characterized by that regularity of structure which belongs to basalt; that is to say, to those rocks in which hornblende, forming a predominant ingredient, generally occasions a much nearer approach to crystallization: nor would the subject have been again introduced, were it not for the contending theories which prevail respecting the origin of rocks exhibiting a prismatic structure, and the proofs urged to demonstrate that basalt has sustained the igneous fusion¹. Persons who maintain this opinion, will find, in this solitary example, something calculated to support their favourite hypothesis.

The hat and clothes worn by Charles the Twelfth when he was shot in the trenches before Frederickshall are preserved in the Arsenal, in the north suburb, precisely in the state in which they were taken from the King’s body after his assassination. That he was really assassinated, seems so clear, that it is marvellous any doubt should be entertained as

(1) Some of these proofs, it must be owned, have been strangely defective. A very principal one was this; that coal, lying in contact with basalt, had, by the heat of the melted basalt, been converted into coak. It happened to the author to be permitted to examine a series of specimens of this supposed coak: they were preserved in a very celebrated collection, and arranged in a regular order, from the state of the natural and unaltered pit-coal, through all the changes which the mineral had been said to have sustained, of incipient and more perfect calcination, until it appeared as a scoriaceous body, deprived, it was maintained, of its bituminous and volatile ingredients, in which state it was denominated coak. To this last substance the author’s attention was particularly directed. Being permitted to examine and to analyze it, he found that its scoriaceous and porous texture was entirely owing to a number of little cavities which had been occupied by a granular carbonate of lime; a notable quantity of which was still disseminated throughout the mass, but which had undergone no calcination: it effervesced in acids, as usual; and lime was precipitated from its solution.
as to the fact; and yet, with a view to ascertain the truth as to the manner of his death, every succeeding sovereign has thought it right to open his sepulchre, and to inspect his embalmed remains. The other curiosities contained also in the arsenal are, the skin of a horse upon which Gustavus Adolphus rode at the battle of Lutzen; a boat built by Peter the Great at Sardam in Holland, taken by the Swedes while on its way to Petersburgh; a number of trophies taken by Charles the Twelfth, from the Russians, the Poles, and the Danes; also the dress worn by Gustavus the Third at the time of his assassination, and his image in wax, which we before noticed. Our main object, upon this occasion, was to see once more the clothes worn by Charles the Twelfth at the time of his death, as connected with a few observations which we had made respecting that event, and which we shall presently state. The coat is a plain blue uniform, with large brass buttons, like that of a common soldier; the gloves are of buff leather, and reached almost up to the elbow; the right-hand glove is a good deal stained with blood, and so is a buff belt which he wore round his body. The hat seems to have been slightly grazed by the ball in that part which immediately covered his temple; but there was nothing in its appearance which could throw any light upon the nature of the wound that was inflicted; that is to say, whether it had been thus grazed by a ball entering in, or going out.

(2) See former Volume, p. 157.
(3) Mr. Care, who mentions this circumstance, considers it as probable that the King, "upon receiving the shot, instantly applied his right hand to the wound in his temple, and then to his sword."—See Trav. into Sweden, p. 352. Lond. 1784.
The appearance of the scull, after the King’s death, satisfactorily proved that the wound in the temple was made by a ball going out. Was it to be believed that a ball from the enemies’ works, at the distance the King stood, would have either taken the direction of that by which he was shot, or that it would have passed entirely through the scull on both sides? Mr. Fredenheim, Knight of the Polar Star, President of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture, distinguished by his travels and historical collections, and High Steward of all the Royal Cabinets, had, at this time, the care of the matrice moulded upon the King’s face soon after he was killed. Owing to his kindness, and that of Mr. Breda, to whom Gustavus the Fourth came daily to sit for his portrait, permission was obtained for us to have a Cast taken from this matrice: it is now deposited in the University Library at Cambridge. From the appearance of this Cast, all dispute must cease as to the nature of the shot which caused the King’s death; which, in the account of that event published by order of the Swedish Government, was said to have been a ball from a falconet. Voltaire, also, in his anxiety to do away the imputation that had fallen upon his countryman, Siquier, insists upon it that the ball was too large for the calibre of a pistol; whereas it

(1) See Core’s Travels into Sweden, p. 357. Lond. 1784.—“A ball from a falconet usually weighs one pound and one eighth, at the least.” Ibid.
(2) “Que l’on considéré que la balle qui frappa Charles XII. ne pouvait entrer dans un pistolet, et que Siquier n’aurait pù faire ce coup détestable qu’avec un pistolet caché sous son habit.”—Also, in giving the account of the King’s death, Voltaire makes the weight of the ball equal to half a pound. “Une balle pesant une demi-livre l’avait atteint à la temple droit.” Œuvres de Voltaire, tome VII. Histoire de Charles XII. pp. 280, 283. Gêneve, 1768.
PORTRAIT OF CHARLES XII.

four hours after he was shot.

Taken from the original cast, preserved in the University Library at Cambridge, by Angelica Kauffmann.

Published Jan. 15, 1823, by T. Cadell, Strand, London.
it is plain that the real shot was a pistol bullet. The appearance of the wound in the temple also shews that it was inflicted by a bullet going out, and slanting upwards, having entered into the lower part of the skull behind: and that the shot was directed by a private hand from behind, and did not come from the enemies’ works, is obvious from this circumstance, and from the fact of the King’s having drawn his sword half out of its scabbard, in the agonies of death, to immolate his assassin.

Who can read the conversation which passed between Count Liewen, the King’s Page, then upon the spot, and Mr. Wraxall, without being convinced that the King was assassinated, even if this evidence were wanted: but as it is so nearly connected with a very important event in history, and serves to confirm Count Liewen’s testimony, we have caused an accurate drawing of this Cast to be engraved, in which the nature of the

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(3) "I followed the Officers to the place where the King was killed. The Prince ordered the Generals and Officers who were present to place the body in a litter prepared to convey it to the head-quarters; one and twenty soldiers standing around with wax tapers in their hands. We observed that the King, in the agonies of death, had drawn his sword half out of the scabbard; and that the hilt was so tightly grasped by the right hand, as not to be disengaged without difficulty."—See the Account taken from the Narrative of Philgren, a Page to the Prince of Hesse, who was that day in waiting.

Coxe’s Trav. into Sweden, p.354. Lond. 1784.

(4) "There are now very few men alive who can speak with so much certainty as myself. I was in the camp before Frederickshall; and had the honour to serve the King, in quality of Page, on that night when he was killed. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT HE WAS ASSASSINATED. The night was extremely dark; and it was almost an impossibility that a ball from the fort could enter his head, at the distance, and on the spot where he stood. I saw the King’s body, and am certain the wound in his temple was made by a pistol bullet."—Count Liewen’s Conversation with Mr. Wraxall.

See Coxe’s Travels &c. p. 357.
the wound in the right temple may be as plainly discerned as if the original had been exposed to view. The same engraving will also serve to exhibit the countenance of Charles the Twelfth with much greater accuracy than any other portrait can pretend to: it remained unaltered even in death; and displays, in a very striking manner, the haughtiness of character for which this hero was so remarkably distinguished.

We shall now close our account of Stockholm with some remarks upon the Royal or Public Library, and the actual state of literature in Sweden. For the substance of our information upon the latter subject, we are indebted to the communications made to us by the King's Librarian, Mr. Giorwell. We are the more anxious to oppose Mr. Giorwell's statement to the observations we before introduced upon the state of Sweden and Swedish literature, because, coming from a Swede, it will shew what their opinions are respecting their own country. This gentleman drew up for us a Memoir upon the progress and state of Letters and of the Arts, during the reigns of Gustavus the Third and Gustavus the Fourth; prefacing it, at the same time, with a few remarks upon the state of learning in Sweden at a much earlier period;—but, of course, we shall only extract from this memoir the principal facts. In his preface to it, the learned author dwells too much upon the importance of the historical ballads of the Scalds, and other of their records called Sagor; as also upon the Latin Chronicles of the middle ages, and the code of laws extant about the same time in the language of the country, of which we have hardly now any remnant.
remnant. We shall therefore pass immediately to the rest of his observations; beginning with the Royal Library, from a view of which, perhaps, a better estimate may be made of the encouragement given to literature, than from almost any other document; because this collection is open to the public, and was formed under the brightest auspices Sweden has yet beheld. It consists of three long galleries in one of the angles of a small court belonging to the Palace, and is certainly the finest literary establishment in all Sweden. It was first appropriated to public use during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus. This Library was plundered at the departure of Queen Christina in 1654, and suffered from fire during the conflagration of the Palace in 1797. In the reign of Gustavus the Third, it was greatly enriched; and after his death augmented, by the addition of all his private library, which was very select.

(1) "Entre autres ouvrages de cette periode," observes Mr. Giorwell, "nous avons un qui a pour titre 'Le Miroir des Rois et des Regens.' C'est un vrai tresor de sagesse et politique. Il a été traduit en Latin, et publier par Jean Schefferus, à Stockholm, 1669, in folio."

(2) It is very difficult to obtain any accurate account of the state of Sweden at this period, and of the opportunities of plunder to which the Queen's departure gave rise. Among the literary losses which the Royal Library then sustained, it is said that the Codex Argenteus, now at Upsala, was one; and that this valuable manuscript was embezzled and carried out of Sweden by Isaac Vossius. The manner of its restoration afterwards was before mentioned. The losses appear to have been owing to the disorder which arose in packing up the articles which the Queen took away with her at her departure; for it seems, from what Puffendorf has related, that the ornaments of the Coronation of Charles Gustavus were afterwards borrowed. "La Suède se trouvoit épuisée; et la Reine avoit fait emballer et transporter en Allemagne la plus grande partie des meubles de la couronne, de sorte que presque tout ce qui parut dans cette cérémonie avoit été emprunté."—Histoire de Suède par Puffendorf, tome II. p. 420. Amst. 1743.
select, and consisted of 14,000 volumes, forming a most valuable collection of works in history, politics, and general literature. His library was moreover rich in manuscripts: it contained all the Sagor, Chronicles, and Diplomas anterior to the reign of Gustavus Vasa, together with many beautiful manuscripts of antient authors and of the middle age. Among the last, the most remarkable is a copy of the Four Gospels in folio, with initial letters in gold; thence called the Codex Aureus. This manuscript seems to have belonged to some splendid ecclesiastical establishment in Spain: it was purchased in Madrid in 1690, by the learned Sparvenfeldt, Master of the Ceremonies to Charles XI. who travelled, at the expence of that monarch, all over Europe, in search of manuscripts. His autograph appears upon this manuscript in the following words: "Pretiosissimum hunc Evangeliorum Codicem emi ex famosâ ildá Bibliothecâ illî Marchionis de Liche Mantue carpent. A. 1690. d. 8. Jan. Ego Joannes Gabriel Sparvenfeldt nob. Suecus."

A very remarkable manuscript preserved in this library is the Codex Giganteus; so called on account of its colossal size. It was taken, among other spoils, from a Benedictine monastery at Prague, during the Thirty-years' war, by Fieldmarshal Count Königsmark. It is two Swedish ells in height, and of proportionate breadth. This code is in fact a species of library in itself: it contains, besides the Vulgate, a collection of writings upon the Jewish Antiquities, by Josephus, Isidorus, &c. Also the Cosmœ Pragensis Chronicon Bohemice. A learned Hungarian of the name of Dobrowski made a journey to Sweden in 1792, expressly to examine this codex.
Because the volume is terminated by a treatise on magic, ornamented with an illuminated figure of the Devil, several foreigners who have visited this Library, being struck with the enormous size of the volume, and with this singular illumination, have agreed in calling it "La Bible du Diable" and Codex Diaboli." There is also a most curious manuscript, entitled "Magistri Johannis Arderum de Slewark, de Arte Physicai et de Cirurgia, quas ego praedictus Johannes fervente pestilentia, quae fuit anno Domini millesimo cccxl. usque annum Domini m. cccxii. Morem (aut moram) egi apud Newer, in comitatu Sothingui, et ibidem quamplures de infirmitatibus subscriptis curavi." This manuscript is upon a vellum roll of considerable length, divided into columns. In these columns are represented the figures of the persons diseased; and by the side of them a description of the disorder, and the remedy prescribed. There are also anatomical figures for midwifery &c. Considering the date of this work, it is very curious to observe the words "Pro morbo qui dicitur", followed by the French name of a disorder which is supposed not to have been known in Europe before the discovery of America.

Among the typographical rarities of this Library, we saw one, in large quarto, with wood-cuts, which would hold a distin-

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(1) This manuscript, for particular reasons, is not often shewn to strangers. The Authors of the Voyage de Deux Francais were not allowed to examine it; yet if the account of it which they received from the Abbé Albertrandi, Librarian of the King of Poland, be correct, it may have received the name of "The Devil's Bible" from a very different cause: it may have been so called from the confession, "en lettres rouges sur un fond brun" at the end of the manuscript, of its former diabolical owner.—See the work above cited, tome II. p. 84. Paris, 1796.
distinguished place in any collection: it has this title—"Speculum Humanae Salvationis;" being without date or printer's name, or any indication of the place where it was printed. Some have supposed that it proceeded from the press of John Coster, at Harlem, in 1440: others, that it was printed by John Faust, at Mayence, in 1459. Also, Cicero de Officiis, upon vellum, by Faust and Schoeffer, at Mayence, 1466. The first edition of Homer, at Florence, 1488, in the highest state of preservation, upon paper, with a wide margin. But more valuable than all these is the copy, here preserved, of the identical Vulgate which belonged to Luther—Biblia Vet. et Nov. Testamenti; the margin being covered, as well as all other spaces open to his pen, with his own autograph notes. This volume was printed in folio, at Lyons, in 1521. It was found by the Swedes at the capture of Wittenberg. The curious commentaries which Luther has here added, seem to make known the progress of his ideas upon subjects of divinity and ecclesiastical discipline. By trophies such as these, taken by the Swedes during the Thirty-years' war, in consequence of the victories won by Gustavus Adolphus, and by Charles Gustavus, the libraries of Sweden became enriched, as those of Germany, Prussia, and Denmark became impoverished. But the most precious part of the whole collection is preserved in a small chamber adjoining the Library; namely, fourteen large volumes, in folio, of Original Designs by the old Masters, and of every School. This collection was bought by

(1) This valuable collection contains 3025 Designs, distributed according to the different Schools, in the following order:

Florentine
by the Senator Count Charles Gustavus de Tessin, during his embassy at Paris, and was presented by that nobleman to King Adolphus Frederic. After the death of his father, Gustavus the Third gave it to the Library, for the use of the State. To this collection is added an Historical Catalogue by the Grand Chancellor, Baron De Sparre, and in his own hand-writing. Almost all these designs are unique. The principal part of those belonging to the Roman School are by the hand of Raphael.

From this establishment we cannot separate the Museum, founded by the Duke Regent, in 1792. It contains all the Greek, Roman, and Swedish antiquities which were formerly scattered over the kingdom. Some of the finest paintings belonging to the Royal Collection have been added to the Museum:

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<th>Collection</th>
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<tr>
<td>Florentine School</td>
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<td>School of Siena</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>Roman School</td>
<td>406</td>
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<td>School of Lombardy</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>Bologna</td>
<td>517</td>
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<tr>
<td>Milan, Cremona, and other Italian Towns</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>Venice</td>
<td>157</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genoa, Naples, and Schools of Spain</td>
<td>75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designs of unknown Masters</td>
<td>234</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flemish, Dutch, and German</td>
<td>470</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swedish designs</td>
<td>105</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portraits of celebrated Painters, of the Italian, German, and Flemish Schools</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawings of the French School</td>
<td>566</td>
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<tr>
<td>Various designs of Antient Masters</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>3025</td>
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Museum: it occupies two grand galleries below the Library. The immediate care of the Library was entrusted to Professor Malmstroem; and the management of the Museum to the Grand Chamberlain, or Intendant of the Court, Mr. Fredenheim. Besides this library at Stockholm, and that of Drottningholm, there is also another, belonging to the Crown, at Haga, extremely select, and composed chiefly of scarce books, collected by Count De Creutz, when he was Minister in Spain and afterwards in France. The two libraries of Drottningholm and Haga are preserved exactly as they were under Gustavus the Third; and they are independent of the great libraries of the kingdom, of which we have now spoken. The first dawning of any national spirit of literature in Sweden does not date earlier than the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, in the beginning of the seventeenth century: for although Gustavus Vasa, in new modelling the State and the Church, had burst the fetters of that liberty of opinion which is essential to the very being of knowledge, yet the religious controversies in which the State was involved arrested the progress of letters almost an entire century. To Gustavus Adolphus it was owing that the Swedes, as a people, first began to feel an emulation of being distinguished in the world of Letters. The examples set by this monarch, in

(1) Among many other remarkable pictures in the Museum, there is one, a Portrait of a Woman, with a Negro; remarkable for this artifice of the painter, who, to hide the sallowness of complexion in the Lady who sate to him, has introduced the head of the Negro. She would have appeared as a Mulatto, but for the contrast thus afforded.
in reserving, as his own share of plunder, all the literary spoils taken in war, and afterwards presenting them to the literary establishments of his country, was followed by his successors: and it has greatly tended to add to the literary wealth and character of the nation. His extensive knowledge and patronage of learning have never been duly appreciated; being lost in the splendour of his military achievements. The library at Upsala, according to Olaus Celsius, owes its origin to Gustavus Adolphus. The plans devised by that monarch for the advancement of literature in Sweden were adopted and perfected by his daughter, a princess marvellously distinguished by her talents and love of letters. Christina had no sooner mounted the throne, than she invited to her Court men of genius and high literary character, from other countries. Descartes was one of these: he died at Stockholm. Among her own subjects, she encouraged and rewarded all those who rendered themselves conspicuous by their talents: and in this list was signalized one whom the Swedes consider as the greatest genius which their country has produced; namely, Stiernhielm; known among them as a poet and philosopher of such eminence, that they have bestowed upon him the name of Polyhistor.

During the wars of Charles the Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth, learning made but little progress in Sweden. Never-

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(3) Ibid.
Nevertheless, under the special protection of Charles the Eleventh, the study of Northern Antiquities and of Natural History became a favourite pursuit among the scholars of the country. Under Frederic the First, a long period of tranquillity and peace with foreign powers afforded opportunities to the national genius to direct its inquiries towards other branches of knowledge. At this time, the prevailing taste inclined towards the sciences of Natural History, especially to Mineralogy; and towards the study of Political Economy. But it was reserved for Adolphus Frederic, or rather for his enlightened spouse, Queen Louisa Ulrica, to protect, encourage, and gather round the throne, philosophers and artists, in all the branches of learning and the Fine Arts. Sweden herself has never produced so many distinguished literary men as beneath the sway of this princess. As the greater part of them were still living under Gustavus the Third, and during his reign some distinguished dramatic writers, together with several artists, were added to the list, it has been usual to consider them under one point of view, as forming a single epocha, which has been denominated the Golden Age of the Swedish Augustus.

Gustavus the Third inherited from his mother, Louisa Ulrica, that refined taste, and that generosity of soul, which had given life, energy, and capacity to the Swedish genius. Equally illustrious in political talents and in warlike achievements; distinguished by his passion for literature and the arts; by the care which he took to maintain and foster all the establishments necessary for their culture; by the talents which he displayed in many
many of his own compositions; by his seducing eloquence, in which he surpassed all other princes of his time; he was eminently fitted for the conspicuous station he held, and for becoming the ornament of that age of intellectual improvement in Sweden which his own genius and example had consummated. But in speaking of the Golden Age of Gustavus the Third, it ought also to be stated, that Sweden had among its nobles many patrons of literature, men of the highest talents, whose zeal and abilities greatly tended to accelerate its progress; to mention in this number only two—Count De Tessin and Count De Höpken; the first of whom combined within himself almost every mental accomplishment.

In the present state of literature in Sweden, the sciences most cultivated (exclusive of Divinity and Law) are, the History of the Kingdom, and the Statistics of its different Provinces; Natural History, especially Mineralogy, Botany, and Chemistry; also Astronomy, Rural Economy, and Surgery. The field of Belles Lettres has afforded two epic poems, pastorals, satires, some anacreontics, operas, and dramas. With regard to the arts, in Architecture, in Sculpture, Painting, Engraving, and in the art of striking Medals, very considerable progress has been made of late years. The Literary Establishments of Sweden have been before mentioned: it will not, therefore, be necessary to enumerate them: they consist of Universities, Academies, Societies, public and private Libraries, Cabinets of Natural History, Antiquities, Coins, and other useful institutions. Besides the Universities, there are Literary Societies established in some of the towns of Sweden; as, for example, the Society of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Gothenburg,
Gothenburg, founded in 1773. Sweden has also twelve colleges, called Gymnasia; one in each episcopal city: and in all the towns there are Public Schools. Some of the Gymnasia have their own libraries: and in this number, the library of Linköping deserves to be particularly noticed, on account of its valuable manuscripts relating to the history of Sweden. A Military Academy, established in the Royal Palace at Carlberg, was founded by the Duke Regent in 1792. The youths admitted into this Academy are educated under excellent masters, and, moreover, instructed by Professors, chosen for this purpose, in all the arts and sciences.

In the year 1770, a Royal Committee for the guardianship of Public Education was established: it was charged with the general and immediate inspection of all places and establishments for the instruction of youth. It continued in force for about twenty years, when, in 1771, it was suppressed by order of Gustavus the Third. Great hopes of its revival, under the reigning monarch, were entertained at this time, by those who had the best interests of their country at heart. We were not made acquainted with the reasons for its suppression.

In Stockholm, moreover, besides a Chirurgical Society, there is a Royal College of Medicine, to which are attached a Library, an Anatomical Theatre, and a Lying-in Hospital. The members of this College give public lectures, in Anatomy, Botany, and Pharmacy. In the limits of a work of this kind, it is impossible to enter fully into the detail of all the minor establishments affecting the general state of knowledge in Sweden. For this reason we have omitted to notice...
notice many private cabinets in different parts of the country, although some of them be of considerable importance; as the collection belonging to Baron De Sparre, Senator Baron De Ridderstolfe, to the Count Brahe, and General Count Horn; in all of which there are valuable manuscripts.

With the slight knowledge that we had of the Swedish language, we could nevertheless discern the beauty of the Swedish poetry; and we shall add a short account of some poetical and other works: but the poetry is of a peculiar cast. The Swedish Poets are fond of rhyming in trochaic dissyllables, and of introducing Alexandrines into their compositions. The language is exceedingly soft and harmonious, although not equal in this respect to the language of Finland, which may be considered as a concentration of pleasing sounds, admirably adapted to poetry, and fuller of vowels than the Italian. That of Sweden is perhaps more dignified when in prose; but in verse, the measure being so frequently trochaic, is perhaps best suited to convivial songs and accompaniments of the dance. It is very easy to give an imitation of this trochaic or ballad-metre, with the double rhyme:—

Let us drink and merry be,
Laughing, singing, dancing:
Who so blithe, so gay as we,
Now the night’s advancing?

All our daily labour done,
Set the cans a-clinking:
Fill and swill, till morning sun
Calls us from our drinking!

Remarks on the Swedish Poetry.
Some of our old English ballads were composed exactly in the same style. The old song of "Barbara Allen’s Cruelty" is quite in the character of Swedish poetry:

"In Scarlet towne, where I was borne,
There was a fair maid dwellin,
Made every youth crye, Well-awaye!
Her name was Barbara Allen."

But the Odes are sometimes written in a much more turgid and pompous manner, upon the most solemn, grave, and even melancholy subjects, with long stanzas and Alexandrine lines; and of this kind of metre there are many examples among the specimens of early English poetry. The following list will serve to shew the subjects of the most-admired native compositions in Sweden.

POEMS.

1. "The Passage of the Belt by Charles Gustavus (Täget öfver Belt):" an heroic poem in twelve cantos, by Count De Gyllenborg: also author of "The Seasons (Årstiderne)," and of a satire called "My Friends (Mina Bänder);" works of great merit.

2. "The Harvest (Efördarme)," by the nephew of the preceding, Count Oxenstierna; a pastoral poem, in nine cantos.—This poem is much admired in Sweden.

3. "Swedish

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(1) The Reader may compare with it the first stanza of a poem by Professor Franzen of Abo, given in the Appendix:

Unga Flicka i din var
Bind dig Myrtenkransen
Dansa medan Du förmår
Snart är Du ur dansen.
3. "Swedish Liberty (Svenska Friheten)," an epic poem, by the late Mr. Dalin, author of the best History of Sweden.

4. "Atis and Camilla (Åtis och Camilla)," by the late Count Creutz.—The object of this poem is to represent love in the most delicate colours. It is a work of great energy, and full of pleasing but voluptuous descriptions.

5. "The Legacy of a Father to his Children," by Mr. Liljestrûle; a didactic poem.

6. "The Dalecarlians (Dallarlarn)," by the late Mr. Engzell; a political poem, in praise of the fidelity and courage of the Dalecarlians, ready to sacrifice themselves in defence of their Country and for their King.

TRAGEDIES.

1. "Öden" (founder of the kingdom of Sweden), by Mr. Leopold;—beyond all contradiction, the finest work of the kind which the Swedes have.—Leopold is called the Voltaire of Sweden.

2. "Emma Jarl," Grand-Mayor of the Kingdom; by the Count De Gyllenborg.

3. "Ingjald Ífråde," King of Sweden; who burns, at a festival, the minor kings his vassals, to render himself despotic;—by Mr. Adlerbeth.

GRAND OPERAS.

1. "Gustavus Vasa," by the late Mr. Kellgren; considered, not only by the Swedes, but by all the Foreign Ministers resident in the Country, as surpassing, in magnificence and in the style of its composition, every theatrical work of the kind in Europe.

2. "The Holiday of Sweden (Svens Hägibilit)," composed upon the occasion of the erection of the statue of Gustavus Vasa in the Place des Nobles; by Count De Gyllenborg.

MINOR OPERAS.

1. "Opportunity Makes the Thief" (Swedish proverb—Tifälle gör Tjufven); by Baron D'Armfeldt, distinguished by the high favour in which he was held by Gustavus the Third, and by the disgrace into which he fell when
when Duke Charles became Regent.—His having enjoyed the confidence of the former, would sufficiently account for the hatred entertained towards him by the latter.

2. "The Extravagant Musician (Musik-Båren);" a very popular piece; by Mr. Enevallson; also author of another, which has had great success, called "Frösthögarna."

Dramas.

1. "Siri Brahe;" by Gustavus the Third; who also composed another piece, called "Natalie Mariśtin."—These are much extolled by the Swedes, but have never been printed.

2. "Helmfeldt;" by Gustavus the Third.—Helmfeldt was son of a Burgomaster of Stockholm, who, after many extraordinary adventures, became one of the greatest Generals of Charles XI, and in that state was recognised by his aged father, who believed him dishonoured and dead.


4. "The Father Reconciled (Den Försonade Fadren);" by Mr. Lindegren.

Comedies.

1. "The New Master (Ny Herrskapet);" by Count De Gyllenborg.

2. "The Officious (Jasfim);" by the late Mr. Schroederheim.

3. "The Boaster" (Captain Puff, or Förpratern); by the late Mr. Kexel.—This is the best piece belonging to the Swedish Theatre, in the style of low comedy.

These are the principal productions of the Swedish Muse, and they are all original compositions. To this list may be added an heroic Drama in prose, composed by Gustavus the Third, entitled "Gustavus Adolphus and Ebba Brahe (Gustaf-Adolph och Ebba Brahe)." It was performed at Drottningholm, the 11th of September 1783, by the Duke Charles, the Princess
Princess Royal, and other persons of the highest distinction about the Court. The story upon which this piece turns is founded upon the love felt by the young King, *Gustavus Adolphus*, for the beautiful *Ebba Brahe*, daughter of a Peer who ranks highest in the order of the *Swedish Nobility*; a passion which he sacrificed for the honour of his august family and for the throne of *Sweden*, according to the haughty notions of his Court, especially of his mother the Queen Dowager. This piece, characterized by the genius and political talents of *Gustavus the Third*, was afterwards put into *Swedish* verse by Mr. *Kellgren*, and performed for the first time in *Stockholm* upon the 24th of January 1788. It may be found printed in the collection of Mr. *Kellgren*’s works.

In the higher walks of Literature we should now vainly seek for works of much importance. *Celsius*, Bishop of *Lund*, is the author of a History of *Gustavus Vasa*, and his son *Eric XIV*. The historical work of Mr. *Dalin* has been already noticed. *Tacitus* has been translated by Mr. *Steenpiper*. The master of the Cathedral School of *Stockholm* may be considered as an historian of merit: his name is *Murrberg*: he wrote an account of *Christian’s* residence in *Stockholm* in 1520. Biography has also found an advocate in Mr. *Nordin*, who has written the *Lives of Illustrious Swedes*. There are some distinguished men at the University of *Åbo*; but of these we may speak hereafter. Much may yet be expected from the *Swedes*; and their literature may revive; but it must be owned the prospect is a bad one. The spirit of the people remains yet unbroken: but where the liberty of the press is annihilated,
annihilated,—and Russia, like one of those moving bogs, of which we read, in Ireland, comes slowly but surely on, threatening to overwhelm the country, and to extinguish all that remains of genius and heroism in the land,—he must indeed be sanguine who can hope to see Sweden regenerated and her glory restored.

(1) The University of Åbo, together with all Finland, has already fallen under the dominion of Russia.
STOCKHOLM TO ÅLAND.

Characteristical Swedish Exclamation—Departure from Stockholm—Commencement of the Winter season—Grisselhamn—Telegraph—Passage-boat—Geographical Nomenclature—Dangerous situation of the Author and his Companions—Providential escape—Aspect of affairs in landing upon Åland—Frebbenby—State Messenger of the Court of Russia—Ruins of Castelholm—History of that Fortress—Skårpans—Change in the Manners of the People—Bomarsund—Vargatta Sound—Sledge-Travelling—Isle of Vardö—The Party embark across the Delen för Kumlinge—The Author induced to return.
return to Skårpans — Festivities of Christmas Eve — Attempt to convey the carriage upon the ice — Sudden storm — Village of Vardö — Interior of an Åland Dwelling — Breakfast of the Natives — Extra Post — A turbulent sea frozen in one night — Cause of the rapid change — The Author recrosses the Bomarsund — Southern Passage to Kumlinge — State of the Delen — Geological features of Åland — Manners of the Ålanders in Winter — Number of inhabitants — Means of subsistence — Clergy — Land-measurers — their destructive influence and depredations.

Among the peculiarities of national habits which cannot fail to be remarked by a stranger in Sweden, is the universal prevalence of an expression constantly in use, although adapted to a great variety of feelings and circumstances. This expression consists of two monosyllables, Ja så! pronounced with a strong aspiration upon the first, and a lengthened tone upon the second; varying, however, according to the passion that is to be expressed, — Yah so! It is impossible to give an idea of the innumerable significations to which Yah so! is applied: from the throne to the cottage it constitutes four-fifths of the remarks made by the Swedes upon all occasions. Sometimes, when a person is relating a story, it comes out slowly, as a kind of obliging assent to the credit of his narration, and an encouragement for him to proceed — Yah so! Yah so! And then it is given in a subdued and whining tone: at others, upon suddenly comprehending what was before a paradox, it bursts forth with emphasis — Yah so!!! Again, at other times, it is used as a term of defiance, and with a more guttural sound, upon being menaced — Yach so! And then it is accompanied by a corre-
corresponding swing of the head. Again in rejoinder; as
for example: Quest. Who are they? Answ. Englishmen.
Rejoin'd. Yah so! If a Swede were told that his head
would be struck off within the next half hour, he would say,
beyond doubt, Yah so! This is not peculiar to the Capital,
or to any one of the Provinces, but may be observed alike in
all parts of the Country. Wherever a Swede is found, Yah so!
is sure to denote his presence.

We felt sorry when the time arrived in which it was
necessary to bid farewell, not only to Yah so! under all its
multiplied associations, but to the Swedes and to their
Country. Being tempted by the hope of overtaking the
friends with whom we entered Sweden, before they should
have left Petersburg, we had waited only for the coming of
the frost to set out for Russia. We left Stockholm, upon
wheels, before the snow had fallen, upon Saturday, Dec. 14.
The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer fell this day, at
noon, only four degrees below the freezing point, and it had
not been so low during all the month of November. Soon
afterwards, however, its descent was, with little variation, pro-
gressive. At seven in the evening it fell 21° below freezing.

We had bought of Signor Acerbi a very excellent German
Bâtarde, which that traveller had caused to be constructed
in Vienna according to his own directions, and it was pro-
vided with many conveniences for travelling. We have
given an account of such a vehicle in a former volume.  

We

(1) Professor Malthus and the Rev. W. Otter.
We passed the first night at Kragsta. In our way thither, through Ensta, Ösby, Hall, and Rilanda, the country was more open than usual, and much cultivated. The roads were rendered as perfect as possible by the frost. According to the custom in Sweden and Russia, our postillion drove four horses abreast. We passed several lakes, which were frozen. The next day we journeyed through Svanberga, Stabby or Staba, and Tresta, to Grissehamn. The cold was now become so piercing, that we could see little of the country. At Staba we estimated the temperature at noon: the mercury, by Fahrenheit's scale, fell fourteen degrees and a half below freezing. Afterwards it became much colder. We did not venture to open a window; but the vapour of our breath froze into a thick coat of ice upon the glass. The Winter had now evidently set in, with considerable severity; but the atmosphere was clear and dry. The people were all rejoicing at the change; because this is to them the heyday of the year. The lakes were crowded with boys skaiting, or with peasants pushing before them sledges laden with different articles. Their winter dress is a sheep-skin coat, worn with the wool towards the body: it is white and clean, and has a neat appearance. Upon their heads they wear handsome caps of dark fur, with crowns of scarlet cloth. Every house that we entered was filled with provisions. The frost preserves all their meat, which is, therefore, much more wholesome than if it were salted. Even the poorest peasants have a share of luxurious diet at this season of the year. We said to some of them, that it was very cold; to which they replied, rubbing their hands,
hands, and with looks of joy, "Yes, bravely cold—beautiful weather! Now you may travel as fast as you please!"—Indeed the roads were rendered so smooth and hard, that they seemed like one mass of stone. To give an idea of the severity of the frost, before we arrived at Grissehamn, it is only necessary to state, that some Madeira wine, in bottles, in the well of the carriage, became solid: when we attempted to pour it out, the wine would not flow, but fell, at last, slowly, in successive drops. All our bread was frozen, and could not be cut. We broke it with a hammer, and it glittered, within, like loaf-sugar. We had some cold roasted game, and this cut like a snow-ball. All the furs we could use in the close carriage, with all the windows up, would not protect us; we seemed to be sitting in the bleak and open air. Over our feet we had thick yarn stockings covered by stout leather boots, and over these again were boots made of the hides of rein-deer, with the hair on the outside, and doubly lined with sheep-skin covered with black wool. We had, moreover, fur caps upon our heads, and bear-skin pelisses over our bodies, besides several flannel waistcoats; and upon our hands, gloves of sheep-skin, covered by double gloves of fur and wool. Yet all these precautions did not protect us from feeling the severity of the weather. The Swedes told us, and we had reason afterwards to believe the truth of what they said, that we should be less sensible of the action of the atmosphere if we travelled, as they did, in open carriages. We found the houses in a very different state from that in which we had been accustomed to see them, and carefully guarded from
the admission of external air. The windows in all the rooms were nailed up, and paper had been pasted over the crevices; yet the natives laughed when we conversed with them about their climate, saying it was nothing to what we should soon experience.

In the first stage this day, an iron bolt belonging to the carriage snapped like a piece of glass and was broken. This compelled us to proceed to an iron-foundry belonging to a Mr. Arfvedson of Stockholm, situate half-way between Svanberga and Staba. The superintendent of these works told us that a large quantity of bar-iron is manufactured here, which is sent to Stockholm for exportation. He also added, that they sometimes import sea-coal from England, for the use of the foundry. The same level country and richly-cultivated fields appeared the whole way to Tresta, where we crossed a ferry. Here the land wore a more sterile aspect, exhibiting a scene of hills and rocks the whole way to Grisellehamn. This place consists of nothing more than a single post-house, built by Government about twenty years ago; near which is stationed a Telegraph. It serves also to travellers as an inn, although the worst in all Sweden. There is no situation better adapted for a house of accommodation; but a place more poverty-struck, dirty, cold, or in all respects more wretched, can hardly be conceived. It stands upon a rock, close to the mouth of the Gulph of Bothnia. The country around it is low, barren, and full of rocks, with here and there a few stunted trees and shrubs. We were detained at this miserable place, owing to the violence of the wind, which was now stormy. The mariners who conduct passengers
passengers over to Ekerö would not put off from the shore. During this delay our situation was rather awkward; for while the excessive coldness of the weather drove us into the only room allowed for shelter, volumes of smoke from some green boughs piled beneath a large open chimney expelled us again into the open air. There was no other fuel to be had, and but little even of this. We set off, therefore, to visit the Telegraph erected near the spot. This machine is not only used for Government despatches; it gives notice, across the mouth of the Gulph, when travellers arrive—how many horses, and what other necessaries and accommodations they may require—what boats will be wanted. The Director, who is the Postmaster, was perfectly versed in the art of working it: he said he would bespeak a dinner for us on the other side of the water; and regretted that he had no provisions himself to offer us. To make him easy, we told him that we were tolerably provided for the day, and that he should share with us a part of our stock. He then permitted us to examine the Telegraph tables; which, perhaps, are much the same everywhere; but the simplicity of these struck us as being worth notice. He is able, according to his own statement, to work 1024 changes; and conveys intelligence to the distance of five Swedish miles and a half—nearly forty English. He said that this Telegraph was constructed after an English model. We were quite surprised at the facility and speed with which intercourse is carried on. Any message whatever may be sent by it, and in a few seconds. His book contained the ranks and professions of all travellers likely to arrive;
arrive; and among others, the lofty title of "Paul, Emperor of all the Russias," whose coming we thought no Swede would wish to announce. We sent an order by it, to have a dinner prepared in a warm room, and five horses ready for starting. The signs of communication were all figures, ranged beneath a letter, in this order:

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  A
  1 1 1
  2 2 2
  3 3 3
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The letter A. shews to what table of words or sentences the several signs belong; therefore, when the letter is changed, a new series is referred to: and there may be, of course, as many sets of changes as there are letters in the alphabet. The Director of the machine is placed in a small square room, with a telescope. He amused us by holding a conversation with his distant comrade. Sterile as was the appearance of the land about Grissehamn, it must wear a pleasing aspect in summer, from the number of the inlets of the Gulph intersecting the rocky shore. The opposite coast, when examined with a glass, was at this time glittering with masses of ice beginning to accumulate upon the shore.

We were detained the whole of Monday at Grissehamn. On Tuesday, December 17th, as soon as daylight appeared, we set sail. The wind had been gathering strength the whole
of the preceding night; and we endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon our boatmen to take in a few reefs in the enormous sail with which they ventured forth in their small and rude bark. The carriage had been put on board soon after sunset; and we seated ourselves within it, to avoid as much as possible the piercing nature of the blast. Scarcely had we cleared the rocks around the bay of Grissehamn, when the vessel—gunnelling on her lee-side from the pressure of so much canvas, neither proportioned to the boat nor to the weather—shipped a sea that threatened at once to sink her. The effect of this was rendered the more alarming, by the beginning of that horrid state of confusion, in which men lose all presence of mind: one pulled at the boom, another let slip a wrong rope, and all management of the boat seemed to be lost. We made our escape from the window of the carriage, by means of the main-stay, which was within reach; and in another instant, those who could swim would have taken to the water, with a view to reach one of the rocks over which the sea was beating, and thence endeavour to gain the nearest shore. At this dreadful moment, when disorder and the tempest seemed to govern everything, the man at the helm, by a daring but dextrous effort, put the vessel quite about, and saved us all. The management of the sail was then recovered, and, getting under a lee-shore, we rolled back to Grissehamn.

The tempest continued all that day, and throughout the entire night. On the following morning, December 18th, it was still more violent, with a contrary wind. The
thermometer of Fahrenheit was this morning sixteen degrees and a half below freezing. Upon our return, the poor man's fuel was all consumed. We sent for a load of wood; and making a large fire, managed to keep his airy chamber heated about up to the freezing point; living the whole time in a dense atmosphere of smoke, which we endeavoured to avoid by sitting on the floor. Our provisions were all expended, and there was literally nothing to be had upon the spot. We therefore sent our Interpreter, Peter, upon a sledge, along the smaller bays, which were now covered with ice, to search for and purchase provisions, which were plentiful enough inland. He returned at the close of the day, bringing the side of a hog and about thirty eggs. We could not even procure a candle, to cheer the long night in our cold and suffocating apartment; but by taking out those which were in the lanterns of our carriage, we obviated this inconvenience, and were able to amuse ourselves by writing, while the servants made a fry of the hog and the eggs, to which we invited our host. He told us that the boatmen upon this station are usually dextrous in the management of the wretched skiffs entrusted to their care, and that boats are rarely lost in making the passage. The last accident of this kind happened about a month before. A boat, overladen with forty tons of corn from Upsala, foundered in its passage to Åland, in a gale of wind; and one of the richest farmers in Åland,

(1) We used a thermometer with the centigrade scale of Celsius; but as Fahrenheit's scale, absurd and inconvenient as it is, still obtains a preference in England, we have always adapted our observations to Fahrenheit's scale.
Åland, together with the rest of the crew, were lost. In the year 1791, a Grissemann boat, returning from Ekerö with the mail, but without passengers, was driven, by a strong westerly wind, into the Baltic, and never heard of afterwards. With these exceptions, he said, no similar accident had occurred for the last forty years. However this may be, no person, seeing the saucer-like boats in which they make the passage, ballasted only with a few large and loose stones, and reflecting upon the boisterous weather to which they must be liable in these straits, would think there was much probability of their escape. Perhaps there is no part of the world where boats of the same size carry so much sail; drawing at the same time so little water, that it is likely the smallest sudden squall will upset them. In the depth of winter, this passage may be made upon the ice; but it seldom happens that the sea is here sufficiently frozen before the month of February; as it requires many weeks of severe and uninterrupted frost to render it practicable for sledges drawn by horses, or even for hand-sledges. The boats are supplied upon the same plan as the post-horses, by a tax upon the peasants. Every parish is bound to contribute for this purpose. There are eighteen boats belonging to the Grissemann side, and the same number in the Isle of Åland.

