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EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND UKRAINE.

Down to the beginning of the 17th century, we do not meet any materials on Anglo-Ukrainian relations. Direct relations of course there could not be, as Ukrainian territory was at first under Lithuanian and then Polish sovereignty. English travellers were then in general very rare in the Polish-Lithuanian state and did not go as far as Ukraine. Certainly, the 16th century is the one in which British relations with Moscow developed. England at that time had a monopoly there; but in that period Ukraine had little in common with Moscow. The journey from England to Moscow was made by the Baltic and White Seas; the Black Sea was jealously closed by the Turks.

All the same the first information on the Cossacks of Ukraine came to England through Turkey. The Cossacks, who gave much trouble to Turkey, then very powerful in Christian Europe, could not fail to attract the interest of English students of Turkey. Richard Knolles (1540–1618) for instance, in a serious work on that period, *The Generall Historie of the Turks*,¹ which appeared in 1603 and had great success,² gave the English reader most interesting information on the Cossacks of Ukraine and on their naval expeditions to the coast of the Ottoman Empire.

Through Constantinople, too, British diplomacy for the first time took an active interest in Ukrainian questions. As is known, in the 1620's Europe was divided into two coalitions, a Catholic and a Protestant. Poland was on the side of the Catholic Habsburgs, and naturally the whole anti-Habsburg league gave serious attention to the Orthodox Ukrainians in Poland, whose armed vanguard was the Cossacks.

British diplomacy could not fail to know that the Papal Nuncio in Warsaw, de Torres, in 1622 reported with mortification: "It is impossible to take forcible measures against the Orthodox, for this is prevented by the Cossacks, a warlike and brave people standing watch over the freedom of faith, now with appeals, now with threats

¹ London, printed by Adam Islip, p. 40.

² In 1638 was published the 5th edition.

in their mouths, but always with weapons in their hands. What may some time come out of these threats, it is easy to guess if we take into account that there are about 60,000 Cossacks and that they . . . at convenient times do enormous harm, especially in a country like Poland that is open and without fortresses.”³

This was also taken into account by Protestant diplomacy, which in addition in 1620 had to do with the Cossacks as an auxiliary corps in the army of the Habsburgs that devastated Silesia and Moravia.⁴

So, one after another, the members of the Protestant league begin to get connections with the Cossacks in the hope of destroying the Polish State with their help. Oxenstiern, the famous Chancellor of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, in his instructions of 7 August 1623 to his envoy in Holland, John Rutgers, writes that the King hopes for the help of the Orthodox Ukrainians in Poland.⁵ As the Hague was then in close touch with London, British diplomacy must certainly have known of the hopes of Gustavus Adolphus.

Another member of the Protestant league, one who was still more intimately connected with British diplomacy, also came into connection with the Ukrainians. This was the famous Transylvanian Prince Gabriel Bethlen. A man of great statesmanship and wide political conceptions, Bethlen clearly saw the chronic weakness of the Polish state and was very much interested in Ukraine. In one of his talks with Paul Strassburg, envoy of Gustavus Adolphus in Transylvania, Gabriel Bethlen gave a remarkable exposition of the Ukrainian question which does honour to his foresight: “Many sensible and distinguished persons have been studying the question whether the Zaporog people, brought to extreme despair by prolonged oppression, may not leave Poland, recognise the protection of neighbouring sovereigns and form an independent state . . . There are some who think that the people of the Zaporogs is most famous by its origin and ancestors . . . So we must not only use the present occasion, but also in the future it would be well to attract to our common action such outstanding and brave fighters . . . The Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril, . . . is now at once summoning the Cossacks to stand firm for the cause of God . . . Envoys of the King of England and the Dutch envoy . . . persuaded the Patriarch

³ Relacye nunciuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690. Berlin 1864, II, p. 150.

⁴ Theatrum Europæum 1634, I, 343; Hurmuzaki, Documente privatoare . . . V, part I, 600; A. Moslach, *Przyczynek do dziejów polskich z Arch. miasta Wrocławia*, Poznań, 1860, p. 58, 156, 158.

⁵ Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas skrifter och Brefvexling. . . Stockholm 1888, i, 584.

to do this, and he has solemnly promised to stand with loyalty and truth for the common weal."⁶

The Patriarch of Constantinople, on whom the English envoy laid such hopes in the Ukrainian question, was the famous Cyril Lukaris, one of the most distinguished figures in the gallery of Orthodox hierarchs who fought Catholicism.⁷ A student of the University of Padua, Lukaris for a long while travelled about Western Europe, lived in Geneva, where he entered into close relations with the Calvinists, later was Professor of Greek in the Bratstvo School of Vilna, lived with the famous Ukrainian cultural worker, Prince Constantine Ostrozhsky, also visiting Lwów, until in 1612 he became Patriarch of Constantinople. Having strong sympathies with the Calvinists, Lukaris is intimately connected with two brilliant Protestant diplomats on the shores of the Bosphorus, the Dutch Ambassador, Kornelis Haga, and the British, Thomas Roe. The latter was also particularly closely connected with Bethlen.

Thomas Roe (1581-1649) carefully studied the position in Ukraine, and possibly he was the inspirer of the Ukrainian plan of action, which was worked out by Lukaris, Gabriel Bethlen and Strassburg. It is more than possible that researches in Roe's dispatches in the Record Office will give new data on the Cossack policy of England. At present we have to be content with the work which appeared in 1740 in London under the title *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte from the year 1621 to 1628 inclusive: A great variety of curious and important Matters relating not only to the Affairs of the Turkish Empire, but also to those of the Other States of Europe, in that Period.* . . . now first published from the originals.⁸

In this book there are reports of Roe which show what an interest the British Ambassador took in the Cossack customs and their manner of waging war. Thomas Roe is also connected with the name of the celebrated Samiil Koretsky, the hero of Ukrainian songs. Married to the daughter of the Moldavian Hospodar,

⁶ The Latin original of the report of Strassburg giving Bethlen's exposé is printed in the Hungarian *Történelmi Társulat*, 1882, pages 272-4; and in Russian in the archives of South-Western Russia, part III, vol. 6, pages 28-30; in Ukrainian in Ivan Kripyakevich, *Cossackdom in Political Coalitions*, 1620-30, Lviv, 1914, pp. 12-14.

⁷ The vast bibliography of Lukaris is collected in the work of E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, Paris, 1896, Vol. IV.

⁸ Folio, LXIV, 828, a fragment in the collection of Niemcewiczsa: *Zbiór pamiątek historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, Vol. V, 1830, under the title *Wyjatk z negocjacji kawalera Sir Thomas Roe w czasie poselstwa jego do porty ottomańskiej*.

