesty, is brought in Prisoner.

Letters from Warsaw of the 24th of July, which are just now come in, repeat this Relation, and add, that there were eight thousand six hundred seventy eight taken Prisoners, amongst whom are six Colonels, four Majors, eleven Captains, and about two hundred and fifty Subalterns."

Hague, Aug. 20, N. S. "...We have fresh Advices of the Defeat of the Swedish Army near Poltowa, which add, that a Body, consisting of seven thousand Swedes and eight thousand cossacks, which had retreated from that Battel toward the Borysthene, having been closely pursued by the Muscovites, and wanting both Provisions and Ammunition, surrendered themselves Prisoners of War. "This said, the King of Sweden himself escaped by swimming over the Borysthene, being followed by only eight hundred of his Horse; and that General Mazeppa hath also saved himself by Flight."

Appendix No. 11.

From: *The London Gazette*, No. 4580, from Saturday August 27. to Tuesday August 30, 1709:

“*Mosco, July, 13, O. S.*

“We are still unacquainted with many important Circumstances of the Action and Victory near Pultova on the 27th of the last Month: but an Express, who arrived here on the 1st Instant with two Trumpets, sounding before him at his Entrance into the City, adds, to what has been made publick in his Majesty's own Letter, several Particulars. His Majesty had passed the River Worskla four days before the Engagement; and posted his Army very near the Enemy; but during that time nothing considerable was attempted on either side. The Swedes affected to retreat from the Parties and Outguards of the Muscovites, with design, as it has since appeared, to betray them into a Security, and make them less upon their Guard on some great Occasion. On the 26th of that Month, late at Night, Lieutenant-General Renne, at the Head of the advanced Guard of the Army, moved towards the Swedish Camp: When he approached the Out-works of the Enemy, he heard such Sounds and Motions as convinced him that their Army was making ready to march, upon which Observation he returned with all Expedition to the Post where he had drawn up the advanced Guard; and at the same time, giving Advice to the Czar that it was his Opinion the Enemy would suddenly visit him, he made himself Master of a convenient Situation between the adverse Armies; where being suddenly reinforced by a new Detachment of Horse, he attended the Motion of the Enemy 'till the Dawn of the Day. The Swedes at that time began to appear, and coming on with great Confidence and Bravery, attacked him with their best Troops of Horse. The Lieutenant-General defended himself with much Skill and Resolution for a full hour, when receiving Advice that the Muscovite Infantry in his Rear were in a Readiness for the Charge, he wheeled in the very Front of the Enemy, and with much Order disposed his Cavalry on the Right and Left of the Muscovite Foot. The Swedes who had charged him immediately advanced against the Muscovite Infantry, with design to put them in Disorder, but were received so warmly by seventy pieces of Cannon, that they were themselves forced into Confusion. The Swedish Foot advanced in good order to their Succour; the Muscovites gave them but one Fire. after which they charged the Swedes Sword in Hand, and broke in upon their Line of Battel with such Fury, that they were immediately disordered, and began to retire. Major-General Baver had, during this Action, wheeled with a strong Detachment to fall upon their Rear. The Swedes observing their Enemy in good order in Front

and Rear, pressing their Advantage, threw down their Arms in great Numbers, and all who did not submit, betook themselves to Flight. The first Prisoner of Note taken was Major-General Schippenbach, by the Czar himself; soon after Field-Marshal Reinscheild was presented to his Majesty by the Field-Marshal Sheremetoffe. The Czar was very active during the whole Dispute, and rid down four Horses while it lasted. His Majesty received a Shot in his Hat. The Engagement was wholly ended about eight in the Morning. The Generals who were Prisoners dined with his Majesty, and were used with great Generosity. His Majesty discoursed upon the Change of Affairs, addressing himself particularly to General Rheischeild, and enquired into the real Number of the Swedish Troops; but was answered, that his Majesty of Sweden only had an exact Knowledge of his Forces, and never communicated further to his Officers than was exactly necessary for their Obedience, and Execution of Orders; but he believed the Army consisted, at the beginning of the Engagement, of thirty thousand, nineteen thousand of whom were regular Troops, and the rest Cossacks. The Czar observed to him, that the thought that a small Force to march so far into an Enemy's Country; the General said, his Duty was only to obey. Upon which his Majesty took off his own Sword, and gave it to the General, desiring him to wear it as a Testimony of the Esteem he had for so good a Servant to his Prince. Lieutenant-General Renne is mortally wounded, but no other Muscovite Officer of Note. Mazeppa, with his Body of Cossacks made his Escape from a distant Post, where he was placed with the Baggage. His Swedish Majesty, according to Letters of the 30th, had joined him with two thousand Horse, and had marched towards the Neiper, and the Czar designed on that day to pursue him in Person."

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PRINCE MAZEPA,
HETMAN OF UKRAINE
in
Contemporary English Publications
1687 — 1709

by
Theodore Mackiw
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Dr. Mackiw has performed a major feat of historical research in the preparation of this work. His treatment of this unique topic reveals an unusual familiarity with the sources.

Prof. Mackiw's book throws light on a portion of East European History that receives little attention in most English language accounts. This work shows that the Hetman Maze-pa's exploits were fairly well known as evidenced by reports in contemporary English publications.

Prof. Mackiw's work is of special significance in that it provides an extraordinary insight into the relationship between the Hetman, the Czar, and the Swedish King; men of diverse backgrounds and interests.

In his introductory chapters, Dr. Mackiw acquaints the reader with the historical development of the English press and analyzes its sources of information. He not only describes the general situation in Eastern Europe, particularly in the Ukraine, but also presents a brief biography of Maze-pa, which helps explain his motives in joining the Swedish King.

Dr. Mackiw's book, meticulously researched in European and American Libraries and Archives, will help revive Maze-pa's career and reputation for a wider audience.

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