In the examination of the names of islands and places throughout the curious tract of land and water which intervenes between Sweden and Finland, it will be seen how necessary a knowledge of the language is to the illustration of the geography and natural history of this region, and to the explanation of some names in our own language.
Among the innumerable islets with which the mouth of the Gulph of Bothnià is studded, appear as many names terminated by ö, as in the north of the same Gulph are terminated by å, pronounced like our o; yet these terminations have very different significations. Ö, pronounced like the French u, is very difficult to an English tongue, and signifies in itself an island; whereas å, as it was before mentioned, answering to the French word eau, signifies water. Thus, in the names of the little islands in question, Aspö means the Isle of Asp-trees; also Korpö, the Crow-island; and Brandö, either the Burnt-island, or the island whose shores repel the waves; for bränd has two significations, one of which is 'to repel' or 'drive back.' There are many other instances. Notö signifies the Isle of Cattle or Pasture. The Isle of Wardö, pronounced Vardö, means the Island of the Spring; and Utö, the Out-island, or Insula ultima. The Ferro Isles in the North Sea would be written Fårö by a Swede; because the name implies Sheep Isles; and with them, Får means a sheep, and ö an island. Indeed, the name occurs thus written, Fårö, in the Chart of a groupe of Isles south-west of Åbö. In the north of Ireland, Fair Head has doubtless the same significa-
tion, being so called from the sheep there pastured.¹

Dec.

¹ A curious circumstance was mentioned to us in Norway, by Bernard Anker of Christiania, which is foreign to the present subject, but may be here noticed without interrupting the narrative. He told us that Great Britain holds the Orkney Islands only in pawn. Looking over some old deeds and records belonging to the Danish Crown at Copenhagen, Mr. Anker found that these islands were consigned to England in lieu of a dowry for a Danish Princess married to one of our English Kings, upon condition that these islands should be restored to Denmark whenever the debt, for which they were pledged, should be discharged. Therefore, as the price of land, and value of money, have undergone such considerable alteration since this happened, it is in the power of Denmark, for a very small sum, to claim possession of the Orkneys.
Dec. 19. — This morning the Gulph was still impassable, from the violence of the gale, which was now contrary, the wind being north-east by east. Snow had fallen during the night. The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer fell at noon 21° below freezing. Towards night the wind veered to the west. Many persons arrived at Grissehamn, also waiting for a passage.

Friday, Dec. 20, proved an eventful day for all of us. It was the sixth day since our arrival at this wretched place; all of which time we might have spent much more advantageously in Stockholm, without delaying our progress. Early in the morning, before day-light appeared, our mariners, who belonged to Åland, and were impatient to return, came to summon us on board; saying the weather was more mild and the wind somewhat favourable, and that they wished to sail with all possible expedition. After what we had before experienced, it was wrong in us to venture a second time, without a certainty of a more tranquil sea; but it was much greater rashness to allow the carriage to be conveyed in the same boat. The Grissehamn and Åland boats are neither accustomed to the transportation of carriages, nor are they suited to their conveyance. The sight of our vessel, half filled with snow, in which the carriage, propped upon poles, yet rolled about with the slightest motion, reminded us of an old distich, not inapplicable to our present folly in venturing on board:—

"Seven men of Gotham
Went to sea in a bowl," &c.
We set sail. The morning was dark; and the shore here is so formed, that the appearance of the horizon and of the sea cannot be discerned until the land has been cleared. The sky looked fearfully red towards the east, and as fearfully black towards the west, in which quarter the wind was. We expressed our apprehensions to the boatmen; but they said that within four hours they could take us over, and that the wind would not increase within that time. Scarcely had we cleared the land, when we beheld a sea at which even our Ålanders were appalled: at the same time it came on to blow with great violence, the gale gathering force at every instant. But the storm of wind was nothing, compared to the state of the sea; which having been agitated for many days, presented to our astonished boatmen mountains of boiling water. Nothing could more effectually convince us of our serious situation, than seeing the consternation of the crew. We begged them to put back, as they had done before. This they confessed they would gladly accede to, but that it was impossible: that all we could now do was, to bear up to windward, in the hope of making one of the Åland Isles, and avoid being driven into the Baltic. Within ten minutes after our danger became apparent, every hope seemed to vanish. Our Interpreter, as a seaman in the East-India service, had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and often sailed in storms in the Atlantic Ocean, but he confessed he had never beheld such a sea as was here gathered in the Åland Haf. One of the Ålanders, an experienced sailor, took the helm, and made his comrades lower the foresail. The mainsail could not be dispensed with, as we were falling fast to leeward; and without
bearing to windward we must inevitably perish. We continued to luff from time to time; but when "the rising world of waters," in mountain-breakers, threatened to overwhelm us, the yells of all our boatmen became a signal to the helmsman to oppose to it the stern of the vessel; and thus, letting her drive before the sea, to fall off to leeward, being carried into a gulph of foam, which broke over both sides of our boat, and covered us with the waves 1. Half drowned and gasping, we saw far behind us, when we were lifted upon the tops of the billows, another boat in equal distress; and this occasionally disappeared so completely from our view, as to make us believe she had foundered: but when she hove again in sight, she was so far to windward of us that there was not the smallest chance of our being able to reach her by swimming, in case of our being upset: and we afterwards learned, that she had entirely given us over, and had enough to do in baling the water, which filled on her lee-side, to think of rendering us any assistance. The principal part of our distress was attributed, by the boatmen, to the having our carriage on board; and they reproached us on this account. Every time the vessel heeled, the weight and swing of this vehicle, propped high in the boat, made her ship more water than she would have done otherwise. We soon came to the resolution of consigning it, with all we had, to the deep, and gave orders to the men to heave it overboard. This was attempted; but they assured us we should sink the vessel in so doing, and abandoned the under-

(1) See the Vignette to this Chapter.
Providential escape. By cutting away, however, the props upon which the carriage was supported, we contrived to lower it upon the ballast, and the vessel laboured less in consequence. Still, however, the storm increased; and the sea washed over us continually. Huddled together near the stern, we could only trust to Providence, and, in the intervals when the sea left us, watch the countenance of our undaunted helmsman. After all, we knew not how our escape was effected, being quite stupified and benumbed by our dreadful situation. All that the author could recollect of the first glimpse of hope was, that, after long struggling in endeavours to recover the vessel’s lee-way, the island on which the Åland Telegraph is stationed appeared at a great distance to leeward, under the boom of the mainsail. Soon afterwards, getting another island to windward, the sea was thereby rendered somewhat more tranquil, and the boatmen set up a shout, saying, “Bra! Bra!—Ingen fara! Det har ingen fara!” After this we sailed through the Sound, and close to the shore; but could not land on account of the surf. Having passed these islands, we steered for Ekerö, the sea being much more calm; and arrived there soon after mid-day. The crew of the other boat met us, and hailed our coming. It consisted of a party with the Ostero-Bothnia mail, and a Swedish naval-officer, who told us he had no expectation that we should have weathered the storm, seeing the manner in which our

(1) Bra! is an interjection answering to bravo! The literal meaning therefore is, “Bravo! Bravo!—No danger! There is no danger!”

(2) See the Chart of the Åland Isles.
GENERAL CHART of the whole group of the ÅLAND ISLES, in the Mouth of the GULF OF BOTHNIA; showing the nature of the Passage, from SWEDEN to FINLAND; also the circumventious route performed by the AUTHOR upon the ICE of the FROZEN SEA, after returning from the Isle of RUMLINGS to the DOMARESUND.
our vessel laboured. His own boat had encountered considerable danger; but it was less burdened, and much more manageable, and had therefore been held in her course, without being driven, as was the case with ours, continually into the trough of the sea.

We had no sooner landed in Åland than every thing wore a new face. The winter had set in, and with great rigour; the ground was covered with snow, and sledges were already in general use. As our carriage was still upon wheels, we were compelled to take six horses, and with these we proceeded at a tolerable rate. We reached Frebbenby that night. The inhabitants are a stout and hardy race, better clothed, and in all appearance wealthier than the Swedes on the western side of the water. The inns are clean; and we observed no symptoms of scarcity. It was, to be sure, the season in which provisions are most abundant, having been collected for the winter store; and we were able to lay in a fresh stock for our own use. We found here Pontac wine and ale, with plenty of cold meat, which the frost preserves. The ferries were all frozen up. We crossed an inlet of the sea on foot, and our heavy carriage was drawn over it upon sledges. Of the state of agriculture, in a country entirely covered with snow, we could not well determine, from our own observations. This island produces but little corn; consequently, the natives depend chiefly for their means of subsistence upon their fishing excursions. They exchange a small species of herring, called Strömming, with the Swedes for corn: they also pasture a very considerable quantity of cattle. The land is level, and inclosed in many parts.
The trees are small and low, and, at this time, were almost buried in the snow, which covered every thing. In the evening, our inn at Frebbenby was filled with travellers, wrapped in pelisses, and smoking tobacco. Among others, there arrived from the Finland side a Russian, Colonel Rebinin, with express despatches from the Emperor of Russia to the Court of Stockholm. He spent the evening with us, and gave us the first specimen of the lofty tone and swaggering airs which so strongly characterize all the agents of the despotic Government to which he belonged. "I bear," said he, "the commands of the Emperor, my Master, to the King of Sweden." He seemed to consider obedience to those commands, of whatever nature they might be, as a matter of course. As we had not then undergone any Russian discipline, we were not yet tamed into an implicit assent to Russian notions and opinions; and this minion of tyranny could not avoid noticing the freedom with which, in our conversation, we delivered our sentiments. He spoke much of the tranquillity and happiness of despotic Governments; and said that Great Britain would be ruined for want of rigour. Above all things that had tended to lower our country in the eyes of other nations, he considered the Expedition to Holland as the principal. He called it puerile and disgraceful; and maintained (with a degree of warmth that shewed he was more interested in it than as a mere topic of discourse) that it had exposed England to the ridicule of the world. At last, it came out that he had served in person upon that occasion, when our allies, the Russians, were roughly handled; all of which he imputed (to use one
one of his mildest expressions, "to the imbecility of our Commander-in-chief." The only English officer of whom he spoke in terms of any approbation, was General Abercrombie. And as the anecdotes which he related pass current at the Court of Petersburg, we shall mention one; omitting the terms of contumely in which, according to his account, persons of the highest distinction in our army are always spoken of at that Court.

"The Russians," said he, "occupied the centre of the allied armies. Upon one occasion, they received orders from the English head-quarters to attack the French at nine o'clock on the following morning; and were told that the English in the right wing were to second this operation. The attack was made, and the French were repulsed; the Russians afterwards waiting the promised aid of the English troops, which did not arrive. Couriers were accordingly despatched, right and left, to bring up the English army. At this juncture, the French, having received reinforcements, renewed the engagement, and repeatedly attacked the Russians with fresh troops. From nine in the morning until four in the afternoon the Russian army was thus exposed, and suffered severely. At four o'clock, General Abercrombie arrived with the troops under his command, fought with his wonted bravery, and repulsed the enemy: then going up to the Russian General, he burst into tears, saying, "You must think me a poltroon and a traitor; but, by my grey hairs and by these tears, I declare I was kept in ignorance of your intended attack, and had to assemble and to rally my men after your messengers brought me the intelligence."
We have inserted this as a specimen, because it came fresh from the Russian Cabinet; suppressing other equally fair and candid representations, which we also heard, and which were bandied about, to the disadvantage of our countrymen at the Court of Paul. The want of success in Holland was imputed by all the Russian staff, who were present, to the inefficiency of the English in military tactics. They affirmed that England had no land troops; that the display of English infantry was a wretched farce; and that the officers were worse than children. Colonel Rebinin, in whom this language and these sentiments were but the echoes of the Russian Government, considered the truth of his assertions as proved by the very different success of the Russians when in Italy. "In Holland," said he, "we had the best troops from the Emperor's dominions—the grenadiers; all of whom were veterans, and every soldier was a hero. Those sent to Italy were the refuse of the army; and with these Suwarof almost wrought a miracle. Depend upon it, whenever Russia is called upon to act in concert with an English army, the remembrance of the treatment she experienced in Holland will, at least, make her cautious!"

The next day, Saturday, Dec. 21, after our carriage had passed the ice piece-meal, it was put together again; and we set out with six horses from Frebbenby, about ten o'clock.

(1) Russia has since shewn her caution, and redeemed this pledge. But it is grateful to reflect upon the lesson which the subsequent victories of Great Britain have taught to the caution of the Russians; who, in the triumphant march of our heroes to Paris, followed in the rear of our army, as mere lookers-on; not having contributed, in the smallest degree, to the glorious issue of our contest with France.
The roads were well tracked, but our wheels could hardly be made to turn round. We passed through forests and a level country to Enkarby, where we changed horses; and proceeded to Haraldsby, passing a ferry about a quarter of a mile from the latter place. Here, finding the rooms clean, and comfortable in their accommodations, we halted. Our host brought some excellent Pontac wine, which he offered for sale; but there were no bottles for its conveyance. Fahrenheit's thermometer this day, at noon, was twenty-two degrees and a half below freezing.

We left Haraldsby on Sunday morning, Dec. 22, at ten o'clock, and soon after arrived at Castelholm; so called from the little insular rock whereon the ruins of a fortress are situate, in which Eric XIV. was confined. We approached it by a bridge. It is a building of considerable grandeur, and marvellous, considering the age in which it was erected, when even the palaces of Sweden were nothing more than log-houses. It was built with rude masses of a beautiful red granite; but the remains of the windows and parts of the walls are of brick-work, which appear to be of later date than the original structure. The terra-cotta of the bricks is in itself a curiosity: the most beautiful baked clay of the vases of Nola in Italy do not surpass it, so pure and homogeneous is its texture. Its colour is of the brightest vermilion; and the bricks, which were evidently shapen by the hand without moulds, seem as if they had been formed of the most plastic wax or butter.

The people here are very superstitious: they speak of ghosts as frequently seen about this castle. Upon the top of the Ruins they shewed to us an apple-tree, which yielded fruit during the
the preceding summer; but the fruit was suffered to fall, because no one would venture to gather it, or even to touch it. They pretend to shew the room in which Eric was incarcerated: and strange tales of dungeons and mysterious passages, leading no one knows where, are of course connected with the narrative related to every stranger who visits these Ruins.

Some Gentlemen, instigated by the curiosity thus excited, were at this time digging in the court of the castle; and had discovered a subterraneous duct, somewhat like a passage, the course of which they were endeavouring to explore; but hitherto it had led to nothing. This famous fortress has been several times consumed by fire, and as often rebuilt. Notwithstanding its importance in Swedish History, it is seldom mentioned by any author; and it
is now sinking fast into a state of oblivion. The granite materials of its walls are those of the rocks and islands around it. The very rock on which it stands is of red granite. It is everywhere surrounded by water, save only a narrow tongue of land which connects this rock with an adjoining island. As it is not likely that it will ever be restored, we made the annexed sketch of its present appearance. It was built by Birger Jarl, father of Waldemar, in the thirteenth century. Afterwards it became the residence of the Governors of Åland, and continued their place of habitation until the year 1634. During the reign of Henry of Pomerania, called Eric, in compliment to the Swedes, by Queen Marguerita, this castle was inhabited by a foreign lady of the name of Yda. Under Eric Pucke, it was, in consequence of his orders, reduced by John Folkénsen. According to Puffendorf, that prince laid siege to it when Otto Pogwisch was Governor of Åland, who yielded up the fortress upon the King’s approach. The year when this event happened (1434) was rendered memorable for the curious watch-words used by Englebert of Fahlun, in distinguishing foreigners from the natives, when able in other respects to pronounce the Swedish language. In 1505, Castelholm was given by the Regent, Suante-Nilson-Sture, to Eric, son of John Vasa,

Vasa, and father of Gustavus the First; and in this year it was burned by the Danes: but being rebuilt, it became the prison of Eric XIV. in 1571. In 1556, it was granted, with all the Isles of Åland, in fief, to Duke John. Afterwards, in 1603, it devolved to Catherine, wife of Gustavus Vasa. In 1644, it was again desolated by fire. Then it became the property of Queen Ulrica Eleanora, the consort of Charles XI.; and, having subsequently undergone various fortunes, is reduced to its present state of ruin and decay. The only use now made of it, is as a magazine for containing corn belonging to Government; for which a tax is levied upon the Ålanders, and collected in kind.

After we had gratified our curiosity by seeing these Ruins, we continued our journey to Skårpans, distant only about nine English miles from Frebbenby, and proceeded no farther this day; being compelled to leave our carriage, which was too heavy to be conveyed upon the ice in its present state across the passage of the Bomarsund: we therefore entrusted it to the care of the Commissary; and hired what is here called a Rack, viz. an open sledge with two seats. The inn at Skårpans, like almost all we have seen in Åland, was clean and good; but we were grieved to remark, that in proportion as we drew nearer towards Finland, we had fewer opportunities of observing that honesty for which the Swedes are so remarkably distinguished. The peasants in Åland all aim

(1) "Ils entrèrent dans la Finland, où ils brûlerent Aboo: ils firent le même traitement à la Ville de Castelholm dans la Province d'Åland." Hist de Suède, p. 296.
aim at imposition; and the practice of cheating strangers is common to all the inns upon this route. We had no sooner reached Skårpans, than we began to notice this change in the manners of the people. The Commissary had been sent for, to attend the trial of a woman and her accomplice for murdering a pedlar. The poor man had been persuaded to accompany this female to her cottage; and there they murdered him, burying his body under the floor. A century would elapse in Sweden without any similar stain upon the annals of the country. The mode adopted in this country to extort confession from criminals—torture being never practised—is simply confinement upon a diet of bread and water for a certain length of time; which is said to answer the purpose.

Monday, Dec. 23, we left Skårpans, to cross the Bomarsund in the Rack; being drawn across the ice by men, in the kind of sledge so called. As soon as we had passed, horses were ready for us, and we continued our gliding progress through the forests. Whenever the inlets of the sea occurred, as the ice was not yet strong enough to bear horses, the peasants harnessed themselves to our sledge, and drew us over the water. In this manner we at length reached the Vargatta Sound and the Isle of Vardö, and came to a little village, consisting of wretched wooden huts, a number of small windmills, and a church. In passing the Vargatta Sound we had an amusing but very striking proof of the immense power and influence of the Russian name in these parts; as testified in the marks left in the ice by the simple passage of its Courier, Colonel Rebinin, whom we had seen
chap.viii. seen at Frebbenby. Being told, upon his arrival at Vardo, that the Vargatta Sound was frozen up, and that he could not pass until the ice should become stronger, he reproved the peasants for presuming that any thing had power to stop an express Courier of the Russian Cabinet: and immediately ordered a passage to be opened; telling them to cut a way through the ice, large enough to admit the passage of a boat; and this merely for the accommodation of a single individual. These men obeyed his orders: being well paid for their work, and well supplied with brandy, they actually effected the undertaking; and the Colonel passed in his boat, by means of the channel thus laid open. We saw the marks of this undertaking, extending for many English miles through the ice, as through a solid rock, in this inlet of the sea.

The first day of our sledge-travelling convinced us of the folly and inconvenience of being pent in close carriages, when performing a winter-journey in such a climate. Never was any mode of travelling more delightful than this of the open sledge. In the carriage, we were always complaining of the rigours of the temperature: in the sledge, although exposed to the open air, we found no inconvenience from the utmost severity of the frost. The atmosphere was so clear and dry, that, being well clothed, the effect of it was charming. An intensity of general cheerfulness seemed to keep pace with the intensity of the season. Brilliant skies; horses neighing and prancing; peasants laughing, and singing—"Fine snow! brave ice! brave winter!" Merry-making in all the villages. Festival days, with unclouded suns; nights of inconceivable splendour
splendour and ineffable brightness; the glorious firmament displaying one uninterrupted flood of light, heightened by an Aurora Borealis, while boundless fields of snow reflected every ray. Add to this, the velocity with which the sledge-drawn traveller is made to fly over sea and over land; over lakes and over plains; amidst islands and rocks; through snowy groves and forests bending with the weight of glittering icicles; here winding through thick woods, there at large upon the solid main—"Durum calcavimus æquor;"—in the midst of scenery so novel, but withal so pleasing in the richness, the variety, and the beauty of the effect. The snow too, in itself, is not one of the least of the wonders; for though it be not seen to fall, it gradually accumulates. It was now eight inches deep, and we had not observed a single instance of its descent. From the extreme diminution of temperature in the air, the condensed vapours were frozen into particles so minute, that, without adhering together and forming flakes, they passed imperceptibly through the clear serene atmosphere, in the state of an invisible sleet; which, when agitated by wind, rose from the ground in the form of a fine powder and seemed as dry as the dust of the desert.

When we arrived at Vargatta, in the Isle of Vardö, we were informed that, at the distance of half a Swedish mile from the village, there was a boat waiting to take us to Kumlinge; the sea being open on that side of the island; and that two Gentlemen, with whom we had shared our accommodations the preceding evening, were desirous to return our civility by providing for our passage thither. When we reached the spot, however, they were gone: and as there was no

TO ÅLAND.

CHAP. VIII.

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other means for our conveyance, we were under the necessity of returning to Vargatta, where we put up for the night in a wretched and filthy hovel, the first of the kind we had seen since we left the Swedish coast. Nothing in Lapland could be worse: yet the poor owners of the hut called it a "Bra Kammare;" and we did not wish to make them believe that we were discontented with our accommodations. The evening of the following day, Dec. 24, being Christmas Eve, which in Åland ushers in a night of great festivity and rejoicing, our boatmen, who were to conduct us in the morning to Kumlinge, came to beg that they might start before daylight, lest they should not be able to get back to Vardö, to share with their families in the Christmas revels. At four o'clock A.M. the shouts of these men summoned us, nothing lothe, to quit the miserable place where we had passed the night; and we hastened with them to the shore. To their disappointment, the wind was directly adverse; and they were forced to pull with oars the whole way, which threatened to delay their return. About two Swedish miles, however, from Vardö, they descried, to their great joy, the Ostero-Bothnià post-boat, coming full sail towards them. Upon this they set up a great shout—"Ostero-Post! Ostero-Post!" and, waiting its coming with great eagerness, asked our permission to exchange cargoes. The men in the other boat were equally eager to get back to their own island, and for the same reason—to keep the festival of Christmas Eve. As soon, therefore, as the two parties met, the exchange was effected. But the author, hearing from the Kumlinge boatmen that the Lappvesi Channel, in the passage towards Åbo, was
was open—which had been reported as frozen over, and the wind being fair for Vardö, determined to leave his companion with the English servant to proceed to Kumlinge, and return with the Vardö boatmen and the Swedish interpreter for the carriage which had been left, with almost all our effects, beyond the Bomarsund. With this view he set sail again for Vardö; where, taking guides, he crossed again the Vargatta Sound, and the Bomarsund, upon the ice; and arrived again at Skärpans at four o’clock in the afternoon; at which hour it was quite dark. The guides had expressed their fears, the whole way, of not being able to get back for the feast. Hearing this complaint so often repeated, the author asked what it was that they were to enjoy, which they deemed so desirable; and was answered, “A belly-full of brandy!” Christmas Eve, however, is kept all over Sweden and Finland with peculiar circumstances of festivity. The people, even the lowest and poorest of the inhabitants, join in the general conviviality; those who can best afford it, inviting the rest; so that no one is omitted.

The next morning, that of Christmas Day, having assembled twenty-five of the peasants, provided with poles, ropes, and axes, and having placed the carriage upon four sledges, we began our expedition across the Sounds. The difficulties we expected to encounter seemed to vanish as a dream: by half after ten, a.m. the carriage, followed by sledges bearing the axle, wheels, trunks, and baggage, together with the whole of our party, had safely passed the Bomarsund, and all the inlets of the sea before arriving at the Vargatta, the largest field of ice we had to go over. Here we diminished the number
number of peasants attending upon the body of the carriage, to four; as the ice was more likely to give way in this passage: and we allotted the same number of men to the sledge conveying the axle; suffering only one sledge to proceed at the same time;—all the rest following cautiously at a distance from each other, and all being drawn by men instead of horses. Then, by sending forward a single peasant with a large and heavy axe to try the strength of the ice in all places where there was danger to be apprehended,—and taking each of us a rope, to animate the men,—we set out.

Sometimes we were forced to deviate a little from the straight line of our route, in consequence of open places through which the sea appeared, and also when warned, by our pioneer, of thin ice giving way to the blows of his ponderous axe: but by half after eleven the entire train of our sledges had cleared all the passes. We then went up to the village of Vargatta, to hire horses for conveying our different burdens by land about five English miles beyond that village to the sea-shore of the passage to Kumlinge, where the water was open. By one
one o'clock the whole retinue had reached *Vargatta*; whence we set out again; and, after crossing a small lake, continued our progress, through a forest, to the sea-side, where we found an inlet so frozen as to bear the passage of the carriage &c. to a rock, from which with little difficulty it might be put into one of the boats on the following morning. Having conveyed the carriage to this rock, it was supported upon the top of it by means of poles applied to the sides, together with the axle, wheels, the imperial, and several trunks. Night now came on; and, as it was necessary that some one should remain to guard our effects, we hired a peasant for this purpose, and allowed him to remain sheltered by sitting within the carriage. No sooner had we closed the door upon this man, and consigned him to his post, than, as if at one explosion of a tempest, a strong north-east wind, accompanied by the first snow we had seen falling, came on to blow with stormy violence. We felt very indifferent, little thinking that this gale would put a stop to our projects for the next day; and getting into a sledge, were conducted back to *Vargatta*, rejoicing in having, as we imagined, so completely secured the conveyance of the carriage to *Kumlinge*; whence we might proceed, without further interruption, to *Åbo*, in *Finland*.—The sequel will shew how greatly we were deceived.

In the morning, the wind, which had raged like a hurricane all night, blew with undiminished violence. Our mariners refused to stir towards the sea; alleging that the boats would fill and founder, even before they could get from the shore. An Extra-post arrived: and as the peasants conveying
conveying it also refused to put to sea, we became satisfied that nothing could be done. The whole of this day, Dec. 26, and the following night, the same tempest continued with unabated fury: but about six o'clock on the morning of Dec. 27, having continued for thirty-six hours, it ceased as suddenly as it came on. The interpreter had been sent, on the preceding day, to ascertain the safety of the carriage and other effects upon the rock, and also to report the state of the sea. He returned, saying that all was well; that ice had accumulated along the coast, to the distance of about three boats' length from the place where it was proposed we should embark; but that if the storm did not remove it before morning, it would be no difficult matter to cut through it.

Before daylight appeared we proceeded to the little village of Vardö; whence the island so called is named, and where the Post-house is situate. As we entered the hovel called the Post-house,—for we can give it no better name,—we were told that the Extra-post messengers were not yet come: we therefore had to wait for their arrival: and this delay gave us an opportunity of seeing a little of the interior economy of one of these dwellings, in its most undisguised state. A more curious sight could hardly be imagined. At our entrance, nobody was up. The members of the family held a conversation with our boatmen, but we saw none of them. The floor of the only room they had, and of which we had taken possession, was covered with straw and sedge, according to the custom of the country at Christmas, and once a practice, even in Kings' houses, in England. Peeping from behind their hiding-places, as soon
as they perceived that strangers had entered this apartment, they were all stirring: and presently there fell out from every side of the room the naked figures of men, women, boys, and girls, who had been piled in tiers one above another, as in a ship's cabin; being concealed from view by so many sheep-skins, which were suspended as curtains before their cots. This motley groupe, amounting in all to thirteen persons, without a rag to cover them, squatted themselves upon the floor in the middle of the chamber, and began altogether the business of their brief toilette. The women put on two pairs of woollen hose, and over these a pair of greasy boots. The toilette being ended, they all with one accord began to blow their noses into the palms of their hands, and to wipe them upon their clothes. Then the men kindled their tobacco-pipes; and a universal hawking and spitting commenced. Nor were the women unoccupied; for a large fire being lighted, the females of the family quietly took up their petticoats, and sate before it, very leisurely gartering their stockings. This being done, a girl now handed round their breakfast: it consisted of, first, a dram to each person, served in a small silver cup; secondly, a portion of black biscuit, with about two ounces of fresh butter. At this meal they sate without ceremony or order, each where and with whom he pleased, chatting and laughing in groupes, apparently contented and happy. It was rather new, to see mothers with children at their breasts disengage their tender infants from the nipple, to pour down their little throats a portion of the dram which came to the mother's share; but still more remarkable to see these young dram-
dram-drinkers lick their lips, roll their eyes about, and stretch out their puny hands, as craving more; shewing how accustomed they were to this beverage. Perhaps the practice may explain the frequency of dwarfs in the Northern countries of *Europe*; as in *Poland*, *Russia*, and *Sweden*. But the author, venturing a mild remonstrance upon seeing an affectionate mother pouring brandy down her child's throat, was told, "It is good for them: our children are not troubled with wind or with rickets; and our adults," giving one of the sturdy peasants a notable thump, "see how hardy and healthy they are!" There was no reply to such an appeal; for of the Ålanders, in general, it may be said, that a more vigorous race can hardly be found; and all of them have imbibed with their milk their morning drams of brandy. It is in scenes like that which the interior of this hut exhibited, the mind is forcibly struck with a conviction of the relative nature of human happiness; that it belongs to no rank or situation in life as a peculiar possession; but that in all stations, gifted with health and virtue and just government, Providence has vouchsafed an equal portion of this blessing. As certainly as the poor native of *St. Kilda*, torn from his bleak and barren rock in the Atlantic, would pine and die through languishing for his home, although transported into a land of luxury and abundance; so would every individual of the groupe

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(1) "He longed to see his native country again." — *Martin's (Account of a St. Kildian brought to Glasgow) Western Islands of Scotland*, p. 298. Lond. 1703.
The peasants appointed to convey the Extra-post now entered, and the little hut was full of company. "God dagen! God morgon!" being exchanged on all sides, we somewhat eagerly interrupted the etiquette, by asking if they were ready to put to sea? "Ready enough!" was the answer, "if we can put to sea! But we have heard nothing of the sea, as we came along; and therefore we think the sea is frozen."—"What!" said the author, "in one night? Impossible!"—"Come along with us, Sir! we shall quickly learn the truth." And with this we all hastened out of the hut, got into our sledges, and made towards the shore. What was our dismay and astonishment, as our sledge cleared the forest through which we were driving, and the view opened towards the east, to behold the sea, as far as the eye could reach, with its rough waves fixed, and all its rocks and distant isles locked in one wide field of ice; while, at the same time, the chilling exclamations of all our boatmen, crying out, in equal amazement, "Gud bevara! Gud bevara!" announced that every hope of getting to Kumlinge was at end for an indefinite length of time. The ice of the sea, when it first fixes, is so rotten, that no one dares to venture upon it, until a sufficient degree of hardness and solidity.
solidity has been given to it by a subsequent freezing of the water below the surface. This, of course, happens sooner or later, according to circumstances. In the passage between Griseshamn and Ekerö, it sometimes does not occur during a whole winter, although the sea seem covered with ice. On venturing a little way from the shore; to try the strength of the ice, we found even the roughest parts of the surface yielding to our feet, like a soft sopp. All this had been occasioned by the fall of snow upon the evening of our arrival with the carriage. From what we learned afterwards, and from the information the peasants gave us, it was evident that nothing tends so effectually towards the freezing of the sea as a fall of snow into the salt-water. At this time of the year, when the temperature is nearly that required to effect the freezing up of these passages, a fall of snow is sure to bring this to pass; although an instance had seldom occurred in which the wide opening between Vardö and Kumlinge was thus suddenly rendered solid. Near the shore, it seemed to have been the work of an instant; the waves being caught by the intensity of the frost, and fixed upon the surface in all their undulating forms. Further out, where there had been less of surf, the ice was more level; and, perhaps, if we could have reached it, at this distance from the land, possessed much greater solidity and firmness. What the temperature had been this night, we did not ascertain; but the visible effect of such a frost, in the sudden change

(1) A more particular description of this effect, as produced by the mixture of snow with sea-water, will be given in the sequel. The well-known freezing mixture of snow with common salt acts upon the same principle.
change it had wrought upon a turbulent sea, is sufficient to prove that the mercury must have fallen much below the zero of Fahrenheit's scale. At noon this day, it rested exactly at that point; being thirty-two degrees and a half below freezing.

In this dilemma, the only resource left, was to rely upon the exertions of the peasants conveying the Extra-post;—men who have undertaken a charge of this nature being compelled to proceed at all hazards, if there be a possibility of their making way. They said they would attempt to cut a passage into the open sea, two miles more towards the south. We accompanied them in this undertaking: but after driving a sledge for fourteen English miles over ice and snow, the project was abandoned.

The situation in which the author was thus placed was by no means enviable: and as he turned back once more to his wretched accommodations at Vargatta, the consciousness that his friend and companion was left, by his management, upon a bleak and inhospitable island—cut off from all connexion with any one who could converse with him, and procure for him the common necessaries of life—added to the bitterness of the disappointment. On the author's arrival, the people of the place, anxious to render every kind office which it was in their power to bestow, crowded about him, proffering their services in any way that might be useful. They assured him, that, if the frost held unbroken, it would not be long before they might all walk to Kumlinge: adding, that in the preceding winter the ice first began to spread over upon a Wednesday,
a Wednesday, and that upon the following Saturday they made the passage in their sledges. In this solitary state, not knowing what course to pursue, the author determined to recross the Bomarsund, and take up his abode in the first place of lodging he could find, where he might wait the event. For this purpose, after again passing the ice, and landing upon the south-east part of the island, he went to a small inn about three English miles and a half from the shore, where he resolved to remain until a passage might be attempted to Kumlinge.

There is what is called a south passage to Kumlinge, sometimes attempted when the ice is thin, although more than double the distance of the other. The islands in that route being more numerous, and the straits narrower, travellers are sometimes able to effect a passage here, when the other is impracticable. If they be able to accomplish it, they generally employ two days in the undertaking. Then they take a small boat with them; dragging it along where the ice will bear, and forcing a way through where it yields. Three years ago some peasants attempted this passage, with a party of travellers going to Kumlinge; and they reached that island in safety, after very great fatigue: but these poor peasants, in returning, having laboured until they were quite exhausted, found their boat locked into the ice, at a great distance at sea; and were unable to quit the vessel, the ice not being strong enough to bear them. Fortunately they had a frying-pan in the boat, in which they kindled a fire; consuming for fuel every thing combustible they could lay their hands upon, even to the ears of their boat. Despair
and hunger at length emboldened them to venture forth, the frost becoming exceedingly severe; when, after many trials and hardships and hair-breadth escapes, they were fortunate enough to reach the shore.

Upon Dec. 28, the author sent the Swedish interpreter to Vargatta, and to the eastern coast of Vardo, to examine the state of the sea. He returned in four hours, having ordered a sledge to be constructed in Vargatta for the better conveyance of the carriage. He brought the welcome news, that the peasants having examined the state of the ice with a telescope, were convinced of its reaching, in one unbroken field, the whole way to Kumlinge; distant from the Isle of Vardo twenty-one English miles. He also added, that, upon the following day, a peasant would endeavour to walk over the Delen, with a letter. This intelligence, although it proved delusive, excited considerable hope in the author's mind of being released from his present state of durance. A wolf had passed close to the house in the night, and had left very visible marks of the track he had pursued. The peasant to whom this dwelling belonged, sallied forth in pursuit of the wolf, armed with his gun; and the author—as the man promised to shew the way to some rocks where he said crystals might be found—accompanied him upon this expedition. In the forest there was neither wolf, nor bird, nor living creature to be seen; but the tracks of wolves and hares were visible in the snow. The rocks in some places under the trees were sufficiently bare to exhibit their geological nature: they consisted of a beautiful granite; but all the component parts of granite may be found in Åland;
Åland; either as simple minerals in a detached state, or combined in an aggregate rock: of this there are many examples. Detached masses of mica and of hornblende may be observed among the building materials in the Ruins of Castelholm. The beautiful clay of which the bricks in that fortress were manufactured, may have originated in decomposed feldspar. Masses of pure quartz, of feldspar, and of hornblende, also present themselves; together with every variety of association which these different minerals can exhibit. The crystals which the guide had mentioned were by him pointed out: they proved to be common hexagonal crystals of quartz, in a matrix of quartz and brick-red feldspar. The granite of Åland occurs in compact masses, lying perfectly horizontal, and without any appearance of dipping or inclination: it breaks readily, and near the surface exhibits the marks of decomposition; sometimes shivering in its fracture, like trapp.

Dec. 29.—Sent a peasant to examine the state of the sea; who returned with the disagreeable news, that the Delen was not completely frozen over; and that the Extra-post still remained unable to proceed.—Determined therefore, at all events, to attempt a passage on the following day, by the circuitous southern route.

The manners of the people in Åland, during the increasing severity of the winter season, shew what erroneous notions we are apt to entertain of the lives and customs of the natives of these northern regions; where imagination pictures a dreary scene, with all its inhabitants close pent in their dwellings, like hibernating animals, sleeping throughout the winter,
TO ÅLAND.

Number of inhabitants.

The inhabitants of the Åland Isles amount to between five and six thousand. There are nine hundred families; and allowing, upon an average, six persons in each family, the number will about equal what has been stated. The agricultural produce of the land is trifling; but they carry on a considerable trade in several kinds of fish, which are carried...
carried in well-vessels, and fatted in reservoirs at Stockholm. The first dish at table, in almost all Swedish families at Stockholm, is a small fish called stroemling, which is reckoned a great delicacy: it is eaten generally with vinegar. Abundance of the stroemling are taken by the Ålanders in their fisheries; they also take a great number of seals. Their fish they exchange for corn, both at Stockholm and Upsala. They are supplied from Stockholm with two sorts of beer: one of which is brewed in imitation of English porter, and is a most detestable and unwholesome composition; the other, a more simple beverage, has a fault common to all the Swedish beer, that of not being boiled enough when it is brewed. The land in Åland presents to the eye a gently undulating surface, full of rocks, intersected by numerous bays, sounds, and inlets of the sea, which seem like large lakes, and covered in part with thin and low forests. Beggars, so rare in Sweden, are very common here. The best-conditioned inhabitants are the Clergy. The innkeeper at Skårpans possessed twenty cows, yet this man was nothing more than a peasant. The poorest of the peasants keep cows, because they have the free pasturage, or rather browsing, of the forests during summer; and in winter they are housed and fed upon such fodder as these islands very plentifully produce—hay, birch-boughs, and the leaves of other trees. In the winter, the cows are let out to be watered and fed; being fed three times a day—morning and evening in their stalls in the cow-house, and at noon out of doors. The joy of these poor animals, when the moment arrives for their being brought out into the open
open air, is so great, that they disregard even their food, for
the delight of rubbing themselves against the rails, and
butting against each other, during the half hour that they
have their liberty.

Among the better-conditioned inhabitants, besides the
Clergy, there are a set of men called Land-measurers, found
all over Sweden, depriving the natives of their property, and
creating more mischief among the people than twice the same
number of Country Attorneys would do in England. It will
perhaps be difficult to give an accurate idea of the power and
influence of these harpies in Sweden; nor is it possible to
conceive a class of men calculated to cause more real evil
in any country, or to prove more oppressive. The land of
the peasants, although inclosed, is frequently so divided, that
a number of small strips or portions of it, belonging to
different individuals, may be contained within the same
inclosure. As the only distinctive boundary in such
cases is a land-mark—such, for example, as a small trench
dug in the earth, or a stake driven into the ground—it
will often happen that these marks disappear; and encroach-
ments being made, disputes begin among the farmers, as
to the limits of their property. Upon these occasions,
an appeal is immediately made to the Land-measurer,
who takes care to fleece both parties before the business
is settled. But the mischief does not end here. The
rapacious Land-measurer is a man of luxury, of profligate
and voluptuous manners, keeps a good table, invites
his friends, drinks and sometimes plays deeply—and, to
support the extravagance of his establishment, money is
absolutely necessary. To obtain this, therefore, he hints to a peasant that his land has not been fairly laid out, and that it may be more profitably arranged for him;—at which his neighbour becomes irritated. A dispute ensues, which is artfully fomented; the Land-measurer receiving bribes from both parties. Each tries to injure the other, and is ready to lavish the half of his property to satisfy the vengeance thus excited;—the property of the one being encroached upon exactly in the proportion that the other is able to feed the avarice of the pretended mediator; who carries on his schemes, until he has exhausted, and perhaps ruined, one or both of the disputants. In the interior provinces of Sweden, if a house be seen better than common, or a carriage or a horse cut a better figure than usual, it is generally the property of a Land-measurer. Prowling about, like wolves seeking whom they may devour, the very coming of these men among the Swedish farmers always prognosticates calamity: and it is surprising, that, in a country so prone to revolution and change of system, these injurious plunderers and disturbers of the public peace should have been so long allowed to carry on their depredations.
CHAP. IX.

CIRCUITOUS JOURNEY ON THE SEA, TO KUMLINGE.

The Author determines to undertake the Southern Circuitous Route—
Introduces his Personal Narrative of that Expedition—Grundsunda
—Bergo—Simplicity of the Natives—Increase of Wolves—Seal-
hunters—Safety-pikes—The Author deserted by his Guides—arrives
at Mushaga—Ravages of the Small-pox—Mode of forcing a passage
through the Ice—Remarkable effect of Snow falling in Sea-water—
Natural Cave of Ice—Sättunga—Description of the Inhabitants—
Swedes of Åland—Finlanders—Remains of antient and pure
Swedish—its resemblance to English—Seal-skin Sandals—Winter
occupations of the Ålanders—Preparations for a journey on the ice
to Kumlinge—Description of the Procession on leaving Sättunga—
Encounter with the Seal-hunters—Change of route—Scene exhibited
at mid-day—Arrival at Kumlinge—The Author terminates his
personal Narrative.

After various inquiries among the peasants and messen-
gers who had been sent to ascertain the state of the sea in
what is called the Sjön Delen, between the Isle of Vardo and
Kumlinge,
Kumlinge, it was determined to attempt the southern passage by the circuitous route of Sattunga. As in this undertaking, the most hazardous in which the author was ever engaged, he was of necessity compelled to bear a very principal part, he makes no apology for the frequent allusions to himself which unavoidably occur. He was more than once deserted by his companions, and left to make his way over a frozen sea alone: the incidents he has to relate, therefore, become more than usually restricted in their reference; for which reasons he proposes, in giving an account of this expedition, to alter the style of the narrative, and to make it personal, by transcribing verbatim the description given of it as it occurs in his own manuscript journal.

Dec. 30.—In the evening of this day, I sallied forth in a small sledge drawn by one horse, with Peter the Swedish interpreter, and a single peasant mounted behind, in the hope of getting the same night as far as Vargatta. We passed the doubtful surface of the three Sounds which constitute the Bomarsunds Ejerd, upon the ice, by starlight; and arrived safe at Vargatta. There was a dance in the village, at which Peter attended: and upon his return, he brought me word that a farmer from the Isle of Sandö had been present at the dance,

(1) See the Vignette to this Chapter.
(2) The last of these Sounds is sometimes called that of Vargatta, by which name it was distinguished in the former chapter.
(3) The national Dances of Sweden are; the Waltz, with various modifications; the Polska, or Polish Dance, differing from that of Norway in having slower movements; also Minuets, which are practised in Dalecarlia, and are frequent among the lower orders.
dance, who had crossed the ice to Vargatta, and who gave it out that the Sjön Delen was frozen over. Upon this intelligence, several sailors, and captains of merchantmen, whose vessels were all locked in by the ice, and who were waiting in the village for a passage to Finland, came to the resolution of venturing on foot by the northern passage, and asked me to accompany them. Fortunately, I refused their invitation: for although they attempted to reach Kumlinge by this route, they never arrived there: and I could not afterwards learn what became of them. In the morning, as soon as daylight appeared, I set out to explore the southern way; and getting into a sledge, drove to the little village of Grundsunda, where we were told that the ice might be safely passed to the Isle of Bergo: but as the people here are rarely able to give any accurate information with regard to places a Swedish mile from their own homes, they could say nothing of the state of the ice beyond Bergo.