Koretsky, at the head of the Cossacks, helped his father-in-law against the Turks and was taken prisoner. Shut up in a castle on the Bosphorus, Koretsky, by a whole series of clever devices, escaped from captivity, but in the battle at Tsetsopa, which was so disastrous to Poland, he fell into the hands of the Turks. In the name of the King of England Roe begged the Sultan for the life of the brave Ukrainian knight but was opposed by the Grand Vizier, who was furious because the Cossacks had made a daring attack by sea on the castle where Koretsky was imprisoned. On 27 June, 1622, Roe informed his government of "a new and awful step of the barbarians." The Turks strangled Koretsky, "the defender of Ukraine," "the Sarmatian Leonidas," as he is called in contemporary literature of the Panegyrics and in Ukrainian popular songs, beginning as early as the 17th century, Koretsky is celebrated together with another Ukrainian hero, the founder of the Zaporog Fastness, Prince Baida-Vishnevetsky, who was also tortured by the Turks in 1653. Popular poetry later even confused the two Ukrainian heroes :

Buv Pan Koretsky
 Dmitro Vishnevetsky
 Vin nebesnu silu mav
 I voiovav gromom
 Ta svoim slovom. . . .⁹

In the history of Anglo-Ukrainian relations, the personality of Thomas Roe is always emphasising itself side by side with Samiil Koretsky,¹⁰ whom, on the initiative of the British diplomat, the King of England took under his protection and even had a definite promise of the Turkish Government, but, as Roe writes, "here no one thinks of keeping his word."

About the end of the 1620's and the beginning of the 1630's, Oxford and Cambridge had with them as a student the later well-known Ukrainian statesman Yury Nemirich, the creator of the Swedish-Ukrainian alliance of 1657, a friend of Charles X, whose friendship was also sought even by Louis XIV. Nemirich, whose name is written in golden letters in the history of Ukrainian culture, was in his youth a Unitarian, studying the humanities in Protestant universities and afterwards in Paris and Padua. In the last-named,

⁹ This song is given by Edward Rulikovsky who wrote it in 1853 in the district of Vasilkov, near Kiev. M. Voznyak, "Chikava pam'yatka ukrainskoï pisenosti 17go viku," in the periodical *Ukraina*, Kiev, 1929, III-IV.

¹⁰ In the celebrated poem of the Bubrovnik poet Gundulić, *Osman*, one of the chief heroes is Koretsky. Cf. A. Jensen, *Gundulić und sein Osman. Ein südslavische Literaturstudie*, 1900.

Nemirich is entered in the university records on 17 June, 1632, as "Georgius Niemiryecz ex Belgio, Britannia, Gallys hospes in itinere adhuc conficiendo."

What was feared by the Papal Nuncio in 1622, what was foreseen by Gabriel Bethlen, what had engaged the activity of Thomas Roe, at last came about in 1648, namely a great Ukrainian revolution under the leadership of Bogdan Khmelnytsky. We can easily imagine the deep interest which was aroused in Europe by the Ukrainian national and social revolution. Unfortunately, as far as England is concerned, no systematic work on this subject has yet been done in the English archives.

However, we know the interest which was excited in the English press by the Ukrainian revolution. As early as 14 December, 1648, *Le Mercure Anglais*¹¹ gave a detailed description of the battles of the Yellow Waters and Korsun, where, in the words of contemporaries, "Poland lay in dust and blood at the feet of the Cossack." Another paper, *The Moderate Intelligencer*,¹² in the course of 1649 gave interesting information from Ukraine, where the revolution was in progress. The geographical and political Manual: *A Book and Map of all Europe, with the Names of all Towns of note in that Known quarter of the World*,¹³ gives data about the chief towns of Ukraine and knows of the changes which had taken place there after the Revolution. The Treaty of Pereaslav between Ukraine and the Tsar of Moscow, which ended so disastrously for the first-named, was made known in the London paper *The Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth*¹⁴ as early as 16 April, 1654.

All who are even superficially acquainted with the Ukrainian revolution of 1648 know the name of Maxim Krivonos, one of the most terrible lieutenants of the Hetman Khmelnytsky. He was a cruel leader, with whom not a single Pole ever found mercy. He destroyed and ruined for the sheer love of ruining, and on this ground Krivonos came more than once into conflict with Khmelnytsky, a real statesman for whom the Revolution was not an end in itself but a means of organising an Ukrainian state. Krivonos, on the other hand, was a living incarnation of so-called permanent revolution, a brilliant demagogue who could only too well play upon the destructive instincts of the mob. In the end Khmelnytsky, after long efforts, succeeded in getting rid of Krivonos, who vanishes from the

¹¹ By John Cotgrave, London, 4to. It appeared in 1644 on Thursdays.

¹² By John Dillingham, London, 4to.

¹³ London, 8vo, p. 206.

¹⁴ Printed by R. Austen, 4to.

Ukrainian stage without leaving any documentary traces of his enigmatic disappearance.

Who exactly he was, no one, right up to the present day, has succeeded in establishing. "Krivonos" was of course a pseudonym originating in the crooked nose of the leader, with which contemporaries also drew him in portraits. Krivonos appeared in Ukraine on the very eve of the Revolution. It is curious and extremely suggestive that not one of the leaders of the Revolution was so closely followed abroad as Krivonos. The *Gazette de France*, it is true, offers us fantastic information about him, giving great significance to reports of his mortal wound in November 1648. The Papal Nuncio with pleasure specially informs the Holy See of the conflicts of Khmelnytsky with Krivonos,¹⁵ and the Swedish Chancellor Oxenstiern obtains exact information about him through his agent in Danzig.

The riddle of the personality of Krivonos must perhaps be sought in a now very rare pamphlet in German which appeared in 1649 under the title: *Gründliche und denckwürdige Relation . . . der newlichen Cosaken Revolte wider Cron Polen . . . unter Commando Gen. Chmielinicki als Gen. Hauptmann, Pultorock Cosaken-Obristen und Krziwanos, Obristen, des vornemsten Häuptern der Cosacken, von Anfang bis zur newlichen (Gott sey Lob.) unverhofften Friedenscomposition, so hiebey gefüget, und darauff ertheilten Königl. Pardon, nach bewusten und zum Theile selbst erfahrenen Umständen kürztlich verfasset durch einen namhafften Offizirer, jedoch dabey des Friedens Liebhabern*.¹⁶ The author of this pamphlet with such a long title was a certain German officer in the service of the Hetman of Lithuania, the well-known Jan Radziwill, who on the one hand for a short time took Kiev away from Khmelnytsky and on the other, being chief of the Lithuanian autonomists, kept up secret relations with the Ukrainian Hetman. And this German officer, who was well informed by the nature of his service, writes: "*Der Gen. Maior Krziwanos ein geborner Schott, von wegen seiner Krumen Nas also von den Cosaken genant, sonst ein resolvirter und ver-*

¹⁵ Collection of Materials on the *History of South-Western Russia*, Kiev 1916, issue II, 113.

¹⁶ S.I. 4to, p. 12. "Full and notable account . . . of the recent Cossack revolt against the Polish Crown . . . under the command of General Chmielinicki as General, and the Cossack Colonels Pultorock and Krziwanos, the most distinguished heads of the Cossacks, from the beginning to the recent unexpected conclusion of peace (praise be to God) and the royal pardon thereupon granted, briefly narrated according to facts within his knowledge and partly in his own experience, by a well-known officer, but also a lover of peace."

wegener Soldat.”¹⁷ Indeed, if we give careful attention to the career of Krivonos, we get an impression that we have before us a conscious agent of the Protestant league, or rather of England, an uncompromising enemy of the Kingdom of Poland, with which he wants no agreement but seeks its complete ruin.

Contemporaries compare Khmelnytsky with Cromwell, as, for instance, a French agent in Ukraine, Pierre Chevalier, who personally knew the Hetman, author of a *History of the Cossack-Polish War*, which had great success.¹⁸ In the preface Chevalier calls Khmelnytsky “a Cromwell, not less daring, not less experienced in politics than the English Cromwell.” With Cromwell in view, contemporary diplomatic reports entitle Khmelnytsky “Protector of the Cossacks.”

Some historians admit that Cromwell had direct relations with the Hetman, but in Ukrainian sources there is no documentary evidence of this. Certainly we must have in view that, after the death of Khmelnytsky and the disturbances which broke out in Ukraine, the archives of the Hetman were destroyed.

More begins to be written about Ukraine in England in the second half of the 17th century. Peter Heylyn, author of a geographical treatise, in 1666 describes the Ukrainian lands;¹⁹ the English diplomat Paul Rycaut (who died in 1700), at first Consul in Smyrna and afterwards envoy of Charles II in Constantinople, in his book *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*,²⁰ of which the

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 7. “Major-General Krziwanos, a Scotsman by birth, so called by the Cossacks owing to his crooked nose, further a resolute and daring soldier.”

¹⁸ Chevalier was the agent of Mazarin for recruiting Cossacks for service in France. Thanks to him, a band of Cossacks under the leadership of Khmelnytsky himself took part in 1645 in the siege of Dunkirk in the French army of Condé. We have described this episode on the basis of hitherto unpublished documents in the article “Cossacks of Khmelnytsky before Dunkirk, 1645,” printed in the paper *The Ukrainian Tribune* (Ukrains'ka Tribuna), 1922, No. 203.

Chevalier's book, before it appeared in the press, already circulated in manuscript in Paris. Thevenot gave a fragment from such a manuscript in his well-known collection, *Relations de divers voyages curieux qui n'ont pas été publiés*, Paris, 1663. Folio. Then, in the same year, Chevalier published his work, *Histoire de la Guerre des Cosaques contre la Pologne. Avec un discours de Leur Origine, Pais, Mœurs, Gouvernement et Religion. Par Pierre Chevalier, conseiller du Roy en sa Cour des Monnoyes*. A Paris, chez Claude Barbin. 12mo, p. 228. In 1668 another edition appeared, where only the author's initials were given. New edition: Paris, 1859. 12mo., p. viii, 185.

¹⁹ *Cosmographie in four Books contayning the Chorographie, Historie of the whole World*. . . London, printed for Philip Chetwynd. Fol., p. 1095.

²⁰ London, John Starkey and Henry Brome. Fol., p. 218, XIV. In 1686 already appeared the sixth English edition. There are five French translations, a Latin one 1603, a German 1694, a Polish 1678, and a Russian 1771.

first edition appeared in 1668 and soon obtained a European circulation, dwells on the wars of Ukraine and praises the knightly nation which inhabits Ukraine, calling the language of this nation Slavonic or Old Illyrian.

In 1672 when in connection with the activity of the Hetman Doroshenko, the Sultan's ally, the London papers again began writing in detail of Ukraine, there appeared a translation of the above-named work of Pierre Chevalier. The author of this English translation was Edward Brown (1644-1708), who was in his time a well-known English doctor and traveller. Brown was a personal friend of Beauplan de Levasseur the well-known French military engineer who, after seventeen years of residence in Ukraine, published in 1750 in Rouen the first *Description of Ukraine* in Europe, which became so well known and which also gave Europe the first fully trustworthy map of Ukraine. Beauplan translated into French a work of Brown's, well known at the time, *A Brief account of Some travels in Hungaria*.²¹ On the other hand, by the advice of Beauplan, Brown in 1642 translated into English the book of Chevalier under the title *A Discourse of the Origin, Countrey, Manners, Governement and Religion of the Cossacks with another of the Precopin Tartars and the History of the Wars of the Cossacks against Poland*.²² According to Brown himself, the English public welcomed this translation with interest and much pleasure.²³

Two other writers on Ukraine whose works appeared at the end of the 17th century, were, like Brown, also medical men. Bernard Connor (1666-1698), an Irishman by birth and a Professor of Cambridge University, was Court Physician to John Sobieski.²⁴ While in Poland and the neighbouring countries, Connor wrote letters to his friend which were collected in 1690 in a separate book : *The history of Poland in several letters to persons of quality, giving an account of the ancient and present State of that Kingdom*.²⁵ The third letter " To his Grace, William, Duke of Devonshire, Lord Steward

²¹ London, 1673. 4to., p. 144. French translation in 1674.

²² By Chevalier, translated by E. Brown. London, printed by T. N. for Nobard Kemp, at the sign in the Upper Walk in the New Exchange. 8vo., p. vi, 195.

²³ From the preface to *A Brief account of Some travels in Hungaria*.

²⁴ As to whom, see Du Roure, *Analecta Biblion*, II, 399-404.

²⁵ Published by Mr. Savage, London, 2 vols. 8vo., p. 352, 322. Second edition, 1698. German translation : *Beschreibung Königreichs Polen*, Leipzig, T. Fritsch, 1700. 8vo, p. 822; Latin translation in the collection of Mizler de Kolof, *Historiarum Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae scriptorum collectio magna*, Varsaviae, 1769, vol. II.

of His Majesty's Household " is devoted to Ukraine, which Connor had himself visited and had supplemented his personal impressions with the literature of his day. " This vast and fertile country," writes Connor, " is divided into two great provinces, Volhynia and Podolia. Of Volhynia the capital is Kiovia, built on the Borysthene, which was formerly, as they say, one of the largest in Europe . . . The Inhabitants of Ukraina are commonly called Cossacks . . . I can compare 'em to no people better than to the Miquelets of Spain or Highlanders of Scotland . . . This country abounds so with all sorts of grain, that the Inhabitants know not what to do with it, their Rivers being shallow, and therefore not capable to transport it to other places . . ." " The Inhabitants of Ukraina are for the most part robust and strong, generous, and great Despisers of Covetousness, inconceivable Lovers of Liberty, and impatient under the mildest slavery. They are likewise indefatigable, bold and brave but withal excessive drunkards, treacherous Friends, and perfidious Enemies."

" Their Religion is generally the Greek Persuasion . . . yet the greatest part of the gentry profess either the Roman or Reform'd Religion . . . The Cosack Priests are call'd Pops, which in their language signifies guides. . . ."

" The Language of the Cosacks is a Dialect of the Polish, as that is of the Sclavonian. It is very soft, and full of Diminutives, and consequently very delightful both to the Hearer and Speaker."