My journey upon the sea to the Isle of Bergo presented one of the most novel and striking scenes I had ever beheld. The ice, instead of being rough and opaque, as before, was smooth and glassy as a mirror; and it is quite marvellous how the horses, although purposely shod for the undertaking, can find a footing upon such a surface. In some places, the transparencies being perfect, and a bright light permeating the abyss, towering rocks of granite were seen rising through the deep, towards the crystal plain over which we glided. To stop, and cast a glance below, would have made the boldest quake, who has been unaccustomed to sights like these. When we reached the midway of this fearful expanse,
expanse, some degree of alarm was excited by the conduct of our guides; who, upon coming to a chasm which the settling of the surface had left in the ice, halted, positively declaring that they would venture no farther. Instances of superstition, and consequent timidity, among the natives of these islands, had occurred before, but they were too trivial to merit notice; and upon the present occasion it was hoped that a little persuasion would get the better of their panic. They considered the opening of this chasm as an unfavourable omen; and, declaring they should no longer be able to find a safe footing, determined to return; and left us. I remained, with Peter, in the possession of a sledge, with one of their horses; and having with little difficulty succeeded in getting over the chasm, we drove on, and arrived at Bergo without encountering any other obstacle. Over the whole of the wide waste we had passed, there was not an animal, nor any living creature to be seen, excepting wolves, crossing, among distant rocks, from isle to isle, in search of prey: and even these we should have mistaken for large dogs, if the peasants, before they deserted us, had not directed our attention towards them, and told us what they really were.

At Bergo we had an example of the remarkable simplicity and ignorance of the natives of these islands, especially of those which lie out of the common route of passing travellers. Accustomed to see only the inhabitants of the neighbouring shores, our coming, without any of the guides, excited fear as well as wonder. The little village of the island consists of half-a-dozen wooden huts, perched, in a very irregular manner, amidst a cluster of naked rocks. The few male inhabitants
inhabitants belonging to this settlement were out upon the sea, dragging their nets under the ice; which is their usual mode of fishing at this season of the year. In the dwelling that we entered, an old woman and her daughters were spinning; and a boy was feeding a favourite hog, coaxing the animal, and calling it by all manner of endearing names. The sight of two strangers, who, for ought they could tell, might have dropped from the moon, for a few minutes interrupted their tranquillity. Peter, who addressed them in Swedish, was not on this account a whit better received:

"We might be anybody, for any thing they could tell. Why did we not go away?" At this moment, our former guides, whether afraid of losing their horse and sledge, or ashamed of what they had done, came dropping in; and then immediately things wore a new face. Such a chattering ensued, that it might be compared to the noise of a rookery. The old woman and her daughters immediately fell to work, and prepared a dinner for these men, of bacon and blood-sausages, which are esteemed a great delicacy. One of the girls now stepped forward, offering to act as a guide in our way to Foglø; to which island, I learned with amazement, it was necessary that we should penetrate, although lying so far to the south, before we should be able to alter our course, and bear up for Såttunga. They would not allow us a single horse to draw one of their sledges: not because the ice was unequal to its weight, but for this reason, which they assigned—that, in returning, the wolves would infallibly

(1) See the Chart annexed of the Åland Isles.
Take it from the girl and devour it. Five of these ferocious animals, they said, had prowled about their dwelling for two nights successively. The great increase of wolves among these islands, and in all Sweden and Finland, of late years, is one of the most remarkable events that have occurred in the history of the country. This change began in the time of Linnaeus; who, in his Fauna Suecica, having mentioned the wolf as common in the Swedish woods, adds these words—“Ante 26 annos, rarius animal in Suecid.” The wolves have since become such a nuisance, as to call the attention of Government towards their destruction. In the north of Sweden, they make their attacks in such formidable numbers, as to drive the inhabitants, especially the Laplanders, from their Settlements. The Swedish Missionaries settled in Lapland, ignorant of the true cause of their increase, which is unknown, attribute their coming to the war with Russia, which disturbed, they say, these animals in their haunts, and drove them from the extensive forests of Finland.

The mercury in Fahrenheit’s thermometer did not descend lower at noon, this day, than eleven degrees and a half below freezing; but as the distance was great to Foglō, and that distance always doubled by the frequent circuitous deviations we

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(1) Fauna Suecica, p. 5. L. Bat. 1746.

(2) At the very moment in which this chapter was printing, Mr. Michaelson from Stockholm, visiting Cambridge, informed the author that a general hunt for the destruction of wolves is to take place next year, by order of the Swedish Government. In the provinces of Jemteland, Herjeådalen, and Gästrikeland, the number of wolves has amazingly increased: in one of these provinces they have devoured eight children within the last winter: and they have advanced from the northern provinces, southward, so as to make their incursions within the very neighbourhood of Stockholm.
SEAL SHOOTER ON THE FROZEN SEA.

London, Published Aug 6th 1821, by T. Cadell, in the Strand.
we had to make, owing to the chasms and open places in
the ice, it was sufficient to deter me from attempting the
task of drawing the sledge myself; and therefore, upon
being refused a horse, we persuaded the men who had
followed us from Vargatta to bear a hand in this undertaking,
and proceed with us to Foglo. This island lies far to the
south of Bergo, quite in an opposite direction from that
which I wished to pursue with a view of reaching Kumlinge.
Having mustered our forces, and placed our baggage upon a
single sledge drawn by the Vargatta peasants, we set out on
foot, passing through a forest of much finer trees than
I expected to see among these bleak little islands. Hence we
descended towards the sea; and were soon once more upon its
frozen surface, with the same wide and chilling prospect of
the space we had to traverse. Presently our guides hailed
some seal-hunters, whom they recognised upon the dreary
main, engaged in their usual occupation. These men
answered the summons; and coming towards us, said that it
might be possible to reach Mushaga without making the
long deviation towards Foglo; and that, at all events, as the
distance would, in the event of our success, be greatly
shortened, they advised our making the trial. As they best
knew the state of the ice, and the course it would be necessary
to pursue in order to reach Mushaga, we asked them to
accompany us; to which they readily agreed. I mention
these trivial circumstances, to shew how little reliance can
be

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(3) See the Chart of the Åland Isles.
(4) Ibid.
be placed upon the very best guides among the Ålanders, when the ice is in a doubtful state; for these very men were the first to desert me afterwards, when their services were most wanted. The fact is, that the same persons who would venture through the most turbulent seas in the dangerous storms to which the mouth of the Gulf of Bothnia is liable, and in boats which are any thing but sea-worthy, are often cowards upon the ice; and perhaps for this reason, that the skill and dexterity which enables them to encounter winds and waves are of no avail here.

We now directed our icy pilgrimage towards Mushaga, by an eastern instead of a southern course; our seal-hunters taking the lead with their iron-shod pikes, and often leading us a weary circuit, to avoid the openings and hazardous places of thin ice, by which we were compelled to deviate from the direct line of our march. The pikes used to ascertain the safety of a passenger are about six feet in length, having at the lower extremity an iron spike with a sharp and strong hook. The spike is used to try the thickness of the ice. If, after two or three stabs with this iron spike, the water do not spout up, the ice will bear a horse; and if it do not rise after a single blow, but appears only after a second stroke, it is considered as fit to support a man. The hook attached to this spike is for the purpose of dragging out the bodies of those who are unfortunate enough to slip through the crevices, or fall into the holes, which are deceitfully covered with a thin icy superificies. These accidents are generally owing to the snow, which, by covering such places, prevents a person from being aware of the sudden danger he may
may encounter from a neglect of sounding often with his pike. Every individual of our party was provided with one of these safety-pikes; although the chief use of them is for those who precede and act as pioneers, who plunge their pikes into the ice incessantly, at every step, in order to make the way sure. If the foremost man give an alarm, the rest of the party fall back, and disperse as quickly as possible; taking care not to collect together upon one spot. We had many of these alarms; and our weary walk continued throughout the whole day a journey of painful suspense and apprehension, never free from danger; being often farthest from the land when we appeared to be the nearest to it, in consequence of the circuitous deviations we were compelled to make, in order to obtain a footing. About half after two o'clock p.m. we were within sight of Mushaga; but the difficulty of reaching the shore increased as we approached. Presently we could discern the figures of several of the natives, standing upon a high coast among the rocks, regarding our movements with an earnest attention. We soon found the reason of the interest we had excited: the ice, as we advanced, appeared almost everywhere open; and became so thin, that our pikes brought up water at every stroke. It certainly was not a moment for much ceremony, and the guides used none; for the seal-hunters falling back with precipitation, the Vargatta peasants dispersed also, followed by the interpreter, who, in spite of all my remonstrances, left me in this terrible juncture, to shift for myself. In such a situation, the presence of any one, it is true, could only serve to increase the danger; and for a moment I was almost
almost bewildered. To turn back again, and retrace our former footsteps, at this late hour of the day, over fields of ice extending nearly thirty English miles, would require more strength than I could then muster, exhausted as I was already by fatigue. I saw no alternative but that of persevering, at all hazards, another quarter of a mile; and slowly ventured on towards Mushaga, sometimes working my way nearly a mile in order to gain an approach of twenty yards. At every stroke of my pike, the water gushed through the orifice it made; until the ice beginning to bend with my weight, I was afraid to use it. By perseverance, however, I had gained a very near approach to the land, which gave me spirits and courage: the ice became stronger—then weaker: at last I reached the rocks—covered also with ice; and, in my eagerness to climb their slippery surfaces, sustained many severe falls, one of which brought me headlong back again upon the sea. The people collected on the shore now descended to my assistance; and the guides who had deserted me, ashamed of being left behind by a stranger, after various attempts, following my footsteps, arrived also at Mushaga. Here we found the sea quite open; the ice only extending an English mile from the shore: some other expedient, therefore, to reach the open water with a boat was now become necessary.

We entered a miserable cottage. The scene of human woe which was here presented, perhaps never had its equal. We found within, a wretched family; amongst whom were seven children afflicted with the putrid small-pox, in one close hovel;—the eldest, a daughter, dead of the disorder; and
and the forlorn parents weeping for the inevitable fate of those, their little ones, who still survived. The diet of these poor creatures consisted of raw salted fish, first steeped in sea-water, and then frozen. To heighten the calamity of this heart-rending spectacle, not a ray of comfort or of hope could be administered; nothing could be done for them,—nor did they ask for any thing. It was a sight to move the most obdurate; and the impression made in viewing it will never be forgotten.

Amongst a few other dwellings, at some distance from this scene of sorrow, we hired four peasants, who engaged to work out a boat that was lying fast locked in the ice among the rocks. A most curious undertaking ensued; that of forcing a passage for this boat through the mile of ice, into the open sea. It seemed to require nothing less than the labours of Hercules to affect this; but the promise of high reward, and the sight of two bottles of vile Swedish brandy, which the Interpreter took care to display to great advantage, wrought marvellously in our favour. The sail belonging to this boat, when produced, was found to be frozen into a solid sheet of ice; but, after much labour, this was hoisted: and a plank being fastened with nails along the ribs of the boat, to prevent her staving, she was laid upon her side; and we all got into her, except two of the men, who remained upon the ice, holding by her bows. In this manner she scudded before the wind upon the surface of the thin and rotten ice; which soon giving way to the superincumbent weight, we sunk, boat and all, into the water; the two peasants, without, remaining suspended, one
one at the prow, the other at the stern. Now began a part of the operation in which these men, accustomed to such trials, shew very considerable dexterity. By giving their vessel a swinging motion, alternately raising and depressing the prow as it was forced by the sail upon the ice, they continually succeeded in breaking a way through it; and penetrated along the channel, thus formed, towards the open sea, by a tedious but sure progress of about 400 yards in an hour. Fortunately, a fair wind blew with great violence; which aided the undertaking more than any thing else; the men being nearly exhausted before the passage was thoroughly effected. In more severe weather, they find this method of working through the ice impracticable, because it freezes together instantly as fast as it is broken, and they remain locked in; by which means the party of peasants who had conducted some travellers to Kumlinge, three years before, as was related, were set fast in the ice at a great distance from the shore, and nearly starved to death. The ice, before we got clear of it, was nearly six inches thick; and it was to our little stock of brandy that we attributed our success. The poor men engaged in working the boat were so overcome by their excessive labour, that without frequent draughts of their favourite liquor they would have given up the undertaking as hopeless.

(1) The novelty of a boat thus sailing upon a field of ice, from the singularity of its appearance, may serve to amuse those who sit by their fire-side, "hors de combat," and seek only for amusement in these pages. The annexed Engraving, shewing the author's situation at this moment, is from a design by the celebrated Atkinson, taken by him, after the author's arrival at Petersburg, from a sketch made by the author upon the spot.
Mode of forcing a Passage through the Ice, when the Sea is not sufficiently FROZEN to sustain the Weight of the Human Body; as practised by the Author among the Aland Islands, the Thermometer of Fahrenheit being at that Time 49 below freezing.
At last, we reached the open sea: and here a violent tempest of wind and snow came upon us: and the sudden effect of the snow mingling with the sea-water, now cooled nearly to the point of its congelation, was most striking. The water became turbid, like milk turning to curd: pieces of ice soon made their appearance, and were heard rattling against the prow and sides of the vessel. The old exclamation of "Gud bevara!" once more gave its warning, that things were not quite as could be wished by our Swedish steersman: we saw evidently, that if we did not quickly reach Sättunga, we should be in the situation, already related, of the poor mariners in their return from Kumlinge. The change was so rapid, as the snow continued falling, that when we were drawing near to the Sättunga shore, we found ourselves sailing through immense moving slabs of ice; which were driven with such force against each other, that the noise of their striking together, all around us, was like the sound of a hundred drums beating: our boat was driven against them with a degree of violence that made us apprehensive of her splitting. At about two miles distance, we descried a boat, already beginning to be set fast, and working its way as we had done before, in a part of the sea where these floating masses had already fixed themselves into a compact state. The water itself seemed full of snow; but this appearance always takes place whenever its particles are beginning to congeal. That the whole passage would speedily become frozen, was very evident; and this change actually took place in the course of the night. An open channel admitted us within 250 yards of the Island of Sättunga:
Sattunga: and here the ice was strong enough to bear the weight of our boatmen, while they drew their vessel out of the water, and laid her up in a snug birth for the night. This birth, at any other time, would have been considered by me as an object of great curiosity: it was a beautiful cave of ice, hung with pendent icicles and spangling crystal gems,—the palace of the seals, and temple of their amours: but, under the pressure of fatigue and cold and hunger, all its beauties could not detain me, even for an instant. The boatmen had already quitted it: and having cast my eye over the arched roof and sides of this natural wonder, I followed them, through a forest, to the Village of Sattunga; which consists of a small church, and some better-conditioned cottages than it is usual to see in these islands. As soon as we arrived, we found here both the Eastern and Western Post, waiting for a passage; also about fifty sailors, together with other persons whose ships had been frozen in, waiting to get to Finland upon the ice. A party of Russian Gentlemen set out, as soon as we arrived, in the hope of profiting by the passage we had forced through the ice on the Mushaga shore, to get to that island: what success they met with I did not learn: night was already set in, and it would require time to get our boat out again. One of them gave up his apartment to me, upon leaving Sattunga; saying, he had found it cleanly and comfortable. The poor hostess, who conducted me into this chamber, was as proud of receiving strangers beneath her roof as if kings were come to visit her. Turning up her beds, she exclaimed, "Look here! you shall sleep as well in
in my house as if you were in *Stockholm*: we have no such things as lice or bugs here.” My last loaf of bread was frozen, and as hard as stone; but this good woman boiled it in milk; and I never tasted a more delicious meal than from the bowl containing the porridge which she thus prepared and placed before me. Intending to set out early in the morning, I wished to pay for my night’s accommodation and excellent fare, and for this purpose offered money to the mistress of the house; who, with great simplicity, but earnestness of manner, said, “Alas, Sir! give me something better than money. I have had a pain in my head upwards of forty years, and sometimes it brings on fits: leave me but a *charm* to cure this disorder, and I shall bless you till I die!” Whether she believed that loaf-sugar would act as a *charm* or not, was uncertain; but so completely unknown to her did this substance appear, that, having begged a lump of it, she stuck it up among her rarities, in a cupboard; not to be used, but exhibited as a curiosity.

The Island of Såttunga occupies a central point amidst the innumerable rocks and inlets which almost fill the mouth of the Gulph of Bothniä. It lies to the south of the *Delen*, or *Delet*, between Vardö and Kumlinge, and exactly midway between the coast of *Sweden* and Åbo, in *Finland*. The natives are fishermen and seal-hunters: they are the best-looking, and most robust, of all the islanders. During the summer

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(1) See the Chart. See also Hermelin’s “Charta öfver Åbo och Björneborgs Höfdingedom.” *Stockholm, 1799.*
summer they carry on a trade with Stockholm in fish. My host and his son arrived late in the evening;—men really of gigantic stature. "My boys and I," said the father, pointing to the athletic figures of these fine young men, "will accompany you to-morrow to Kumlinge: and you will not be deserted by us, upon the ice, as you were by a parcel of striplings from Vargatta and Bergo. We have heard of all your adventures in going to Mushaga: there will be an end of such risks now: trust only to our guidance, and we will take care of you." These men were Swedes; as are, properly speaking, the inhabitants of all the Aland Isles, and of the islands upon the coast of Finland. Formerly, these islands were inhabited by Finland corsairs; to put an end to whose piratical depredations, the Swedes possessed themselves not only of the Isles, but also of the Finland coast as far eastward as Petersburg, and northward as far as Gamba Carleby. The country at this moment, from Gamba Carleby to Björneborg, was entirely inhabited by Swedes; speaking, of course, the Swedish language. From Björneborg, as far as Åbo, the people are a mixed race of Swedes and Finlanders. We found the Swedish language in use as far as Varssala: but when we reached Varssala, it was no longer understood. The real Finlanders, that is to say, the genuine remnant of the original colony, which yet preserves its antient customs and language in their pure and unmixed state, dwell in the interior eastern district of Finland: they inhabit the province of Tavastehus and Savolax, a wild and watery region, covered with numberless lakes and most extensive forests, and peopled by a race of men who are considered by all their
their neighbours as the hardiest of all the Northern tribes. In the severest winters, these men perform astonishing journeys; going about with their bosoms bare, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. More barbarous even than the Laplanders, they hold in sovereign contempt all the comforts and luxuries of more refined nations. "Illis," said Tacitus, speaking of the Fenni, "ne voto quidem opus esset." Unaltered in all the ages that have elapsed since he gave that eloquent description which no paraphrase can express, we may still say of them, "Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates: victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus." For all that concerns their early history, and the origin of the Finns, we may in vain ransack the libraries of the world. The Scrictofinni, mentioned by Paulus Diaconus, are not, properly speaking, Finns, but their cousin-germans the Laplanders, to whom perhaps the account given of the Fenni, by Tacitus, may, from some of his observations, be rather applicable. The true
true Finns live in houses without chimneys, which are always filled with smoke, and, from various other causes, are black and filthy beyond description. Fortunately, the very nature of this climate is hostile to the great increase of vermin; but such reptiles and revolting insects as are able to withstand its rigours, find themselves as much domesticated among the Finlanders, as are their pigs, poultry, cattle, dogs, and cats; all of which, together with men, women and children, find a lodging beneath the same roof. With regard to mosquitoes, they may almost be said to breathe these insects; so completely, during summer, is the atmosphere possessed by their swarms.

Among these islands, the Swedish language is said to exist in its most antient and pure state: and it here approaches so near to the English, that a servant of our own country, who travelled with us, was able to understand and sometimes to converse with the natives. It is like the old Scottish-English; the word muchin occurring for meitkle', to signify much; thek for thilke, meaning the which; brānde for burnt; sladin for slain; gladdines for gladdened; &c. &c. Persons at all accustomed to read old English books in the Gothic letter will have little difficulty in reading old and pure Swedish: they will readily translate the following lines of an old Swedish agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare.”—Tacit. ubi supra.

If the Roman historian had lived among the Laplanders, he could not more accurately have described their tents made of boughs, their habits, and disposition.

(1) “The king, that heard all his carping,
He thanked her in meitkle thing.”

Barbour's Life of Robert Bruce, p. 85. Edin. 1758.
Swedish ballad, as they are preserved by Professor Porthan of Åbo, among the annotations to the "Chronicon Episcoporum Finlandensium," printed at Åbo.

Sverige hade mycket vade
Of Caretom, och stöör orade;
The föro öfver hastvet och in i Målar,
At the brände opp Sigtuna:
Joan Arkieberkop wart ther slagin,
The gladde Carela och Rysaland.

THE SAME ENGLISHED.

Sweden had much danger
Of Carelians, and great disgrace;
They passed over the sea and into the Mälar,
And they burnt up Sigtuna:
John Archbishop was there slain,
The which gladdened Carelia and Rysland.

The verb To eat, in the Åland Isles, is exactly the same as with us in English, and has the same pronunciation; but in Stockholm, and in other parts of the country where a mixture of the German has intervened and occasioned modern corruptions in the language, speißen is substituted for âta.
Again, a bush is called buska; and a decoy-duck, a lure, as in England. The instances of similarity in the two languages which occur among the names of domestic utensils, as pot, pan, hammer, and in the appellations bestowed upon the implements of husbandry, are too numerous to mention.

The manners and customs of the Ålanders bring to mind those of the natives of the isles of Scotland. Every man manufactures for himself. They pique themselves much upon their sandals of seal-skin, in which may be seen the first seal-skin sandals.
Winter occupations of the Alanders.

first rudiments of a shoe. This kind of sandal is an oblong piece of skin, with a cord fixed round its edge, by which the sandal is made to close upon and cover the foot; the ends of the cord being afterwards fastened round the ankle. Similar sandals, though made of different materials, are worn by the natives of the southern provinces in Italy, especially those of Abruzzo; also by the Laplanders and Russians. I have seen them finely represented in marble, among the works of Greek sculptors. The thongs, or cords, which bound them to the feet, were by the Greeks called ἑμαφές. Among the Alanders, the hair of the seal is preserved on the outside, and within they put a little straw. These sandals, rude as they appear, are, when made of sealskin, in such high estimation, that although common upon the feet of every one of the inhabitants, not one among them can be prevailed upon to sell a pair to a stranger. The great utility of them arises in their resistance to moisture: they prevent the melting snow from penetrating, and are at the same time exceedingly light and comfortable to the feet.

During the winter, the Alanders are chiefly occupied in fishing, by dragging their nets under the ice, or in hunting for and killing seals by shooting them. Few people are such expert marksmen. When the sea is frozen over, they creep about

(1) See Vignette to Chap. X. p. 173, of the First Part of these Travels, Vol. I. Cambridge, 1810.
(3) The Norwegians are not less skilful than the Swedes in the use of the rifle. There is a passage upon this subject in Dr. Lee's MS. Journal:—

"The Norway farmers are celebrated shoots. I am credibly informed that they hit their
about among the rocks, with their rifle-barrelled guns, watching for the appearance of a seal's head through an aperture in the ice. These animals are forced to come up for air; and the moment a seal-shooouter sees one of them thrusting his nose through one of the holes to breathe, he levels his gun and dispatches him. They seldom miss their aim; for the loss of ammunition is a very serious concern. The manner in which the seals expose their young to all the rigour of the climate, is very extraordinary. They leave them upon the naked surface of the ice, in frozen caverns among the rocks, and sometimes in cavities of the ice itself. During the day-time, they dive through the holes and chasms into the abyss below for food; and at night, steal unperceived to the place where they have deposited their young, carrying with them the fish they have taken, and there feed them. If the seal-hunters find them at large upon the ice, or upon the shore, they dispatch them easily with the safety-pike before described. The appearance of the seal-hunters equipped for this singular species of chace is really curious. They generally go in pairs, in search of their game. I met several of these intrepid sportsmen, braving the severity of the atmosphere, and watching for hours upon the same spot for the appearance of the seals. Their dress consisted of a sheep's-skin for a jacket, worn with the wool towards the body, and

their game with a single bullet; and that were they to miss, they would be quite out of temper, as the loss of a charge is of much value to them. They often shoot game on the wing with a bullet; and a Norwegian has been known to assert that he would shoot his bird, in this manner, through the head; and has fulfilled his engagement.”

Dr. Fliott Lee’s MS. Journal.
and fastened by a leathern belt about the waist; seal-skin sandals; and a fur cap. At their back they carry a rifle, sometimes inclosed in a case of seal-skin; and in their right-hand appears the safety-pike, which they use as a walking-staff.

As I was going to bed, a crowd of other travellers arrived, all adventurers, like myself; who, from some of the neighbouring isles, had effected a passage to Sättunga, and wished to get to Kumlinge. These were all mariners; the masters and crews of merchant-ships locked in by the ice. Having left a few hands on board, merely to guard their vessels, they were all going to their respective homes in Finland. The little village of Sättunga had never seen so many strangers assembled there before: every cottage was full of them. As soon as daylight appeared on the following morning, the court-yard of the house where I had slept was crowded with persons who were to join company, and had made this their place of rendezvous. As every one of these persons had engaged his own party of peasants, almost every male inhabitant of Sättunga was hired for the journey across the ice to Kumlinge. I had engaged my host, two of his athletic sons, and five other peasants. I found the whole body drawn up, as in military array. The dress of the Sättunga peasants was moreover uniform: they were all clad in the same simple and cleanly manner, wearing white sheep-skin jackets, dark fur caps, seal-skin sandals; and each person had his safety-pike in his hand. They amounted in all to thirty-seven persons;
persons; and the proudest General in Europe might have rejoiced to number such men among his troops. We had some little distance to march by land, until we came to the sea-shore opposite Kumlinge; when all of them were formed into a procession upon the ice, exhibiting a scene altogether new to me. First went a party of scouts, as pioneers, proving the ice with their safety-pikes. Then came the Swedish Post to Finland; the mail-bags, fastened upon a very small sledge, being drawn by a single man. Then followed another party of scouts, with their pikes as before; and, after these men, my own sledge, bearing whatever clothes I had with me, and a small stock of provisions which I had purchased for my friend in Kumlinge, whom I expected to find in want of common necessaries. Next advanced a promiscuous multitude of travellers, without much order or caution, preceding their respective sledges, and attentive only to the preserving of a proper distance from each other, so as not to huddle together on any one spot: and, behind all these, another party of the peasants, ready for any work in which their assistance might be required. The whole retinue, when extended upon the ice, reached to the distance of two English miles; and in those intervals when I could sufficiently abstract my mind from all sense of danger to survey this curious train, the effect produced by the appearance of such a numerous host marching over the abyss of water, was very pleasing. I had walked in this manner thirty-five miles on the preceding day, in a state of such constant alarm, that little leisure was allowed for calmly viewing the scene around us; and the guides were of opinion,
that, although the distance to Kumlinge in a direct line was not above twenty-one English miles, yet the number of circuits we should be compelled to make would make our journey quite equal to that of the preceding day.

We had not long quitted the shore of Sättunga, and were advancing towards an island in front of our route, when two seal-hunters suddenly made their appearance from behind some rocks, raising their voices as loud as they could, and were seen with their lifted pikes, calling to the foremost of our scouts, and bidding them to halt and fall back as quick as possible. The cries of "Keep off! keep off!" in the Swedish language, were at first not heeded by our guides: but as we drew nearer, we could distinctly hear these men telling our pioneers that the ice was open in several places, and everywhere, according to their own expression, "too rotten to be trusted." Accordingly we fell back with as much caution as possible, retracing our former footsteps; and afterwards altered our course, proceeding about nine English miles to the south of Sättunga before we could bear up again towards the Island of Kumlinge. A variety of currents, prevalent among these islands, keep the sea in some places open, even during the hardest frosts; but as there is always inconstancy in their operation, it is impossible to say when or where a route may be practicable upon the ice, without proving it. That so many open places were not owing to any want of rigour in the temperature, is evident from

(1) See the Plate annexed, as engraved by Pollard, from a sketch made by the author upon the spot.
Seal hunters, warning the author and his companions, when following the Ostero-Bothnia mail, drawn upon a sledge, upon the frozen sea, to halt and retire, in consequence of the dangerous state of the ice.
from this circumstance,—that when we were farther from land, we found the surface, which had been hitherto smooth and sometimes glassy, fixed in a variety of irregular and fantastic shapes, rough and indented, but hard as adamant, and evidently shewing to us those broken masses which appear only when the waves of the sea have been suddenly fixed and rendered solid during their turbulent state. One can hardly conceive any thing more extraordinary, than a frost capable of causing such an effect; nor would it have been produced without a heavy fall of snow, at the time, mingling with the salt-water. These slabs of ice form instantaneously: and, by the commotion of the waves, being thrust edgeways out of the water, become fixed, in all directions, into one solid bed. Our walking was, in consequence, rendered painful and tedious,—a work of difficulty, and often of alarm; apertures and chasms among these huge masses shewing us the liquid abyss beneath our feet; and frequently, when we thought ourselves the most secure, we were found to be in the greatest peril. Not a step could be taken without first proving, every one with his pike, where he should set his foot: nor was it at all safe to tread in the footsteps of those who had gone before; since the same ice which had sustained the weight of one of our party, might, as indeed it happened more than once, give way with the next; and we had a narrow escape of losing two of our guides, who were saved by the dexterity, watchfulness, and courage of their comrades. An instance of a similar nature happened soon afterwards. The men, who had the charge of the Ostero-Bothniä Mail, upon a hand-sledge, actually
passed over an opening in the ice covered only by a thin surface of frozen snow. Presently our pikemen approached the same spot; and were about to attempt the same dangerous passage, when, at the first plunge they made with their pikes, the water spouted up, and they scampered off in all directions. I had no idea of the extent of their danger, until, coming towards the same place, I perceived only a thin covering of snow, which nevertheless had been sufficiently frozen to support the weight of the peasant and sledge with the Ostero-Bothnià mail-bags, and of the guides who had gone before.

As we continued to advance across the more open sea, the ice became stronger: and being now at a considerable distance from any land, the prospect widened on all sides, and became at every instant more desolate and appalling. The wind had carried off every particle of snow; and we journeyed for many miles over a surface clear and transparent as glass. It was the last day of the eighteenth century; which made me push forward with spirit and vigour, that, at least, I might terminate the most extraordinary adventure of my life, together with the most remarkable period of it, in some place where I could lay my head, and not remain benighted upon the frozen surface of an inhospitable sea. At mid-day, I halted to distribute some slight refreshment among our guides. As I served out to them their allowance of biscuit and Swedish brandy, they all stood bare-headed, and said grace. What a scene, for such solemnity! While they were engaged in their brief and scanty meal, I surveyed the distant waste. Towards the East, all was bleak and open; a vast region
TO KUMLINGE.

region of "thick-ribbed ice," wherein hardly a single object relieved the wandering eye. The sun, scarce elevated above the horizon, put forth ungenial splendour; for although shining in cloudless majesty, his rays came across the chilling desert, rather reminding one of what he wanted than of what he gave. The thermometer, when exposed to his full beams, scarcely acknowledged his presence. The mercury, according to Fahrenheit's scale, in the morning, had fallen to ten degrees above zero; and now, at noon-day, it only rose one degree higher. Towards the West, the prospect was more varied; the numberless rocks, islands, and islets, which fill the Åland Sea, being here collected into innumerable clusters.

We set out once more: and presently the Island of Kumlinge was hailed by our party, as being visible at the distance of fourteen English miles towards the North. It was immediately pointed out to me by one of our guides; and the sight of it, at that moment, filled me with joy. We pressed forward with all the speed we could muster, and met with little to impede or oppose our progress. About three o'clock we entered into a small bay belonging to the island: and being very eager to land, I made the best of my way towards a low shore, with one of the most active and foremost of the guides: the rest of our retinue were a long way in the rear, some of them at the distance of five or six miles; being retarded by their burdens and sledges. Here the marks of footsteps and sledges from the village of Kumlinge to the sea-side were very visible in the snow: and as these served me for excellent land-marks in tracing the road thither, I set out
out alone; and had not proceeded above two English miles, before I distinguished, among a groupe of little wooden-boxes, which were so many dwellings belonging to the village, an upright pole, to which a vane was attached,—the well-known sign of the Gastghvare-gårds, or Inn, in Sweden. I hastened towards it; and entering, found my long-lost Friend and Companion,—as much rejoiced to see me as I was to see him,—sitting in a black and miserable dungeon, which he had used as his apartment; but in good health, after a week's confinement in a place where the combined action of fire and smoke could not prevent every thing around him from freezing.

Thus terminated the year One Thousand Eight Hundred of our æra. And here I shall also terminate the account of this Expedition;—thankful to Providence for the dangers I have escaped; and reserving for another Chapter, in the opening of a new century, the style of narrative which, being less personal, I had before adopted.
CHAP. X.

KUMLINGE TO ÅBO.


The next day, Wednesday, Jan. 1, 1800, we left Kumlinge, crossing part of the Lappvesi Passage with horses to our sledges; but we afterwards found that the ice would not bear their weight the whole way: our guides therefore left these poor
poor animals exposed upon a bleak island, from which they said they would not attempt to stray; and themselves drew our sledge to Bjorkö, or the Birch Island. A painter would have found a curious subject for his pencil, in the figures of the two horses upon an ice-clad rock, when we abandoned them. Being heated by drawing the sledges, the drops of sweat had congealed into long icicles, sticking out, like bristles, all over their bodies, and hanging in such long and thick stalactites from the nostrils, that it seemed dangerous to attempt to break them off, for fear of tearing away the flesh with them: all their shaggy manes and tails and hair were thus covered by a white opake crust with pendent icicles, so that they seemed rather like some non-descript animals than horses. As soon as we quitted them, they turned their heads to leeward; and remained fixed, like marble statues, upon the rock; closing their eyes, and scarce shewing signs of animal life.

Of Kumlinge, sometimes written Kumlinga, the island we had now quitted, a very short description will suffice. It is larger than any of the neighbouring isles, and has a population of about 320 souls. The number of families amount to forty. The church, a rude Gothic structure of considerable antiquity, is built of granite, and roofed with wood. The inhabitants are an industrious race, and cultivate the small quantity of soil their island affords, so as to make it very productive.

Bjorkö

(1) The following extracts from Mr. Cripps's MS. Journal, written during his solitary confinement in Kumlinge, will not be read without interest. He describes his lodging as a chamber about four yards square, with two beds in it; one of which was occupied.
Björkö has nothing more worth notice than its name. The inhabitants of the small village so called were gone to church, as they do every holiday in Sweden; the peasants being particularly attentive to their religious duties. Here we observed the

occupied by his English servant; and there was just room enough besides for our little dog to stretch himself before the fire, upon a floor covered with dirt an inch thick. The sides of this wretched chamber were covered with inscriptions, the lamentations of former travellers detained here by adverse weather. These extracts will be transcribed verbatim, in the order observed in the Diary whence they are taken.

"Kumlinge, Wednesday, Dec. 25.—The inhabitants of this village went to church this morning at six o’clock, by candle-light. After breakfast, I hired a horse and sledge, and set out, accompanied by my host, to examine the state of the island.—The village of Kumlinge is distant half a Swedish mile from the sea.—Bought three white hare-skins, for which they asked about twelve pence of our money. Fox-skins sell for a much higher price.—The people of this island do not grow rye enough for their own consumption; but import it from Finland, paying for it in money which they obtain from the same country by the sale of their fish.—They prefer the winter to the summer season. In winter, they make and repair their nets, and kill quantities of game, especially of Black Game, which is common here. In summer, they work hard, getting in their stock of hay, harvest, and fish.—Like all other Swedes, they cannot live without brandy; but they seldom drink to intoxication. Even the gentry of Sweden are discontented, and quite out of their element, without brandy; especially if they have it not with their whet before dinner. All the peasants wear fur-caps; and each man two pairs of gloves, one of worsted next the skin, and one of leather over the worsted.—While engaged in making these notes, the daughter of my host entered and presented me with a plate of nuts, which she said they gather in the summer to eat at Christmas.

"Thursday, Dec. 26.—My host and all his family are again gone to church. The Alanders, in this respect, resemble the rest of their Swedish countrymen, being sincerely a religious people. My English servant has observed, that every night before they eat their supper they all kneel down and say their prayers most devoutly, and after supper sing a hymn of thanksgiving. The manner in which they sleep is singular. They all live in one room; their beds being stationed in cots, one above another. To these they ascend, naked, by ladders; stripping themselves, even before strangers, without appearing conscious of any indecency.

"At nine this morning, Celsius’s thermometer, in my room, was two degrees below 0. Having placed it in the open air, it fell fourteen degrees below 0. I then exposed some Swedish brandy in the open air: it did not freeze; but the bottle being brought into the room, was instantly covered with ice. The greatest heat that I could produce in my
the near resemblance between the names of things in these island and in our own country. The fire was low, and they said they would throw on a bush (buška) to raise it, and brought in some juniper boughs for that purpose.

From miserable chamber did not raise the mercury above the freezing-point. The sun rose this morning at about ten minutes after nine, and set about ten minutes before three. Finding that the brandy did not freeze in the bottle, I put out some in a pewter-plate, and it became solid.

"Friday, Dec. 27.—In this village there are nearly as many windmills as houses; each family having its own mill, which they call Quarn.—Every article of the wearing apparel of the inhabitants is of their own manufacture.—The main business of the year, with all of them, is that of taking fish. They sell only what they do not want for their own consumption and buy malt and rye, from which they make their brandy. They moreover sell tallow, and make their own candles; they also send butter, cheese, and pork, to Stockholm; and brew a bad kind of beer.—In their persons they are much neater than in their houses.—Each family kills five or six seals in a year, and fourteen or fifteen sheep.—My host pays about fourteen or fifteen dollars annually to the King, and as many Plåts * to the Clergyman; and two Plåts annually towards the repairs of the church.—He maintains one horse, eight cows, and fifteen sheep.

"Saturday, Dec. 28.—This morning, my worthy host invited me to accompany him upon a shooting-excursion. He was dressed in the habit worn by all the peasants;—a sheepskin jacket with the wool inwards, a fur-cap, woollen breeches, and worsted stockings; shoes of seal-skin; and over them rein-deer skins with the hair outwards, to prevent the snow from thawing and penetrating to the feet. One of the most entertaining sights is, to see one of these marksmen upon a shooting excursion in the forests, whither I followed my landlord. Upon coming into the wood, he placed himself upon a small eminence among the trees; and here, laying down his gun, he, to my great amazement, drew out of his pocket a small opera-glass, and began to survey all the surrounding district. After a few minutes' attentive observation, "Ah!" said he, "there is an Orra"—the name they give to the Black Game. Then crawling upon his hands and knees to a convenient distance, he placed himself, at his whole length, upon the snow. After a considerable time spent in taking aim, he coolly opened the pan of the lock of his fowling-piece, took out a piece of tow, and, levelling the barrel once more, drew the trigger and shot the bird. They are particularly careful in cleansing the gun after every shot; and are hardly ever known to miss their aim, if they draw the trigger; but this they never do, unless they be sure of their mark; and they never attempt to shoot flying.

* A Plåt is sixteen shillings, or eight-pence sterling of our money.
From Bjorkö, we proceeded, chiefly by land, to Brandö, or the Burnt Island. Where we had to pass the inlets and passages of the sea, the ice was strong enough to bear our horses the whole way, which enabled us to perform this part of our journey very expeditiously. At Brandö there is a wretched village of the same name; and this name had excited our curiosity, because it signifies "The burnt island:" but we found

This was a cock-bird, and a very fine one, of the size of a pheasant. Afterwards, he shot a kind of wild-duck, which he called a Lure.—The people here retire to rest as early as seven o'clock in the evening.

"Sunday, Dec. 29.—Attended divine service in the church. The prayers and sermon were in the Swedish language. The men sit on one side, and the women on the other, as in all parts of Sweden. The Clergyman seemed to preach with great energy, and in a very loud tone of voice. He invited me afterwards to his house.—The disposition to shew kindness to strangers prevails all over these islands; but they speak of the Russians with strong marks of aversion.

"Monday, Dec. 30.—A great deal of snow fell to-day, towards evening.—I have before said, that the natives were all their own tailors, weavers, shoemakers, &c.; but I now observe that they are also their own tanners and carpenters. They procure alder-bark, and chop it into very small pieces; boiling it in water, in which they first put their skins; and thus manufacture their own leather.—A white hare was dressed for my dinner this day. It was first boiled, and afterwards fried; which I found to be no bad way of dressing a hare.—Two young women came to the house, according to a very extraordinary custom, to beg, before their marriage. When any of the young girls of the island are about to marry, they are allowed to ask for gifts from all their friends, for some months before the knot is tied. These damsels were to be married in the ensuing spring. They brought with them each a bag of linen, as white as snow. Into these bags their neighbours throw their eleemosynary gifts;—a little money—a little corn—some feathers—a little household provision—a little wool—a little tow—any thing, in short, rather than nothing.

"A pernicious and dangerous practice exists in all the Åland Isles, as in former times in England, although justly prohibited in Sweden,—that of covering their floors with straw during the Christmas season, by way of garniture. The sparks and blazing deal splinters from their fires, falling upon the floor, frequently kindle the straw, by which means not only houses, but whole villages, are burned."