The author later dwells in detail on the manner of life of the Ukrainian peasants, their way of cultivating the land, and the Cossack method of waging war, where he emphasises the well-known war tactics of the Cossacks connected with the so-called *Tabor*, that is, a line of defence consisting of wagons of the Cossack baggage train. Connor also gave a description of the chief towns of Ukraine, and among these he writes of Kiev: " Kiow or Kiouf, according to the Pronunciation of the Inhabitants, an antient, large and very populous City. . . . The old Kiow was built on a hill a little beyond the River, where are still to be seen the Ruins of many Arches, high walls, Churches, and Burying-places of divers Kings, with Greek Inscriptions. Of these Churches, two remain in tolerable good condition, viz. those of St. Sophia and St. Michael. The walls of the former are lined with curious Mosaic work. . . . St. Michael's Church is chiefly remarkable for its gilded Roof. . . ."

As we see, Connor took a serious interest in Ukraine. From his

annotations it is clear that he knew among others the works of Guagnini,²⁶ Vimina,²⁷ Beauplan, Chevalier and Preffendorf.²⁸

For Ukraine the 18th century opened in England with a translation of Beauplan which appeared in the well known *Collection of Voyages and Travels* of J. Churchill.²⁹ When English readers were able to make use of the famous work of the French engineer, Ukraine was under the rule of the great Hetman Ivan Mazeppa. Here it is interesting to note that, wishing to draw them on to his side in his struggle against Charles XII, Peter the Great, who of course did not interest himself in the wishes of Ukraine, did not hesitate to offer it as a principality to Marlborough. Nothing came of this fantastic plan, but Mazeppa and those around him knew of it. The Tsar's proposal to Marlborough showed the Ukrainian patriots what awaited their country, and possibly played its part in the events of 1708 when Mazeppa joined Charles XII.

In the November days of 1708, which were so tragical for Ukraine, the epoch-making days in its history,³⁰ the British Ambassador in Moscow was Charles Lord Whitworth (1675-1725) who there represented Queen Anne from 1704. His reports, printed in the collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society,³¹ show with what attention the British diplomat watched the drama that was being played out in distant Ukraine.

On 21 November, 1708, Whitworth informed the Secretary of State, Boyle, from Moscow of letters received from the headquarters of the Tsar and was surprised that the letters "make no mention of an accident that will probably give a new turn to these affairs, and is confirmed by so many different ways as leave no room to doubt of the truth. That is the revolt of General Mazeppa to the King of Sweden with all his family and riches. This gentleman is near seventy years old, was extremely considered and relied on by the Czar, has no child, but a nephew, and has heaped up vast sums of money in that wealthy province, where he governed so long with little less authority than a sovereign prince, so that I cannot learn what

²⁶ *Sarmatiæ Europææ descriptio* . . . Spiræ, 1581. Fol.

²⁷ *Istoria della guerra civili di Polonia*. . . di Don Alberto Vimina. . . Venezia, 1671. 4to.

²⁸ *Commentarium de rebus Suecicis*, libri XXVI, Utrecht, 1686. Fol.

²⁹ 1704, five vols. Folio. The work of Beauplan (in full) is found in the first volume, pp. 571-610, under the title *A Description of Ukraine*. Written in French by the Sieur de Beauplan. See also editions of 1752 and 1764. I may add that in the last edition there is only a small fragment of Beauplan.

³⁰ See Elie Borshak and René Martel, *Vie de Mazeppa*. Paris, Calmann Lévy, 1931. 8vo., p. xii, 191.

³¹ Vols. 39 and 50; for us the last-named is the most important.

disgust or expectation may have drawn him to engage in new councils and actions in such an advanced, decrepit age. As to the day, the manner, and other circumstances of his retreat, I cannot yet relate anything . . . By next post I hope to know something clearer."

Indeed on 28 November Whitworth, on the basis of official Russian information, tells his Government of the alliance of Mazeppa with Charles XII, and in the following reports the British Ambassador closely follows the events in Ukraine; but, not having any informants of his own there, he was compelled to limit himself to repeating the official sources. On 20 February, 1709, for instance, on the occasion of the demagogic manifestos of the Tsar against Mazeppa, Whitworth writes: "The Czar has published a declaration to let the Cozacks see Mr. Mazeppa really designed to bring them under the old yoke of Poland, instead of erecting a free republick as was given out in his first manifest. . . ." Completely relying on the Tsar's information, Whitworth reported on 21 August 1709 to his Government such fantastic news as that the Pasha at Bender had promised to hand over Mazeppa to the Tsar, and that now the Pasha "denied him a house in the town, with the severe reflexion that none there was good enough for one, who could not live contented in the rich palaces he had in Russia. . . ." All this, of course, was imaginary. After Poltava, up to the very death of Mazeppa, he lived in Bender in great esteem; and the Ambassador himself lost faith in the Tsar's information and on 31 October, 1709, he writes from Moscow: "It is said here that old General Mazeppa died in Bender at the beginning of September, but such reports so often spread here without just grounds, that I am scarce willing to mention them. . . ."

This time the Tsar was right. Mazeppa had died, only not in the beginning of September but on 2 October, 1709.³²

In 1710, at the request of his Government, Lord Whitworth drew up a report on the state of the Tsar's dominions.³³ The Ambassador

³² For details of the death of Mazeppa, see E. Borshak and R. Martel, *Vie de Mazeppa*, pp. 169 and 59.

³³ It was printed several years later under the title: *An Account of Russia as it was in the year 1710*, by Charles Lord Whitworth. Printed at Strawberry Hill, MDCCXVIII. 8vo, p. xxiv, 158. It is the greatest bibliographical rarity, as it was printed in the private press of Horace Walpole on his estate at Strawberry Hill. The preface to the report of Whitworth is also perhaps written by Walpole. In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Réserve M. 815) there is preserved a copy bound with the arms of Walpole. A new edition is to be found in the collection *Dodley's fugitive Pieces on Various Subjects*, by several authors. London, 1771. 8vo, II, pp. 163-231. In the British Museum is preserved the correspondence of Whitworth in fifty volumes. The tenth volume contains papers relating to the matter in question, but it is a duplicate of documents from the Foreign Office, printed in issues of the Russian Historical Society.

devotes two separate paragraphs to the "Cossacks of the Ukraine"³⁴ and the Zaporogs.³⁵ Of the country of the Cossacks, Whitworth writes: "their dominions extending several hundred miles between the rivers Boristhenes, or Neiper, and the Don; in 1654, they, with their Hetman, on ill usage revolted from Poland, and put themselves under the Czar's protection. . . . This country is extremely well peopled, and tilled . . . the villages are large and neatly built with wood, they drive a great trade, in hemp, pot-ash, wax, corn and cattle." The Cossacks are very much attached to their freedom, and "from hence sprung an universal discontent, and the revolt of Mazeppa to the King of Sweden . . . the residence town of Bathurin was immediately taken and burnt, and above six thousand³⁶ persons put to the sword without distinction of age or sex."

At the same time as Lord Whitworth, there lived in the Russian service an English engineer, Perry (1670-1732). After a sojourn of sixteen years in Russia, Perry returned to his own country, where he described his impressions in a book which was widely circulated in Europe, "*The State of Russia under the present Czar*."³⁷ Perry personally knew Mazeppa, and in his opinion Charles XII marched "directly into the Ukraine, he being invited by General Mazeppa (or the Hetman) of the Cossacks who inhabit that country and are under the protection of the Czar as they formerly were under that of the Poles." With great indignation, Perry describes the inhuman destruction by the Tsar of the Hetman's capital of Baturin, especially dwelling on the person of the hero Königsen, a Saxon by birth, who commanded the Hetman's artillery in Baturin, was mortally wounded, and broken on the wheel when already dead.³⁸

At the solemn burial of Mazeppa in Bender was present a representative of England with Charles XII. His name is unknown to us, but from 1711 the English Government was represented in Bender with the Swedish King by Captain Jefferye. He entered into relations with Mazeppa's followers in the person of the Hetman Philip Orlik, Mazeppa's heir. Jefferye's reports were published by the Swedish

³⁴ *Idem.*, pp. 22-24.

³⁵ *Idem.*, pp. 25-26.

³⁶ As a matter of fact, 15,000 persons were killed at Baturin.

³⁷ By Captain John Perry, London, printed for Benjamin Tooke, 1716. 8vo, p. 280. In French: *État présent de la Grande Russie*, La Haye, 1717, 12mo, p. 271; in Dutch: *Tegenwoordige Staat van Groot Rusland*, T'Amsterdam, 1717. 8vo, p. 393; in German: *Der jetzige Staat von Rusland oder Moskau*, Leipzig, 1717. 8vo.

³⁸ This same Perry, in 1715, worked at the Volga-Don Canal, where Peter drove to work some thousands of Cossacks who died there and left such a painful memory in Ukrainian popular poetry.

Historical Society³⁹ and from them it is clear how carefully the English diplomat followed the activity of the Mazeppa group.

On 4 April, 1712, the Hetman Orlik addressed a long manifesto to European public opinion to explain his treaty with the Sultan.⁴⁰ "Nous avons cru," wrote Orlik, "devoir informer les Rois, Princes, Républiques et autres États Chrétiens des raisons qui m'ont porté à venir dans l'Empire Ottoman et à prendre aujourd'hui les armes contre le Tsar Moscovite, ne doutant plus que cette démarche ne soit mal interprétée par plusieurs, surtout par ceux qui ignorent la justice de notre cause, ou qui sont prévenus par les artifices de nos ennemis."

After relating the fate of Ukraine, beginning from the time of Khmelnytsky, and explaining the reasons of Mazeppa's rebellion, Orlik continues: "In a solemn treaty of alliance the Sultan has assured us that his object is not to conquer Ukraine and annex it to his empire, but 'de rétablir cet état dans l'ancienne constitution de leur gouvernement pour mettre une barrière entre l'Empire Ottoman et l'état du Tsar Moscovite.'"

Orlik sent a copy of his treaty with the Sultan, possibly through Jefferye, to the Queen of England, with an accompanying letter in which he assured her that this treaty was not only not against peace in Europe, but could on the contrary very much help toward a balance in Europe by weakening the power of the Muscovite State.⁴¹

Orlik had his reasons for addressing a letter to the Queen of England, as, supported by French diplomacy in Constantinople, he knew that England was at that time more and more inclined towards the Tsar. As a matter of fact, from a report of Jefferye on 16 March, 1712, when the Cossack-Turkish agreement already existed *de facto*, we see how the English representative wrote of this treaty; he greatly exaggerates the forces of the Porte, for with Orlik there were 70,000 Cossacks alone, and it "will be the interest of all Christian Potentates, especially of the Neighbouring Princes, to endeavour to prevent the same in time. . . ."

Seven years passed, and English policy in the East of Europe changed radically. England herself entered into immediate relations with the leader of the Ukrainian separatists. This fact was first

³⁹ Kapten Jefferyes Bref till Engelska Regeringen Från Bender och Adrianopel, 1711-1714, genom Ernst Carlson. *Historiska Handlingar de*. 16.w 2. Stockholm, 1897. 8vo, p. 123.

⁴⁰ Published for the first time by us in the documents of the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. See our "Hetman Philip Orlik and France," *L'viv, Journal of the Scientific Society of Shevchenko*, vol. 134, pp. 134-6.

⁴¹ This letter was published by us in *Stara Ukraina*, L'viv, 1924, p. 186.

discovered by ourselves. Unfortunately, not being able to dwell here in detail on this so far unknown phase of Anglo-Ukrainian relations, we will treat only its chief features.

After the death of Charles XII in 1718, Peter the Great was at the apogee of his power. For the first time the so-called "Russian danger" appeared before Europe, and this danger was most of all felt in England. "The English King, if he could, would raise the whole world against the Tsar," complained the Tsar's Ambassador in Vienna, Lanchinsky,⁴² "The English King and his people are everywhere seeking means of limiting the power of the Russian Tsar in the Baltic Sea," so, on the other side, asserted the first French Minister in instructions to his Ambassador in Stockholm. In the Parliament in London took place keen debates on Muscovite competition in the Baltic Sea, and the Government inspired a pamphlet⁴³ in which we read: "The Muscovites have taken the place of all other European nations. . . . Trade, which was once free in this sea, is now groaning under the despotism of the Moscow Czar and summons all Europe to vengeance."

On 5 January, 1719, the Holy Russian Empire and George I signed the treaty of Vienna, directed against the Tsar. The latter, in answer, in the summer of the same year, disembarked troops and a mixed army in the south of Sweden, which it greatly ravaged. Ulrica Eleanor, sister of Charles XII, in despair turned for help to George, who sent to Stockholm the famous English diplomat, Lord Carteret. Between London and Stockholm a treaty was signed according to which the English fleet entered Swedish waters to defend the country from the Tsar.

Meanwhile, in Sweden at Kristianstadt was living the Hetman Orlik with his staff, as he had followed Charles XII on the invitation of the Swedish King. The Swedish Government now directed the attention of Carteret to the importance of the Ukrainian question for the allies; that in the territory of the Crimea was to be found the strong Zaporog fastness which acknowledged Orlik as its leader.

On 17 July, 1719, Orlik had a long talk with Carteret, the content of which we find in the report of the British envoy to his Government on 2 August, 1719.

⁴² Solovyev, *History of Russia*, vol. XVII, p. 376.

⁴³ *Mémoire d'une personne intéressée et sensible au commerce de la Mer Baltique*. London, 1718. Cf. Lamberty, *Mémoires*, vol. IX, 663, 666; Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Négotiations du Nord depuis l'Année 1715 pour servir de réponse au Mémoire présenté à S.M. Britannique par Mr. Weselofski, Résident de S.M. Czarienne le 14 de Dec., 1719. Londres, 1720, 4to, p. 20; Chance, *George I and the Northern War*, pp. 333, 335, 340.