Cripps's MS. Journal.
found nothing in the appearance of the rocks to explain the cause of the appellation. There is not a trace of any volcanic matter. The geological features here, as usual in all this district, were formed of granite; with veins of very coarse marble; which in some places rises to the surface, and forms the bed of the soil. As we left Brandö, a sight was presented which we may vainly attempt to set before the reader in all its novel varieties and living colours. The church service had just ended: and at this season of the year the congregations are so numerous, that one only wonders how so many people can be accommodated with a place for their devotions. Persons of all ages and sexes were coming from the sanctuary of this little island, and about to disperse to their distant homes. We met the Clergyman, in the midst of his numerous congregation, habited in a peasant’s dress, like the rest of his flock. Upwards of an hundred sledges, to which wild and beautiful horses were harnessed, were seen presently in motion; and they might be said, like so many vessels, to be literally “getting under weigh;” for they all took to the sea; where, being extended upon the ice in a long line of procession, they formed a most singular sight. If it had not been for the swiftness with which this vast retinue moved, it might have been compared to a caravan crossing the desert. To us the spectacle was particularly interesting; because it exhibited, in one view, the population of almost all the different islands around Brandö, the natives being all in their holiday attire. Their sledges, containing

(1) See the Vignette to this Chapter.
whole families, were drawn by those fleet and beautiful little *Finland* horses, of which mention has been already made, in a former part of this work. We overtook them upon the ice, in full gallop; the peasants who drew our sledges being as anxious as any of the party to fall into the train, which now reached nearly three *English* miles. They had all taken their whet of brandy, as usual, after divine service; and the coming of strangers among them, at this moment, adding to their hilarity, such racing commenced upon the frozen main, as reminded us of antient representations of scenes in the Circus and Hippodrome. Here were seen female charioteers contesting speed against their male companions; sledges overturned; the young and old of both sexes tumbling out and sprawling upon the ice; horses breaking loose from their trappings, scampering off in all directions; other peasants, having gained the van, flying off as fast as their fiery, snorting steeds could fly with them,—laughing, shouting, and bidding defiance to those behind. In this manner we began the passage of the *Vattuskiftel*, a channel of the sea as wide as that of the *Delet*, and in which there is always a strong current towards the *Baltic*. The distance across, in a direct line by water, is not more than eighteen English miles; but, owing to this current, the ice was not passable in a straight course; and we were compelled, as usual, to make a circuitous route, that nearly doubled the distance to *Varssala* (pronounced *Vartsala*). As we proceeded, the immense throng of sledges was gradually dispersed; and at length we found ourselves once more alone upon the wide surface of the frozen sea. About half way over, we met a party
a party coming from the Finland shore, loud in their murmurs about the state of the ice, which they said had opened upon them near the land. We presently found this to be true: upon coming to the part of the passage they alluded to, the water appeared gushing through a chasm two miles in length. This opening had taken place with an explosive noise, as of a cannon firing. One part of the ice, in settling, was now below the level of the other; and the continual vibratory motion of that upon which we travelled, yielding to the pressure of the horses' feet, convinced us that it was not frozen to any great depth. Whenever this is the case, and the least alarm prevails, the first caution a traveller ought to use is, to prevent, if possible, the affrighted peasants from huddling together in a mass,—which they are very apt to do, collecting their horses and sledges all upon one spot. It is very difficult to make a Finlander sensible that his own weight is of any importance upon such occasions. Fifty of them will crowd together, to consult upon the best method of getting out of the danger, and thereby render it more imminent. The consequences are obvious. In this manner it was that a gentleman, going towards Finland, was merged with his sledge and horse but a few days before our coming. His own life was saved, by the dexterity of the guides,—who shew great skill in rescuing persons when the ice has given way; but the sledge and horse were lost. Even the day before, on the morning of the author's expedition to Sättunga, another traveller lost all his baggage, owing to the same imprudence and want of caution, when crossing the ice by the Lappvesi Passage: the peasants, finding the ice grow weaker and weaker,
weaker, became alarmed, and crowded together round the sledge containing all his effects, which presently fell through the surface, and sunk to the bottom of the sea. Fortunately, no lives were lost.

It was dark when we arrived at Varssala, and entered a dirty wretched hovel, without any accommodation for travellers; and yet this is almost the only place marked for their reception between Kumlinge and Åbo. There are not more than twenty-five habitations in the whole island, which is a huge rock thinly covered with a meagre soil. The food of the inhabitants seemed to consist of nothing more than black bread, a nauseous kind of beer, and bad salted-fish.

We read the lamentations of many who had left a memorial of their regret in being confined to this detestable spot, where there is nothing in the houses superior to what is found in the worst dwellings of the Laplanders. The natives here began to speak to us only in the Finnish language. There was but one man who could converse with our Swedish interpreter, or comprehend any thing of what he said. The manners

(1) See the entertaining account given by Porter, of his long penance in this place. (Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden, vol. II. p. 89, &c. Lond. 1809.) "I entered," says the author of that work, "a hovel, fitter to be the den of sea-monsters than a habitation of the human race." Yet in this wretched island Mr. Porter noticed a style of head-dress among the women, which may often be observed in the best Greek sculpture; and which he describes as peculiar to the women of Varssala;—"the hair being drawn up to the top of the head, and there rolled into a sort of knot: smoothed at the sides, and well plastered with beer, it not only receives a polish from the liquor, but is kept steady in its shape. Round this mass of hair, on the crown, is fixed a kind of diadem, composed of beads, bugles, &c. of various colours; which ornament completes the coiffure; the whole having the air of a Greek head-dress, more like a nymph of Paphos than of Warsala." Ibid. p. 93.
manners of the people were so revolting, that one hesitates in giving the description of anything so disgusting. The glasses put on the table were dirty; and this being mentioned, they attempted to clean them with spittle. A woman, who entered the chamber with a saucer of butter, not only blew her nose upon her fingers, but into the palm of her hand; and then, wiping it upon her petticoat, proceeded to handle all the provisions that were set forth. If it were a question, Which is the more tolerable, the filth of Italy and the South of France, or that to which a traveller is exposed in the North of Europe? an answer would not readily be made. In warm climates, it is as difficult to avoid vermin as it is to escape from villainy. In Northern regions, there is more of honesty, but sometimes the barbarous condition of the inhabitants causes them to betray the most disgusting manners:—and where is the Englishman who can fortify either his nerves or his stomach, so as to regard with indifference the most beastly propensities? Neither the houses nor the persons of the natives in the North of Europe, if we except Russia, swarm with vermin as in Italy; although they be not destitute: but the climate is unfavourable both to their increase and activity. These nameless insects, in Sweden and Finland, like the inhabitants themselves, are few in number, but heavy and gigantic in their size.

(1) At Varssala, however, they cannot be said to be "few in number." After the Author of the "Travelling Sketches," before cited, was driven back to this island, he thus writes of its filthy state:—"Here then I am again, with the happy prospect of passing, Heaven knows how many more days! in cold, filth, and famine. I wish the sea would, some time or other, do this island the favour of a thorough washing: and then I am sure more living creatures of the creeping and jumping species would be drowned in the flood, than ever filled the waters at the general deluge." *Ibid.* p. 92.
Oh England! decent abode of comfort, and cleanliness, and decorum!—Oh blessed asylum of all that is worth having upon earth!—Oh sanctuary of Religion, and of Liberty, for the whole civilized world!—It is only in viewing the state of other countries, that thy advantages can be duly estimated!—May thy sons, who have “fought the good fight,” but know and guard what they possess in thee!—Oh Land of happy fire-sides, and cleanly hearths, and domestic peace; of filial piety, and parental love, and connubial joy; “the cradle of Heroes, the school of Sages, the temple of Law, the altar of Faith, the asylum of innocence,” the bulwark of private security and of public honour!

“WHERE’ER I ROAM, WHATEVER REALMS TO SEE,
MY HEART, UNTRAVELL’D, FONDLY TURNS TO THEE!”

In this miserable place, Varssala, we may be considered as having entered Finland once more; and, what is worse, of bidding a final adieu to Sweden. In the course of our long account of the country and its inhabitants, it will be seen, that, with a strong predilection for the comforts and advantages of England, we have spoken favourably of the Swedes;—and perhaps for this reason, that they so strongly resemble Englishmen in all they do and say. As for their natural rudeness of manner, we were soon taught, that what belonged to them as a characteristic of the whole nation, and is in itself harmless, might well be tolerated. We often heard foreigners,

foreigners, and especially the French, when speaking of the Swedes, complain of the impossibility of enduring the freedoms of which they are guilty towards strangers; but we considered this trivial fault as more than overbalanced by their many valuable virtues—by their love of truth, and honesty, and hospitality, and bravery. Some few things must be conceded to a Swede; and you make him your fast friend, and the most kind-hearted and generous of men. He must be allowed to enter into your apartment, unbidden, and unknown, upon the moment of your arrival, without any form of introduction or ceremony; to seat himself at your table; spit all over your floor; fill your chamber with tobacco-smoke; ask your name, your rank, your profession, your age, your country, your character, your business—all your present and future plans; where you have been, what you are doing, and whither you are going;—finally, what you think of Sweden. Having answered all these questions, sometimes without his caring at all about your replies or attending to them, you will find yourself upon even terms with him. His house, his horses, his equipage, his servants, his time, his company, his advice, and very often his purse also, all are at your service, and entirely at your command. He will make common stock with you, and freely share with you whatsoever he has. Thus, although, in viewing his character and manners, we may sometimes find a little ground of complaint, yet we cannot see any thing seriously to condemn. It is in tact, and not in morality, that the Swedes are deficient. Often, when they have travelled and learned more of what is called 'refinement,' they lose something of their more estimable qualities. Our
Our journey from Varssala the next morning (January 2) was one of extreme suffering; and perhaps few English travellers ever encountered one of greater trial. The reports made by the peasants and by our servants, at starting, had prepared us to expect very severe cold; and the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, after being exposed only for a few minutes in a sheltered situation near the house, had fallen 46° below the freezing-point; and afterwards, when more exposed to a north-east wind, which blew with violence, to 52½° before sun-rise. Yet, as any thing was preferable to remaining in the wretched and unwholesome hovel where we had passed the night, we resolved to brave all the inclemency of the weather, and set out, at eight o'clock, in open sledges. We had used every possible precaution, as to additional clothing; but it was all to no purpose. When for a moment exposed to the atmosphere, a sensation in our cheeks like that of being scorched immediately took place. We covered our faces with silk handkerchiefs, drawn over them in such a manner as to leave the smallest possible aperture for respiration: the consequence was, that the inside of the handkerchief became coated with a plate of ice, which, sticking to the skin and not melting, could not be removed without excoriation. We had to cross a frozen channel of the sea, called the Turvesi Passage; a narrow strait; but being open towards the north-east, we were exposed to all the fury of the blast. In a short time the author found that his left eye was so frozen that he could not by any effort separate the eyelids, and he began to be fearful that the right eye would also close. At this moment there
there came on a sudden squall of wind; so piercing, that a languid stupor and sleepiness seized us all, and there was reason to apprehend the freezing of the blood in our veins. It was followed by a cry from our Swedish interpreter, that our English servant's face was frozen. We hastened to his assistance; and found the poor man almost insensible, with two large spots upon one of his cheeks, as if patches of white paper had been stuck on. Our peasants knew very well what these spots were, and how to treat them. We began instantly the application of snow, which is always resorted to in such cases,—rubbing them with handfuls of snow, until they disappeared; but, to our dismay, new spots appeared, in fresh places, as fast as the old ones were removed. The interpreter's nose, during the operation, turned as white as the snow itself; and one of the peasants had a spot that covered his cheek and one side of his nose. The only danger, when these accidents occur, arises from being alone, and having no companion to witness the spot and give the alarm; as the person attacked is insensible of what has taken place; and if he should enter into a warm room with one of these spots, the white colour becomes livid, and an open sore instantly ensues, which sometimes mortifies, but always, even after it is healed, leaves a black scar behind. Our poor little dog, that lay in the bottom of one of the sledges, wrapped up in woollen, and as carefully guarded from the atmosphere

(1) The drivers of sledges in Petersburg, from their carelessness in going with these spots upon their faces into warm drinking-rooms, are always liable to such sores; and appear frequently with their faces disfigured by the black scars, for the rest of their lives.
atmosphere as possible, had one of his hind-legs frozen so stiff, that it stuck to his belly as if it had been glued, and we could not remove it. In this dilemma, we found that it would be madness to continue much longer thus exposed; and we made all possible haste to reach the village of Leosari, which was hard by; where we entered a house, the owner of which was known to our guides, and where the worthy family hospitably received us all. They first cautioned us against venturing into a warm room; notwithstanding which, our English servant found the temptation too strong to be resisted, and imprudently entered a chamber where there was a heated stove. The consequence was, that his face almost instantly became blistered and very painful; and in a few hours, a thin purulent ichor flowed from the wound. Every one of the party who had been attacked by the white spots had blisters upon the skin, although snow had been used as soon as the spots were visible; and the mildest consequence was the peeling off of the skin.

At ten o'clock A.M. this day, we placed our thermometer in the yard before the house, exposed to a north aspect. The mercury fell to 49° below the freezing-point; and we afterwards found that, at the same hour in Åbo, it had fallen to 30° below 0, of Celsius; which is equivalent to 22½° below zero of Fahrenheit, or 52½° below freezing. In that severe moment before our arrival at Leosari, when we all suffered so much, and were exposed upon an open field of ice, it was perhaps much colder, as the sun was then just rising. According to the Swedish calendar, it rises at this time of the year at ten minutes after nine, and sets forty minutes after two.

These
These delays prevented all possibility of our reaching Åbo before the next day; but we continued our journey over the ice; and came to Helsing, which is upon terra firma; where we were once more landed in Finland. Afterwards, we passed through Himois; and put up for the night in the village of Vinkila. Between Varssala and Åbo there is nothing that may be called an inn; nor, indeed, any place of rest and accommodation for travellers. At Vinkila, wanting a house of this kind, we prevailed upon a widow lady to receive us into her dwelling for the night, upon condition of our paying for every thing, as in a regular Gästigważare-gård. Having assented to our proposal, she provided us with a decent lodging, and treated us with great kindness.

The frost had been this day so severe, that the horses, whenever we halted, began to bite off the icicles that were formed upon their knees in an extraordinary manner. Whenever the door of our apartment was opened, the rushing in of the cold air caused a very remarkable phenomenon, by converting the warm vapour of the room into a whirling column or cloud of snow, which, being instantaneous in its formation, was turned round with great rapidity. We availed ourselves of this opportunity to examine the arrangement of the spicule in the particles of snow,—as likely to illustrate the crystallization of water,—by placing sheets of dark-coloured paper, on which the snow, thus formed, might fall. The beautiful appearance of the ice, collected as it fell, resembled, although upon a smaller scale, that which is presented by a number of the

(1) The Swedish name for an inn.
the seeds of the common *carduus* or *thistle*, when they are surrounded by diverging fibres of the *egret* or *down*;—that is to say, a number of radii, diverging from a central point, were held there by a power of attraction exerted by crystalline forces in these particles of water passing from the fluid to the solid state. We had not then observed the more regular appearance of the snowy stars with six equal radii, which descend from the higher regions of the air when the atmosphere is calm; or we might have been convinced that we had in these less-perfect forms a decisive proof of the crystallization of *water*; and that *hydrogen oxide*, which is only another name for *water*, obeys the same laws to which all other *oxides* are liable.

In this house we found a Mr. *Elmgreen*, from Åbo, who agreed to accompany us, upon our journey thither on the following day. From him we learned, what indeed we already found to be the case, that, in travelling this route, beds are a species of accommodation never found. The traveller must put together such things as he can collect; and lie down upon a table, or a few boards put together to raise him a little above the floor, which is seldom in a state for him to make his bed upon. But there is no part of the world where a traveller will fare worse, in this respect, than in passing through the *South of Finland* to *Petersburg*. We had called at a Clergyman's house near *Himois*, in our journey this day, to see if it were


(3) See a complete confirmation of this truth, in the account given of regular *rhombi* subsequently exhibited by crystals of ice, in the "*Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*," Part II.
were possible to find accommodation; but the scene of wretchedness and dirt within his mansion was such, that we never even hinted at the cause of our visit. In the dwelling of our present hostess we had less reason to complain; and her kind attentions would have made worse fare tolerable. We found that it was a part of the economy of the family to knit worsted stockings for sale; and we bought some, at the rate of one shilling English the pair, which were of an excellent quality.

The next morning, January 3, we set out for Åbo; first estimating the state of the thermometer at nine o'clock A.M. The mercury, according to Fahrenheit’s scale, had then fallen to sixteen degrees and a half below zero, or forty-eight degrees and a half below the freezing-point. Our first place of relay was a village called Laitis, which we soon reached, as the distance was not more than three English miles and a half. Our next stage, to Tursanpäre, was performed with difficulty, the road being blocked up by the snow; in consequence of which we were compelled to make a rambling circuitous expedition, pulling down hedges, and making our way through the fields.

Tursanpäre is rather a large village: and here we were agreeably surprised at seeing, as in England, a sign-post and sign to denote an inn. Our companion shewed us into a room, where he called for burnt-brandy with sugar and ginger in it; a mode adopted in the country of making the abominable brandy everywhere met with rather more stomachic and palatable. From Tursanpäre we continued our journey to Niemenkylä and Nussis-Nummis, distant only fourteen English miles from Åbo. Our Swedish companion,
who, in his sledge, was wrapped up in blankets, quilts, pelisses, all sorts of woollen and skins, and wore a fur cap upon his head covering his ears and cheeks, rallied us upon our disregard of the cold weather, seeing that we had less clothing, and sometimes cast off even our cloaks; saying, "It was so like Englishmen, to go about naked." But the fact is, that when there is no wind, and the sky is perfectly clear, however diminished the temperature may be, the air is so dry, that a sensation of chilliness is rarely experienced while a person continues in motion, and does not render himself liable to the attacks which take place in going suddenly from a warm room into the cold air.

At Nussis-Nummis we were detained a short time for horses. We afterwards set out once more; and proceeded to Åbo, where we arrived as it was getting dark. Upon our entering this Town and University, the first thing that struck us was the unusual sound of bells, upon all the horses drawing sledges about the streets. The inhabitants pay their visits attended by this kind of music; and generally in sledges, which are made to close up like our carriages. Upon our arrival, we went to an inn kept by a person of the name of Scippell, as being the largest and best in the place. Here being conducted into a very spacious and lofty chamber, used as a public card-room, adjoining to the ball-room, and finding that it was to be heated by means of two stoves, one at either extremity of this cold apartment, we ordered fires in both of them. When the wood, which had been used as fuel, was so far consumed that only the clear embers remained, according to the common custom in the country, we closed the
the chimneys by means of an iron slider there placed for this purpose. If the inhabitants close up their stoves that the embers may send out heated air into the room, they are always careful to watch lest any appearance of a blue lambent flame upon the wood coals should remain, in which state it would be dangerous to shut the sliders. Unfortunately, not being aware of this critical symptom,—which, in fact, denotes the formation and disengagement of carbonic acid gas,—and finding it difficult to warm so large a room at all, we stopped up the chimneys as soon as we could do so without filling the room with smoke; and the consequence was, that we very narrowly escaped being killed. The author first felt the attack: it came on with great coldness in the extremities, and a tendency to sneeze; followed by a general sensation of shivering over the whole body, and violent head-ache. Presently, he fell senseless on the floor. His companion, being roused by the noise, and finding him in this situation, attempted to raise him; but was by this time also similarly affected, and had barely strength enough left to call in the servants, who alarmed the people of the house. Luckily, there happened to be in the inn, as a lodger, a young man who was an itinerant Lecturer in Natural Philosophy: as soon as he came into the room, in which many were now assembled, he perceived the cause of the accident, and immediately drew back the iron sliders which had closed the chimneys, and opened the doors. Two persons had lost their lives in the same chamber but a short time before, and from the same cause. This young man told us that similar accidents occur frequently, in winter, among the peasants;
peasants; the chimneys in all their houses being constructed with a sliding-board, to close over the embers of burning wood: but as the severity of the climate always tempts them to shut their chimneys before the carbonic acid gas has completely effected its escape, the most fatal consequences ensue. Their mode of treating persons under these attacks is, to carry them out naked into the open air, and rub their bodies with snow until the vital functions are restored. We felt the bad effects of this accident in violent head-ache, which lasted during many days afterwards.
CHAP. XI.

ÅBO.

State of Åbo—its situation with regard to other Seminaries of Learning—its Commerce—Visit to the different Professors—Frantzén—his genius for poetry—Specimen of one of his Odes—Porthan—Account of the University—Difficulties encountered by the Professors—Disasters to which Åbo has been liable—Cathedral—Ludicrous mistake—Effect of an Organ upon some Natives of Savolax—Interesting Cippus in the Chorus Tottianus—Statues and Pictures—Inscription in memory of Catharine, Widow of Eric XIV.—Historical Documents concerning this remarkable Woman—Swedish Legend upon her Daughter’s coffin—Manuscripts preserved in a brazen coffer—Histories of Eric’s Reign—Portraits of Luther and Melancthon—Image of Henry the Martyr—Chapel of Olaus, Bishop of Åbo—Monument of a Scotch Officer—University Library—Manuscripts—Typographical Rarities—Theatrum Anatomicum—Auditory of Disputations—Professor
Professor Gadolin—Collection of Minerals—Professor Hellenius—Botanic Garden—Hellenius's private Collections—Comparative Estimate of the two Universities, Upsala and Åbo—State of Society.

Åbo ranks next to Stockholm and Gothenburg, in point of grandeur; and, if we except the two last, is the largest town in all Scandinavia. It contains ten thousand inhabitants; whereas the city of Upsala has only three thousand. Its trade is very considerable; and is carried on chiefly with the interior parts of Finland, of which country it has long been the metropolis. Cut off by its situation from any frequent intercourse either with the Academies or commercial cities of Europe, its very name, as a University, rarely reaches the literary circles of the world: yet it boasts of many distinguished men, whose talents have fitted them to shine among the higher classes of polished society. Its men of letters would have done honour to any seat of science. All the towns on the Finland, or eastern, side of the Gulph of Bothnia, from Åbo to Torneå, are magnificent, when compared with those on its western shore; although they enter into no comparison with the towns of England, France, Italy, Germany, and Holland: therefore the term magnificent can only be applied, to any of them, in the comparative manner here specified. The country on the Finland side of the Gulph is better cultivated, and more fertile; of course, the inhabitants are more numerous, and richer. It was always considered as the great granary of Sweden; and of more consequence, as a possession to their kingdom, than the whole of Norway. Its trade has generally been abundant and flourishing. The merchants of Åbo, Wasa, Gamla
Gamla Carleby, and Uleåborg, are persons not only of local but of national importance and consideration: they carry on trade upon a very extensive scale, and to the most distant regions. But upon the western side of the Gulph, if we except Gefle, commonly pronounced Yavely, there is hardly an individual who may be considered under the respectable title of a merchant.

As it was probable that our stay in this place would be of some duration,—both on account of our being obliged to wait for the arrival of our carriage, and also from our curiosity to make ourselves well acquainted with the University of Åbo, its Professors, discipline, and state of science,—we sent our interpreter, the day after our arrival, to hire lodgings; and were soon provided with a very neat set of apartments, having three rooms en suite; besides accommodation for the servants, at the price of two rix-dollars, or four shillings English, per day including fire and candles. Accordingly we moved from our inn; and had scarcely taken up our abode in these comfortable chambers, when we received a visit from our former companion, Mr. Elmgreen; who told us that the different Professors, to whom we had letters of recommendation, were at their houses, and would be very glad to see us, and to shew us every attention in their power. This kind message convinced us that we were still within the limits of Swedish hospitality: and we set out to pay our respects to all of them; beginning with the celebrated Poet of Sweden and Finland, Professor Francis Michaël Frantzén; of whose beautiful Finnish Ode, called Pojkarne, both a Swedish and a Latin translation were given in a former volume.
ABO. 

Frantzén was Professor of History and the Belles Lettres. We had before seen him at Gamla Carleby, during our journey in the North of Finland, when he was in search of a wife, as we have before mentioned. Upon the occasion of our present visit, we found him in his little study, surrounded by his books; among which, to our surprise, we observed Addison's Spectator, the works of our poet Gray, Cowper's Poems, and several other of our English Poets, all in their original language. Observing that we noticed his collection of English Authors, he said, "We Scandinavians are able to appreciate the beauties of English literature, because the thoughts and feelings of your writers are so nearly akin to our own." The truth of this remark will best be exemplified by an effusion of the Professor's own muse, taken from one of the public Newspapers, which he kindly presented to us, upon our asking him for a specimen of his poetry. It has all the characteristic pathos of English poetry; being, in fact, composed in the style, and nearly in the metre, adopted by some of our own Poets; such, for example, as Gray, in one of his Odes; also Merrick, Cotton, Burns; and also by Miss Carter,

(3) The "Stockholm's Posten, (No. 214.)" for Thursday, Sept. 19, 1793.—"Torsdagen, den 19 September, 1793." It had, for signature, the initial and terminal letters of his name, thus written: "F—J."
(5) See his Paraphrase of the 122d Psalm—
   "The festal morn, my God, is come!"
   Also on the 65th Psalm—
   "Ye works of God, on him alone," &c.
(6) See his Fire-Side: "Dear Chloe, while the busy crowd," &c.
(7) See his Ode on Despondency: "Oppress'd with grief," &c.
Carter, and by Mrs. Barbauld, in their odes and hymns. Many other instances, and perhaps some of a higher cast, may occur to the Reader’s memory; but these happen to be here recollected, and will suffice to shew the analogy. One of the most striking beauties of the Swedish poetry will not, however, be found in any of these examples; although occurring in Professor Frantzén’s Ode; namely, the dissyllabic rhyme: of this we before introduced a striking instance in Pojkarne; where, for want of an analogous specimen in our own language, the author introduced his own imitation of it, in an Ode to Enterprise, modelled after the Swedish taste. The subject of Professor Frantzén’s ode, which we shall insert in the original language, accompanied by as literal a translation as possible, is this:—

"The Human Face or Countenance". It is addressed to Selma; and consists of eleven stanzas, written in the manner already noticed, but with the dissyllabic rhyme at the end of every line, except where the rhythm alternates. A literal translation of it in analogous English

(1) See particularly Miss Carter’s beautiful “Ode to Wisdom;” from which the following stanza may be selected as an instance:—

“To me thy better gifts impart,
Each moral beauty of the heart,
By studious thought refined:
For wealth, the smiles of glad content;
For power, its amallest best extent,
An empire o’er my mind.”

(2) See Mrs. Barbauld’s “Hymn to Content;”

“O Thou, the Nymph with placid eye!
O seldom found, yet ever nigh!
Receive my temperate vow!” &c.

(3) See p. 536 of the former Volume.
English metre, would be difficult, if not impossible. We must therefore be contented with a correct translation in English prose; being sensible, at the same time, of the utter impracticability of giving any idea of the poetry by such a version. The Ode, when converted into English prose, loses all its beauty, and becomes almost as grotesque as the French prose translation of the Odes of Gray. The original, therefore, is inserted in a Note.

THE HUMAN COUNTENANCE.

ODE TO SELMA.

I.

"The sixth day of time had spread its purple veil over the cedar forests: the butterfly, on its golden wings, wafted over murmuring brooks, kissed the rose in its bower.

II. "Orient
“Orient pearls beamed in the watery mirror: the white sails of the swan shone in the shadowy strait: wine reddened in the grape: the dove, tender and innocent, wantoned in the groves of Eden.

III.

“But Nature's highest beauty was not yet: the crown of Creation was wanted; until man, from the dust arose, lifted his countenance in the light of day, and his eyes were opened.

[It is almost impossible to paraphrase the next stanza: to substitute the word Aurora for Frantzén’s simple and expressive Morgenröte, would be forlorn indeed. So also the words $\text{Suon p\aa f\aa\rqen}$ are but feebly rendered by Alpine Snows; the word $\text{fja\rq}$, applying to those lofty ridges upon the summits of the highest mountains, where, as upon Lebanon, the unmelting snow exhibits a splendid whiteness, that can only be conceived in the mind of persons by whom it has actually been beheld.]
"The snow of the Fjåls was outwhitened: the morning, out-reddened, sunk behind the mountains: the star of day hid its diminished lustre.

"To that up-turned countenance which regarded the firmament, all the animal race paid homage; to those eyes, where Loves and Graces smiled, and in which immortal Hope beamed through the tears of sorrow.

"All the angelic choir saw with amazement the speaking beauty of the new creation, and looked at the Creator; who impressed it with his own image, beheld his work, and 'saw that it was good'.

(1) "And smiled" would be nearer to the original: but this slight deviation, as appropriated to the language of Scripture, without altering the sense, may perhaps be tolerated.
CHAP. XI.

VII.
"Ye that consider all things but as results of chance! hie ye to the fountain, and, having beheld your own visages reflected, blush, and retire.

VIII.
"Behold the countenance of the sage! view the image of all that is true, noble, and useful! Catch a glance from the eye of the hero! mark the lineaments of courage, grandeur, and sublimity!

IX.
"Then look on the face of beauty, gentleness, benignity! Lift my Selma’s morning veil from her blooming cheek! See the tender and bashful expression of her eyes! Behold the dark ringlets of her hair, flying careless in the wind.

VII.
J som skriften: "det är ingen som gett ordningen åt thingen;
Slumpen stårde dem;"
Därar! stott til fältan stigen:
se en ekt anlete, och tigen,
roden, och gån hem.

VIII.
Se den gamle Wishe’s panna:
se en tasla af det sanna,
åbta, nyttiga.
Se en blick ur hjertens dga:
Se et eibdrag af det høga,
flora, dristiga.

IX.
Och det sföna, mida, sjufwa?
Lyft min Selma’s morgenhuswa
fran des purpurind.
Se des øgon’; emma, þyga!
Se des mørka lockar flyga,
sørgløft, før en wind.
"O master-piece of nature! Link connecting angels with men! Image of God! art thou not, Garment of the Soul, destined to follow her into the regions of eternity?

"Yes! ah, yes! angels shall themselves be moved by the regard of Selma, when they hear her voice amongst them. My Selma! In the *Hall of Heaven*—in the valleys of Eden—I shall look on thee!"

Many other poems of Professor Frantzén lie scattered among the almost-forgotten Newspapers of Åbo and Stockholm: for the expense of printing in this country is such a bar to their being collected and published together, that no other printed copies of his works can be referred to. In

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(1) In the original, "i himlens falar," in which expression we may perhaps recognise as it were an involuntary allusion, on the part of a Scandinavian poet, to the old Gothic mythology of his ancestors, the Valhalla, or Hall of Odin.
the Åbo Gazette, called Åbo Tidning, published while we were in Åbo, there appeared a long poem, which he also acknowledged as his composition. Without a knowledge of the Swedish language, it is impossible to form any correct idea, either of their merit or demerit. But Professor Frantzén also wrote poetry in the language of Finland, being himself a native of that country; and among the Swedes he was always esteemed as the best poet they had. In a note to the latest of his poems, which we have now mentioned, he says, that Finland, in the Finska language, is called Suomi.

After this visit to the Professor of History, we went to the house of the most learned scholar in the University, Henry Gabriel Porthan, one of the Professors belonging to the Faculty of Philosophy, and styled, in the Index Praelectionum of the University, the Regius Professor of Eloquence. The University of Åbo consists of a Chancellor; a Vice-Chancellor; the Professors, and their adjuncts; Magistri Docentes; and teachers of modern languages, fencing, and music. The Chancellor, at this time, was the Count Charles Adam Wachtmeister; its Vice-Chancellor, Doctor James Gadolin, Bishop of Åbo; and the names and titles of all the Professors are given in the Appendix to this Volume. It is usual

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(1) The Åbo Tidning made its appearance, for the first time, on Wednesday, Jan. 8, 1800: Nos. 1 and 2 being published together. It was in these first numbers that we saw this poem by Frantzén, entitled Finland's Upoding; in which, speaking of Finland, he says—

Ω mina sjädes blygd! o Finland! skal emföder
Du åsven lysta dig bland jordens länders epp.

(2) See the Index Praelectionum, in the Appendix.
usual here, as in other Universities, for those who hold public disputations in the Schools, to read, in Latin, a written Thesis: which Thesis, however, in Åbo, does not necessarily relate to the subject of their public exercise; but being paid for by the Student who keeps the Act, and written by one of the Professors, and afterwards printed, enables the Professor, if he choose, thus to publish one of his own Dissertations. We found Professor *Porthan* engaged in carrying on a work of this kind: and the manner in which he accomplished it will serve to shew the nature of the obstacles which all the Professors here have to encounter; wanting those facilities of communication with the literary world, which are found in Universities endowed with larger funds to defray the expenses of printing works of science. He had prepared a new edition of Bishop *Juusten*’s "*Chronicon Episcoporum Finlandensium,*" illustrated by his own valuable notes; in which there are frequent allusions to the history and antiquities of *Finland*. This work he presented to us, in the form of a bundle of printed Theses, which he had thus prepared for the use of the Students: and it is owing to his kindness that the author was able to collect also a series of the *Academic Dissertations* of the University

(3) This work is thus mentioned in a Note to the "*Specimen Historiae Litterariorum Fennicae,*" one of the Theses printed at Åbo, in 1793. "*Paulus Juusten auctor est Chronici Episcoporum Finlandensium, quod primus vulgavit illi.* Nettelbladt (in Schwedische Bibliothek, Erster Stück, No. 2. p. 62—90.) jam vero iterum eum Annotationibus uberrimis editum a cel. Prof. *Porthan,* cujus operis xxx Particulae hucusque prodierunt."—This work being completed at the time of the author’s arrival, Professor *Porthan* presented a copy of it to him; and the author has since transmitted it to *Edinburgh*, to be deposited in the *Library of Advocates* there. It is perhaps the only copy of it extant in *Great Britain.*
of Åbo, for nearly half a century. An examination of the principal subjects treated of in these Dissertations will enable the Reader to form for himself a tolerably correct estimate of the state of science in this seminary of education for the youth of Finland and Sweden, of which we shall have more to say in the sequel. The fate of such a scholar as Porthan is greatly to be regretted by the literary world; because, being a native of Finland, and deeply versed in all that related to its history and antiquities, and himself an accomplished scholar, well read in other branches of history and antiquities, he possessed the ability, if he had possessed the means, of giving information to the world upon a subject of all others the least known; namely, the origin of the Finlanders and Laplanders. He spoke the Latin language, as if it had been his mother-tongue; but with that peculiarity of pronunciation belonging to all foreigners, and with a degree of volatility which rendered it sometimes difficult to apprehend exactly his meaning. The few facts which were gathered from him, during the frequent conversations we had with him, will of course be stated; but, from the little we thus gained, we could only be convinced of the extent of the loss sustained by the literary world, in not having better means of appreciating his various acquirements. Åbo, interdicted from all communication with Petersburg, and having little intercourse

(1) See the List of the principal Dissertations, given in the Appendix.

intercourse even with Stockholm, owing to the peculiar circumstances of its situation, cannot be considered as a favourable spot for the interests of literature; yet such has been the merits of its Professors, that some of them, to whom we shall presently allude, have caused their names, in spite of every obstacle, to be heard in the more-favoured walks of science. The history of Åbo is of considerable antiquity; but few places have been more liable to vicissitudes, or exposed to greater devastations. During the wars of Sweden and Russia, it has often been sacked and laid waste: we are not, therefore, to wonder that few monuments of its antient state of dignity are now in existence. Even the bricks of which its buildings consisted were carried off by the Russians, and taken to Petersburg; the first-built structures erected in that city being made of the materials taken from the houses in Åbo. Its bridge, constructed over the small river Άeura (which flows through the city, and falls into the Gulph, at the distance of half a Swedish mile from the place), was once a single arch of stone: but this was destroyed by the Russians, from whose ravages Åbo has so often suffered; and it is now of wood. All the timber which the Russians found upon the spot, among the buildings and elsewhere, they employed in building the galleys with which they removed the spoils of the city.

The earliest account of Åbo is contained in the work of Professor

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(3) We have written the name of this river correctly: it is pronounced Aura; and as jocki, pronounced yocky, signifies 'a small river,' it is called Aura-yocky.
Professor Porthan, before mentioned; which, however, it is almost useless to cite, as one copy only of the work exists in Great Britain. It is there stated, that, about the year 1198 of our æra, during the episcopacy of Folquinius, the third in order of the Finland Bishops, Åbo was consumed by fire, in consequence of the devastations made by the Rutheni, or Russians; whose practice it always has been, when instigated by the desire of plunder, to set fire to the cities, towns, or villages, liable to their predatory warfare; by this means forcing the inhabitants to quit their hiding-places, and come forth with their effects. Notwithstanding its frequent losses, and the injuries to which it was continually exposed, it began to be considered among the chief cities of Sweden so early as the fifteenth century; carrying on its commerce chiefly with the Germans. But from the year 1198, down to this period, the history

(1) His edition of Juusten's "Chronicon Episcoporum Finlandensium." See a former Note.

(2) "Hic jam allatis accedit, quod variae hostium, praecipue Russorum crudes in Fennia populationes, non modo multa quae a privatis hominibus in notitiam posterorum annotata fortassies essent, nobis sustulerint, sed varias etiam collectiones veterum documentorum publicas dissipaverint ac destruxerint."

Specimen Historiae Litterariae Fennicae, p. 4. Åboæ, Typis Frenehellianis.

(3) In this manner they burnt the city of Moscow, in the moment of its capture by the French army: and it has afforded an amusing lesson of the wretched shifts of party in this country, in observing the eagerness with which, after accusing the French soldiers of this act of plunder, a few artful Politicians, who maintain any opinion for interested purposes, suddenly veered round, and endeavoured to establish a belief that the burning of Moscow was a sublime example of loyalty and patriotism on the part of the Russians. Loyalty and Patriotism among slaves and thieves!!! Mention this act of Loyalty and Patriotism, Reader! in Moscow, and see how the Russians themselves will laugh at thy credulity!

(4) Porthan, in Annotationibus ad Chronicon Juustianianum, p. 528.
history of Åbo is nothing more than a catalogue of disasters, conflagrations, and catastrophes of every description. Heaven and earth seemed to combine for its destruction; for after being three times totally destroyed by common fire, it was in the year 1458 destroyed by lightning. After this, in 1473, it was again burned down. In 1509, it was sacked and burned by the Danes. Three successive conflagrations followed, in the years 1546, 1549, and 1552; and as often reduced the city to ashes.

After such a series of calamities, we may in vain look for traces of the magnificent ornaments once lavished upon its Cathedral. These have entirely disappeared: but the structure itself, "PER TOT DISCRIMINA RERUM," marvellously remains, and still constitutes the principal object of curiosity in the place. The style of architecture observed in the interior is Gothic, but the outside exhibits a pile of plain brickwork. The roof is of the most chaste Gothic; that is to say, simple and unadorned, without the intricate combinations and traces of the florid Gothic; but plain, elegant, light, and lofty. The manner in which light is thrown in from side-windows among the arches produces a pleasing delusion. To a person standing at the altar, and regarding the whole length of the nave, not a window is visible; and yet strong masses of light and

(5) "Anno 1509, exercitus Regis Danorum Johannis I. Aboam ex improviso occuparet, tomatque urbem hostiliter dissiparet, Ecclesiam Cathedralem multis pretiosis rebus et clinodiis quam plurimis spoliendo, et quod hic præcipue nominandum, libros meliores auferrent Dani; qua clade funesta, magnam quoque partem conqueritorum hinc inde litterariorum monumentorum res patrias illustrantium periisse, dubio caret."

and shadow, powerfully contrasted with each other, are displayed with wonderful art and effect, such as we had not seen in any similar fabric: which is the more remarkable, as the notion prevalent in Åbo is, that this cathedral was built by an English architect. The altar, the principal aisle, and various parts of the building, were crowded with wretched paintings; most of them, it is true, of ancient date, but none of them of the smallest merit. They are placed after the usual mode of arrangement in Roman-Catholic churches. Over the altar is a large picture of the Crucifixion, a wretched piece of daubing. In different parts of the chancel, there are others of a like character: indeed, the whole internal appearance of this Cathedral would induce a stranger to believe that the Roman-Catholic religion was even now professed in Åbo. Even the relics once venerated here are still preserved in the Sacristy; but they are shewn merely as curiosities to visitants. The organ is very large; and its excellence is considered as equal in all respects to its external magnificence: it stands at the western extremity of the nave opposite to the altar.

A mistake of ours occasioned much mirth during the first visit that we paid to this Cathedral. As it was our wish to attend Divine Service, we repaired thither Sunday, January 5. The

(1) This was also afterwards noticed by another traveller, Mr. Robert Ker Porter, who visited Åbo in December 1807. "The church is large, and of brick; built, they tell me, by a Metropolitan, named Henry, who was an Englishman." Travelling Sketches, vol. II. p. 84. Lond. 1809.

(2) "The organ may be ranked amongst the best in Europe: its tones, indeed, equalled any I had ever heard." Ibid.
the second day after our arrival, and found a very crowded congregation. Seeing an empty pew on the northern side of the nave, we entered, and took possession of the seats; but we had no sooner done this, than we discovered that we were the objects of universal derision among all who were present. The women tittered; and the men, laughing and whispering to each other, frequently regarded us, without its being possible for us to divine the cause of the amusement we had thus afforded. At last we observed the true reason: we had inadvertently seated ourselves on the female side of the aisle; the women, as in all the northern churches of Europe, being separated from the male part of the congregation; and the two sexes occupying different sides of the building. As soon as we found out what was the matter, we rose from our seats, and joined that part of the assembly which consisted only of men: but the laughter, which had before been subdued, and kept within bounds, now broke forth and became more general than ever, when it was perceived that we were conscious of the mistake we had made.

After the Service ended, we repaired to the organ-loft, with a view of conducting thither some of the Finland peasants, whom we had observed expressing their astonishment, which amounted almost to fear, whenever the organ was heard. They were some of the wild race of the Finns of Savolax, who had been attracted by curiosity into the Cathedral. Having conducted them into the organ-gallery, we prevailed upon the organist to allow them to touch the keys with their fingers; but the moment any sounds were produced, they started back and were evidently alarmed. The organist
organist then played a voluntary, and introduced one of their own national airs: the effect it had upon them was singular enough; it changed their apprehensions into immoderate mirth: roaring with laughter, like so many savages, they began to imitate the motions which the organist made with his arms and feet; at the same time, being altogether unable to account for the sounds they heard, as these were varied, so their starting was renewed, being always followed afterwards by laughter, and seizing hold of each other as for protection. The shocks of an electrical apparatus could hardly have produced greater agitation in persons who have not felt their influence, than did the solemn tones of this fine instrument among these simple Finlanders, who had evidently never before heard any thing similar; although by no means utter strangers to all musical sounds, however striking to them the difference between the notes of an organ and their own rude musical instruments, to the sound of which their poetry has been sung for many ages 1. This organ, together with many other

(1) "Atqui ut omnes fere antiqui populi, antequam artis scribendi notitiam sibi compararent, Poësin tamen, Musicamque cum ea conjunctam, excollerent; ita sua Fenni quoque nostri semper habuerunt carmina, quae suo idiomate Mùnòt adpellavere, neque musicam variis instrumentis adhibitis, tractare neglexerunt: quae tamen nec fabricam valde artificiosam prodidisse, nec tetebit nostri övi Musicorum auribus placuisse, facile intelligitur." Specimen Historiae Litterariae Fennicae, p. 9. Aboae, Typis Frenckellianis.

Acerbi speaks of the antient melody of the Finlanders, called Runa. "It consists of two periods," he says, "or bars of five crotchets each, which make two periods of eight notes." See Acerbi's Travels, vol. I. p. 284. Lond. 1802.

We have figured and described a kind of dulcimer, or lyre, with five strings, in a former Volume (p. 440), which the Finns make use of, and which they call Kendele, or Kentelet. "Nomina ejusmodi instrumentorum Fennis vernacula, nec a vicinis gentibus mutata, hoc demonstrant: e. q. 'Raneké, nablum, Torwi,' &c. Annot. Specimen Hist. Litt. Fenn. p. 9.
other donations of more importance to the inhabitants of Åbo, were the gifts of a Mr. Whitefoot, a native of Lubeck; once a wealthy merchant of this city. His portrait, at full length, in the old English dress, is placed in the centre of the organ. Two other pictures also, the heads of himself and his wife, appear, one on either side of the altar. These examples of public munificence do not seem to have met with much gratitude. Another public benefactor to the city died, as it is said, in such extreme poverty in Åbo, that the sexton refused to toll the knell for his decease, because no one would engage to pay him for so doing.

We repeated our visit to this Cathedral. There is no building in all Scandinavia more worth seeing. The best view of its beautiful roof is from the altar. On the right hand, in the eastern part of the nave, close to the entrance of the Chancel, is a small sepulchral shrine belonging to the Tott family, called Chorus Tottianus; which contains a monument of such singular interest, that we were surprised to find no mention made of it by any of the travellers who have preceded us in this route. It is nothing less than the tablet erected to the memory of Catharine, wife of Eric XIV., whose remarkable history we shall presently allude to. The mouldering reliques of her once beautiful form lie deposited in a vault below. This shrine, or chapel, is fenced with iron gates: within appears a magnificent marble monument, erected to the memory of Count Achatius Tott, grandson of Catharine, and his second wife Christina Brahe. Their effigies, of the size of life, marvellously well sculptured for the age in which they were executed, are placed upon a cenotaph;
cenotaph; the bodies being in oak coffins covered with tin, in the vault beneath; together with those of Catharine, and Sigrid her daughter by Eric XIV., the mother of Achatius Tott. Owing to their relationship to Eric XIV., the ignorant verger had confounded their history, and shewed the two statues of Count Achatius and Christina as those of Eric and Catharine. There are, moreover, two pictures, whole lengths, of the same persons, placed above the monument, painted in Vandyke's manner. The face of Christina expresses a degree of mildness bordering upon melancholy. She was evidently one of the beauties of her day, rather below the middle stature, with delicate features, fair complexion, and light hair. In her hand she holds a plume of feathers. In viewing these statues and pictures, we seemed to be admitted into the midst of Eric's family; and only wished we could have made them open their mouths, and tell us a little more truth than historians have done concerning this monarch and his family. The marble effigy of Achatius Tott represents him in complete armour; and the two figures of himself and Christina are evidently portraits, from the minute attention to accuracy which the sculptor has shewn in all that relates to their persons and habits. The monument was erected in 1688; and we found one of the four columns belonging to it thus inscribed with the artist's name: "Petrus Schultz, S.R. Sculptor, invenit et fecit." In the figure of Achatius Tott we recognised the genuine costume of the country; a Scandinavian custom of letting the hair grow so as almost to obscure the eyes on the two sides of the face, falling to the shoulders on either side, and lying quite flat upon the top of the
the head. This practice may be observed over all Sweden and Finland. There is a regiment of cavalry in the Swedish service, in which this costume is remarkably preserved; the officers and men wearing their hair in two long braids, which hang like pig-tails, one on each side of the face, in front of the ears, fastened, at their extremities, with clasps of lead. This is a national observance, attended to with as much scrupulous devotion, as among the Tchernomorski Cossacks the preservation of a single braided lock of hair, which extends from the crown of the head, and is worn tucked behind the ear. Nothing can be conceived less becoming than the two side-locks of the Swedes; but they give a certain degree of martial fierceness to the countenance, which perhaps may explain the reason why the ancient Britons, and other barbarous tribes, adopted the same practice. Over the cenotaph are placed the armorial ensigns of the two families of Tott and Brahe; and above all appears the image of our Saviour, with the cross, between the figures of two angels.

But that which possesses a greater degree of interest in this Choir, although a monument of much less splendour, is a plain marble tablet, placed against the wall, which appears upon

(1) This is the Inscription upon the Monument of Achatius Tott: it is in capital gilded letters:—

"Illustriem Heros ac Domini, D:ni Achatii Tott, Comitis de Carleborg, Liberi Baronis de Sjundeby, Domini in Ekholmsund, Lehals-Lahn, Liuxala, et Gerkenaes, Equitis aurati, Regni Sueciae Senatoris et Campi-Mareschalli; natalis annus, a reddita salute m.d.xcviii. dies iv. mensis Junii, locus aula Gerkenaes Nylandiae fuit. Mortalitatemque rursus post vitam, rebus domi atque foris, in aula et bello praecclare gestis, Gustavo Magno, Regum exemplari, magna ex parte consecratam, A:o m.dcxl. die
Inscription in memory of Catharine, Widow of Eric XIV.

Upon the left, to one entering; erected, as was before stated, to the memory of Catharine the Wife of Eric XIV. She was the Grandmother of Achatius Tott, by his mother Sigrid's side. It has this Inscription, in capital letters:

**CONDUNTUR**

**HOC BUSTO**

**CINERES**

**NATALIBUS, VIRTUTE, FORTUNA QUONDAM INCLYTÆ IMPRIMIS KATHARINÆ, DOMINÆ DE LIUXALA QUAM ERICUS XIV. SUEC. GOTH. QUE REX, THORI REGII SOCIETATE DIGNAM HABUIT; EADEMQUE POST VIDUITATEM AD ANNUM USQUE ÅTATIS LXIII. SUMMA VITÆ MORUMQUE PIETATE ET INNOCENTIA TRANSACTAM, PLACIDE IN AULA LIUXALA ANNO RESTAURATÆ SALUTIS MDCXII. OBIIT. DEHINC FILÆ EUJSDEM EX THORO REGIO LEGITIME CONCEPTÆ DOMINE SIGRISDI, QUE CONJUNX PERILLUSTRIS DOMINI HENRICI TOTT, PERMAGNO HEROÏ ACHATIO TOTT GENITRIX EX-STITIT: QUÆM TABULA EX ADVERSO POSITA FUSIUS DEMONSTRAT. ANNO DOMINI MDC LXXVIII.

ILLUSTRISSIMUS R. S. DROTTZETUS COMES PETRUS BRAHE, CURAVIT HOC EPITAPHIUM FIERI NOMINE AC SUMPTIBUS ILLUSTRISSEMÆ COMITISSÆ, DOMINÆ CHRISTINIÆ BRAHE, NATÆ COMITISSÆ DE WISINGSBOURG, COMITISSÆ DE CARLEBORG, LIB. BARON. DE SJUNDEBY, DOMINÆ DE SKOFTEBY, EKHOLOMSUND ET LEHALS LÅHN. SIMUL DONAVIT HUIC ECCLESÌÆ CATHEDRALI ABOENSI MILLE IMPERIALES.

**Die xvi Julii, ætatis ultra quadragesimum biennio in aula sua Lafiwila Parochiae Euraminne exuit. Facta non vicini solum, et quos arma Patriae attigere stuptent, sed Italus pariter et Iberus atque Galli loquentur. Ita post annorum a prima ætate complurium militiam in insigni Comitis Jacobi de la Gardie, Regni Marschi per Moscoviam expeditione incepta, et inde Regis contra Polonum in Borussia auspiciis continuatam, ac denique interjecta in castra exterorum peregre transcurso iniam sub Augusto Bello Sveco-Germanico probatam, dignus, cui primarium in militia Campi-Mareschalli munus, et**
By this inscription, which really becomes a curious historical document, we learn some particulars respecting Catharine, of which history is silent;—That after the imprisonment of her husband, and probably after his death, she withdrew, far from the Swedish Court, to the tranquil solitudes of Finland, where she lived in unmolested retirement, and died after attaining an advanced age;—That her daughter Sigrid, whom she had borne to Eric XIV., married Henry Tott, from which union descended Count Achafius Tott, whose monument we have described. Liuxala, mentioned as the place of her residence and death, is a large farm or manorial seat in the parish of Kangasala, in Tavasthüs, where the remains of the house may still be seen in which Catharine ended her days: it was built by Count Tott, who was Governor of that province.

A vault below this Choir, contains, as before mentioned, the simple coffin which enshrines the mouldering reliques of that once beautiful female whom Eric XIV. so passionately loved. The ceremony of her marriage to the king took place upon the sixth day of July 1568, the year after his cruel
cruel murder of the whole family of the Stures; and that of her coronation, which was celebrated with the utmost pomp, followed the day afterwards: and from the inscription upon her memorial tablet, we learn that her death did not happen until forty-four years after her coronation: but the first part of this interval was to her a period of tempestuous trouble, for the very year of her coronation was that of her husband’s dethronement. Beside her remains, there are also here, preserved in coffins of brass, oak, and wood faced with tin, the remains of other members of the Tott Family, with Swedish inscriptions; which, however, are so nearly English, that any English reader, accustomed to Scottish-English, or Old English, might understand their meaning. For an example, we shall give the legend which appears in capital letters upon the coffin of Sigrid, king Eric the Fourteenth’s daughter, by Catharine, who also lies buried here. The coffin is of wood, faced with tin-plate.

SIGRID, KONUNG ERIC DEN FJORTONDES DOTTER, FRU TIL LJUXALA, SJUNDEBY OCH GERCKENÅES, BLEF FÖDD ANNO MDLIV OCH ASSOMNADE I HERRANOM PÅ LJUXALA GÅRD DEN XXIV APRILIS ANNO MDCXXXIII.

We had some hope of discovering other historical information connected with the state of Sweden during the period of Eric’s sufferings after his deposition, upon being permitted to examine the contents of a brazen chest which was shewn to us, within a wooden covering, and which contains several manuscripts written upon parchment. They consisted,
however, of documents which perhaps will only interest the Swedish antiquaries. We shall briefly notice them in the order of their dates.—The first is an Epicedium upon the funeral of Catharine, wife of Eric XIV, in 1612. The second, an Epicedium upon the re-interment of her daughter Sigrid, written in 1635, when her body was removed from the church of Råndåmåkensi to the Cathedral at Åbo. The third is an Epithalamium, in the German language, upon the marriage of Achatius Tott with Christina Brahe, the seventh of October, 1638. The fourth gives an account of the heroic deeds of Achatius Tott; and the solemnities observed at his funeral, September 29, 1640. The fifth is the patent of nobility granted to his son Claudius Tott, by Queen Christina, March 20, 1652. The sixth, with thirteen signets annexed to it, dated Ekholmsund, November 6, 1639, is nothing less than the dowry granted by Achatius Tott to his second wife, Christina Brahe.

Few persons perhaps would have bestowed the same pains that we did, in ransacking the chambers of the dead for historical information connected with the history of such a gloomy superstitious tyrant as Eric XIV.; for whose bad character some writers seem anxious to apologize, by pointing out a few brilliant points that appeared amidst its dark shades; and also by maintaining, that the charges brought against him were calumnies invented to justify the conduct of his brothers, by whom he was dethroned and imprisoned.

(1) "Il y a néanmoins beaucoup d’Ecrivains qui font passer ces accusations pour des calomnies. Ils prétendent qu’elles ont été en partie inventées pour justifier la conduite des
It is just possible that his faults were extenuated by those writers who lived under his successors; and perhaps crimes were attributed to him of which he was never guilty: as, in the history of our English Kings, we find a remarkable instance in the odium cast upon the character of Richard the Third, by the historians who endeavoured, by their calumnies, to gratify his mean successor, Henry the Seventh, and the members of that family. But, in viewing the annals of Eric's reign, a sensation of indignant regret is always excited, when we read the story of those deeds of blood by which the whole race of the Stures were exterminated. It is impossible to exculpate Eric; because one of these innocent victims was immolated, and in the most cowardly manner, by his own hand.

(1) Shakspeare has not exempted himself from the list of these: and many of our erroneous notions of Richard the Third's character are owing to prejudices founded on the calumnies with which our great poet sought to gratify Henry the Seventh's granddaughter, Elizabeth. Setting aside all the arguments adduced by Buck, whom Rapin charges with partiality, there is one observation concerning Richard the Third, which has escaped Bacon, in the beginning of his Life of Henry the Seventh; speaking, as it were, volumes:—

"Quanquam autem Princeps fuisset in militari virtute probatus, atque honoris Anglici asseior strenuus, legislator item bonus, in levamen et solatium vulgi."  
Vid. Histor. Regni Regis Henrici Sept. vol. V. p. 6. Amst. 1662. And with regard to the contrast exhibited in Richard's successor, how admirably is it displayed by Rapin's delineation of the Royal Miser; the very personification of Avarice—tall, lank, with a long and thin face lean like the rest of his body, and a countenance exciting fear and distrust.

(2) See the account of his vile stratagems for the extermination of the noble family of the Stures; one of whom, Nils Sture, he stabbed with a poignard, when rising from his bed in prison; who drawing the weapon from the wound, kissed it, and presented it to his murderer:—and all the rest were cruelly massacred. "Carcerem invadens Nicolai Sture, in lecto jacentem, et sibi reverenter assurgentem, proprio sauciavit pugione. Quem
his character, Eric XIV. seems most to have resembled Paul of Russia—a wretched compound of superstition, perfidy, lust, and cruelty; and, with all these vices, occasionally irritated by flights of insanity. But the story of Eric’s career has never been either fully or fairly told: and it is rather remarkable, that our knowledge should be so imperfect of the life of a sovereign Prince, the wooer at once both of Queen Elizabeth and of Mary Queen of Scots. Puffendorf has collected very little upon the subject; and the more original sources, to which we have referred, do not supply the deficiency. At least a dozen romances might be written upon the subjects of Eric’s amorous adventures. His amours with Catharine, when related with a due attention to truth, have all the air of a romance. She was the daughter of a peasant of Medelpad, and gained a livelihood, when a child, by selling nuts in the market at Stockholm. Here Eric first saw her;

Quem Nicolaus ex gravi pectoris vulnere protinus extractum, et osculo humiliiter tactum, parcessori obtulit, indeque fueens Princeps nonnihil mitigatus abiiit.” Chronol. Scand. apud Messenium, tom. VI. p. 44. Stockholm, 1700.

(3) “Non diffiteor regem Ericum quandoque parum sani fuisse cerebri; sed istud per intervalla delirium quidam alii, velut hereditarium à matre, simili mentis vitio nonnunquam laborante, contractam reputant labeculam.” Ibid. p. 36.

(4) There is a History of Eric XIV. by Olaf Celsius; and the works of Loccenius and Messenius may be referred to: but the accounts of the Swedish history, at this period, are, for the most part, jejune.

(5) Puffendorf ascribes the chief part of Eric’s bad conduct to the evil counsels of one Peerson, his favourite. His secretary, Helsing, endeavouring to put himself upon his guard against following Peerson’s advice, was stabbed by the king with his own hand.—Hist. de Suède, tome I. p. 438. Amst. 1743.

(6) “Erat Catharina humilis admodum genebre propagata, utpotè filia cujusdam Magni, agricoli nati parentibus, in Medelpadia, qui decurionis nactus officium, inter præsidiarios castri...
her; and, being struck by her beauty, had her brought to the palace; where she was taken into the service, and brought up under the auspices, of his sister, the Princess Elizabeth. As she grew up, he fell so desperately in love with her, that she was suspected, by the people of that age, of having given to him a love-potion. After his deposition, little is known either of her or of his history, except that his own sufferings were in some degree proportioned to his enormous offences.

Among the different dungeons in which he was confined, he was for some time incarcerated in Åbo-hūs, a fortress at the mouth of the river upon which Åbo is situate: and there is a record of her death and burial at Åbo, A.D. 1612, in the valuable works of Messenius; the only allusion, perhaps, made

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(1) “In Gynecæo deinceps principis Elizabethæ liberaliter profecto educabatur.” Ibid.

(2) “Quamquam nonnulli existiment, quodam regem Ericum philtro a Catharind propinato, imprimis usque amantem ipsius evasisse, et postea reddatum indè amentem.” Ibid.

(3) “The castle, in the language of the country called Åbo-hūs, is situated at the north of the river Aura, upon a cape bounded on three sides by the water. This is one of the most antient fortresses of the land. It was well fortified under the kings Albrecht, Charles VIII., Knutson, and Gustavus Vasa. Besides four towers, which were destined to oppose the approach of an enemy to the harbour, it had on the south side a high wall, with a triple rampart of earth, and a double ditch. A new building has been added to the old structure, but in a different style of masonry. Åbo-hūs was the residence of Duke John, and the prison of Eric XIV. in the sixteenth century.”—Acerbi’s Travels, vol. I. p. 214. Lond. 1802.

made to her in history, after her husband's dethronement, which happened forty-four years before, on the 28th of September 1568.

In a room adjoining the Sacristy are huddled together all the images and symbols of superstitious mummary, which belonged to the Cathedral when it was a place of Roman-Catholic worship;—doubtless, therefore, before the whole-length portraits of Luther and Melancthon adorned this building, which are now seen in the principal aisle. That of Luther has this inscription:

**DOCTOR MARTINUS LUTHERUS VIVIT.**

**PESTIS ERAM VIVUS**

**MORIENS ERO MORS**

**TUA PAPA.**

1684.

Upon that of Melancthon are these words:

**MAGISTER PHILIPPUS MELANCTHON.**

**ROM. VILI. 31. — SI DEUS PRO NOBIS, QUIS CONTRA NOS?**

**ANNO 1684.**

Over one of the doors is a gilded wooden image of St. Henry the Martyr; which the reforming Iconoclasts have suffered to remain in its original position, as being the effigy of the Patron Saint of Finland, the first preacher of the Gospel in this country. In former times, such was the reverence entertained with respect to this image, that it was only exhibited upon days of public festivity. The old shrine which inclosed it still remains, together with the doors once
folded over it. Many things within this venerable pile serve to call to mind the desolating hand of war, which has so often ravaged this part of Finland. From its very situation, Abo will always be liable to commotion, so long as the possession of the rich corn territories, the forests, and lakes of Finland, may invite a struggle between the contending interests of Sweden and Russia. Accordingly, the memorials of those warriors who have fallen in these struggles are the first things to strike a spectator in his visit to the Cathedral. Swords, with crape-covered handles, are seen suspended from the walls; and many a long wordy legend, upon the tombs by which he is surrounded, speak

"Tales of iron wars;
Of sallies and retires; of trenches, tents,
Of palisadoes, frontiers, parapets;
Of basilisks, of cannon, culverin;
Of prisoners' ransom, and of soldiers slain,
And all the currents of a heady fight."

It would far exceed the limits of a traveller's journal to notice all the other monuments in this Cathedral, and to copy their inscriptions. Some of them, however, are well worthy of notice; especially one of black marble, representing, upon a triclinium, the sculptured cumbent effigies of a warrior and his wife. The most antient monument in the Cathedral is the Sepulchral Chapel, erected, as the inscription tells, by Olaus,

(1) Thorsten Ståthandsk, and Christina Horn.
OLAIUS, a Bishop of Abo, in 1425; who lies buried here with the members of his family. This is the inscription:

Ann D: ni mederyu Magnus Olai e: pus sekit fieri
b. opus HELF MARIA.

The account of his death is also preserved in the following inscription, upon a brass plate:

ANNO DOMINI M.CCCC.LII. DIE IX. MENSIS MARTII OBIT
REVERENDUS IN CHRISTO PATER ET DOMINUS, D: NUS MAGNUS
D. G. EPISCOPUS ABOENSIS, HUJUS CAPELLÆ FUNDATOR,
QUI SEDIT ANNO QUADRAGINTA.

Then, upon the same plate, follows:

ANNO DOMINI M.C.D.LX. DIE XXIV. MENSIS FEBR. OBIT
REVERENDUS IN CHRISTO PATER AC DOMINUS OLAVUS, D. G.
EPISCOPUS ABOENSIS.
ORATE PRO ISTIS ET CETERIS CHRISTI FIDELIBUS,
UT REQUIEM HABEANT CUM BEATIS.

All these had the addition Tavast to their names, as a surname; the first being called Magnus Olaus Tavast; and the second, Olaus Henricus Tavast, who is mentioned in the Chronicle of Juustenius as having instituted an altar and mass in the Cathedral of Abo, in honour of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. We were also shewn an inscription commemorating a warrior of the same family, by the name simply of Olaus Tavast, who was also buried here:

ANNO DOMINI M.CCCCLXI. CRISTINO F: I PETRI DE CATHEDRA
NOBIL. VIR OLAVUS TAVAST, MILES HOC OBIT: ORATE PRO EO.

And

(2) This Inscription is no longer in the Cathedral. A copy of it was given to me by Professor Porthan.
And formerly were seen here the marble effigy and cenotaph of Samuel Cockburne, a Scotch officer in the Swedish service, who fought under Charles the Ninth and Gustavus Adolphus; the latter of whom honoured the funeral of this brave officer with his royal presence, being at that time in Finland. The place of this effigy was pointed out to us, as being now concealed by another tomb. The inscription however remains.


"Cockburne vixti fortis, ast obis ferus, martem et minervam tecum qui condis uno in sepulchro, quo non scoti tristius, sveci aut videbunt, nec Poloni lætius."

We have now noticed whatever appeared to us to be the most remarkable objects of curiosity in this building. There are, it is true, various other sepulchres of bishops and warriors, the former saints and heroes of the country; men famous in their generations: but their names hardly now remain to swell the catalogue of the verger or sexton who conducts strangers visiting the structure. One thing more remains to be described. At the western extremity of the Cathedral, and within its walls, is the Library of the University; to which our attention will now be entirely directed. An account of it, written by Professor Porthan, was printed at Åbo, in the form and manner we have before mentioned,
as adopted by him for the publication of his works. The collection is contained in three rooms, and the books are in excellent order.

The establishment of this Library dates nearly with the foundation of the University, in 1640, under the minority of Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, who succeeded to the throne of Sweden at the age of six years, upon the death of her father at the battle of Lutzen. The whole collection of books amounts to 10,000 volumes, and the annual revenue of the Library does not exceed 120 rix-dollars. There are few things in this Library of any general importance:

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1. "Historia Bibliothecae R. Academiae Aboensis, disputationibus publicis XXIII. A. 1771—1787. prop. ab Henrico Gabrieli Porthan, Eloqu. Prof. R. & O. Aboe, Typis Frenckelianis." This work the author has also deposited in the University Library at Cambridge.

2. Many writers, and, among others, the authors of the Voyage de Deux François, have mentioned that the Library and University were founded at the same time: but this is not strictly true. "Condita hic An. Dn. 1640. felicibus auspiciis, favore Reginæ, Litterarum amantissimæ, &c. celebri Christinæ Academiæ (confer. ut caeteros multis taceam, Wexionii Natales Academiæ Aboensis, et Bilmark, Hist. Acad. Aboensis l. c. § 3.) mox desiderabatur, Musis recens huc translatis, voluptatem, usum, suppetiasque præeitura Bibliotheca bene instructa;" &c. observes Professor Porthan; but he afterwards adds, "Tradunt viri de Historia Patriæ summis meritis clarissimi, Reginam idcirco statim post conditam Academiam, Bibliothecam quoque hic fundasse regalique mactasse munificentia: sed haec verba stricte nimis non sunt interpretanda; nihil enim primis sex annis nova Academia accept, liberalitate Regia, librorum," &c. Vide Hist. Biblioth. Acad. &c. p. 10.

3. Upon the 26th of November, 1632. Puffendorf suspected that this great and good king was assassinated by François Albert, Duke of Saxe-Lauwenbourg; an opinion warmly contested by his French Editor (see tom. II. p. 259, Note (1), Amst. 1743). The words of Puffendorf are: "On parle fort diversément de la manière dont il fut tué. Cependant, par les circonstances on peut juger avec beaucoup de vraisemblance, que dans la confusion le même Duc de Saxe-Lauwenbourg lui donna le coup par derrière."
but when we consider the situation in which they are placed, we cannot pass by the notice of those Codices which the Åbo Professors regard as its most valuable ornaments; especially as the increasing power and obvious views of such dangerous neighbours as the Russians render it very doubtful whether any traces of them may long remain. A Catalogue raisonné of the Manuscripts will be found in Professor Porthan’s History of this Library. We shall of course notice only the most remarkable.

1. The first is a Greek MS., in folio, of Aetius, a Greek physician.—It is fairly written upon paper; and contains the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th books of this author; of whose writings only the eighth, and some chapters of the ninth book, have hitherto been published in the original Greek.

2. A MS. of Seneca, elegantly written upon vellum, in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

3. A folio MS. of Cicero de Oratore, elegantly but inaccurately written upon paper, at Bologna, in the year 1451.

4. A folio MS. of Cicero’s Orations, negligently written upon vellum.

5. A folio MS. upon vellum, elegantly written, of Petrarch and Boccace’s Lives of Illustrious Men and Women.

6. A fine folio MS., upon vellum, of Justinian, with copious

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(1) See Hist. Biblioth. Acad. Åboensis, as before cited.
(2) ΑΕΤΙΟΥ Ἀντιοχίδος ήτοι περὶ διαγωνισμοὺς καὶ θεραπείας τῶν νοσημάτων, λόγοι ιεροὶ, οἷον γὰρ μὴ ποτὲ ἐν τούτω ἑκατοντάρως.
copious marginal annotations, beautifully written, and in high preservation.

7. Peter Olaus, his Chronicle of the Kings of Sweden, a folio MS., fairly written, upon paper, in the Swedish language.

There are, in all, eighty-six volumes of Manuscripts: but the list includes Missals, Bibles, Korâns, and a few other Oriental Manuscripts, together with many curious Codices which relate to Swedish and Russian history. There is also a Map of Japan, given to the Library by Count Alric Scheffer, which Porthan calls "rarum Bibliothecae nostrae cimelium." The authors of the Voyage de Deux Français, by whom none of these Codices were noticed, mention only one manuscript, in their short account of this Library: and although we give them full credit for their statement, it so happened that we did not see the work to which they allude.

Among the Typographical Rarities, we saw only the following as worthy of the smallest notice:

1. Terentius. Argent. 1496. folio, cum fig.
4. Persius.


Besides these, there are some curious Latin Bibles, printed in the fifteenth century; and many others with dates prior to the year 1500. Among them we observed a copy of Aesop, in

(1) The first work printed in Sweden. They shew another copy of it at Upsala, as we before noticed. Concerning this volume, Professor Porthan, in his History of the Library*, remarks: "Quoniam laesum est hoc exemplum (figuris rudissimis, coloribus etiam allinitis, ornare opus editor voluit), et ultima imprimitis fonia desunt, non possimus certo quidem haecenus definire, (quod alias editiones cum hac comparandi non fuit potestas,) utrum editio sit Stockholmensis a Joh. Snell impressa, an ea antiquior Coloniensis a 1481, industria et impensis Conradi de Hombroch e prelo emissa: sed pro Stockholmensi tamen potius habendam putamus." At the end of the volume, however, we found this manuscript note: "In pagina ultima haec leguntur verba. Praes. (Praesens) liber. Dialogus Creaturarum appellatus jocundis fabulis plenus; impressus per Johannem Snell, artis impressoriae magistrum—in Stockholm inceptus, et munere Dei finitus est. Anno Domini 1483. Mensis Decembris."

in large octavo, with the date 1490; but no mention made of the place where it was printed. We saw also some curious old books of Travels to the Holy Land and other Eastern Countries, from the Venetian Press, dated 1518, and 1519, and in the Italian language. This Library is well stocked with good editions of the Greek and Latin Classics, with the Writings of the Father, books of Jurisprudence, books of Natural History (including the famous Danish work on Shells, the Flora Danica, and most of our best Writers upon this subject), Medicine, the Mathematics, Geography, History, Antiquities, Voyages, and Books of Travels, &c. &c. A few other English Authors caught our attention, as almost tempting us to inquire by what accident they came there. Among them we saw Bacon's History of Henry VII.; Camden's Queen Elizabeth; Rapin's History of England; Carrington's Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell; History of Charles the Second, by a person of quality; Wallace's Account of the Orkney Isles; Martin's Western Islands of Scotland; &c. &c. A volume of Sacred Songs, prepared for the use of the Churches in Lapland, and printed in the Swedish language, in octavo, at Stockholm, in 1619, will shew, by its title, how very nearly allied the languages are of England and Sweden, in many instances. It was called, "En liten Sångbok"—a little Song Book.

With these few observations, perhaps, the Reader will have as much information as he may wish to possess, respecting the Public Library of this University: but if he should be anxious for more, it may be afforded him, by reference to a quarto volume, written upon this subject alone, by the celebrated
celebrated Professor who so kindly assisted us in our own researches.

The principal public edifices of the University are most curiously made a part of the Cathedral; being situate within its walls. Besides the Library now described, pursuing the same wall, we came to the Anatomical Schools (Theatrum Anatomicum), and the Public Auditory, or Chamber, in which the Disputations are held. It was intended that, in the ensuing spring, a handsome building should be erected, for the purpose of containing the Library, and all other Collections belonging to the University. A plan for the form of this new structure was shewn to us: it was to consist of a front with two wings, disposed according to the three sides of a parallelogram, in this manner:

in the side wings were to be Public Lecture rooms, and Repositories for Cabinets of Natural History, &c.

Being afterwards introduced to the celebrated Professor of Chemistry, John Gadolin, he had the kindness to shew to us the collection of Minerals belonging to the University. We have before mentioned the neglect visible in other national collections of mineralogy belonging to Sweden; and there

(1) See Professor Porthan's Work, as before cited.
there is nothing in this to exempt it from the remarks we then made. The Professor who has the care of it, a man of great and renowned talents, has done all he could for its improvement; but it is, after all, a wretched heap of trash. The most remarkable specimens which we saw in this collection, were, a mass of the famous Siberian Iron, supposed to be meteoric, discovered by Pallas near the banks of the river Jenisei; and some fine examples of the curious mineral which bears Professor Gadolin's own name, and in which he discovered the remarkable substance called Yttria. Some specimens of the Gadolinite were said by him to contain as much as forty per cent. of Yttria. Perhaps there may have been, in this collection, other minerals worth notice; but the quantity of useless lumber with which we found it encumbered, and the want of a proper arrangement, prevented our further examination of its contents.

The collection of Botany, under the care and superintendence of Professor Hellenius, was very differently characterized. It is by far the most perfect thing of its kind in Sweden, not excepting that at Upsala, both with regard to the rarity and number of the plants, and the beautiful and lucid order in which they are kept and arranged. In looking over the Catalogue, we were surprised to find an addition made to every genus; containing, in some instances, twenty or thirty non-descript plants, hitherto undetermined, and therefore

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(2) Professor Gadolin, at this time, estimated the proportion of Yttria as equal to two-fifths of the mass; but, according to Ekeberg's analysis of Gadolinite, some varieties of it contains 55.5 of Yttria, besides 4.5 of Glucina.
therefore anonymous. The Professor himself conducted us to the Botanic Garden, which we found to be small, but in the highest state of cultivation. In the green-houses, we saw some plants from the Cape of Good Hope, which were in flower, and as healthy as if they had been growing in their proper soil. A visit to this garden is sufficient to shew the lovers of botany what may be accomplished by economy and talents. The annual fund for its support did not exceed thirty pounds of our money; but in its produce, and in all things necessary for the advancement of botanical studies, especially in the genius and abilities of its Professor, Åbo, little as it is known in the world at large, may vie with the most celebrated Universities. One circumstance, mentioned to us by the Professor, seemed very unaccountable; namely, the difficulty of rearing the Lapland plants. Very few plants brought from that country will flourish here; and yet the climate and soil seem nearly allied to those of the Arctic regions. It is further remarkable, that with the Siberian plants they have no difficulty whatsoever. In England, we experienced the difficulty of rearing plants from seeds collected in Lapland; but the great difference of climate and soil may explain the cause.

After

(1) All the attempts made to rear the different species of Lapland Pedicularis, in the Botanic Garden at Cambridge, were without success. The seed of the Pedicularis Sceptrum Carolinum, which we collected in a mature state, and forwarded, for greater expedition, in letters to England, did not afterwards germinate. Yet we have seen this majestic plant, in the north of Sweden, bearing its exuberant blossoms, and flourishing, to the height of four feet and a half, in meadows far south of the Arctic Circle. In Norway, it never attains this altitude: it is there always in such a dwarfish state, as to make it appear like a different species.
After this visit to the Botanic Garden, Professor Hellenius shewed to us his Library, and private collection of Natural History. His ornithological cabinet afforded us a very gratifying sight, as it contained all the rarer birds of Scandinavia, in excellent preservation; and among these especially, the birds of Lapland, which are not common even in that country. The Turdus Roseus is of this number; it might be called the red-breasted Blackbird. The Swedish naturalists consider it as an American bird, which only occasionally visits Lapland and Finmark. The Corvus Lapponicus, resembling a small Magpie, is also a rare bird. There is an account of it by Thunberg, in the Transactions of the Academy of Stockholm. Another very remarkable bird is the Scolopax Glottis, or great dark-coloured Woodcock, with a very long beak, the lower half of which is red: also the Fringilla Lapponica: and, beyond every other in the beauty of its plumage and sweetness and infinite variety of its notes, the Motacilla Suecica, called Hundred-tuner, or Saddan Kiellinen, by the Lapps, which is seen perching on the Betula nana, and making its nest among the moss, where it deposits five or six eggs of a greenish hue. Its brilliant plumage bids defiance to the pencil of the artist. We preserved one of them; which, for this reason, we have not figured in this work, being dissatisfied with the drawings made of it. Its feathers are of a lively Turquoise blue colour, bordered about the throat with black, which passes into a reddish grey. It feeds upon caterpillars, and other small insects and worms. There are above an hundred different species of birds found in the neighbourhood of Åbo, and in the Åland Isles. Many of these,
these, of course, are sea-fowl. They have four different kinds of Gulls, together with the Colymbus and the Pelican, the Eider-duck, and twelve or fourteen other species of Anas.

In our frequent conversations with Hellenius,—and we saw him daily during the time of our short residence in Åbo,—we knew not which to admire most; his polished and friendly manners, open, generous, and hospitable; or the extent and variety of his mental accomplishments, which made us consider him as one of the best-informed scholars of his country.

Indeed, we saw enough in this University to be convinced that Upsala, although more celebrated, could not justly be compared with it. But the opinion which foreigners entertain of the merits of the Swedish Universities, is generally formed from conversing with the Swedes in Stockholm, where Åbo is almost as little known as it is in London. Consequently, if in the literary circles of Stockholm any mention is made of Åbo, the Swedes fancy that you are unmindful of the superior advantages of Upsala, whose pride and high-mindedness carries all before it; yet this boasted superiority exists only in prejudice and imagination: in point of real science, Åbo is as much superior to Upsala, as the latter is before the University of Lund. But if this declaration were made among the Swedes of the metropolis, it would give rise to considerable opposition and warmth of debate; because, in Stockholm, the same notions are entertained with regard to the Finland University, that Englishmen entertain respecting the Universities of Dublin and Edinburgh, when compared with Cambridge and Oxford: they will not suffer them to be weighed together in the same scale. Travellers, however, viewing
with impartial eyes their comparative merits, soon learn to disregard local prejudices. Judging of the tree by its fruits, they will render to merit the just tribute which is due to merit: and in so doing, it must be confessed that, at this time, Åbo had the superiority. At Upsala, science was made a matter of conversation; at Åbo, it was a subject of real and industrious research: but Upsala possessed the means of giving notoriety and celebrity to any the most trivial contribution which it made to the interests of science; whereas the facilities of common communication with the literary world were wholly denied to Åbo. The former, it is true, boasted the names of Thunberg; and of the two brothers Afzelius; to which has since been added that of an illustrious chemist, in Berzelius: but Åbo was at this time honoured by its historian Porthan, by its poet Frantzén, by its chemist Gadolin, and by its botanist Hellenius; men who in any University would have made a distinguished figure, and would have been regarded among its brightest ornaments. The different state of public morals, too, was strikingly conspicuous in the two Universities of Upsala and Åbo. In Upsala, drunkenness and riot pervaded her streets; and licentiousness and Jacobinism had found their way into her cellars, which were nightly the resort, and indeed the only public place of meeting, for her students. In Åbo, although a town of greater magnitude, containing a more numerous population,

(1) Author of Travels in Japan, &c. &c.; successor of Linnaeus.
(2) John Afzelius, Professor of Chemistry; and his brother, Adam Afzelius, celebrated for his foreign travels and talents in Natural History, especially in Botany.
population, peace and decent order everywhere prevailed. We saw no symptoms of that looseness of discipline and contempt of decorum which are so common in Upsala. Among its inhabitants, a milder disposition seemed to prevail; chiefly, perhaps, owing to the absence of those French principles, which had been disseminated with fatal success, to poison and debase the minds both of Students and Professors in Upsala, as among persons of all ages in Stockholm. In Åbo, the older Swedish manners and customs were prevalent, not having been yet liable to such mischievous innovations: a love of truth, and a sincere ardour in the pursuit of science, seemed to be the natural growth of the place, where the force of good example was added to precept. Upsala, among the youth of the country, might be deemed, as doubtless it was, the most fashionable seminary of education; but a parent, who had the opportunities of information and choice respecting both, would not long hesitate in which to place his son. Not, however, that there is anything of austerity in the manners of the inhabitants. The principal of them are merchants, living in a very elegant style. One of them, to whom we were introduced, a Mr. Bremer, had travelled over Europe, and visited our own country. This gentleman possessed an excellent library; and had, moreover, a small but good collection of pictures and engravings. While, in the depth of their severe winter, the novel sight was presented to English travellers, of sledges attended by whole tribes of the wildest Finlanders from the interior of the country, now flocking into Åbo, and passing and repassing amidst houses and public buildings half buried in snow, we had invitations to balls and
and routs, in which a very striking contrast was exhibited to such features of savage life. Judging from the appearance exhibited in the public streets, we might have imagined ourselves in some town of North America; but in the evening, visiting their musical societies, of which they have two regularly established in this city, or joining in their dancing parties, we were rather reminded of what we had seen in the capital.
We arrived in that season of the year which, of all other, is best suited to gratify a stranger's curiosity; when the rigorous frost of the winter enables the natives of all the neighbouring districts to resort to Åbo for merchandize. It wanted only a fortnight to the annual fair; but the inhabitants of
all the Finland, and even the more distant Lapland provinces, began to pour in, with increasing numbers, every day. At length, the coming of these visitants constituted every morning a new throng, moving in regular procession through the streets. By this means, without the pains and privations that would attend a journey into the interior, we were enabled, leisurely, to see and converse with people from very remote regions; to watch their mode of life, wants, luxuries, and trade; and to observe their dresses and manners. Among these, the Russian traders were remarkably distinguished, by their long bushy beards, naked necks, and dark lamb-skin caps of a peculiar kind of curled wool. They were constantly in the streets, dragging after them hand-sledges:—while the Finns, with their shorn features, long dark unbending hair, and sallow countenances; eyes, extended lengthways, and half closed; a peaked nose, frequently inclining upwards, but always pointed; sharp and square chin; elevated cheek-bones, and pinched mouth; plainly shewed the life they led: add to this, large, high, and prominent ears; a small head; thin scanty eye-brows, turned upwards at their extremities, like those of the Chinese; high shoulders; short and small fingers; knees bent, and projecting forwards; and you have the genuine portrait of a Finn, evidently allied to the Laplanders. But if it were asked whom else they resemble, it would be difficult to say. If in Great Britain there be a race at all resembling them, it is, perhaps, the wild Scotch, who speak the Gaelic language, and who have the same dark locks and swarthy complexion: but the red-haired and rawboned tribes of the Lowlands in Scotland are indisputably a

Teutonic
Teutonic tribe, and perhaps originally Danes. It will be recollected, that, in former instances, we had been indebted to the annual fair for the insight we were enabled to obtain with regard to tribes inhabiting countries almost inaccessible to literary travellers. In this manner we became acquainted with the most distant colonies of Lapps, whose families visited the fairs of Kiemi and Trönįjem. To the same cause we were now indebted for a familiar acquaintance with the natives of Tavastehäus and Savolax; perhaps the only remaining branch of that antient race of Finns who succeeded to the Lapps in this part of Scandinavia, and drove the latter from their settlements among the Åland Isles, and upon the southern shores of the Gulph of Bothniä, into the more northern territories they now inhabit. The Finns of Savolax certainly resemble the Laplanders, as much as the children of any family ever resembled each other. They are not so diminutive in stature; which perhaps arises from the difference of their diet and mode of life. When first we saw what were called Finlanders in Ostro-Bothniä, we thought they differed materially from the Lapps, in having, besides their more athletic form, light yellow hair. But we had there seen a mixed race, produced by the intermarriages of Swedish and Finland families; producing a comely and healthy race, who are constantly engaged in the wholesome occupations and labours of an agricultural life, and differ materially from the true swarthy and smoke-dried Finn; whole families of whom continued at this time to pour into Åbo, in such numbers that the streets were filled with them, so that it was wonderful to us where they could all find a place for lodging. We observed
observed their sledges, with the horses yet standing in the shafts, filling the court-yards of all the shopkeepers and merchants, during the entire day; and where they went afterwards we could not learn. Upon their first coming, the appearance of all of them was the same; all their sledges being similarly laden, and whole families walking by the side of them. These sledges contained provisions for themselves, and provender for their horses; an old net being constantly drawn tight over the burden, to keep the hay, which lay uppermost, from being carried off by the wind. So many nets worn out with fishing occupation, bespoke the ways of life of their owners, who supply with frozen fishes all the towns upon the coast, even to the distant markets of Petersburg; and are themselves Ichthyophagites, inhabiting a vast region of lakes and rivers swarming with this valuable article of food. Over the net, upon these sledges, is always placed the little family-chest, containing the hoarded treasure produced by a year's labour, tobacco-pipes and tobacco, together with the household divinities and portable shrines of their country; such as were of old among the Israelites—“The tabernacles of Moloch, and the star of their God Remphan.”

Their first business, after their arrival, is to swallow the drams with which they are freely supplied by the tradesmen in Åbo who are to traffic with them, and with which they become immediately intoxicated: but no people upon earth are more harmless “in their cups” than these simple Finns; their drunkenness being only manifested in the most ludicrous grimaces, and in more than usual kindness and attention to their female companions, who can hardly be called by the name
Their motives in visiting Abo.

name of "the fair sex," lovely as they may appear to a drunken Finn. Sometimes, in these moments of intoxication, the grinning and grimaces suddenly give way to gravity; and then parties of them are seen together communicating, with an air of the utmost importance, the most trivial circumstances; as, what they intend to buy at the fair, and whom they shall buy it of; who gives away the most brandy, and promises to supply their wants at the lowest rate; which, however, is a matter of importance to them. At these interviews the dealers now and then contrive to be present, either in their own persons, or by means of their agents; because, while the drams, they have administered, do their work, the heart of a Finlander is open to all comers; all their little secret plans and purposes are then divulged; and, as the trade with them, and with the Lapps who resort to Abo at this season of the year, constitutes a very principal part of the commerce of Abo, the native simplicity and unsuspecting disposition of both render them an easy prey to the more artful dealers.