"Among other distinguished persons who have relation to the political position," wrote Carteret,⁴⁴ "I had a visit from the Cossack, Hetman Orlik. This Hetman is the heir of the well-known Mazeppa, in whose country his late Majesty the King of Sweden suffered such a reverse. When Hetman Mazeppa died in Bender the Cossacks, who had risen against the Tsar, chose in the place of Mazeppa, Monsieur Orlik, who had shared the lot of the late King in Turkey and with whom he came here. The late King was very fond of M. Orlik, and it seems this sympathy has remained even up to now with the Court here. The Hetman Orlik is a man of learning and balance, and his education surprised me. He is a great enemy of the Tsar and asserts that, if we do not now crush the Tsar's power, all the Christian sovereigns will have long wars with Russia. He handed me a "Pro Memoria" on the way in which to stop the power of the Tsar. This (the Pro Memoria) I here append.

"M. Orlik is at the head of 50,000 Cossacks who at present are living on the territory of the Sultan, but at the first call of their leader they will move on Ukraine. According to the information of the Hetman Orlik, the population in Ukraine is only waiting for an opportunity to repeat, this time with success, what did not succeed with the Hetman Mazeppa. M. Orlik showed me also a letter from the Zaporog Cossacks welcoming the intentions of the allies with regard to the Tsar.

"In a long talk with the Hetman Orlik I understood what an important significance this affair can have for the allies. Without him we shall get nothing in Constantinople, where M. Orlik is very well known and where he has even received a charter of privileges from the Sultan. M. Orlik wishes that His Majesty, in his negotiations with the Polish Court and this one, should keep the Cossack country in view.

"I have not concealed from M. Orlik how agreeable his intentions are to me and that I shall communicate them to His Majesty. I shall see this Hetman again."

Unfortunately, we have not found the "Pro Memoria" which Carteret received from Orlik, but we assume that it is the original of a pamphlet which appeared in 1720 in Stockholm under the title *Pro Memoria pour faire voir combien la puissance du Czar est redoutable*.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The original of the report is in the archives of the State Papers (Foreign) of Sweden. Unfortunately, we have not at present to hand the English original and have to use a translation made by us in 1924.

⁴⁵ *Sine loco.*, 4to, p. 8.

It is true that this edition came out anonymously, but among the papers of Orlik found by us in the Chateau of Dinteville in France,⁴⁶ this pamphlet is on the list of works of the Hetman Orlik, a man who, by the way, was very highly educated and a great scholar.⁴⁷

Carteret's relations with Orlik became closer, and it was not without the advice of the English diplomat that the Hetman tried to attract to the anti-Muscovite coalition Augustus of Saxony, King of Poland. In this respect extremely interesting is a letter addressed by Orlik on 13 July, 1720, to Count Flemming, the chief Minister of Augustus. In his letter Orlik clearly raises the question of a coalition of nationalities conquered by the Tsar or of joining them voluntarily. Orlik points to the interest of Turkey in the Mussulman peoples of the Empire of the Tsar, "which are groaning under the yoke of Moscow" ("sub jugo Moscovitico genentes"),⁴⁸ Ukraine, the Don Cossacks, Crimea, the Astrakhan Tartars will all join hands, and thus the enemy (the Tsar), attacked on all four sides by Poland, Sweden, Turkey, and Crimea on the territory of Ukraine, the Don and Astrakhan would be powerless and would fall. The chief thing would be that at the same time, in the Tsar's dominions there would break out a rising in Astrakhan, Ukraine, and on the territory of the host of the Don (Donskoe Voisko).

In order to advocate the Ukrainian question in person, Orlik, in agreement with the Swedish Government and Lord Carteret, decided to leave Stockholm and travel first to Brunswick, where an international congress was to assemble, then to the Zaporogs, and later, if necessary, to Constantinople. On 10 October, 1720,

⁴⁶ The son of the Hetman Orlik, Gregory Orlik, was a French general and diplomat. We have devoted to him a separate monograph, which is being printed at the present in Ukrainian in Lwów. He married Mlle. Dinteville. The descendants of the sister of Gregory Orlik's wife have preserved part of his archives.

⁴⁷ See our study "In the Library of Hetman Orlik," in the *Literary Scientific Messenger* (Literaturno naukovi Vistnik), L'viv, 1923, x, pp. 260-66; "Philip Orlik as a scholar," *Bibliographical News* (Bibliologichni Visti) Kiiv, 1929. In the rare dictionary of Swedish anonyms, Stiernmann, *Anonymorum centuria prima*, which appeared in 1724 in Stockholm, there is named as author of the *Pro Memoria* the Swedish General and Senator, Maurice Welling. He was very close to Orlik, and in general supported the action of the Mazeppa group. Possibly he also, like Carteret, received the *Pro Memoria* from Orlik, which will explain the attribution of its authorship to him. After comparing the printed text of the *Pro Memoria* with many other memoirs and notes of Orlik, we find in the printed text a whole number of Orlik's ideas on Russia and Tsar Peter.

⁴⁸ The Latin original of the letter is printed in *Collection of Materials on the history of South Russia*, Kiev, 1916, vol. II, pp. 58-61.

Orlik started, supplied with letters of the new Swedish King, Frederick, to the Emperor, to King George of England, to the Sultan, to the Khan, and to the Zaporogs. The letter of the Swedish King to George I ran (after the titles) : " Having great and deep love for the most glorious and high-born Lord Philip Orlik, who faithfully followed the King of blessed memory and Our kinsman and was with Us in the war against the Muscovites, and now when he has expressed a wish to go home from hence, we have decided to ask Your Majesty and Our Friend, that You should give orders to Your plenipotentiary ministers at the Congress in Brunswick to support the negotiations with M. Orlik on which We have given instructions also to Our own delegates. Having a full guarantee of the protection of the Sultan, Hetman Orlik hopes, with the help of the latter, to throw off the iniquitous yoke of Moscow and to conquer all Ukraine, the ancient country of the Cossack people.

" As this hope touches the common weal and is against the Muscovites and must help towards the destruction of their power, We ask Your Majesty to order Your envoy at the Porte to support the plans of the Hetman Orlik before the Ottoman Porte."⁴⁹

Informed by Lord Carteret, the King of England waited for an audience with Orlik in Hanover, where he then was.

The same day that Orlik left Stockholm, he began keeping a diary, a document of first-class importance for the history of the Mazeppa group and generally for the ethnography of the Balkan countries.⁵⁰ From this diary we see how Orlik hurried to Hanover to see George I. A heavy storm detained the Hetman at Rügen, and he notes with despair in his diary rumours of the return of George I to England. Only on 8 December, 1720, did Orlik reach Hanover, when the King was already gone. So the Hetman was only able to see the next day Baron Bernsdorff (1640-1726), the principal minister of George in the Electorate of Hanover. On his talk, we read in Orlik's diary : " Without delay I visited Baron Bernsdorff, who received me with the greatest kindness. When he had read

⁴⁹ The Latin original is in *Royal Letters, Sweden*. We printed this letter for the first time in an Ukrainian translation in *Agricultural Ukraine* (Khliborodska Ukraïna, Vienna, IV, 1922-23).