We have said that the trade carried on with these tribes from the interior of the country constitutes a very principal part of the commerce of Abo; and hence it follows that the chief part of the articles exposed for sale in the shops are things calculated for their use: in fact, the best trade which any dealer can exercise in Abo, is that of supplying the natives of the interior districts with the different commodities they may require. Of all their wants, the principal are constantly the same; viz. tobacco and brandy,—drugs universally requisite, where mental resources are at a low ebb, for steeping in forgetfulness
forgetfulness the *taedium vitæ*. The desire of obtaining them is so great among the *Finns* and *Lapps*, as to supersede almost every other necessary article of life. From what we saw of the *Finns*, it was evident that both men and women would sooner eat their provisions raw, and even starve themselves, than be deprived of *brandy* and *tobacco*: therefore, if the price of an *iron-kettle*, for which a *Finn* has made a journey to Åbo, astounding both as to its extent and difficulty, should encroach too much upon his little fund for supplying him with these articles, he will spend all he has in *brandy* and *tobacco*, and return home again without the utensil for which he came. The author made an experiment here, which had often afforded him amusement among the *Highlanders* of *Scotland* (with whom the taste for these articles is much the same); namely, that of walking among the natives with about half a yard of what is called *pig-tail tobacco*, dangling from his pocket-hole: the consequence was the same in both countries;—the natives, attracted by the sight, would follow him anywhere, and cheerfully do whatever he required of them; wishing for no better payment for their labour than a cutting from the roll of tobacco. In one of the principal streets of Åbo, we saw a porter passing through the market with a considerable burden of this rolled *tobacco* upon his shoulders; and he was literally hunted by the *Finns*, who pursued him as hungry curs run after a dog when he is carrying off a bone.

During this their annual visit to Åbo, the dress of all the *Finns* seemed to be universally the same: indeed, it is nearly the habit worn over all *Finland*, *Lapland*, and a considerable part of
of Russia. It consists of a jacket or coat made of white sheep-skin leather, which is dressed, and worn with the wool inwards, as a lining, towards the body: this is fastened always by a sash or girdle about the waist. Long trowsers or pantaloons reach below the calf of the leg, and are bound about the instep. The feet are covered either with fur boots, or socks made of skins; over which are worn, what the Russians call Labkas, or sandals made of the bark of trees. Upon their heads they wear a cap of fur; but which differs from that commonly worn by the Russians, in having flaps let down, so as to cover and keep warm the cheeks and ears, which are the parts otherwise frequently frost-bitten. With all these precautions against the inclemency of their winter-season, it is very remarkable that all the three nations, Finns, Lapps, and Russians, appear with their necks, and often with their bosoms, bare, in the most severe weather. Among all the tribes distinguished by their hardihood in this respect, are particularly to be mentioned the natives of Carelia; many of whom were now in Åbo, with their necks and bosoms open to the atmosphere, when the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer was forty-six degrees below the freezing point, or thirteen degrees and a half below Zero; a degree of temperature that actually happened while we were there, at noon, upon the sixth of January. The fair begins upon January the twentieth, and continues but three days; during which time it is almost impossible to penetrate through the square where the market is held, or any of the streets leading to

(1) See the Vignette to Chap. X. p. 172, of the First Part of these Travels, 4to edit. Camb. 1810.
to it, owing to the many thousands of Finns, and other tribes, present upon the occasion; bringing frozen fishes and corn for sale; and bartering these commodities against salt, brandy, tobacco, domestic utensils, and sometimes silver vessels; which, with trinkets and other triles, they severally return back to the countries whence they came. What would be thought of it, if at a fair in England, in one of our southern counties, (as for example, the fair of Lewes in Sussex,) the natives of the Orkney Isles were to be seen annually present, buying up the principal commodities exposed for sale? Yet distances of this kind, and much greater, are traversed by the natives of Scandinavia, who visit the towns of Norway, Sweden, and Finland, journeying for a little tobacco, or brandy, or for an iron-pot, or any trifling articles of hardware, from one end of this extensive region to the other. In proof of this, one anecdote will be sufficient, which afforded us as much surprise as it can possibly excite in the Reader's mind. Being one day in the market-place of Åbo, engaged in surveying the crowd of peasants from all parts that were there assembled, one of the Finns, whom we had noticed on account of the wildness of his aspect, his savage look, and uncouth appearance, suddenly sprang forward from the multitude, seizing us by turns by the hand, and evidently recognising us as old acquaintances and friends. After some time, we recollected having seen him somewhere before; and, upon inquiring whence he came, he seemed to be hurt; and addressing our interpreter in the Swedish language, said—"What, have the Gentlemen forgotten the poor Finn who ferried them to
and fro, in their visits to Kiemi Fair?" And now we recollected the boatman employed upon that occasion; who had actually traversed, in his sledge, with a single horse, the whole extent of the Gulph of Bothniä, from Kiemi, on its northern, to Abo, on its southern extremity: and this amazing journey had been performed for the sole purpose of buying a little salt and tobacco, with which he was preparing to return.

Åbo chiefly consists of wooden houses, although there be many in the city both of stone and brick. The streets are of great length, some of them extending nearly an English mile. Being perfectly straight, they have a handsome appearance. A street leading from the former site of the old Monastery of Åbo, towards Tavastehus, is as long as the Strada Toledo in Naples, or the Corso at Rome. There are three or four booksellers' shops, but they are worse than those of Stockholm. The owners of these shops are only to be found in attendance during one hour in the day—from eleven till twelve: and if a stranger, calling at that hour, is desirous of examining the books, he is not allowed to touch one of them. A catalogue, written in the Swedish language, is put into his hand, which is all he is permitted to see: and when he has been at the pains of examining the list, he finds it to consist entirely of Swedish publications; few of which are worthy of notice. There are, however, some which one is glad to meet with; as, for example, the Dictionarium Anglo-Svethico Latinum of Bishop Serenius, with the curious preface of Eric Benzelius, printed at Hamburg, in 1734; also Widegren's Lexicon, Svensktoch Engelskt, printed at Stockholm, in 1788; which are almost essential to a traveller's journey through
through the country. For the rest, it is hardly possible to conceive a greater quantity of trash than it is usual to meet with in such places. The works of the Swedish historians are few in number; but even these it would be in vain to look for here. They are more likely to be met with in London or Paris, than in any of the Scandinavian cities, or even in Copenhagen. A person who is desirous of residing for any length of time in this University will of course avoid the inns, the very best of which is bad. The lodgings let to strangers visiting Åbo are remarkably neat and clean: for a sum not exceeding four shillings English per week, a good set of apartments may be hired; and no additional charge will be made for fire and candles. The only dear article is wine, which is supplied by the merchants of the city, who trade with Portugal and France; and is of better quality than it is usual to meet with in Stockholm. One dozen of very good Champagne sold for about thirty shillings; and the same quantity of good Port, for twenty-four shillings. Other Portuguese and French wines might be had in abundance; especially the different sorts of Claret; one of which, La Fite, is always called Long-cork in Sweden, and is the favourite wine in all company. They have also Hock and other wines from the Rhine and the Moselle.

Our frequent intercourse with the respectable Professors of this University, especially with Professor Porthan, of whose historical talents we have already spoken, gave us reason to hope that we should be able to gain some insight into the antient history and origin of the Finnish tribes.—Professor Porthan was himself a native of Finland, and well read
read and experienced in all that related to his own countrymen. He often visited us; and we passed whole evenings in conversing with him upon this subject. From all that we could collect, it was evident that the language of the Finns is a dialect of that which is spoken by the Lapps, by many of

(1) This opinion is combated by the Authors of the Universal History, (see vol. xxxv. pp. 10, 11. Lond. 1762.) and, as it should seem, upon the authority of Voltaire, who knew about as much of the Laplanders and Finns, as of the inhabitants of the Moon. "Olaus," (observe the writers before cited, speaking of the Lapps) and others who have copied him, tell us, that these people were originally Finns, who retired into Lapland. But why, as M. de Voltaire observes (Hist. de Russie, tom. I. p. 16.), when they were moving, did they not choose a less northern land, where life would have been more comfortable to them?" To which question of Voltaire there is this plain answer—That all the comforts of a Laplander's life depend upon the comforts of his rein-deer; for which animal nothing can be better suited than the productions and climate of Lapland. If they had chosen "a less northern land," they would not have been provided, as they are, with the Lichen rangiferinus for their rein-deer, without which article of food, as it is well known, the animal degenerates and dies. The same authors maintain, that there is no similitude between the languages of the Finns and the Lapps: of the fallacy of which remark the Reader may judge from the following comparative Vocabulary. At the same time it should be stated, that there is some difference between the two languages: the appellations of the different parts of the human body are the same in both; but the names of the Heathen Gods of the Finns and Lapps are not the same:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>LAPP.</th>
<th>FINN.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sinew.</td>
<td>Suona.</td>
<td>Suoni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To hear.</td>
<td>Kullet.</td>
<td>Kaulla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To mourn.</td>
<td>Surgot.</td>
<td>Sureta.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| To lament.   | Valot.     | Valittaa.
of the Russian nations; and, what is much more remarkable, it has also been identified with the language of the Hungarians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>LAPP</th>
<th>FINN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To fear</td>
<td>Pallet</td>
<td>Peljata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To answer</td>
<td>Vaslatet</td>
<td>Vaslata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To travel</td>
<td>Mannet</td>
<td>Menna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To drink</td>
<td>Jukket</td>
<td>Juoda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunger</td>
<td>Nelget</td>
<td>Nelka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To swallow</td>
<td>Njalot</td>
<td>Nuolla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To freeze</td>
<td>Kalmet</td>
<td>Kylymettya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To fly away</td>
<td>Pateret</td>
<td>Paeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>Valja</td>
<td>Veli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Nuor</td>
<td>Nuori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old</td>
<td>Wuoras</td>
<td>Wanka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>Peive</td>
<td>Paiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening</td>
<td>Ekked</td>
<td>Ehto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud</td>
<td>Palw</td>
<td>Pilvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice</td>
<td>Jagna</td>
<td>Jaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Toll</td>
<td>Tuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bay</td>
<td>Lukt</td>
<td>Laaxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoke</td>
<td>Suowa</td>
<td>Sauwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River</td>
<td>Jock</td>
<td>Joki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle</td>
<td>Suolo</td>
<td>Salo-sari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain</td>
<td>Ware</td>
<td>Wuori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>Kedke</td>
<td>Kivi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bog</td>
<td>Suis</td>
<td>Suo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaves</td>
<td>Muorje</td>
<td>Marja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alder</td>
<td>Leipe</td>
<td>Leppa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pine-tree</td>
<td>Kuosa</td>
<td>Kuusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marten</td>
<td>Nete</td>
<td>Neta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louse</td>
<td>Matok</td>
<td>Mato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serpent</td>
<td>Kerbma</td>
<td>Karme</td>
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<tr>
<td>Birch</td>
<td>Ladde</td>
<td>Lindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Velkas</td>
<td>Walkia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these, and many more, are enumerated in the Appendix to a printed Thesis, "De Bicarlis," written by Porthan, for an Act kept in the Schools at Abo by Frantsén, upon the 20th of Dec. 1786, upon which occasion Porthan himself presided.
Hungarians. According to Professor Porthan, the Finns are the second colony of Tatars who settled in Scandinavia; the old and original colony, or first-comers, being the Lapps. The Finns also peopled the north of Livonia, the south of which country was inhabited by a very different race of men. They once occupied all the western and southern parts of Russia, as far as the Caspian Sea: being compelled to emigrate, in consequence of the incursions of the Monguls, they settled in Finland. What branch of them it was, and at what time the event took place that occasioned their settlement in Hungary

(1) The Reader will find this fact satisfactorily established by consulting the work of I. Sajnovics, "Demonstratio Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse," 4to. Hafnice, 1770. Also another very curious treatise, printed at Gottingen, in 1799, entitled "Affinitas Linguae Hungaricae cum Linguis Fennicae originis, auctore S. Gyarmathi." But the principal confirmation of this curious circumstance was made by the discovery of Sajnovics; who, going to Wardhuus, to witness a transit of Venus on the Sun’s disk, first observed, and afterwards made known, the striking affinity between the languages of Lapland and Hungary. In Strallenberg’s "Descriptio Imperii Russici," printed at Stockholm in 1730, p. 32. there is the following quotation from Sajnovics:—

"Sciendum est, in Europa et Asia, qua septentrionem et orientem respiciunt, sex classes populum inveniri, quos passim sub uno Tartarorum nomine complicantur: Sunt hi

1. MORDUINI. 3. PERMECKII. 5. WOGULITZII.
2. SCHEREMISSE. 4. WOTYACKII. 6. OSTIAKI.

Omnes hic olim cum Finnis, Lapponibus, Esthiis, et Ungaris unum eundemque populum constituerunt. Atque ad sic dictos Hunnos, vel Unnos, qui non erant Tartari pertinebant."—Nothing has ever puzzled philologists more than the extraordinary discrepancy of the Hungarian language, when compared with all others in its neighbourhood. Molnarius, a Hungarian, in the preface to his Hungarian Grammar, says, "Si quis ex me querat, ad quam originalem linguam Ungarica referenda sit, vel cum quibus habeat cognitionem, me nescire facturus. Video enim eos, qui hoc tempore thesauros Polyglottos edunt, et linguas quasquae in suas origines et classes referunt, Ungaricam semper in medio relinguere. Cum Europeis nullam connexionem habere hanc nostram certum est. An vero in Scythicis Asiae finibus, supersint Gentes alique nostra lingua Hunnica utentes, juxta cum ignarissimis scio."
Hungary, cannot now probably be determined. There is no other evidence of the fact than the similarity of the two languages: but surely such evidence is conclusive; for, as it is observed by the celebrated Ihre, in his Suio-Gothic Glossary, when speaking of the analogy between the two languages, and the importance of such proofs, "Non enim ut fungi, temere et inopinato nascuntur vocabula."—The Finns possess poetry and music; but they have no national dance, nor indeed any more ability or inclination for dancing than the bears which inhabit their forests. In this respect they may be said to resemble the Arabs, but differ from the whole race of Goths. In this poetry the Finns are what the Italians call Improvisatoris; composing extempore rhapsodies. Their poetical productions are without rhyme, and consist almost entirely of trochees. All they seem to aim at, in these compositions, is alliteration; of which they are so passionately fond, that the whole effect of a song or a poem is often owing to words which in the same line either begin entirely with the same letter, or in which a repetition of the same letter frequently recurs. Professor Frantzén gave us a specimen of Finnish poetry, which will illustrate what is now said. He called it "a Native Song of a Finnish Maiden;" and we shall neither alter the title, nor make any change in the

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(2) This work was printed at Upsala in 1769. After speaking of the Lapland and Finnish race, and attributing to them a common origin with the Hungarians, in his preface the author says—"Non enim arbitror alia ratione facile explicari posse, unde exititerit insignis illo, qua inter linguam Ungaricam et Fennicam observatur affinitas, quaeque tanta est, ut certe fide relatum mihi sit, in numero bello, quod in Germania gessimus, milites quosdam, Fennicae nationis, in Ungariam translatos, intra perexiguum tempus cum regionis eius incolis colloquia miscere potuisse."
Norway might be afforded in very few words. All the country, from Louisa, on the Gulph of Finland, to Åbo, was occupied in commerce with Spain. Following the coast, along the eastern side of the Gulph of Bothniå, the inhabitants were engaged in trade with England. All the western side of the same gulph was employed in traffic with Stockholm, from whence the commerce is general over the world. Torneå, in the north of the gulph, trades with Stockholm and Copenhagen, and sometimes exports to England its commodities, of tar, deals, fish, and peltry. All the south of Sweden proper is engaged in trade with England and Holland. The ships of Gothenburg sail even to China. With regard to the Norwegian coast of Scandinavia, beginning from North Cape, westward, the inhabitants supply the ports of Denmark, Holland, and England, with fish and peltry; and also send the same commodities into Sweden, by the way of Torneå. Ships from Trönyjem sail to Ireland, Scotland, and Holland. The trade of Bergen is confined chiefly to Holland; and that of Christiania, as we have before mentioned, to England: but the trade of the south of Norway, by the late abandonment of its interests on the part of England, and its cession to Sweden, has been entirely ruined.

In Åbo there are some customs rather of a singular nature. They ring their church-bells at a funeral, as we do in England.

(1) This remark of course applies to the political changes that have taken place since the period of these Travels. Norway remains as it was, and as it ever will be,—the most beautiful and fertile country in the world, full of the grandest scenery in Nature; but its foreign commerce is annihilated, and its merchants are all ruined.
England at a wedding. When a robbery has been committed, a person, beating a drum, goes through all the streets, to make it known to the inhabitants. They have here a Town Hall and a Parliament House: petty offences being judged of at the former, and capital crimes at the latter. The President or Judge passes sentence; but if the offender be condemned to death, his execution cannot take place without an order from the King. Both the Town Hall and the Parliament House are built of stone; as are also the seat of the Courts of Justice, the Excise Office, the house of the Governor, and the houses of some of the merchants. Åbo is surrounded on all sides by rocky hills, which have a very naked appearance, and consist, for the most part, of granite.

In the questions which we put to the numerous families of Finns who were now daily flocking into Åbo, respecting the particular articles of commerce for which they had made such marvellous journeys, we were answered, that they came to buy salt and tobacco; bringing at the same time, in exchange for these commodities, corn, peltry, fish, butter, and cheese. Some of them were from parishes at the extremities of the two Gulphs of Bothnia and Finland; and of these we have already mentioned one individual from Kiemi. What would be thought, in England, of a labouring peasant, or the occupier of a small farm, making a journey of nearly 700 miles to a fair, for the articles

(2) The distance from Torneå to Åbo, by the Swedish Vagvisare, Stockholm, 1776, p. 41, is 97 Swedish miles; which, at the rate of seven English miles to one Swedish, is 679 miles: but many of the Finlanders who resort to Åbo fair perform journeys of far greater distance.
articles of their home consumption? Except in this annual journey to Åbo, the true Finns have little intercourse with the inhabitants of the maritime district: they inhabit the eastern provinces of Savolax and Tavasthuus; where they live in the midst of forests, by the borders of the lakes; and lead a mode of life which exactly resembles that of the agricultural or settled Laplander; in houses which have a hole at the top to let out the smoke, and in one large room which is occupied by the whole family. The natives upon the coast are either Swedes, or a mixed race of Swedes and Finns; of which nature are the inhabitants of the country from Åbo to the north, as far as Bjorneborg.

The Literary establishment of Åbo, as a University, is of very recent date, compared with the origin of similar institutions in our own country. Gustavus Adolphus, in the year 1626, first founded here a Gymnasium, or School, for the use of the town only. Fourteen years afterwards, Queen Christina, or, as the Swedes call her, Stina', converted the Gymnasium into a University, endowing it with the same privileges

(1) "In No. 135. the Spectator, upon the subject of the English language, observes, that proper names, familiarized in English, dwindle to monosyllables, but that in other languages they receive a softer tone by the addition of syllables. Thus Nicholas, in English Nic, becomes Nicolini in Italian; John, alias Jack, becomes Janot in French; &c. The Swedes in this case are our allies, for we both follow this dwindling system; but with this difference, that, as we cut at one end of our words, they dock at the other. Who would ever imagine, among the softening French or Italian linguists, that Nicholas was expressed by Nils, as in Nils Marelius? Christina, by Stina? And who would guess that Greta was the same as Marguerita; Pehr, as Peter; or Jan, as Johan? Yet I think that these alterations are improvements; and I am much delighted with my female acquaintance under the abbreviations of Maia, Karin, and Phia, for Mary, Catherine, and Sophia; and which appear to be preferable to the abbreviations which are used of Bet, Kate, or Sophy."—Dr. Flott Lee's MS. Journal.
privileges as *Upsala*; and she appointed the bishop of the diocese Vice-Chancellor. The number of resident Students did not, at the time of our visit, exceed 300; but including all who had their names upon the foundation list, there might be about 500. The number of the Professors was as follows:—in the faculty of *Divinity*, *three*, with *one* Adjunct: in *Law*, *one*; in the faculty of *Medicine*, *two* ordinary, and *one* extraordinary, as Professors; together with an Adjunct: in *Philosophy*, *nine* Professors, besides *two* Adjuncts ordinary and *one* extraordinary. There was, moreover, a list of Teachers, as before stated, called *Magistri docentes*; two for *Divinity*, and eleven for *Philosophy*: and *one* *French* Master; *one* *Fencing* Master; and *one* Teacher of *Music*, who was Organist of the Cathedral.

We had sent back our *Swedish* Interpreter the whole way from *Åbo* to the village of *Vargatta*, near which place our travelling-carriage had been left upon a rock. This man had a most dreary journey to perform, upon the ice, as it must appear from the account we have given of our own; but the *Swedes* are used to such expeditions, and think nothing of them. He undertook it, in an open sledge, with the greatest readiness; and returned as soon as the ice was strong enough to bear the weight of such a vehicle the whole way, and brought it safe to *Åbo*. The mode of travelling in the common sledges of the country is certainly the best, as far as the mere business of the day is concerned: it is, therefore, that mode of journeying which every one would adopt who seeks only to perform a given distance with the greatest expedition:

(2) See p. 318 of this volume.
expedition: but what is to become of a traveller in the night, in such a country and climate, where there are not only no inns, but where he will find it actually impossible to procure a place of rest; nor even a stable, in which he may find clean straw for his couch, or a place where he may lie down? It seems as if the natives of the dreary district between Åbo and Petersburg had exerted their utmost ingenuity, and with fatal success, to banish from their dwellings every thing that bore any relationship to comfort and cleanliness. They lie down themselves upon dirty boards, filthy with grease and smoke; in dark hovels, stinking of putrid fish: and these boards, which they use for their beds, are not put together horizontally, so that a traveller might cover them with skins, and thus contrive a resting-place; but they are set up in a sloping position, like the roof of a house, with a foot-board to arrest the feet, and prevent the person sleeping upon them from slipping off; to which a stranger, unused to the practice of being extended like a carcase upon a butcher’s shambles, is constantly liable. Our travelling-carriage, therefore, was for us a moveable home; without which it would be folly, in this season of the year, to think of making any further progress. In the summer season the case would have been different; because the traveller, well armed against mosquitoes, may then lie down in the open air, quite indifferent as to the state of the dwellings in his route.

(1) Such, too, is the expedition with which voyages among the Åland Isles are then performed, that Professor Malthus and the Rev. W. Otter, who passed this way, from Stockholm to Petersburg, in August, came in a boat from Skarpans to Åbo, a distance equal to 117 miles, in a single day. In the course of this voyage, which they describe as resembling a passage across a beautiful lake sprinkled with islands, they were only once
As soon as the carriage arrived, we took leave of our friends, and prepared for our journey into Russia. Knowing nothing of that country, or of its inhabitants, we set out full of hope that our gratification would be at least equal to that we had received in visiting Sweden, and little prepared for the grievous disappointment we afterwards experienced. Every thing tended to excite in us a curiosity to become acquainted with the Russians;—the great figure they were beginning to make in the political world; and the memory of the illustrious names connected with the history of the country. There is something imposing in the mere name of such a mighty empire. Extending from the Caspian to the Icy Sea, and from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean, it presents, under one Sovereign, a greater extent of territory than all the empires of antiquity. It is therefore with an aching heart, but with more of regret than indignation, that the writer of these pages purposes to make known to the English Reader, what

once out of sight of land; namely, in sailing to Ekerö. Their carriage had been taken to pieces, and put into their boat. They left Skarps at a quarter past six in the morning of August 7, and reached the Custom-house at Åbo a quarter before six in the evening. They had, therefore, performed their delightful voyage in eleven hours and a half, at the rate of ten miles an hour the whole way. They did not keep a direct course; but sailed in and out among the islands, and passed a number of very narrow straits. They describe the appearance of the islands in summer as "sometimes exhibiting a prospect of bare rocks; sometimes, rocks covered with firs; and sometimes, but not often, cultivated lands, with farms upon them." The villages and little towns are "built of small wooden houses, many of them projecting into the water." Upon the rocks near one village they counted nineteen windmills, all going. The whole had a very picturesque effect, and the scenery was charming. The rocks were nowhere very high. The woods were generally of fir-trees, but sometimes mixed with alders, birch, &c. The entrance of the river Åevra, in sailing up to Åbo, possessed striking beauties, as the rocks were higher; and nothing could be more agreeable than the voyage they had made.
what his fate will be, if hereafter, pursuing the same route, he should venture to traverse the Russian dominions, and especially Russian Finland, in his way to Petersburg. Every effort of a powerful people has hitherto been made to suppress the truth with regard to Russia. Large sums of money have been constantly paid, both in England and upon the continent of Europe, to buy up the public journals; and to engage writers who should answer all the views of the Russian Cabinet, by studiously concealing the truth with regard to that country, and by propagating false accounts of its inhabitants. It is not therefore to be subject of wonder that we fell so easily into the snare which was spread before us. As we did not expect to meet with refinement, we had no right to complain of the barbarism of the Russians; but the rude and simple manners of unenlightened nations, however barbarous they may be, are sometimes joined to benevolence, if not to honesty: yet the very word honesty, if it exist in the Russian language, is unintelligible to Russians: they know not the virtue to which it applies. If any trace of it lie concealed throughout the wide extent of the Scythian dominion, it is, perhaps, buried in the breasts of those victims of tyranny who have been condemned, for their love of truth, to a life of labour in the mines of Siberia: or it may exist in some dungeon of the empire, the access to whose walls is carefully guarded by Despotism, that unnatural monster, who can only thrive where virtue is oppressed. At this time, Sweden had not lost her valuable possessions in Ostero-Bothnià; but the designs of Russia were well known to all the best-informed men of the country. From their account,
account, therefore, of the people we were about to visit, founded on the bitter experience of the Finlanders with regard to Russia, we had some prescient view of the gathering storm that was about to burst upon the land: but we entertained a hope, that the Cabinets of Europe, much better aware of what was going on, would never allow the predatory designs of the Russians to be carried on unmolested. A great national animosity had always subsisted between Sweden and Russia; and we hoped that to this might be attributed something of the dark picture given to us of the latter. Sweden, boasting of her former victories, saw with fear and distrust the rising prosperity of her mighty adversary, and the indifference with which more distant nations regarded the encroachments the Russians were everywhere making upon the territories of their neighbours. Russia, with an appetite for dominion, that grows by what it feeds upon, witnesses every year, as it passes, some new district annexed to her empire. She was now viewing with longing eyes the rich fields of Finland, which intercepted the progress of her boundaries towards the Gulf of Bothnià: and Sweden and Norway will next become a prey to her devouring ambition and avarice; as will the whole of Persia, India, and Turkey;—when it will be too late for other Powers to interfere, and to curb the ferocious system of oppression; which in due season they might have restrained!
CHAP. XIII.

FROM ÅBO IN FINLAND, TO PETERSBURG IN RUSSIA.

Journey from Åbo to Helsingfors—Description of Helsingfors—Fortress of Sweaborg—Tomb of Count Ernsverd—Strength, size, and importance of Sweaborg—Route from Helsingfors to Borgo and Louisa—Approach to the Russian frontier—Boundaries of the Swedish and Russian Dominions—Contrast between the Natives of the two countries—Mode of recruiting the Russian Army—Iniquitous conduct of a Russian Inspector of the Customs—Difficulties that impede the Traveller—Arrival at Frederickshamm—Appearance of that place—Regulation relating to Posting in Russia—Description of the Post-houses in Russian Finland—Intense cold of the weather during the night—Arrival at Wibourg—Appearance of the Soldiers of the Garrison—Mode of inflicting punishment on Deserters—Inhabitants of Wibourg—Arrival at Petersburg.

The journey from Åbo to Helsingfors, in the summer time, affords a series of prospects, which, in their character, cannot be equalled in the Swedish dominions; but in the winter season, it is performed under circumstances of so much dreary uniformity,
uniformity, that the traveller is glad to pass over it with all possible expedition. In this long route, therefore, little will now be said respecting any particular part of it: the only objects attracting notice, being the houses of relay; which are much the same everywhere, seldom rising to mediocrity as to the accommodations they offer, but situate in a country full of picturesque beauty. This part of Finland is much cultivated: the forests having been cleared, and enclosures made, of course the population is greater than in other places. The whole country appears decked with farm-houses and village-churches, rising to the view, or falling from it, over an undulating district, amidst woods, and water, and rocks, and large loose masses of granite: it may be called Norway in miniature: and the extraordinary novelty to an English traveller, of seeing vessels gliding out, as if from the woods, among which are so many bays, lakes, and little inland seas, in that season of the year when the ice has not locked up the waters, is as delightful as it is striking. Higher up the country, towards the north, there are scenes which were described to us as unrivalled in the world. Every charm which the effect of cultivation can give to the aspect of a region where Nature’s wildest features—headlong cataracts, lakes, majestic rivers, and forests—are combined, may there be seen.

The road from Åbo to Peike, the first stage, one Swedish mile and a half, is broader than the generality of roads in Sweden, and very good. Here we found the people speaking Finnish, of which we understood very little. Our next stage, to Vistu, was through a tract of land surrounded by hills sprinkled
sprinkled with firs, calling to our mind the scenery near Gothenburg in Sweden, where all the hills seemed formed into basins. As we proceeded, the country was broken with woods and forests of birch and fir; and on our right we had, occasionally, views of inlets, or bays of the sea. From the information of some travellers who passed through the part of Swedish Finland that lies between Åbo and Louisa, we found that nothing could be more incorrect than the account they had received at Stockholm respecting the face and nature of the country. They had been told, that they would see one continued black forest: instead of this, the tract, through which they passed, in the month of August, presented, frequently, scenery of a most beautiful and picturesque nature. The soil, in some places, was extremely fertile; the pasture lands very rich; and the crops of corn, of which a great quantity is exported from this part of the country, abundant.

By the friendship of Baron D’Armfeldt, upon our arrival at Helsingfors, we were conducted to the famous fortress of Sveaborg; perhaps, after Gibraltar, the strongest in Europe. It is very difficult to obtain admission: and we were told that even the Baron, who was second in command in the garrison, could not procure for us leave to enter. But when he presented us to the General, the latter, after being assured that we were not travelling in any military character, permitted the Baron, and a captain of marines, to conduct us over it. I must, however, first speak of Helsingfors, as it occurs first in order.

It is a small but handsome town, containing many stone houses;
houses; and, considering the size of it, carries on a very active trade: the shopkeepers deal with the neighbouring farmers, and, as at Åbo, with the Finns, who descend in numbers in the winter. The town was crowded with them, when we were there. The foreign commerce, as well as that of all the south of Finland, is exclusively with Spain, to which country it conveys deal planks, and brings back salt; the return with this article being considered of great importance. Helsingfors, like Åbo and Louisa, is renowned for its deal planks; some of which we found to be twelve feet in length and two inches in thickness, perfectly fair, and very free from knots. Twelve of them, when shipped, cost, including all expenses, two rix-dollars and a half of the paper currency; about eight shillings English, according to the present state of exchange, which must render the profit very high. The expense of building vessels is not great here; and it is still less in the Gulf of Bothnia. A ship of 150 Swedish lasters may be purchased for six thousand rix-dollars; and many well-constructed trading brigs do not cost more than two thousand. Of all the deals exported from the Gulf of Finland, those of Frederickshamm, a town in the Russian dominions, are preferred by the Spanish merchants.

The houses have an appearance of comfort; and the inhabitants, we were informed, lived in perfect harmony and good-will among each other. We experienced great attention and politeness from many of them. Nothing can be more gay and pleasing than the scene, exhibited on the ice, from Helsingfors to the fortress of Sweaborg, which is situate on an island, distant two English miles. The road is marked on
the snow by trees, or large branches of the pine, planted in
the ice. Sledges of all sizes and descriptions, open and
covered, of business, burthen, or pleasure, plain or decorated,
with beautiful little prancing Finland horses, are seen moving
with the utmost rapidity, backwards and forwards, the whole
way, from morning to night. Officers with their servants,
ladies, soldiers, peasants, artificers, engineers, form a crowded
promenade, more interesting and amusing than that of Hyde
Park in London, or the Corso at Rome.

The entrance to the fortress of Sweaborg is by a long and
narrow arched way. Every thing around us—the massive
walls, numerous batteries, intricate mazes, the prodigious
quantity of cannon, and the swarms of soldiers, sentries, posts
of guard—announced the strength and consequence of the
place. Our passports and persons underwent, as we entered,
a very rigid examination. The house of the Commandant
and principal officers is a lofty white edifice, placed on an
eminence, over the gateway. On an area immediately before
it, stands the simple but characteristic Tomb of Count
Ernsverd, the engineer who planned the works. The
chastity and purity of taste which are shewn in this tomb,
at once bespeak the Augustan age of Sweden, and the genius
of Gustavus the Third. Whatever is elegant in art, what-
ever is great and correct in design, whatever is magnificent,
all came from him; and to the same source the Tomb of
Ernsverd owes its origin. It is worthy of the finest age of
Greece; and has, at the same time, an Etrurian character of

(1) See the Vignette to this Chapter.
durability and massiveness. It is raised upon an ascending scale of four tablets, perfectly simple and plain in all its parts; except, that on each of its oblong sides, which are indented, there are short inscriptions in gilt letters: the snow which covered them had been hardened by the frost; and we were not able to remove it, in the few moments we had leisure to examine the tomb.

Not being at all conversant with matters relating to fortification, we can give only an imperfect account of the interior wonders of this admirable fortress. Its basins, and canals, and dry docks, have been cut, with infinite labour and art, out of the solid rock; and works for its further improvement are still going on. The roofs and chimneys of all the store-houses and magazines are covered with copper. Strong ladders reach from the basins to the tops of the buildings, which, in case of fire, must be particularly serviceable; for they are as stout and broad as staircases; and every one of them would allow persons ascending and descending to pass each other. In different parts of the fortress are a great number of cannon taken from the Russians, which may be distinguished from those of Sweden by their shortness.

Here are kept the Galleys, capable of being worked equally with sails or oars. The dry docks, large enough to receive the fleet, have a very narrow entrance: one vessel only can be admitted at a time. Batteries of various heights, appearing like mountains of massive masonry, command every port and avenue of the works. Water is admitted by gates or locks; and, when necessary, it is afterwards carried off by mill-pumps. Every vessel has its proper place: and the ships are
are laid up in a manner so convenient and admirable, as to be ready at the shortest notice; and are carefully preserved, when not in use. At the time of our visit, they were constructing a dock sufficiently large to enable them to build a ship of one hundred guns in it. The garrison, at present, consists of three regiments, one of marines and two of infantry. There are besides, in Helsingfors and Sweaborg, twelve hundred artillery soldiers; but only two hundred in the fortress. In time of war, the garrison contains ten thousand men, a number necessary to its proper defence. For these, every accommodation can be afforded within the walls. All the officers reside here with their families, in very comfortable apartments; but we were informed, by those who had served in France, in the Régiment Royale de la Suède, that in Lisle, and other fortresses of that country, the accommodations were far superior; a captain being

(1) As the Fortress of Sweaborg has been seldom visited or described, some additional information is here annexed, from Fortia's Travels in Sweden, in 1790—1792. The fortress is composed of seven small islands, or rather rocks, three of which are joined to each other by bridges. It requires half an hour to pass over from Helsingfors to the principal island (Gustafsholm), on which the Governor's house is situate. No communication between the fortress and the town is practicable during the prevalence of a strong south-west wind. The construction of this place was begun in 1748; and although it be not yet complete, it is in a perfectly defensible condition. The harbour is excellent, being capable of containing sixty sail of the line. Large vessels cannot enter, but by an extremely narrow channel, commanded by the guns of the fortress. We saw, exclusively of mortars, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, which point upon this passage; and nearly one thousand pieces altogether, including the land batteries, in the different forts. Many of the works are cut out of the solid rock. There is an eighth island, contiguous to that in which the fortress is situated; whence, in case of the enemy getting a station, it might be successfully attacked.—See Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, vol. VI.
being lodged better there, than a colonel in Sweäborg. The inhabitants of the garrison live in the most pleasant and social manner: they have their assemblies and balls, at which more than forty ladies, many of them of great beauty, make their appearance.

Sweäborg is much larger than Portsmouth; and, according to the opinion of Swedish officers who have seen both places, it is much stronger. They deem it impregnable; but whether it could be properly defended in the winter-time—when access to it is rendered so easy by the ice, and when, for want of water, which then becomes frozen in all the basins, a conflagration would produce the most dreadful effects—we shall leave to the decision of persons who are more competent than ourselves to speak on these matters. Notwithstanding the extent of the works which were at that time carrying on, there were not more than three hundred men employed when we were at Sweäborg.

From Helsingfors we came to Borgo, where we stopped at a good but extravagant inn. The town is small; though, for Finland, it is a considerable one. It has a Gymnasium, or School; and possesses a Library, in which are preserved some of the earliest works of Linnaeus. The houses are of wood, and painted red: the inhabitants are chiefly Swedes. As we proceeded to Forsby, the road became more rocky. We passed some woods of birch and fir; and in the latter part of our route, before we arrived at Louisa, we perceived a lake on our right. As we entered this town, we were stopped by a Custom-house officer; who intended, as we supposed, that we should unpack all our baggage: but he at last observed,
that if we would give him something, he would suffer us to pass. The manners of the people began to change; and we found nothing here to remark, but dirt and drunkenness. The town is rather pretty, and the principal street is wide: in summer it may perhaps be entitled to more praise; as, doubtless, all these maritime places, situate on bays, creeks, and among islands, must then have a beautiful appearance; for their shores are rarely destitute of trees.

We could not quit 
Louisa so early as we wished; being delayed by our pass, which, it should seem, was examined by many different persons; for it was sent for, and brought back again, several times. It was necessary also to have our 
Swedish paper changed for 
Russian money, that we might be able to pay for our horses on the other side of the frontier. We here found that the 
Russian rouble was worth forty schillings 
Swedish. In going to 
Tesjo, we passed a forest of firs, growing in the interstices of large loose rocks of granite. We slept at this place, within half a mile of the 
Swedish and 
Russian frontiers, in order that we might be ready to undergo the examination of the Custom-house officers early the next morning.

We know not how to paint the extreme contrast which appears in the short distance of an 
English mile,—from the 
Swedish to the 
Russian guard. The country is still 
Finland, but it is 
Russian Finland; and to heighten the difference between an union with 
Sweden, and a subjugation by 
Russia, the 
Russian Finns are not those who make their appearance at the guard, but soldiers from the interior of the empire; the reason of which will soon appear. In a company
of the Tavasthuus militia, stationed at a small distance from the Swedish Douane, on the east side of the western branch of the river, which separates the two countries, we had the last view of the benevolent and mild inhabitants of Sweden. They were a sturdy and athletic troop: and as it gave us a melancholy satisfaction to prolong the few moments of our farewell, by conversation with them, the officer on duty politely accompanied us as far as the Russian guard.

In passing the little island which lies between the Swedish and the Russian bridge, we expressed a curiosity to know what formed the precise boundary of the two countries. The Swedish officer shewed us a stone of about two tons weight, which is the only object that is supposed to break the neutrality of this interval between the respective posts. Higher to the north is the Tammijara, a small lake in the western branch of the Kymene river; which river, with the more remote waters of the Pyhâ and Wuokâ lakes, forms the line of demarcation.

When the mind has been accustomed to repose implicitly on the fidelity and virtues of those around us, it is difficult to submit it all at once to a system of suspicion and caution.

(1) "Sweden is at present reduced to the narrow but long country situate between Norway on the one hand, and the Baltic and the Gulf of Bothnia on the other. The loss of Finland is to be regretted, as a diminution of her population: the Finlanders were fully as warlike as the Swedes; and they seem to have a superiority over them in industry. But these disadvantages are scarcely a balance to the additional security which Sweden has thence derived, and to the consequent diminution of their expenses, as far as it is necessary to provide for the security of their country."—Thomson's Travels in Sweden, 1813. p. 417.
The confidence which had originated in the long-experienced honesty, goodness, and placid benignity of the inhabitants of Sweden did not entirely forsake us, as it ought to have done, on entering Russia. A few miles, nay, even a few yards, conduct you from a land of hospitality and virtue, to a den of thieves. We suffered for this want of caution, in the loss of the first moveables on which the Russians could lay their hands. We had, indeed, been forewarned of their pilfering disposition, but did not imagine that we should so soon experience the truth of the information which we had received respecting this part of the Russian character.

We have alluded to the guard of soldiers who are sent from the interior of the country, to be stationed on the Russian frontier. In this, we see a remarkable contrast in the manners of the two nations. The Swedish frontier is guarded by the Tavasthuus militia, natives of the districts they are stationed to defend. Sweden carries on no war against its own subjects; it transacts no deeds of darkness on its own frontier; the defence of them is entrusted to armed natives. But with Russia, the case is very different: her Government was employed, at the time we entered the country, in kidnapping, during the night, all the young men who could be found in their houses, to supply the armies. Their hands and legs were bound, and they were cast into sledges, like calves. As this naturally begets a desire in the Russians who inhabit the borders to migrate to the Swedish side, that they may experience the influence of a milder government, it is necessary to have piquets stationed along the line, and roving Cossacks,
Cossacks, to prevent desertion. Strangers are evidently wanted for this purpose; as few of the natives would intercept a brother or a friend, in his flight from tyranny.

Having crossed the Russian bridge, we were ordered to halt, by one of the sentinels, a dwarfish meagre figure with a sallow complexion and a long cloak, who, with scarcely strength enough to shoulder a musket, stood shivering before a large fire. A little above was the wretched hovel which serves as a guard-house. Notice being given of our arrival, we were ordered to approach; and after a few necessary ceremonies, we passed to the Custom-house, a little higher up on the left hand. Here we were ushered into a tolerably neat little room, where sate an officer with a lame foot on a couch. He could neither talk French nor English, and very little Swedish; so that we had no means of communication, until at length he surprised us by asking if we spoke Latin. Our passports were then examined, and returned.

We had reason to fear that our servants would be detained; for although they had been included in the passports of the Danish and Swedish Sovereigns, and expressly mentioned in that of our own Government, they had not been included in the Russian. Our passports were, however, signed and delivered to us, with an assurance that we were at liberty to proceed. As we advanced to the carriage, an inspector of the Customs, a renegado Finn, informed us, in the Swedish language, that he had two handsome pipes to sell. We thanked him, but informed him that we did not use tobacco. "Yah so!" he replied; "but you have some Swedish money, which

(1) For the different import and meaning of this expression, see p. 295 of this volume.
which I will accept in exchange for Russian." He then produced two false notes, one for fifty, the other for five roubles, which, he said, was all the Russian money he possessed. As the imposition was too glaring to pass, and the Swedish officer openly pronounced the notes to be bad, we declined having any dealings with the Inspector. Upon this, he snatched from my hands one of our passports; and opening it, declared, that as the names of the servants were not included, they might attempt to proceed at their peril; calling, at the same time, to the soldiers to mind their duty, or to abide the consequences. We in vain entreated that they might be accompanied by a guard to Frederickshamm, where we might state our situation to the Commandant; adding, that all expenses should be defrayed by us, and the soldiers liberally rewarded. We represented, that a journey of three hundred versts, to Petersburg, in so severe a season of the year, with so much baggage, and without a knowledge of the language, would subject us to the greatest hardships, and perhaps to the loss of all our trunks. But our attempts to persuade him were fruitless: his honour had been wounded by the detection of his villany; and therefore, making a virtue of revenge, he would for once fulfil his duty to his Sovereign, by exactions of the most vexatious and frivolous kind. He had also, without doubt, a hope that our servants would be left in his hands; by which means a new demand might be made upon us, subject to the most flagrant imposition. The Swedish officer, with the politeness and hospitality of his nation, and justly indignant at what he had witnessed, conducted them back to Louisa, assuring us that they should be taken care of, until we were able to send for them from Petersburg.

We
The author has frequently avoided, in the course of the account of these Travels, the unnecessary insertion of circumstances and adventures, the narrative of which might have the appearance of egotism. The statement of what occurred on first entering the Russian frontier will not, he trusts, expose him to this charge. An omission of that which serves to characterize a nation, or part of a nation, and which may prove a caution to travellers, would be, indeed, neglect. We might add, to the conduct of the inspector, a catalogue of difficulties which quickly succeeded each other, during our expedition to Petersburg, through a country more inhospitable than the deserts of Tahtary. Attempts were frequently made to impede our progress. In the small towns, there is generally found a miserable innkeeper, to whom the officers are frequently in debt: it is his interest, therefore, to detain the traveller: and the officer on guard, or even his superior, has little difficulty in discovering some method by which this object may be accomplished.

The tract of land between Aberfors and Frederickshamm is the scene of the last glories in the life of Gustavus the Third of Sweden. He carried his conquests even to the walls of that fortress; and, had it not been for the perfidy of his officers, would have received a more splendid crown of victory within the city of Petersburg. The spot, where the contest between the armies was most severe, is about three Swedish miles from Aberfors, at Anjala. In this route, wherever the Russians appeared, a striking difference was visible between their figure, features, manners and dress, and those of the Finns: The hair and complexion of the latter were lighter:
lighter: the Russians wore long beards, with their necks bare. At a short distance before we arrived at Frederickshamm, we passed round a Russian station, the fortifications of which had been lately thrown up. We considered ourselves happy in not meeting with any further interruption. We saw few peasants; and those whom we met had a very poor and wretched aspect.

It is impossible to conceive a more desolate tract of country than the whole route from Louisa to Frederickshamm. Some white houses, particularly the Town-house, a large building in the centre, painted white and green, gave to Frederickshamm a lively appearance. The fortifications were very regular; and the street, by which we entered, was straight, and terminated in the Town-house. We were suffered to proceed through the exterior parts of the fortifications without interruption; but on coming to the interior gate, we were stopped, and our passes examined. While we were detained, a sudden shout was raised by all the soldiers on guard; and they ran to arms. We found, on looking round, that the appearance of the Governor, in his carriage, was the cause of this bustle. The beating of the drums, and the noise of the muskets, made our horses rear and plunge; and as we were in the gateway, the Governor was obliged to give orders to the soldiers to cease, that we might move on one side, and make room for him. When he had passed, some of the officers spoke to us in French, and asked how long we proposed staying in the town; and said that our passports should be returned to us the next morning. We were informed, that it was necessary to obtain from the Governor a paper, called poderosnoy,
poderosnoy, to shew at every post-house; as without it we could not procure horses. For this paper we were to pay one copeck a verst, for each horse. The Commandant of the garrison shewed us great civility: we attended his levee, with all the officers, whom he received in his robe de chambre, with his breast and bosom bare. Having received our passports, which were signed and countersigned, and our permit for horses, we set out; but were stopped for above half an hour on quitting the town, and our passports were again examined.

Frederickshamm had once a little trade; but since the exportation of timber has been forbidden, and the town has been filled with soldiers, this has almost entirely ceased. We proceeded to Kouxis, distant sixteen versts, through a stony and rocky kind of country: the road during the next stage was varied with more hills. At every post-house, when we asked for horses, twelve or fifteen peasants generally made their appearance. They were dressed chiefly in a kind of loose coarse linen coat and trowsers, and had a particularly clownish and boorish look. At each of these houses, a Russian soldier is placed, as the manager; and to him we were directed to give ten copeeks, for what is called, in England, drink-money. He also receives the sum which is to be paid for the horses; and demands it before the traveller leaves the place. This regulation was caused by the conduct of the Russian officers, who not unfrequently paid the poor peasants with the blows of their canes, instead of with copper. Many of the houses, in the villages we passed through, were without chimneys; and
the houses themselves were of smaller size, and of a more miserable appearance than those we had remarked in Swedish Finland. The peasants whom we saw in this journey bore a strong resemblance to the Laplanders. It is almost impossible for the Reader, from any thing he has either seen or heard, to form any idea of the inside of these post-houses. That at Ursala was nothing but a dark hole: a partition with something like a bed in it was reserved for the Russian soldier, to whom the Finnish peasants seemed to pay great respect. The other part of the room had a broad bench round it, placed against the walls, on which the peasants slept. We were, upon the whole, much struck with the evident inferiority, both in looks and apparent condition, of the Russian Finlanders, in comparison with the Swedish.

The distance between Frederickshamm and Wibourg is one hundred and ten versts; and there is not a single house in which it is possible for a traveller to sleep. The thermometer fell, during the night, to fifteen and twenty degrees below o of Celsius: and we were sometimes compelled to go into the post-houses for warmth. In the carriage, our breath froze into a coat of ice on an earthenware bottle, as we drank some wine; and if we held it to our mouth, the skin stuck to it. All the furs we could apply to our bodies and feet were no defence against the frost. The poor peasants, who drove us, presented, at the end of every stage, faces as it were in armour with ice; and their fur-caps and hair were covered with icicles. When we stepped into their houses, which are as hot as a vapour-bath, we found the air within, on opening
opening the door, instantly converted to snow¹, which is whirled round and round, so that every thing in the first moment is invisible, as if the room were filled with a thick smoke. When this has subsided, a scene presents itself, to which nothing in any part of Lapland has the least resemblance. The only light is afforded by a deal splinter stuck horizontally within the wall. The roof and sides are as black as night. As the thick vapour disperses, a figure appears close to you, with a long dark beard, and hair eyes, distilling rheum; and a face fixed in mute astonishment. Suddenly, from a sloping bench like a writing-desk, extending the whole length of the apartment, twelve or thirteen other similar spectres start up, with a Babel confusion of tongues—Finnish, Swedish, Russian.

There is no country where horses are supplied with greater expedition: sixteen may be found waiting at every stage; and in no part of Europe can accidents to your harness or sledge be more quickly repaired. Our traces broke; and half-a-dozen peasants, in the midst of a crowd, which one would have imagined would have only confused them, formed a braided work of ropes in a few moments, which lasted the whole of the way from Frederickshamm to Wibourg. We travelled, during the night, without any moon; frequently at the rate of ten versts in the hour. Ten copeeks, or five pence, for six horses,

¹ Maupertuis and the French Academicians, in their journey to Torneå to measure a degree for ascertaining the figure of the earth, made a similar remark: "On opening the door of a warm room, the external air, rushing in, instantly converted the vapour into a fleece of snow."
horses, is the usual sum paid to the peasants; but fifteen (or sevenpence-halfpenny), which I believe is generally given by English travellers to these poor men, is received by them with surprise and joy.

When we arrived at the gates of Wibourg, our drivers suddenly withdrew; and, huddling together under the gate, remained for two hours in a degree of cold that we thought would have killed the horses, without telling us the reason. The gates of the fortress were not yet opened; and we waited until seven o'clock in that situation. As soon as we arrived, the Commandant and General-in-chief of the forces at Wibourg, General Von Vrangel, sent for us, by one of his officers; received us with great politeness; invited us to a masquerade, and to dinner; and requested us to attend him upon the parade at eleven o'clock. He said he had received orders to permit us to proceed on our journey to Petersburg, ever since the month of May. This was information of great importance to us; for an officer soon discovered and remarked, that our passes were not from the Crown.

Wibourg, in the time of the late Empress, was burnt down: it has been rebuilt upon a regular plan. The edifices are all of brick, none of wood being allowed; and are large and grand: the square is very spacious. The town has a military appearance: drums are heard from morning to night: the troops are exercised every day, not excepting Sundays. We could not help admiring the extraordinary regularity and accuracy with which they performed all their manoeuvres. The soldiers, when collected together, seemed a fine set of men; but when we examined them
them individually, we were disappointed in their appearance. The officers, of whom there were many present, were, in general, ill-looking, small, badly made; and very few of them had the air of Gentlemen. Once or twice during the exercise, every one present pulled off his hat: we observed this ceremony repeated frequently; and there was much apparent servility on the part of the inferior officers towards the higher. With the leave of the Commandant, we walked round the ramparts, accompanied by the Major de Place, who was also a Lieutenant-colonel. He informed us, in French, that the troops commanded by General Von Vrangal consisted of four battalions, each of a thousand men; and that there were in addition, in the town, two battalions, also of a thousand men each, under the command of General Kutusof, the General-in-chief of the forces in Finland; and a corps of engineers. The town is generally provisioned for a year: it seemed to consist chiefly of the houses of the officers, barracks for the soldiers, magazines, and churches. To garrison the place in time of war, the Colonel informed us that sixteen thousand men would be necessary. The fortifications were strong and regular, but very little assisted by nature. From the top of the tower of the castle, which is of some height, we had a view of the surrounding country. The situation was flat, and the fauxbourgs had a poor and miserable appearance. The port will not admit ships that draw more than eight or ten feet water. Many of the merchants have become bankrupts, by the Emperor's prohibition of the exportation of timber, in which their trade principally consisted. Applications have been made,
made, to export what has been already cut; but without success.

The day after our arrival at Wibourg, our curiosity got the better of our feelings, and we went to see the mode in which the Russians inflict punishment on their soldiers, for desertion. Five hundred men were drawn up, in three lines, forming two alleys, through which the deserter was to pass six times. A drummer preceded him, to prevent his walking too fast; and each soldier had a stick, with which he struck him. As soon as the punishment began, we turned another way; but were informed, afterwards, that it was more severe than we should have expected from the size of the sticks. Many soldiers desert into Swedish Finland; but they are frequently apprehended, in their attempts to reach the frontier, by the peasants; who are exasperated against them, on account of the robberies which they commit in their flight, for the purpose of supporting themselves. Five silver roubles are the reward for taking a deserter.

The inhabitants of Wibourg are partly Russians and partly Finns. The former are generally distinguished by their beards: in their dress, they have the appearance of Jews, a long loose coat being tied round the waist with a sash. The Finland girls wear their hair drawn together, and fastened at the back of the head with a little circular roll, and a pin stuck through it. The principal articles in request in this town, as luxuries, are, French brandy, sugar, wine, and coffee, all of which are very dear. The Finns, who bring corn and planks to Wibourg, return with salt. Here, and at Frederickshamm, we found the finest bread we had ever tasted.
tasted. On inquiring the price of provisions, we were informed that a sack of rye of nine pouds cost seven roubles; which is not higher than it was two or three years ago, though double or triple of what it was twenty or twenty-five years since.

From Wibourg, we proceeded, through Konuta and Rorwer, to Pampola, a distance of sixty-two versts, over a flat country, passing through forests of fir and birch trees. Pampola is rather a large village: we observed the gable ends of the houses always turned towards the road; the only openings which were left for light were, one small window with glass, and two holes on each side without any; all placed at the same end of the house. At Bulostrof, thirty-eight versts distant from Pampola, we entered one of the peasant’s cottages, a wretched abode quite black with smoke: the holes for light, on each side of the window, were not so much as a foot square. There appeared to be two families, consisting of two men, two women, and five or six children: the latter did not look so unhealthy as we might have expected from the extreme heat and dirt of the room. A bench, round two sides of the cottage, appeared to be the general sleeping-place. They expressed great surprise on our entering; and one of the women, on my offering to her a five-copeck piece, stared, and refused to take it. I then placed it on the table, where was some bread; of which they offered me a piece, in return for the money. The bread was of rye, dark-coloured, little baked, but had not a bad taste.

In going to Drasnicof, we passed through the same kind of country as before; but the firs were of larger size. The roads
roads are made, in general, with small trees, thrown across, and covered with dirt and sand. When the trees are decayed, or recently laid down, the motion of the carriage is extremely rough and unpleasant.

The view of Petersburg presented itself to us at some distance before we arrived at the last barrier, where our passports were examined. We then entered a broad and perfectly straight avenue; the further extremity being terminated by the domes and palaces of the city.
CHAP. XIV.

PETERSBURG.

General appearance of the City—Novelty of the Scene exhibited in the Dresses and Figures of the Inhabitants—Expense in the mode of living among the Higher Ranks—Collections of Art, in the possession of Individuals—Amusements of the different Classes of Society—Ice-Hills—Visit to some of the Public Institutions—Academy of Sciences—Library attached to it—Museum—valuable Collections, in different branches of Natural History, preserved there—Peter the First—Academy of Fine Arts—nature of the Institution—Fortress—Tombs of the Imperial Family—Mint—Statue of Peter the First—defect of taste in the Artist—expense of the Work—Hermitage—Pictures—Hall of St. George—Palaces of Peterhof and Oranienbaum—State of the Peasantry—Mode of managing the Estates of the Russian Nobility—Checks to Population.

We reached the first gate of Petersburg about eleven o'clock; and were ordered by the sentinel to stop, and descend from our carriage. Our passports were presented, as usual;
but he would not even lift up his arm to take them: it was contrary to order, he said, to receive them; and we must go ourselves to the officer upon guard; by whom we were detained half an hour, and then sent with a sentinel to the city. We approached it by its most beautiful quarter, crossing the Neva upon the ice, which was covered with sledges; and landed again opposite to the *Marble Palace*.

The united magnificence of all the cities of *Europe* could but equal *Petersburg*. There is nothing little or mean, to offend the eye;—all is grand, extensive, large, and open. The streets, which are wide and straight, seem to consist entirely of palaces: the edifices are white, lofty, and regular. At first sight, the whole city appears to be built with stone; but on a nearer inspection, you find the walls are of brick, covered with plaister; yet every part is so clean and in such excellent order, and has an appearance so new, that the effect is as fine and striking as if they were formed of marble. The public structures, on whatever side you direct your attention—quays, piers, ramparts—are all composed of masses of solid granite\(^1\), calculated to endure for ages. It seems as if the antient *Etruscans* or *Egyptians*—stimulated by emulation to surpass their prodigious works, aided by despotic power, and instructed by *Greek* taste—had arisen, to astonish the modern world. Such is the metropolis which *Catherine* has left! Much had been done by her predecessors; but

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\(^1\) "Les quais de la *Neva* et du magnifique *Canal de Catherine* sont construits de ce granit; les remparts de la forteresse en sont revêtus." *Patrin. Histoire Naturelle des Minéraux*, tome I. p. 96. The granite he alludes to is called *Granit de l'Ingrie*, which he describes, p. 95. He there states, that a colonnade in the Summer Garden is composed of more than sixty pillars of granite; each column being of one piece, twenty feet in length, and three feet in diameter.
but her labours surpassed them all: and our admiration is increased, while we behold the magnificence of the buildings, the breadth of the streets, the squares, and openings, and noble palaces,—and recollect that a century has not yet elapsed, since the first stone of the foundation of the city was laid by Peter the Great.

We were told that we should find Petersburg like London, and that we should everywhere hear the language and see the manners of England; but nothing can be farther from the truth. This city presents to the stranger a sight as novel and interesting as any which he will meet with in Europe. In the general appearance of features and countenance, the Russians have nothing very characteristic; and when their beards are cut off, as is the case with those who live as servants in the families of Gentlemen, they could not be distinguished from Englishmen: but in the dresses of the people we are reminded of the inhabitants of some Asiatic towns; though perhaps in summer, when the robes, pelisses, and caps are not worn, the impression may be different. The resemblance to Asiatic customs and manners, perceptible in Moscow and Petersburg, will probably decrease, in proportion to the intercourse of the Russians with other parts of Europe. The stile of dress in the seventeenth century was more Oriental than it is at present: a robe was then in use called Feredja, which is a Turkish word. At this season, the streets are filled with sledges; and with peasants in various costumes, having long beards, straight locks, bare necks, and their feet covered with shoes of the matted bark of trees.

With

(2) In parts of Petersburg, the shops which sell the same articles adjoin each other, as in the Bazars of Constantinople and other cities of the East.
With respect to magnificence, *Petersburg* is as much superior to *London*, as *London* is to any provincial city in *England*; and the style and mode of living adopted by the Nobles exceeds all belief. The most distant provinces of the empire are explored, to furnish some delicacy for their entertainments: two, three, or even four hundred roubles are expended on particular dishes. At no season of the year are their tables without fruits of the rarest and most exquisite kind. Immense revenues are necessary, to support the prodigality and profusion exhibited by many of the *Russians* of the highest rank. The number of servants who are the vassals of the great land-owners amounts to two or three hundred; who supply, in various ways, by their different occupations, the wants, tastes, and demands of their masters. The love and admiration of what is foreign, encourage many strangers to settle here, whose talents and ingenuity are constantly employed in furnishing and ornamenting the palaces of the Noblemen in the most sumptuous and splendid manner.

The collections of Art in the possession of individuals at *Petersburg*, as well as in *London*, were enriched by very valuable works, which, in consequence of the revolutions in parts of *Europe*, were dispersed over the Continent. Some of these we were allowed, by the kindness and hospitality of their owners, to examine; but they neither equal in extent or in real value those we have described, in another Part of this Work, as existing at *Moscow*. The Picture-gallery of Count *Stroganof* is a long room terminated by an enormous mirror,

(1) "I never put my hands into my purse for any thing," said a *Russian* Nobleman to a friend of the writer of this note, "but to purchase foreign wines, and articles for my wife's dress."—He was provided with every thing he wanted from his estate and his slaves.
mirror, which, sliding on one side, opens to the Library; and beyond that is the Museum. Among the most remarkable paintings, we shall mention; 1. The Flight into Egypt, by Nicolas Poussin, the most brilliant work of that master. 2. A Centaur fighting with one of the Lapithae, by Luca Giordano. 3. Les Pecheurs, by Teniers, a work much esteemed by connoisseurs. 4. A Philosopher, or Hermit, by Rembrandt, of great effect. 5. A Holy Family, by Schedoni, from the collection of Monsieur de Calonne. 6. Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar, by Dietrici. 7. The famous Claude, originally belonging to the Duchess of Kingston. It is singular, that, in rubbing this picture, a figure has appeared, which the painter had concealed. 8. The finest Portrait by Vandyke that perhaps ever proceeded from his hand. Vernet, standing for some time opposite to it, at Paris, at length exclaimed, “Parle donc!” There are also many good pictures by Spagnolet, Kuyt, and Berghami. In the Museum is a curious Plate of China porcelain; the outer varnish of which having worn off, a representation is seen of the Crucifixion, with these letters over the cross, ‘INRI.’ The Cabinet of Mineralogy contains very magnificent specimens, but without any order or classification. There is a whole cabinet of malachite: one piece, bought of Dr. Guthrie for a prodigious sum, is contained in a case by itself. The finest specimens are furnished by China and Siberia: the mine of Goumechefski formerly produced the best; but this mineral is now no longer found there².

Count

(2) “La mine de Goumechefski est à douze ou quinze lieues au sud-ouest d’Ekaterinbourg, dans la partie centrale de la chaîne des Monts Oural; c’est de toutes les mines connues celle qui a fourni les plus beaux morceaux en ce genre. Cette mine est dans une espèce de plaine, au bord d’un lac, et tout entourée de montagnes primitives.”

Count Besberodko was engaged only four years in forming his collection; but spared no expense, during that time, to render it as complete as possible. We found there many pictures we had seen before in different parts of Europe. Among them is a most singular one, by Dietrici:—it is said there are others, at Dresden, executed in the same style: it possesses, instead of his laboured and finished manner, the wildness and boldness of Salvator Rosa.—*Judith with the Head of Holofernes,* I had seen at Venice: the drapery is green, but remarkably kept down. On approaching to examine the colours in detail, they will be found to consist of yellow, brown, black, white, and many other demi-tints. In addition to the excellent pictures by the Masters of the Lombard, Bolognese, and Venetian Schools, there is a whole cabinet of the best works of Vernet, containing views of the principal towns and harbours of Europe. The collection of antiquities is very great; and there is a magnificent room, planned by Guarenghi, and finished under his direction, furnished in the most splendid and costly manner. The Library of Baron Strogonof undoubtedly contains some valuable books; but many of the editions are modern: they are very splendid; and the owner seems in general to have paid more attention to finery and show than utility. We observed in it three different copies of the French Encyclopédie.

Notices attached to the advertisements and bills of the Play-houses mark in a striking manner the character of the climate. They state, that if the cold is below 17 degrees there will be no representation at the Theatre*. The

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(1) The Vignette to this Chapter represents the Stone Theatre, as it appeared in 1801; with some of the Public Stoves.
View of the Ice-Hills at Petersburg during the Carnival.
observations are made on the scale of Reaumur; and there is hardly a house, whatever be the rank of its owner, without a thermometer. The masquerades form part of the amusements at this season. The first took place on a Sunday, at ten in the morning. At night, the Empress came, followed by the wives of the Grand-dukes Alexander and Constantine, and by all the Court. The dances began soon after her arrival. Madame Chevalier, the mistress of Koutizof the Emperor’s favourite, seemed to occupy as much attention as the Empress herself. Another masquerade, on the following Tuesday, was much crowded, and there were more persons in character than in dominoes. The most interesting were a set of costumes of the different provinces of the empire.

While the higher orders partake of the diversions of the season, the lower ranks are not without their festivities and sports. The frozen Neva presents a crowded and busy scene. In one part, booths are erected on the ice, where brandy and drams of every kind are sold: in another direction are pedlars, mountebanks, and jugglers, and the pastimes of Bartholomew Fair: in a different place are dramatic representations of a burlesque and ridiculous nature, to which the spectators are admitted for a few copecks. The ice-hills afford an amusement to the populace, peculiar to the inhabitants of Russia. A scaffolding of wood is raised on the river, to the height of forty feet: from the summit, an inclined plane, having a steep descent, is covered with blocks of ice, firmly united together by water poured over them. The sides of the steps, or ladder, which lead by the back part of the scaffolding to the top, are decorated with fir-trees. The low sledge, resembling, in shape,
The example of Peter the Great, who had expended large sums in procuring the most curious productions of nature and art to enrich the Museum, was followed by his successors, and by many of the nobles of the empire. Additions are constantly made to the Museum, by the Academicians who are travelling in the remote provinces of Russia, or in different parts of Europe. The treasures which it contains, relating to the mineral and vegetable kingdoms, are, perhaps, unrivalled. According to the account of Bachmeister, there are five hundred animals of different sizes, stuffed, or preserved in alcohol; there are also twelve hundred birds, stuffed; and the classes of amphibia, fishes, and insects, are very numerous. The Collection of Ruysch, containing the anatomical preparations of that great naturalist, was purchased by Peter the Great, in Holland, for thirty thousand florins.

From the Library, we were introduced into a small chamber, which was the Workshop of Peter the First, filled with different carvings in ivory and copper, all executed by him, and generally representing sieges or battles. In the middle of the room was a large ivory lustre by the same hand; a number of medals struck on different occasions; and the battle of Pultowa in relief, on a large plate of copper. In a gilt box, at one end, is carefully preserved the Manuscript of Catherine, containing instructions for the new code of laws proposed by her: it is written in rather a large careless hand, partly in Russian, partly in French, and forms
forms a thin folio. In a small chamber within, is a figure of Peter the First in wax, in his habit of ceremony. He appears to have been a large tall man; his height, marked against the door, being about six feet, six or seven inches. On each side of the figure are two cabinets filled with his clothes: in the first, is a blue coat lined with brown silk, and a hat with a hole made by a ball passing through it at Pultowa; in the other, his leather working-dress, and a pair of shoes which he had mended himself.

From this room we descended into two smaller ones, below stairs: in the first of which is a collection of fossils; and, in the other, of minerals, placed over the sides and ceilings, in the form of a grotto. Here we saw the immense piece of native iron found in Siberia by Professor Pallas, weighing forty pouds. There is also a curiously wrought cabinet, with an Apollo of solid gold on the top of it. In one of the rooms, we saw the idols, utensils, and weapons which had been discovered in the Tahtarian sepulchres.

In our visit to the Academy of the Fine Arts, we were accompanied by one of the élèves of the first class. He informed us, that the pupils are divided into five classes: in the three lowest, Reading, Writing, German, French, and Geography,

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(1) "Une masse de fer natif, pesant environ 60 myriagrammes, a été trouvée en Sibérie, près des Monts Kemir, entre Krasnoiarsk et Abakansk: elle étoit entièrement composée de fer métallique très blanc et très malléable, remplie de cavités sphériques, qui renfermoient une matière vitreuse, jaunâtre et transparente . . . . Les Tartares regardoient ce fer comme une pierre sacrée et tombée du ciel."—Pallas.

"Elle contient 0,981 de fer sur 0, 014 de nickel."—Klaproth.
Geography, are taught; and in the other two, in which they remain six years, the arts of Engraving, Painting, and Sculpture. Those whom we saw at work were dressed in grey coats, and had a very neat appearance: the lower classes wear red. The proper number of pupils, when complete, is three hundred, each class containing sixty: and the list is now nearly full. The first room we entered was a handsome rotunda with pillars, ornamented, in the niches, with casts of statues, from the antique. We were then led into a very spacious room, eighty or ninety feet long, and thirty broad; in which, also, were some casts of statues, a few Italian paintings, and the portraits of the principal Patrons of the Society, and the most celebrated Academicians. In the centre was the portrait of the Emperor, and, on each side, his two sons. An allegorical picture, representing the late Empress, in the character of Minerva, had formerly been placed here, but was removed when Paul came to the throne. While he was Grand-duke, he had learned to draw at the Academy; and we were shown the sketch of a head in chalk done by him; and some heads in wax, and drawings, by the present Princesses, very well executed. The Italian paintings did not appear to possess very great merit: the best among them represented Mars and Venus entangled in the net by Vulcan; but we could not learn the name of the artist.

We next entered a long gallery, filled with casts from the most celebrated ancient statues; a collection very similar to one we had seen at Stockholm. The rooms that we afterwards saw were furnished with paintings of the different Italian Schools;
Schools; with some which were the works of the Members of the Academy who had studied in Italy at the expense of the Society; and with prize-pictures of the élèves, previous to their quitting the Institution. There was an excellent cartoon by Mengs, from a Holy Family of Raphael. In one of the rooms was a model, in granite, of the rock which forms the pedestal of the famous statue of Peter; and a representation of the manner in which it was drawn to the water, rolling upon balls, in grooves. We saw many of the élèves at work, in painting and plaster. The building is extremely spacious, and all the rooms large and airy. We could not be admitted into the general dormitory, as it was locked; but that of the highest class, which we entered, was very neat and clean: each pupil has a separate bed, and there were four beds in each room. The building is of a square form; the front, towards the Neva, extremely handsome, with columns in the middle and at the two extremities; but the upper part is disfigured by a green cupola. Notwithstanding the support which is so liberally given to this Institution by the Government, few artists have hitherto risen to any great eminence. A slight degree of reflection will explain the cause of this. A taste for works of art is not yet diffused through the provinces of the empire: in Moscow and Petersburg alone are found individuals possessing great wealth, and actuated by a desire of encouraging native talent. But it is impossible that the numbers who quit the Academy can all find sufficient employment in these capitals. It is not from want of genius that so little has been done; but
the Russian painters, finding no motive to urge them to proceed in their profession, no stimulus to exertion, become indolent, and neglect the instructions which they have received. Many of the inferior artists are obliged to seek the means of a scanty livelihood by painting pictures for the Churches.

We visited the Fortress, one of the most ancient structures of the city, built on an island of the Neva, according to a plan drawn by Peter the First. It is of brick, faced with granite. Here we saw the Church where the Sovereigns of the Empire, from the time of Peter the Great to the present period, are buried. The spire is graceful and lofty, being two hundred and fifty feet in height; but the inside of the church is distinguished by no peculiar architectural beauty. Nothing can be more simple, more devoid of all splendour, than the Tombs: they are of plain unornamented marble, with only an inscription containing the name of the person and the time of birth and death; a mode of burial which we must allow to be more suited than any other to the dignity of the character of those whose bodies they contain. They were all covered with a velvet pall embroidered with silver. The Russians cross themselves before the tomb of Peter the First. Catherine herself lies not in greater state than any of her predecessors, nor in a manner different from that which belongs to any private gentleman in an English church-yard.

(1) Some of the artists of France dispose of their works in a similar manner. In visiting the public exhibition of paintings in the Louvre, in 1822, the writer of this note, on asking what became of the pictures of ordinary merit, of which the subjects were of a religious nature, was informed, that many were bought for the Churches.
The Tombs are on the right side of the altar, and arranged in the following manner:

1. Peter the First.  
2. Catherine the First.  
3. Elizabeth.  
4. Anne.  
5. Peter the Third.  
6. Catherine the Second.

The Mint, established in part of the Fortress, is worked by steam-engines. Ten thousand pouds of silver, and seventy-three of gold, in ducats, had been coined this year for the Emperor's private use. A piece of mechanism, worked by the steam-engine, counted the number which were struck.

We have, in a former Part of these Travels, had occasion to mention circumstances illustrating the thievish and pilfering propensities of some of the Russian nobles. When they enter a shop, they carry away things in their muffs. A party having visited the Mint, had the meanness to purloin two ducats; and the poor slaves were forced to make good the loss.

The view of Petersburg, in descending from the Fortress, is one of the grandest and the most striking that can be conceived. We beheld a great part of the city extended before us; a series of noble buildings, domes, houses, reaching to
to the distance of four miles; the Admiralty, its Church, the Marble and Winter Palaces, and the Hermitage.

In the quarter of St. Petersburg, we saw the House of Peter the First; a small wooden building, consisting only of three rooms; one of which was about fifteen feet square; the other, fifteen by twelve; and the third, not ten feet square. These, with a little passage as an entrance, made up the whole of the house, and formed a curious contrast to the magnificent palaces of the modern city.

On recrossing the Neva, we arrived at the colossal Statue erected by Catherine to the memory of the Founder of the Russian Empire. The merit of transporting the enormous mass of granite which serves as the pedestal of it, from the forest of Carelia to the water-side, and thence to the city, is entirely due to Count Carburi. Being placed on balls of brass fifteen inches in circumference, which rolled on sledges over a causeway raised for the purpose, it was moved every day, by four hundred men, with the assistance of pulleys and a windlass, over a space of ground equal to about half a mile. From the coast, it was brought, on a raft of a peculiar construction, to the city. The original size of the rock was thirty-six feet in length, twenty in height, and as many in breadth; but in forming it for the pedestal, a great part was cut off; and it was afterwards found necessary to add two pieces. The time of its erection is recorded by a simple inscription, in bronze, placed on one side:

PETRO PRIMO
CATHERINA SECUNDA
1782.
The Russian Inscription, on the side facing the Admiralty, has the same meaning. The statue is a master-piece of art, and reflects the highest credit on the talents and genius of Falconet, the sculptor. The Tsar, dressed simply, according to the national costume, is seated on horseback: his left hand holds the reins; the right is extended in a direction towards the Neva and the Fortress. The head, formed after a bust made by Mademoiselle de Collot, is crowned with a wreath of laurel. An appearance of stiffness in the right arm is the only defect in this admirable figure; but the statue of the horse is faultless; and nothing can exceed the fire and animation with which this noble animal is represented in the act of galloping towards the summit of the rock, and trampling on a serpent endeavouring to impede his course. The height is sixteen feet: that of the Tsar, ten feet. The model of the statue, in plaster, was exposed to public view for many years; but the statue itself was not allowed to be seen during the progress of the work. In the year 1782, when the whole was complete, the day of exhibiting it was commemorated in a striking and solemn manner. The Empress, attended by her Court, assisted at the ceremony; detachments of soldiers were drawn out, and placed round the statue; discharges of cannon were the signal for the removal of the scaffolding; medals of gold and silver were distributed on the occasion; and an ukase was issued, proclaiming pardon to all debtors of the Crown, under a certain sum. The rock having been diminished, and shaped according to the fancy and direction of the artist, has lost that bold and sublime appearance which it originally possessed. Cut and garnished,
garnished, what, in the present state, does the whole exhibit?—
a colossal figure of a man and horse, and a miniature
representation of a mountain! A contradiction of this kind is
absurd: it is the greatest violation of proportion that can
exist. But the rock in its original state pretended to nothing:
it was simply a rock, rude, and fashioned by the hand of
Nature: and if it had been suffered to remain as Catherine
certainly wished it should, untouched and unmutilated,
nothing could have marked with more truth and propriety
the character of the man in whose memory the work was
raised, than a representation of the horse forcing its way and
endeavouring to attain the summit. According to a calcula-
tion made by the Office for superintending the buildings of
the city, the sum expended on the erection of this monument
—including the cost of transporting the rock from its original
site, the allowance to the artist who was engaged eight
years in his labour, to the person who cast the statue, and
to others who assisted in the inferior departments of the
work—amounted to 424,600 roubles.

Proceeding, in an easterly direction, from the spot where
the statue is erected, we arrive at the Hermitage, a large
pile of building connected with the Winter Palace. We
first passed through a small but elegant Theatre, in which
some persons were rehearsing a play: it was rather dark, but
the columns round the semicircular part, where the audience
sate, appeared to us to be of fine marble. After passing
through three rooms, two of which are filled with pictures,
we entered a most beautiful Gallery, said to be an exact
representation of the Vatican. The copies of the Cartoons of
Raphael
Raphael were well executed. From this gallery we were led into various suites of apartments, almost all ornamented with pictures. Those which formed part of the Houghton Collection, purchased by Catherine, were not arranged during her life-time: since her death, they have been hung up in the rooms of this palace; and many have been injured by the process of cleaning and varnishing, through which they have passed: some have fortunately remained untouched, and retain all their original beauty and character: among these, we may mention the Prodigal Son by Salvator Rosa, and the Holy Doctors of the Church, the celebrated work of Guido. Some pictures by Murillo are in one of the saloons: in another, are a few admirable pieces by the two Wouwermans: the collection is also adorned by some works of Nicolas and Gaspar Poussin, Claude Lorraine, Teniers, and Rembrandt, and a few portraits by Vandyke, executed in his best manner. In one of the glass cabinets we observed an aigrette of diamonds, presented to the late Empress by the Grand Signior.

The Hall of St. George, in a part of the palace adjoining the Hermitage, is a very magnificent room, about one hundred

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(1) "In this picture, which is by Guido, in his brightest manner, and perfectly preserved, there are six old men as large as life; the expression, drawing, design, and colouring, wonderfully fine. The Doctors of the Church are consulting on the immaculateness of the Virgin, who is above in the clouds. After Sir Robert Walpole had bought this picture, and it was gone to Civita Vecchia to be shipped for England, Innocent XIII, then Pope, remanded it back, as being too fine to be suffered to go out of Rome; but on hearing who had bought it, he gave permission for its being sent away again." —Account of the Pictures at Houghton Hall, by Horace Walpole.
hundred and thirty feet in length, and fifty in breadth. There are eighteen fluted Corinthian columns of fine marble, with gilded capitals, extending the length of the Hall; and six in breadth, placed with greater intervals, between every two: pilasters on the wall correspond to them. At one end is the throne, of crimson velvet and gold; the back and canopy ornamented with the Imperial arms: at the other end are two groupes of sculpture, by Falconet; one represents "Pygmalion admiring his own work;" the other, "Prometheus communicating fire to the image which he had formed." The figure of the woman in the first groupe, and the countenance and attitude of Pygmalion, are particularly excellent.

On the southern shore of the Gulf of Cronstadt, and at twenty-five versts distance from the capital, stands, in a lofty and commanding situation, the Imperial Palace of Peterhof. It was built in the reign of Peter the First, and has received additions from different Sovereigns; and, consequently, presents various styles of architecture. We were shewn the Maison Hollandaise of that Emperor, a summer-house fitted up in the Dutch taste; a favourite spot, as from it he could behold Cronstadt and his fleet. In another part of the garden is a wooden house, having externally the appearance of a cottage, but furnished inside with a number of mirrors, and in a style of great magnificence. In the palace itself were many suites of apartments; some of them richly ornamented with gold. The bed-room of the Emperor was furnished in a very handsome manner: the bed was placed under a canopy; and near it, on a golden stand, was the glass-case for the crown, which the Emperor always takes with him. The
first room into which we entered was fitted up with a profusion of portraits of Russian Peasants, male and female, in their different costumes: many of them were exceedingly well executed, and represented some beautiful faces. Of the other apartments, those destined for the masquerades were the most remarkable for their size.

The Palace of Oranienbaum, distant a few versts further, had been presented by Paul to the Grand-duke Alexander: workmen were now engaged in fitting it up, for his residence; but it was not supposed that he would live much here. We were told that there was little worth seeing within. In the grounds adjoining, we were shewn a building of very elegant form, erected by Catherine the Second: some of the apartments were furnished with tables of beautiful work in mosaic, and good paintings in fresco. Many smaller buildings, that were formerly placed in different parts of the grounds, had been pulled down. Out of 4700 peasants attached to this place, two hundred and fifty were taken, in rotation, every week, to work about the grounds. The person who accompanied us, and who had the superintendence of them, informed us, that they were sometimes rather idle, and required a little beating. This he did not administer himself, but, when he thought it necessary, sent them to the soldiers. The peasants pay three roubles a-year, besides this contribution in kind: they also furnish horses and carts.

The peasants are slaves\(^1\): these unfortunate people are sold, like

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(1) A peasant may obtain his liberty, either by manumission, as in the instance of domestics; or by purchase; or by serving in the army or navy.
like cattle in the market; and as much art and finesse are shewn by the nobles in disposing of them, as in the sale of their horses. If they are diseased, or infamous, or stupid, their faults and vices are concealed. They are often advertised in the Gazettes: and are let out on hire, or suffered to keep shops; their masters receiving the principal part of their gains. The price of a slave varies, according to circumstances: if he is a mechanic, an artisan, if he dresses hair—in short, if he knows how to procure a little money, the price rises in proportion to his abilities. The children of slaves are also slaves. The treatment which such persons must sometimes experience in Russia may be well conceived. We had once, in Petersburg, the pain to witness, in the public streets, the punishment which a meagre effeminate coward thought proper to bestow on a man who might have crushed him with a grasp: but he was a slave! This contemptible tyrant, for no cause whatever that we could discover, was displaying his prowess, before a mob, by beating a peasant with a large bludgeon. The poor man bore the punishment without a groan or a tear, or even a word. His cowardly oppressor seemed to think he distinguished himself by the number of blows he gave; and became exasperated, because the object of his torture refused to shew, in any manner, that he felt the severity of the punishment. Unable to endure a spectacle so repugnant to the common feelings of humanity, and yet sensible of the danger of interfering in a species of iniquity protected and encouraged by the laws, we ventured, with great deference, to remonstrate, and to petition for the release of the peasant. "You know little," said his chastiser
of this people: you have been so short a time in this country, that you have not learned how to manage a Russian: if you do not fle the skin from his body, you will never have him in any order whatever."

There are, however, many proprietors in Russia whose general conduct to their peasants is directed by feelings of benevolence and kindness. The family of Prince Sheremetof have been remarkable, for some time, for the treatment of their slaves; many of whom are very rich, and not afraid to shew their wealth: their condition is, indeed, better than that of the peasants of the Crown. The Prince has 150,000; and receives, from each, five roubles a-year, as Capitation-tax. As an illustration of the wealth possessed by many of this class of men, we were informed that the late Empress, wishing to obtain a supply, proposed to make a levy of one in five hundred; which, with the population of that time, of nine millions, would amount to eighteen thousand; declaring, however, that those who would pay five hundred roubles should be exempted. The levy was made in the usual manner; and fourteen thousand, out of the eighteen thousand, paid four hundred roubles. It is customary, on the different estates, for the peasants to go as soldiers; and a family generally knows when they will have to send a son. The only exception to this takes place when either the Seigneur or the neighbourhood are desirous of ridding themselves of some man of bad character.

The peasants on the estates of the Russian noblemen are allowed to manage the lands as they please, provided they pay the Capitation-tax. This is different in different places; as much
much depends on the wants of the proprietor. The higher the rank, and the greater the wealth, the happier, for the most part, are his peasants. Few of the Russian noblemen farm their own estates: when they do, their lands produce more; but the situation of their peasants is rendered at once miserable. This is the case in Livonia and Poland, where some of the noblemen suffer their slaves to work for themselves only on Sunday.

There are some estates appropriated to particular branches of the Royal Family; and the peasants attached to them are considered to be in a better condition than those belonging to individuals. There are peasants, but not many, who may be said to possess land of their own; and these are chiefly the families of noblemen reduced to poverty, who have been permitted to enter into the class of vassals, and have had lands given to them by the Crown, which they hold under a particular tenure. On every estate, whether it belongs to the Crown or to an individual, a new enumeration and a new division of lands takes place every ten or twelve years. A family that loses any male children during the interval pays for them until the next enumeration. Forty acres is the common portion of land allotted; but the quantity depends on the size of the family, or what they are thought able to cultivate, and on the plenty or scarcity of land on the estate. The tax is like a rent; and the Seigneur in general does not trouble himself in what manner it is earned, whether by cultivating the farm, or leaving it, and working in a town: for the latter, however, permission is required. Many of the arrangements, relating to the division of the lands and internal regulations, are settled by the peasants themselves,
the Elders of the village. When an estate is overpeopled, which, however, does not often happen, the peasants are sometimes transported to another place, and formed into a new colony. The brother of the Baroness Strogonof had an estate where the population was too great for the quantity of land; but no inconvenience arose from it, as he received a certain capitation-tax, and allowed his peasants to go and earn it where they pleased. This was the method he pursued in general; and therefore never gave himself any trouble, whether they cultivated the land that was allotted to them, or not. "Cela m'est égal : cela me fait ni bien, ni mal!"

Early marriages are encouraged by the Seigneurs. The principal checks to population are, the recruiting service—the numbers lost before they join the army—the debauchery of the large villages—the custom of drinking great quantities of brandy—the small-pox, and other epidemic diseases. Scarcities do not often occur, though there have been partial ones. The price of labour was between eighty copecks and a rouble a-day. Brandy was so cheap, that a man could completely intoxicate

\[1\) The result of the inquiries made relating to marriages, births, and deaths, is published occasionally by the Academicians, in their Memoirs. According to the observations of Professor Kraft, the mortality between the ages of twenty and twenty-five is very great. From 1764 to 1780, out of 47,538 males, and 26,899 females, there died, between the ages of fifteen and twenty, 364 males, and 670 females; but between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five, 14,752 men, and 973 women.—Storch states the mortality between the ages of twenty and sixty to be very great: "Neither by the bodily frame, nor the climate, is this to be explained; since both are favourable to life, as the periods till the fifteenth year sufficiently prove. Nothing, therefore, but the mode of living can account for this political calamity." He then mentions the cause, which was stated to us, among other circumstances, as affecting the population. "No other cause remains that we can accuse of this terrible effect, than brandy." p. 94.—See also Tooke's Russian Empire, vol. II. p. 156.\]
intoxicate himself for eight copecks. The price of labour had been trebled during the last twenty or thirty years; and that of brandy had not been raised more than a third. The population of the city, according to a recent census, amounted to 200,000 persons, including the strangers; a calculation which places Petersburg after London, Paris, Vienna, and Naples. It was difficult, however, to obtain an accurate estimate; as some thousand workmen—bricklayers, masons, and labourers of various classes—come to the city in spring and summer, and quit it in autumn. Of the foreigners resident here, the Germans are the most numerous. The trades which contribute to luxury, ornament, and fashion, as well as those of general use, are carried on by them. Next to these, we may place the French; who follow, among other employments, those of cooks, hair-dressers, watch-makers, and milliners.
Benediction of the Waters of the Neva—Monastery of St. Alexander Nevsky—Religious Festival in honour of that Saint—Tombs—Church of St. Nicholas—Glass-house established by Potemkin—nature of the works carried on there—Foundling Hospital—description of it—state of the Children—mortality which prevails amongst them—encouragement given to licentiousness by the Institution—Character, temper, and disposition of Paul, before his accession to the throne—Disrespect and insult shewn by him to the memory of Catherine, on his becoming Emperor—Anecdotes illustrating his extraordinary conduct—Remarks on the character of the Empress Catherine—Deposition and murder of Peter the Third.