⁵⁰ The original is in the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to whom it came from Orlik's son. We found it in 1920 and are preparing the full text of the diary for the press. It is five volumes of manuscript in folio. We have already several times in various works had occasion to take extracts from this diary. As to the MS. itself, see our articles : " Orlikiana," in *Khliborodska Ukraïna*, Vienna, IV ; " The Diary of Philip Orlik," in *Stara Ukraïna*, L'viv, 1924, IX-X ; " La Bohème d'il y a deux siècles vue par un hetman ukrainien," in *Europe Centrale*, 19 October, 1929, Prague.

the letter from his nephew, Basewicz, envoy of Hanover at the Swedish Court, Monsieur Bernsdorff promised to help me in everything. I showed him also the letter of the Swedish King to the King of England about my affairs and the grant of privileges from the Sultan of Turkey, the treaty of alliance with the Crimean Khan. I read to M. Bernsdorff the report of my envoy with the Zaporogs. To all this he listened with great attention and kindness and promised by the next day's post to send to England the letter of the King of Sweden. After this we spent the time in a long talk." The following day Orlik wrote to George I a letter in which we read: "I had great hope that I should succeed in testifying to your Majesty my deep respect in your hereditary principality of Hanover. But, as often a fair hope proves deceptive, so also my hopes as a result of the unfavourable course of events were not fulfilled. . . All the same, by this letter I am correcting my failure and sincerely testify my respect to Your Majesty. Seeing that the God of the world, who subdues proud minds, has inspired the heroic breast of Your Majesty with a just impulse to pacify the Christian world and stop the power of Moscow, which has already extended and expanded beyond all bounds, I do not doubt that Your Majesty, performing the ardent desire of your ally the King of Sweden, will most graciously, as a just and righteous judge, authorise your Ministers on the conclusion of the Treaty of peace to champion my interests before the Polish republic and also that, as just avenger of wrongs, you will support with the Ottoman Porte the question of throwing off the yoke of Moscow from the whole Cossack people." Orlik signed his letter: "Pietatem hanc S.V.R.M.—tis rependet æternus Rex regnantium, ego vero non desinam esse

Sacræ Vestræ Regiæ Majestatis
humillimus et fidelis servus⁵¹)

Philippus Orlik, Dux."

For two years Orlik had to hide in Austria and Poland from the agents of the Tsar, and when he was once more in Turkey, in Hotin, now in Bessarabia, the Pasha, bribed by the Tsar, detained the Hetman. Who knows what end Orlik might have met if it had not been for the British Ambassador in Constantinople? Warned of the danger that threatened the Hetman, he hastened to the Grand Vizier. Orlik was able to continue his journey and settled in Salonica,

⁵¹ This letter was found long ago by the late Prof. V. Alexandrenko, but first appeared in the press in 1925 in the Lwów periodical *Stara Ukraina*, pp. 201-202.

whence, till his departure from Turkey, he conducted the conspirative action of the separatists in Ukraine.

Whilst in Salonica, where, by the way, he often read Shakespeare, Orlik kept up close relations with the British Consul and the local British colony. On the death of George I Orlik comments in his diary : " The protector of the Cossack nation is dead."

On 13 October, 1723, Stanian, British Ambassador in Turkey, wrote to Lord Carteret, who was then in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs : " My Lord, About a year ago arrived at Salonica one Baron d'Orlik, who it seems after General Mazeppa's death commanded the body of Cossacks. . . . Some months after his arrival I received a letter from him praying me to forward a Pacquet to Vienna and to give him my assistance in obtaining leave for him to come hither to make some Proposals to the Porte without specifying of what kind they were. . . . Having heard a good character of him, and being informed that the Czar's Resident here had demanded to have him delivered up to his Master as a Rebel, I thought the Czar's proceeding with the King authorised me to give him what assistance I could, and particularly to endeavour to get leave for him to come hither in hopes he might be of use to us at this juncture. Accordingly the Porte has absolutely refused to give him up, and not only granted him its Protection, but also settled upon him a daily pension for his subsistence. . . . I thought it proper to give your Lordship some account of this man, because he pretends to have the Honour of being personally known to His Majesty, who may perhaps have some orders to give me about him."⁵²

Instructions favourable to Orlik followed from London, and Stanian and also his successors in Constantinople were on the best of terms with the Ukrainian Hetman during the whole time of his stay in Turkey. Proof of this is found in the numerous letters that remain among Orlik's papers.

The Russian policies of London and Paris at that time went hand in hand, and the French Ambassador in Turkey, Vicomte d'Andreselle, was able to write on 27 October, 1727, to Orlik : " La Cour de France et celle d'Angleterre sont serieusement entrées dans les représentations sur l'état de vos affaires. . . Tous les alliés du Hanovre comprennent parfaitement les grands avantages que votre illustre personne peut apporter à la cause qui leur est commune."⁵³

⁵² The original is in State Papers (Foreign), Turkey, vol. 24. Printed for the first time.

⁵³ Elie Borshak, *Hetman Philip Orlik and France*, p. 94.

Indeed, at the Congress of Soissons in 1728 the British delegate, Lord Stanhope, supported the interests of Ukraine as represented in the Memorial of Orlik.⁵⁴ When Orlik, in 1734, at last left Turkey and again appeared at the head of the Zaporogs on the frontiers of Ukraine, the Court of St. James's requested of its envoy in Petersburg, Rondeau, a report on the Zaporogs, sent by the latter on 27 April, 1736, to Lord Harrington.⁵⁵

British diplomacy in Russia continued to follow keenly Ukrainian affairs, sometimes even exaggerating their importance, but this exaggeration is just characteristic of its interest in the Ukrainian question.

From the diplomats we pass to the travellers in Ukraine. Here we first of all meet a Scot, Dr. John Bell, of Antermomy (1691–1780). Being in the Russian service, Bell at the time of the Russo-Turkish War, 1736–9, on instructions of the Chancellor Osterman, travelled with a mission to Constantinople. With this he had to pass almost through the whole of Ukraine, which he describes in detail and with interest in the diary of his journey.⁵⁶

On 15 December, 1737, Bell arrived in Glukhov, “the first town in Ukraine, a large and populous place”; next day he was in Baturin, “formerly the residence of the Hetman Mazeppa. . . The country adjacent is very pleasant and exceedingly fruitful.” Kiev was described in detail, and here the traveller remarks: “Besides they have an University of Kioff of considerable repute in these parts.” He is speaking of the famous Kiev-Mogilyansky Academy, for two centuries a nursery of culture in the East of Europe.

After passing on to the Ukraine of the right bank of the Dnieper, which was then under Polish rule,⁵⁷ Bell remarks that the country belongs to Polish gentry, and here he heard of the Haidamaks and the Zaporog people who were struggling against these gentry, and

⁵⁴ For the details of this, *Ibid.*, p. 95, 59.

⁵⁵ The original is in State Papers (Foreign), Russia, vol. 28; but it was first printed by Professor V. Alexandrenko in *The Academy*, vol. XXXV, pp. 105, 902, 17 August, 1889, London. The same year N. Molchanovsky gave a Russian translation in *Kievskaya Starina* (1889, vol. XI, pp. 444–447). The Imperial Russian Historical Society in the 76th volume of its *Proceedings* published the report of Rondeau in English and Russian.

⁵⁶ *Travels from Petersbourg . . . to diverse parts of Asia*, by John Bell, of Antermomy. London, 1763, 2 vols., 4to, pp. i–xvii, 357; II—426; other English editions: London 1764, Edinburgh 1788, London 1806. In Dutch, Leyden, 1769–76; Gravenhage 1786; in French, Paris, 1768; in German, Hamburg 1787.

⁵⁷ The treaty of Andrusovo in 1667 gave the left bank to Russia, the right to Poland. Kiev (on the right bank) was to be Russian for two years, but was never restored to Poland.—ED.

this gives our traveller an occasion to dwell in detail on the causes and history of the Haidamak movement.⁵⁸

In 1769-70 another English traveller, Joseph Marshall, visited Ukraine and Kiev.⁵⁹ A third traveller was William Coxe (1747-1828), who accompanied Lord Herbert in his wanderings.⁶⁰ Coxe specially describes the southern steppe regions of Ukraine, "so essential to the existence of the new commerce."

The 19th century is the century of the destruction of Ukrainian autonomy and of Ukrainian regeneration over all the Ukrainian territory. Under these conditions, there could no longer be that political interest in Ukraine which we saw in the preceding century. Now we can speak only of travellers in Ukraine and of publications on the subject which appeared in English.

The British Consul, Thomas Thornton, visited Ukraine in 1810 and does no more than make some personal observations.⁶¹ Edward Clarke (1769-1822), a Cambridge Professor, described the Ukraine in detail in his work, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*.⁶² The Ukrainian villagers, he said, reminded him of the Scots. J. T. James, who travelled in Ukraine in 1813-14, gave most interesting details, especially with regard to the peasants.⁶³ An album of drawings which he made is preserved in the art section of the Russian Museum in Leningrad and includes twenty-four devoted to Ukraine. A book which appeared in London in 1844 under the title *Revelations of Russia: or The Emperor Nicholas and his Empire in 1844*,⁶⁴ was of a more sensational character. The author sharply distinguished the Ukrainians both from the Muscovites of Great Russia and from the Poles.

⁵⁸ The Haidamaks were popular riots of the Cossacks on behalf of the Ukrainian people against the Polish gentry.—ED.

⁵⁹ *Travels through Holland, Flanders, Russia, The Ukraine, Poland*. By Joseph Marshall, Esq., London, 1772, 3 vols., 8vo.

⁶⁰ *Travels into Poland, Russia*, by William Coxe, London, printed by T. Nichols, 2 vols., 4to, 1784. A fine edition, with maps and drawings. There have been six English editions, and it was translated into German, French, Dutch, Swedish, and Italian.

⁶¹ *The Present State of Turkey*, by Thomas Thornton, Esq., London, 2 vols., 8vo; first ed. 1807; 2nd ed. 1809; French translation 1812; Roumanian translation (abridged) in 1826.

⁶² London, 4 vols., 4to. 1810-13; in 1816, 4th edition, in French, Paris, 1812, 2 vols., 8vo; this translation was made by order of Napoleon in connection with his war against Russia. The translation and notes belong to the Director of the French Foreign Office, Hauterive. See Elie Borshak, "Napoléon et l'Ukraine" in *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, 1922, viii.

⁶³ *Journal of a Tour in Germany, Russia, Poland*, by J. T. James, Esq., Student of Christ Church, Oxford. London, John Murray, 2 vols., 8vo, 1817. There is a first edition in one volume of 1816; fourth edition in 1816.

⁶⁴ London, Henry Colburn, 2 vols., 8vo. Anon.

In 1834 there appeared in Moscow the *Ukrainian National Songs* of M. Maximovich, which played such a considerable part in the development of the Ukrainian national movement⁶⁵; and six years later one of the most serious periodicals, *The Foreign Quarterly Review*,⁶⁶ devoted a comprehensive article to Maximovich's collection. The anonymous author of the article gives in an excellent translation extensive quotations of Ukrainian songs and says that one must understand "the language of Ukraine" in order to appreciate the wealth and grammatical construction of the songs, the nuances and meanings of the words. The same word with a slight difference of termination gives a different sense. "As to the music of the songs, it is quite unknown with us. What can we compare it with? Perhaps with the long-drawn howl of the winds that howl over the wide steppes."

The seventies and nineties in England were marked by a whole series of articles and books dealing with the ethnography and literature of Ukraine. This interest was greatly promoted by Michael Dragomanov, the famous Ukrainian scholar with a European reputation, a great patriot, and the chief Ukrainian political leader of the 19th century.⁶⁷ While he was still Professor in the University of Kiev, and later on in exile, he was in close relations with a number of English Slavists, and it was not without his influence that these interested themselves in all that concerned Ukraine. Dragomanov, in 1873, published an article in the *Athenæum*⁶⁸ on the work of the Kiev section of the Russian Geographical Society. Two years later appeared the famous work *Historical Songs of the Little Russian People*,⁶⁹ by V. Antonovich and M. Dragomanov, and in the same year, 1875, W. Ralston published in the *Saturday Review* of 5 June, a most sympathetic review of this book. Professor Chodzko's work, *Les Chants historiques de l'Ukraine*, in which he gave translations of Ukrainian *dumy* from the collection of Antonovich and Dragomanov, drew forth an enlightening review in the *Athenæum*⁷⁰ by Professor W. R. Morfill, of Oxford (1834-1909). Morfill, who later visited Ukraine, also wrote two articles on the great Ukrainian poet

⁶⁵ See my "Le Mouvement national ukrainien au XIXe siècle" in *Le Monde Slave*, 1930, x, 9, 75-6.

⁶⁶ London, October MDCCCXL, and January MDCCCXLI, vol. 26, pp. 266-89. The same article was reprinted in the American periodical *The American Eclectic*, New York, 1841, vol. I, p. 332.

⁶⁷ See the chapter on Dragomanov in my *Le Mouvement national ukrainien*.

⁶⁸ London, 2405, 29 November, 1873, pp. 695-6.

⁶⁹ Vols. I-II, Kiev, 1874-5.

⁷⁰ 2715, 8 November, 1879, pp. 592-3.

Shevchenko, one unsigned in *All the Year Round*,⁷¹ and the other in the *Westminster Review*⁷² under the title "The Peasant Poets of Russia."

Our conclusion from this survey of Anglo-Ukrainian relations can be put in a word. Ukraine was in the past known in England, not worse, if not better than now. Sympathy has been felt in England for Ukrainian national aspirations, although the geographical distance has not allowed England to play as active a part in Ukraine as, for instance, was played by France.

ELIE BORSHAK.

⁷¹ London, 1878, vol. XXXVIII.

⁷² New series, vol. LVIII, 1880, July and October, pp. 63-93. There were offprints.