So much has been said in other works respecting the religious rites and usages of the Greek Church, that little need be introduced in this place on the subject. We shall only mention those objects worthy of attention, noticed by us in the course of our visits abroad.
course of our visits to some of the churches; and the annual ceremony of the Benediction of the waters of the Neva. The last takes place on the sixth of January (O.S.), and was formerly celebrated, with great splendour and magnificence, on the river. At present, a small Temple, of an octagon form, made of wood, painted and adorned with crosses and pictures representing parts of the history of John the Baptist, is erected on the Admiralty Canal: an inclosure is formed around it, and within is a hole cut in the ice. A platform, covered with scarlet cloth, leads from the Palace to the Temple; along which the procession advances, consisting of the Archbishop, accompanied by Bishops and Dignitaries of the Church, the Imperial Family, and persons attached to the Court. Having arrived at the Temple, different prayers are recited; after which, the Archbishop descends a ladder placed within the octagon building, and dips the cross thrice in the water; the benediction being pronounced at the same time. Some of the water is then taken up in a vessel, and sprinkled on the surrounding spectators. The military, with their standards, the religious orders in their different dresses, the presence of the Imperial Family, and the crowds of people assembled together, form a very striking scene. The last occasion on which Peter the Great appeared in public, was at the celebration of this ceremony. He was previously indisposed; a severe cold attacked him on the day of the Benediction of the waters, increased his disorder, and in a short time brought on his death. At the celebration of a ceremony

(1) The prayers used on this occasion are given by Dr. King, in his account of the Greek Church, p. 394.
CEREMONY OF THE BENEDICTION OF THE WATERS OF THE NEVA.
ceremony of the same kind, which was instituted in the early period of the empire, at Moscow, an image of the Holy Virgin was plunged into the river; the water was blessed by the Patriarch; and the Tsar, and the persons of the Court who were present, were sprinkled with it.

The Monastery of St. Alexander Nevsky is situate on the left bank of the Neva, at the distance of four versts from the Admiralty, in a south-east direction: it was built by Peter the Great, in order to receive the remains of one of his ancestors which were brought from the Convent of Godoretch in 1724. When we visited this monastery, the priests were performing the service in a small chapel, and not in the great church. After the singing, a sermon was read, in rather a fast and vulgar voice: at intervals, the people bowed and crossed themselves, some touching the ground with their foreheads. We observed, in general, that the women shewed the most, and the Monks the least devotion. The latter were dressed in black stuff or camlet, with a high cap, and a black crape veil over it. After the service, we went into the great Church; where we remarked three Monks before the Shrine of St. Alexander, saying a mass for a particular person who was standing near them. The prayers were read by one, in a singing tone; and the two others joined at intervals, and made responses, taking a second or tenor at a particular part of the service. The head of the devotee was covered, for some time, with the mantle of the reader, and the book placed upon it: the person then kissed the book.

(2) "Toute la journée on se rendait alors sur la glace: on y faisait des trous: le Patriarche bénissait l'eau pour toute l'année, y enfonçait l'image de la Sainte Vierge, et aspergeait le Tsar et les Courtisans."—Histoire de Russie, par Levesque, tom. IV. Note par Depping, p. 190.
book and the hand of the priest, paid his devotions to the shrine, gave a certain number of copecks, and retired. We observed others, afterwards, apparently negotiating for a mass at a certain price, and sometimes unsuccessfully. A gentleman with a cockade, accompanied by a servant in a silver-laced hat, seemed to be more fortunate, and had a mass said, and some water blessed for him. The latter part of the ceremony was so long, that we did not stay to see the conclusion; but were told, that he either carried the water home, or left it with the Monks, to be added to that which was already consecrated in the church. He did not appear to go through his part with much devotion; and instead of bowing his forehead to the earth, in general only touched it with his hand. He afterwards, however, knelt down once or twice, and kissed the shrine. While they were saying the masses, many people came and paid their devotions to the shrine; always putting some money, at the same time, in a little box placed there for the purpose. The shrine is very handsome: religious emblems of various kinds, candelabra, reliques from Palestine, and a pall adorned with gold and jewels, form part of its decorations. The silver in it is said to weigh eighty pouds and eight pounds; or 3208 pounds.

(1) We were not in Petersburg at the time of the year when the great Festival occurs in honour of the Saint to whom the Monastery is dedicated. The author is indebted to a friend for permission to transcribe from his Journal the following account of what he observed on that occasion.

"When we reached, with some difficulty, the Church, we found that the procession of Priests had arrived before us, and the service was begun. It was read in a chanting tone, and frequently interrupted by singing. All the people bowed, and crossed themselves, for some minutes. We were near the Shrine of the Saint, which was of massive silver, and very handsome. Many waxen tapers were burning before it: some were brought by the devotees themselves, who also handed up money, which, we understood, was for the purpose of contributing to the expense of
We afterwards went into another church belonging to the Convent, in which were some fine monuments: we observed particularly those of Count Panin, Prince Galitzin, Count Besberodko; and a very handsome one of Narishkin. Over the tomb of Besberodko, a lamp was to be kept always burning before a small figure of Christ; and in an adjoining room was a rich crimson velvet and gold baldachin, under which was the body lying in state. In a room above stairs was a very good picture representing the Baptism of the Wife of the Grand-duke Alexander, previously to her marriage. It was the work of a slave who attended at the ceremony; and was presented to the Empress, for the Hermitage. She purchased his freedom, and gave him one thousand roubles.

The lights. All that were able to approach the Shrine, kissed it; having made, previously, several prostrations and bows. Every body around appeared very devout: I lost, notwithstanding, my pocket-handkerchief. After a short time, we met with a Russian Gentleman, who spoke English, and took us under his protection; and by his assistance we obtained a much better situation. Before the Communion-table were folding-doors, having open work of gold, and ornamented with circular paintings: immediately behind was a veil or curtain, which, when the Priests retired to receive the Sacrament, was drawn across the open-work, and the place was kept sacred from the eyes and observation of all. After the usual service was performed, as it was the name-day of the Grand-duke Alexander, the Bishops, six in number, with the Metropolitan at their head, walked to the Shrine, and prayers were offered up for all the Royal Family, and for the Grand-duke in particular. The Bible presented by the late Empress, the covers of which were of gold, and on one side most richly set with brilliants, amethysts, and other precious stones, was brought to the Shrine: the Metropolitan, having taken his mitre from his head, read from it. As he was rather infirm, the Bishop of Casan had performed the greatest part of the service. Six Bishops stood before the Shrine, most splendidly arrayed, their mitres covered with pearls and other ornaments: at the extremity of the line was the Greek Bishop, Eugenius, who appeared very old, and scarcely able to support himself. The Abbots who assisted in the ceremonies were dressed in robes of crimson velvet embroidered with gold. When the service was over, the Metropolitan, followed by the other Bishops, returned to the Communion-table. He was supported by two of the Abbots and a page; and, as he walked, all the people who were near, among
The style and manner of painting adopted in the pictures with which the Russian churches are frequently ornamented have been described in the former part of this work. In the Church of St. Nicholas, called also L'Eglise des Matelots, are many pictures of Christ and the Virgin Mary, studded with real or false gems: the glories of gold have the appearance of gilded horse-shoes; and when many of them are seen together, in the same piece, produce a singular effect. The style and manner of painting adopted in the pictures with which the Russian churches are frequently ornamented have been described in the former part of this work. In the Church of St. Nicholas, called also L'Eglise des Matelots, are many pictures of Christ and the Virgin Mary, studded with real or false gems: the glories of gold have the appearance of gilded horse-shoes; and when many of them are seen together, in the same piece, produce a singular effect. The inside of the building is roofed quite low; and we were told that there was another church above. We observed the same arrangement in that of St. Vladimir; where the lower church is used in winter, and the upper in summer.

We afterwards went to the Glass-house established by Prince Potemkin; where plate-glass of an extraordinary size is cast. The person who superintended the business was among whom were some of the principal Nobility, crowded round him, to kiss his hands. The Bishop of Casan received the same mark of homage; but less respect was shown to the rest; and Eugenius, the most venerable of all, from his great age, had no Abbot to support him in his tottering walk, nor did any persons offer to kiss his hand. When the Bishops had left the Shrine, the people crowded round it in great numbers, to pay their devotions, and kiss it. We were happy in having an opportunity of seeing all the country-people in their best apparel; and were quite astonished at the rich dresses of some of the females, who, we were informed, were either peasants or bourgeoises. The head-dress was, in general, a kind of turban, with a deep gold lace round the forehead; and a very large silk handkerchief, worked with gold and silver, falling from the top of the turban, down to the waist behind, and sometimes brought round before, like a cloak. Under this was a silk vest, meeting over the breast, and reaching some way below the waist; and under that, a petticoat. Many of the vests and petticoats were of the richest silk, worked with gold and silver. The upper part of the turban, when not covered by a handkerchief, was generally of velvet, flowered with gold. These dresses reminded me very much of some representations of those worn by Greek women, and were certainly not like any thing we had seen in the northern parts of Europe. The bourgeoises of the city appeared generally in old-fashioned silk jackets and petticoats, with high head-dresses of silk handkerchiefs tied in the shape of turbans. All the peasants, and lower classes of citizens, wore their beards."
was sent by Potemkin to England, for some years, to learn the art. Having seen the different houses where the earlier parts of the process were going forwards, we were taken to that part of the building where the quicksilver is laid on, and there saw a glass supposed to be the largest that was ever made. The length was 165 inches; the breadth, eighty-nine; and intended for one of the rooms in the Winter-Palace. The breadth occasions the greatest difficulty to the workmen. The price of it was 15,000 roubles. The immense copper-plate on which it was cast was made at Petersburg, for 20,000 roubles. Prince Potemkin applied, at first, to the manufactory at Paris, and was asked 20,000 roubles for the work alone, without the expense of the copper. The weight is one thousand pouds, or 40,000 pounds. At the death of the Prince, the manufactory was taken by the Crown, but is supposed now not to pay much more than the expenses. The workmen had all a clean and comfortable appearance: they are slaves attached to the manufactory, which is the case in many other establishments: they here, however, receive pay, in proportion to the quantity of work executed. We were informed that the Crown seldom takes the labour of its peasants in kind: hired labourers are engaged in most of the public-works.

The Foundling Hospital, established by Catherine the Second, in the vicinity of the Convent of Voskresenski, but removed afterwards to the first quarter of the Admiralty, is a branch of the great institution at Moscow, also founded by her. The house is a handsome extensive building by the Moika Canal, which had belonged to a nobleman. The Foundling Hospital, established by Catherine the Second, in the vicinity of the Convent of Voskresenski, but removed afterwards to the first quarter of the Admiralty, is a branch of the great institution at Moscow, also founded by her. The house is a handsome extensive building by the Moika Canal, which had belonged to a nobleman. The
rooms are large, airy, and even elegant; and are kept apparently with great neatness and cleanliness. We were first introduced to that part where the boys were dining, in number, as we were told, about 180: they were dressed in red, blue, and brown, according to their classes. They were eating meat, with which they were constantly supplied, except on fast-days. The table-cloth was clean; and each had a separate napkin: there was no disagreeable smell in the room; and the provisions appeared to be so good, that we could have sate down, and partaken of their fare with pleasure. We then walked over different rooms, in which we saw much machinery; but as it was a holiday, no one was at work. The boys are taught all kinds of trades: they learn to be tailors, to weave, to make shoes and stockings; and each trade had a separate room appropriated to it. What is not used in the house, is sold; but the profits do not go far in support of the establishment. In the magazine-rooms, there were some tolerable pieces of manufactured goods, but not much in quantity. We were next introduced to the Dormitory: the bedsteads are of iron; the beds are composed of straw paillasses, but have no testers nor curtains: they are at four or five feet distance from each other; and there was a separate one for each boy. We were then conducted to the apartments appropriated to the young children, where we observed the same neatness we had remarked in the dormitory. All women who present themselves to the Lying-in-Hospital connected with this institution, for the purpose of being taken into the house and delivered, are received, and no questions are asked; but they cannot take their children away,
away, when they quit it. An application was once made to
the Empress in favour of a person of some quality, and
granted. The children that are brought to the door in
baskets are, after three days, sent into the country, to the
wives of Ingrian and Finnish peasants, at the rate of two
roubles a month: they return when they are six or seven
years old, and are then fit to be taught some trade. The
number in the country belonging to the establishment is six
or seven thousand. All the children that are brought are
received, without any limit. The average number admitted in
the day is about ten. We were there at noon-time, and saw
four who had just been received: one of them appeared to be
dying. We could not learn the average number of infants in
the house; but thought, from our conductor's information,
that it was seven or eight hundred. We were surprised
at the great mortality that takes place: one hundred deaths
in a month form the common average of the whole house;
and in the preceding winter, there occurred, not unfrequently,
eighteen in a day. The mortality chiefly occurs, it may be
supposed, among very young children; some of whom are
brought when they are actually dying: but there is a consid-
erable number of deaths among those who are older.

Having quitted these apartments, we went over those allotted

(1) Mr. Forsyth makes an ingenious and happy application of a passage in Juvenal to
the Hospital at Florence, in which legitimate and illegitimate children are received. As
they are admitted at night, he proposes that the following words should be written over
the grate:

Stat Fortuna improba noctu
Arridens nudis infantibus: hos fovet omnes,
Involvitque sinu.”

Remarks on Italy, p. 443.
to the girls. The dormitories and work-rooms were kept in the same neat manner. There are five classes: the two highest make lace, and embroider very well: we saw a saddle-cloth of yellow velvet most richly embroidered in silver, which was to be presented to the Emperor on his birth-day. The Empress interested herself particularly in the institution; and, when she was in the city, seldom passed a week without coming twice or thrice, and looking into all the details of the management of it. We were told that the expenses of the establishment amounted to 100,000 roubles a month. The regular revenues belonging to it are not in any degree equal to that sum; but the Government takes upon itself the direction of the whole, and consequently bears the additional expenses.

The common hours of working are from six to twelve, and from two to four. There was a large garden, for the girls to walk in; and a separate piece of ground for the boys, where they went after dinner to play; as it was a fête: the girls amused themselves with sewing and embroidery. Notwithstanding the advantages possessed by the place, and the cleanliness that appeared to prevail in general, the children had not a healthy appearance; and we were quite surprised at the very small number of good-looking boys and girls which we saw. The greater part were absolutely ugly; and all had sore eyes. This complaint arises, probably, from the strong light and white walls, added to the offensive heat of the rooms and the reflexion from the snow: it originally begins in the smoky cottages where the children are sent to be nursed. One of the governesses complained to us of the frequency of holidays
holidays, as a great interruption to the employments of the children. The girls leave the house at the age of eighteen, and the boys at that of twenty or twenty-one. Sometimes those children who were sent into the country did not return; this depended on the room there was in the house, and on the will of the Empress. There is a large hall, with a railing, where the parents come and see their children; to whom they affix a mark when they deliver them; giving, at the same time, a note, stating whether the child has been baptized or not, and what is, or what should be, the name. Parents, in proving themselves able to support their children, and, we believe, on paying the past expenses, may demand them, and take them away, if they have not been born in the house. They may always find the children, by asking for the particular number, received on placing them in the institution.

The greatest praise has been bestowed by some Writers on the institution of the Foundling Hospitals of Petersburg and Moscow. "The genius of Catherine made even the vices of a portion of her subjects contribute to the wisdom of her views. Those unfortunate children, whom their fathers disowned—whom their mothers did not dare to acknowledge—were abandoned to public compassion, and often to death. Equally rejected by nature and by the law, they have been adopted by the Sovereign. No establishment of the kind can be compared with the Hospital at Moscow. All who present themselves there, or are brought from the different dépôts of the empire, are received. Their first years
years are watched with the utmost attention; and this, if possible, is increased in the superintendence of their education. They are instructed, according to their inclinations or natural dispositions, in different trades and different arts. When the term of their education has expired, they receive the greatest of all blessings—liberty. Restored to their country, they are dependent only on the laws; and in consecrating to their country the talents which she has bestowed upon them, they give back even more than they have received.” Such is the eulogy pronounced on these institutions by one of the historians of the Russian empire: nor can it be denied that many useful and industrious citizens have been formed in them. It may however be questioned, whether they really increase the population of the empire to the extent which some have supposed. No doubt can be entertained as to the encouragement of immorality and licentiousness which they afford; since to have an illegitimate child, is considered as the least fault which a female-servant can commit.

The conduct of the Emperor was, at this time, the chief subject of conversation at all the tables to which we were invited, during our stay at Petersburg; both in the houses of

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(1) Histoire de Russie, par Levesque, tome VI. p. 55.

(2) A female servant belonging to a mistress of rather strict character sent six children to the Foundling Hospital, without losing her place. Her accouchement, we were informed, seldom obliged her to absent herself more than three days.
of strangers, and of the Russians themselves. We had not, indeed, been long in the city, before we heard, from undoubted authority, numerous examples, many of which were confirmed by our own observation, of the folly and inconsistency, cruelty and obstinacy, caprice and idiotism, not to say insanity, of Paul. Before his accession to the throne, he had frequently displayed great eccentricity and absurdity in his conduct. A mania for every thing military particularly possessed him: he would harass the soldiers of his regiment with the most vexatious discipline, the most minute and frivolous attention to every part of their dress, even to the shouldering of a musket, and to the buttoning of a coat. He once shut his wife up in a fortified place; and ordered a mock-battle to be fought, pretending to take on himself the defence of it against the attack of the supposed enemy. Nothing offended him more than the refusal of Catherine to allow him to command the Russian army, in the campaign against the Porte in 1787. In visiting different parts of the Continent in 1781, in company with the Grand-duchess, he was everywhere received with the greatest attention and honour; but nothing could remove the gravity, silence, and reserve of his manner. He frequently shewed great distrust and suspicion of those around him: this was particularly observable during an illness with which he was attacked in Italy. His conduct on that occasion has been explained, by the circumstance of his being impressed with a notion that Catherine wished to make an attempt upon his life. On becoming Emperor, he was at liberty to indulge, to any excess, and in any manner he
he pleased, his military folly. Every morning was devoted to reviews, to the parade, and to the practice of various manoeuvres. As Frederick the Great was the principal object of his admiration, he ordered the national dress of the Russians to be exchanged for the Prussian uniform. He soon began to shew disrespect and aversion to the memory of his mother. The plans she had formed were altered; the ministers, whom she had selected for their talents, were disgraced; the buildings she had commenced were completed in any manner but that which accorded with her ideas. The Church of St. Isaac had been raised to a considerable height: marble, jasper, porphyry, and granite, were the materials employed in the construction of it: Paul finished it with brick. The Taurida Palace was converted by him into barracks. Peter the Third, his father, had been buried in the Church of St. Alexander Nevsky: Paul ordered the body to be removed, and deposited in that of the Fortress, where all his ancestors are entombed. The assassins of Peter were dead, with the exception of two,—Orlof and Boriatinsky: they were commanded to be present at the ceremony, to attend the body as chief-mourners, and to remain near it for the space of three weeks. This act of Paul

(1) He ordered some models of tails to be made, which he intended should be worn by the officers and soldiers; and despatched them to different corps of the army. Souwarof, on receiving a packet of these tails, shook his head, and exclaimed, "These tails are not bayonets; and no fire will come from this powder." A translation cannot give the spirit of the original, which has a rhythm, and metrical cadence, often used by Souwarof in his conversation. "Kaçoi né kalot, bouklai né palit, poudrei né streliat."—M. Depping quotes this, from an historical memoir relating to Souwarof.
Paul was viewed in different lights: by some he was considered as influenced by motives of respect and affection to the memory of his father; by others, the whole transaction was considered as a censure and reproach of the conduct of his mother.

At the time of our residence in Petersburg, the chief favourite of Paul was Koutizof, originally a Greek slave, and latterly his valet de chambre. This man had a mistress, Madame...

(2) Since the period when Dr. Clarke's Manuscript Journals were written, an edition of Levesque's History of Russia has been published, with Notes by MM. Malte-Brun and Depping. The latter has added an account of the reign of Paul; and has related in it many anecdotes, marking in a striking manner the absurdity and folly of his conduct, precisely of a similar nature to those which Dr. Clarke had already noted in his Journal. This coincidence confirms the accuracy of the statements both of the English Traveller and the French Historian.

M. Depping says, that Koutizof was originally a Turk; but the passage is suffered to stand in the text, as it occurs in Dr. Clarke's manuscript. M. Depping gives an anecdote very characteristic of Souwarof, which illustrates at the same time the history of the rise of Koutizof. "From valet de chambre, he became the confidant and minister of Paul; and although he was detested by the nobles, they all sought his favour. Souwarof alone, more accustomed to the language of camps than to that of Courts, refused to bend the knee before the second master of the empire; and humbled him, on one occasion, in the most marked manner. On his return from exile, Paul sent his favourite to him. "Count Koutizof" was announced. "Koutizof!" cried the General: "I do not know any Russian family of that name." The Count answered, that he was from Turkey, and that the favour of the Emperor had raised him to his present dignity.—"You have then doubtless distinguished yourself in arms?" "I have never served."—"Or in the ministry?" "I have never been in any civil office. I have always been about the person of the Emperor."—"In what capacity?"—Koutizof wished to turn the conversation; but Souwarof mercilessly pursued him with questions; until he confessed that he had been valet de chambre. Souwarof, on this, turning to his servant, said: "You see, Ivan, what it is to conduct yourself well. This gentleman was, once, what you are: behold him Count now, with the blue ribband!"
Madame Chevalier, the wife of a hair-dresser, and principal actress at the French Theatre. Her uncommon beauty had subdued Koutizof; and, as he governed Paul, Madame Chevalier's influence was unbounded. Whoever became the object of her hatred, or of that of the favourite, was immediately sent into exile. Within a few days after our arrival, not less than one hundred and fifty persons were banished, and not one under the smallest pretence of justice. We found, in consequence of the tyranny and caprice of the Emperor, that many noblemen were leaving the city, and retiring to Moscow. As Paul had a particular aversion to all strangers, every one who shewed them any kindness, or treated them with hospitality, became immediately offensive to him.

The Emperor rose every morning at five: Koutizof, whose apartments were under his, saw him first: the report of the head-officer of the Police was received shortly afterwards. Paul's chief vanity was, to shew his insensibility to cold: for this purpose, he drove about in an open sledge, or rode on horseback without a pelisse, parading before his soldiers, and through the streets, with his hat off, for twenty minutes together. When he passed, every person must stop, and stand bare-headed; every one descended from his carriage, however thinly he might be clothed, and whatever might be the state of the weather. Ladies, old women, infirm and sickly persons, were obliged to suffer these indignities. The same marks of respect were shewn to every part of the Royal Family, even to the Infants; but when the Grand-duke Alexander passed, he always hurried by, and waved his hand, to prevent this painful homage. His amiable character and conde-
condescension rendered him the idol of the people; and he was as much loved, as Paul was detested.

We passed an evening at the hospitable and elegant mansion of Baron Strogonoof; who informed us, that his coachman, one morning, when the Emperor was riding through the streets, did not stop the horses so quickly as he ought to have done: on this, the attendant officer went up, demanded who was in the carriage, and took down the name of the servants. Fortunately, the Baron was going to his uncle, a favourite of the Emperor, and no more notice was taken of the matter; but he told us he passed a day of painful anxiety. The slightest punishment inflicted for neglecting to take off immediately your hat, great coat, cloak, gloves, or pelisse, as the Emperor passed by, or for not descending instantly from your carriage, in the snow, mud, or rain, was, that the servants were bound and sent to the army, the horses to the artillery, the carriage confiscated, and the master ordered into confinement. The attention of the police was directed to things of the most insignificant kind: if a man had his hair short on the top of his head, if it fell over his forehead, if he had any below his temples or on his cheeks, a soldier was sent to shave him, or cut his hair, according to the whim or taste of the police-officer. As everything was regulated by the caprice and insolence of this class of persons, it was impossible in any way to escape their notice and interference. Friends met with suspicious and fearful looks, asking for news, or mentioning the misfortunes which had happened to their relatives, who had been exiled¹ or ruined by

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¹ La colère de Paul frappait indistinctement toutes les classes de la société; — les courtisans, les gens de lettres, les militaires, les marchands, les femmes, tous encouraient
by the Emperor and his minion. While we were at Baron Strogonof’s, a Princess came to take leave of her friends:—she was ordered to leave Petersburg by four o’clock in the morning.

An Englishman, accustomed from his infancy to the blessings of a free constitution, is in the practice of declaring his sentiments openly and loudly. In Petersburg, if he opened his mouth, though for the sake of asking a question of the most indifferent kind, his Russian friend trembled while he was addressed.—“What architect designed that palace?” “Speak lower, for God’s sake!”—“What! is it prohibited to ask questions relating to architecture?” “Every thing is prohibited.”—“Is it prohibited to speak, to breathe, to exist?” “It is dangerous to speak at all: whatever you say, may be misinterpreted; and, surrounded as you are, the less consciousness you afford even of your respiration or existence, the better.”—This is a real statement of a conversation which took place. It was an offence to be loud in talking, laughing, or singing. Peace and comfort, innocent mirth, and domestic happiness, were constantly interrupted; and the effect of a baneful and malignant tyranny was everywhere experienced; adempto per inquisitiones, et loquendi audiendique commercio.

The Emperor ordered a person to be flogged by the soldiers, because he wore his cravat a little too near his chin, and

raient la peine de l’exil, ou du knout, pour des fautes légères . . . . Les exils et les arrestations continuaient toujours: on voyait sur les routes de nombreux kibitkas, qui transportaient les prisonniers en Sibérie. Ces transports se fisaient avec la plus grande précipitation; on ne laissait souvent à l’exilé qu’une heure pour arranger ses affaires; et puis on l’envoyait sous le climat rigoureux de la Sibérie, sans lui accorder les moyens de se présumer contre la rigueur du froid.”

and had not placed the cock of his hat straight over his forehead. The punishment was inflicted with severity. On one occasion he had the audacity to cane an officer: the unfortunate victim of his cowardice retired to his house, and shot himself, leaving a note for the Emperor, containing these words: "He who has the courage to lose his own life for an insult, might take away the life of him who caused it. Let this be a warning to you." His conduct towards strangers was as extraordinary as that which he displayed towards his own subjects. The German ambassador, Count Cobentzel, applied for a passport to send a courier to his Court. The Emperor gave for answer, that he could have nothing to say to his Court, and that he should have none. Paul had been induced to join the Coalition against France: he repented of the measure, and shewed his aversion to it, by ill-treating the Representatives of the Courts of England and Austria, and by ordering many French emigrants to quit his dominions. He had, however, a great horror of Revolutionary principles. Two servants, who had been discharged by two English gentlemen, laid an information against their masters, of being Jacobins: these gentlemen were obliged, in consequence, to leave Russia; and would have experienced harsher treatment, if Lord Whitworth had not discovered the plot, and the falsehood of the charge, and made himself responsible for their conduct.

It is well known, that, among other instances of folly, he ordered, by a special Ukase, many of the buildings in the empire to be painted in a particular manner, according to his directions. A lady, whom he admired, appeared one evening at a ball with a pair of gloves of a red colour: the next morning, his palace was painted red. The absurdities,
of which he was guilty every day, almost exceed belief. Some excellent paintings in the palace had been removed, by his orders, for the purpose of being varnished; and a few common sea-pieces, executed in the very worst manner, were hung, in the mean time, in room of them, to cover the wall: he noticed one, as he passed through the apartments, declared it to be the finest thing he had ever seen in his life, and angrily asked why such excellent paintings were placed so high, and out of sight. Presently, twenty soldiers entered with ladders, to take down the picture, that he might have it near him while he was at dinner, though it hung in the adjoining room.

In the course of his morning ride, he observed, at a little distance, a person in a sledge, who did not take off his pelisse. When he reached the palace, he said to an officer, “In such a street I saw a man who did not take off his pelisse; it was green, with dark fur: go, find out who he is.” The officer was in utter despair of ever being able to execute such a mad commission; but, from the situation of the street, he suspected that the person might, perhaps, be an Englishman. Hastening, therefore, to the English Club, where the merchants were at dinner, he examined all the pelisses; and having found one which corresponded with the description given by the Emperor, he inquired to whom it belonged: the waiter mentioned the name of the owner, and the police-officer desired that he might be called out of the room.—“Is this pelisse yours?” “Yes.”—The officer departed, leaving the Englishman in doubt as to what steps he should take. His friends advised him to go home; but when he left the room, the pelisse was not to be found: it had been taken to the
the Emperor, who, when he saw it, embraced the officer in a transport of joy, at the same time declaring his surprise that he returned with it so soon.—The pelisse was sent back to the owner, in about an hour's time.

The truth of the following fact can be attested by the whole city of Petersburg.—A carriage, as the Emperor was passing through the streets, was observed not to stop quite so soon as was thought proper; nor did any one descend when it stopped. The officers rode up, took the name of the owner, and again followed Paul. About noon, the lady, to whom it belonged, was informed that one of the police-officers desired to see her. The visits of these persons occasioned as much horror and alarm at Petersburg, as those of the agents of Robespierre produced at Paris. The lady, much distressed, was no sooner informed of the cause of his coming, than she burst into tears, clasping her hands together, and protesting that she had not been out of the house for three days. She ordered inquiry to be made, in order to know who had been in the carriage; and was informed, that the person was a poor miserable cripple, deformed, an ideot from his birth, deprived of the use of his limbs, maintained in the family from charity, and allowed, by his humane protectress, the use of the carriage, for air, when the weather was fine. Will it be believed, that this wretched object was dragged before the Governor; who, when he saw him, shuddered with horror? "I have orders," he said, "to feed you upon bread and water: but I will add a little butter to the one, and a little tea to the other; and, in the mean time, go to the Emperor." Paul, whether from a feeling of compassion not very common
common to him, or from not wishing to trouble himself any further in the business, ordered the ideot to be taken back to the house of the lady. But the carriage and servants were gone;—the former was seized by the Government; the latter were sent to the army.

The melancholy effects of his short reign were perceptible in every thing. Science, art, and literature, withered under the blighting influence of his tyranny. Books of almost every description were prohibited. French works of the most costly and expensive kind, if they shewed, by their title-page, that they had been printed during the time of the Republic, were not allowed to be sold. We took up, in a bookseller’s shop, a beautiful copy of Buffon’s Natural History, and the marks of the police were visible in the title-page of every volume. Foreign Journals were reprinted with the alterations which the Government thought proper to introduce. Censors were appointed to superintend every publication, to open and read letters, to suppress and destroy whatever they did not approve or could not comprehend. In the scrutiny which took place, amidst this darkness of intellect and ignorance, we have no reason to wonder at the ludicrous and contemptible blunders that were daily committed¹.

The character and conduct of Paul are sufficiently illustrated by the statements we have given: and more, if it were necessary, might be added, to mark his imbecility and ideocy.

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¹ M. Depping gives the following instance.—The censors had no list of prohibited books: they, therefore, adopted the Index in use at Vienna. In this, there was a prohibition of books relating to the Greek Church: the same were also rejected by the Russian censors!
The strong feeling of hatred which he bore to the memory of Catherine led him to counteract and defeat, in every possible manner, the plans which she had formed for the improvement of the empire. The private and public life of this extraordinary woman formed the subject of conversation one evening, when we were present, at the house of Baroness Strogonof, who had been one of her Ladies of the Bedchamber: she related to us many anecdotes respecting her; speaking the whole time as one of her enthusiastic admirers, though discriminating parts of her conduct with penetration and shrewdness of remark.

Certainly many traits, which were mentioned, shewed a great strength of intellect, and often a feeling heart. She had a power and command over herself, which enabled her to retire when in anger, and never to give a decision until her mind was calm and tranquil: she had the talent of rendering every one at ease, when in her presence; and her clemency was shewn on various occasions. When the name of a person who was convicted of high-treason, of even plotting against her, was given in for condemnation, she would frequently desire inquiry to be made, if he had not some cause of vexation; if his mind had not been irritated by some fancied injury or neglect:—at last, the astonished culprit was presented with a sum of money, and ordered to retire to a distant province. Impressed, at first, with a favourable feeling occasioned by the enumeration of many good qualities which were attributed to her, we were disposed to join the list of her panegyrists: but it is impossible, on reflection, to admit any apology for the crimes which tarnish all her glories, if they do not entirely obscure them.
them. It will readily be allowed, that her reign has been marked by great events, and that her measures were often directed by sound wisdom and policy. Her apparent virtues also relieve the attention from the horrors and dark shades of infamy, with which they are surrounded; but the mind soon turns from the contemplation of them, with suspicion and distrust: they seem to be more the result of an artful policy, than the offspring of beneficence:—so difficult is it to conceive, that a woman engaged during one part of her life in murder, and the other in lust and ambition, could be capable of any thing lovely or of good report,—any thing noble or amiable,—any thing which could adorn or dignify the human mind!

Whenever the circumstances attending the death of Peter the Third are introduced, they are always accompanied with the assertions, that Catherine, by the murder of her husband, averted a similar fate, which would have speedily overtaken her. This plausible tale, easily related, as easily prevailed. The multitude, who seldom trouble themselves to reflect, when they find others ready to think for them, are hardly yet awakened from their delusion. It is wonderful that a representation so totally groundless should have met with such implicit belief! What reason have we for supposing that Peter intended the murder or the imprisonment of his wife? He built, it is said, a set of apartments in the Fortress of Schlussenburg; they were erected with unusual expedition; he himself superintended the work;—insinuations, which really prove nothing. As persons have not been wanting to defend the conduct of Catherine throughout the whole
VIEW OF THE PALACE AND APARTMENTS AT ROPSCHA,
in which Peter III was murdered.

Published Jan. 1803 by T. Cadell, Strand, London.
course of the events which occurred in the Revolution of 1762, it is proper to advert to what has been urged by those who have advocated the cause of Peter. They state, that he was acquainted with the plans she had formed, in conjunction with her favourite Orlof, for taking possession of the reins of government;—that when the consequences of her licentious conduct and intimacy with that officer were too evident, Peter proposed to punish her in some public manner;—that, to avoid this disgrace, Catherine completed and hastened the conspiracy which ended in his dethronement and murder. That the indolence, and want of resolution, and pusillanimity of Peter contributed to his own ruin, cannot be doubted: there was a period, during the revolt, when the soldiers expressed their regret at having been so easily persuaded, by Orlof and Razoumofsky and others, to abjure their allegiance to him; and would have marched, under his command, against the rebels. The circumstances connected with the seizure and imprisonment of Peter at Robscha have been variously related. Ismaelof, whom he sent to express his readiness to enter into negotiation with the Empress, is supposed to have betrayed him to Orlof. He was then conveyed to Robscha. But even after his confinement, the soldiers did not cease to express their disapprobation of what had taken place; and a strong feeling of commiseration for their deposed monarch was excited among various classes of the people. The conspirators found that

(1) The annexed Plate represents a view of the Palace and Apartment at Robscha, in which Peter the Third was murdered.
their only security was in his death.—The rest of the history of Peter the Third is well known. An unsuccessful attempt was made to administer poison to him: as this failed, he was, after a violent resistance, strangled, by Alexis Orlof, Boriatinsky who was the officer on guard, and an obscure individual of the name of Tépelhof. His body was publickly exposed, habited in the Holstein uniform; the collar of the dress being so arranged as to conceal the mode of his death, which, however, was very visible in the features of the face. The following night he was buried in the church of the Monastery of St. Alexander Nevsky.

(1) The account in the text is confirmed by a remarkable extract from Mr. Gibbon's Common-Place Book, given in Lord Sheffield's late edition of the Miscellaneous Works of that writer; which may be properly inserted in this place.

"Peter III. was poisoned in a glass of brandy. On his refusing a second glass, he was forcibly thrown down, and strangled with a handkerchief, by Orlof, Tépelhof, Potemkin, and the youngest of the Princes Boriatinski. When the body was exposed, the marks of violence on the neck, &c. were evident. Orlof instantly returned to Petersburg, and appeared at the Empress's dinner, in the disorder of a murderer. She caught his eye, rose from the table, called him into her closet; sent for Count Panin, to whom she imparted the news; and returned to dinner with her usual ease and cheerfulness."

"These particulars (Mr. Gibbon says) are taken from a History of the Revolution in 1762, composed by M. Rulhière, a French Officer, who was an attentive spectator, and who afterwards conversed with the principal actors. Prudence prevents him from publishing: but he reads his Narrative to large companies; and I have already heard it twice."


[For a Continuation of the Author's Narrative, of his departure from Petersburg to Moscow, of his interesting description of the latter city, and his journey to the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, &c. &c. the Reader is referred to the First Volume of these Travels.—Editor.]
APPENDIX.

I collected, by favour of Professor Portan, seven of the
American Innovations of 1788, as a description of their
subjects, with their respective causes, and also a table of
their time in which they particularly occur. The three string
three are the most interesting parts, and are as follows.

1788. Description of the new bank of the United States.

1785. Description of the American Bank.

1783. Description of the four banks of the United States.

1782. Description of the four banks of the United States.

1781. Description of the four banks of the United States.

1780. Description of the four banks of the United States.
their only society was in his death. The rest of the history of Peter the Third is well known. An unsuccessful attempt was made to administer poison to him; as was called, he was, after a violent resistance, strangled, by Melchior de Borinovsky, who was the officer on guard, and an officer of individual of the name of Terpehov. His body was publicly exposed in the Holstein uniform: the collar of the dress being so arranged as to conceal the mode of his death, which, however, was very visible in the features of the face. The following night he was buried in the church of the Monastery of St. Alexander Nevsky.

APPENDIX

[The text in the next is continued by a remarkable extract from Mr. Gracov's "History of Russia," given in the "Century Magazine," June, 1869, of the "Miscellaneous Works" of that writer, which may be properly inserted in this place.

Peter III. was poisoned by a stroke of霹雳. On the following day, when he was entirely drawn down, he was observed with a transformed, by the Emperor "Petersburg, and the young man of the Princess Borinski. When the body was exposed, the marks of violence on the neck, eye, were evident. Only instantly returned to Petersburg, and appeared at the Empress's ball in the manner of a debutante. She sought his eye, rose from the table, and took his hand, and placed the Czar on the throne. By this time, the Emperor's death was announced, and the palace was filled with "her usual grace and solemnities.

These particulars (Mr. Gracov says) are taken from a "History of the Revolution in 1762," composed by M. Rejrinke, a French Collector, who was an admirer of Russia, and who afterwards converted to the principles of the Revolution, but he made his "History" to the revolutionists, who have already been mentioned.]

[For a Continuation of the Author's Narrative of his departure from Petersburg to Moscow, of his interesting description of the latter city, and his journey to the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, a reader is referred to the First Volume of these Travels.—Editor]
APPENDIX.

No. I.

AMOENITATES ACADEMIAE ABOENSIS.

I collected, by favour of Professor Porthan, Seventy of the Academic Disputations of Åbo. And, as a Catalogue of their subjects, with their respective dates, will afford a tolerable idea of the line of study pursued in that University, and of the time in which any particular study was the most favoured, sixty-one of them are here added.

It will appear, that under the Presidency of Porthan the most interesting topics were discussed.

They form a complete History of Science in Åbo, for the last twenty years of the eighteenth century.


1786. Specimen Academicum, de invenienda Sectione Conica circa focum datum per data tria puncta transeunte.—Præs. J. H. Lindquist.—J. Wegelius, Ostro-Botniensis.


1788. Animadversiones in novam Nomenclaturæ Chemicæ Methodum.—Publico Examinii subjicit J. Gadolin.—Respondente, N. Avellan, Tavastensis.


APPENDIX, N° I.

—F. J. Rosenbom, Ostro-Botniensis.


1792. Diss. Acad. sistens Specimina quedam instinctus, quo Animalia sua prospicient Soboli.—Præs. C. N. Hellenio.—F. Juvelius, Ostro-Botniensis.


1795. De Natura Salium Simplicium.—Præs. J. GADOLIN.—J. G. HAARTMAN.


1797. De corrigendis Erroribus Instrumenti Culminatorii.—Præs. J. H. LINDQUIST.—G. LAURELL.

1797. De Declinatione Nominum in primis Fennicorum.—E. HILDEEN et G. LAURELL.


APPENDIX, No. 1.


1799. De Methodo Superficies Solidorum duplici Integratione investigandi. —Auctor, G. Palander; et Respondens, C. Aström, Tavastensis.


In the year 1766, Professor Porthan, then Student in the University, produced his learned Dissertation De Poesi Fennica; one of the most erudite and interesting Essays that have appeared among the Academic Dissertations of Åbo.
APPENDIX, No. II.

No. II.

INDEX PRAELECTIONUM,
QUAS, BONO CUM DEO,
IN REGIA ACADEMIA ABOENSI,
OMNII FACULTATUM
PROFESSORES, CETERIQUE DOCENTES,
A DIE I. OCTOBRES AN. MDCCXCIX. AD IDEM TEMPS ANNI SEQUENTIS,
PUBLICE ET PRIVATIM HABEBUNT.

IMPERRANTE AUGUSTISSIMO ET POTENTISSIMO,
GUSTAVO ADOLPHO,
SVECORUM, GOTHORUM, VANDALORUMQUE REGE &c. &c. &c.
DOMINO NOSTRO CLEMENTISSIMO.

REGIAE ACADEMIAE ABOENSI
CANCELLARIO,
ILLUSTRISSIMO ATQUE EXCELLENTISSIMO COMITE,
DOMINO CAROLO ADAMO WACHTMEISTER,
EX IMPERII SVIIOGOTHICI PROCERIBUS UNO,
SUPREMO AD AULAM REGIAE VIDUE MARESCHALLO, EDUCATIONIS REGIAE
ANTEHAC GUBERNATORE VICARIO,
ORDINUM REGIORUM EQUITE AC COMMENDATORE.

PRO-CANCELLARIO,
REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO, JACOBO GADOLIN,
S.S. THEOL. DOCTORE, DIOCESEOS ABOENSI EPISCOPO, ORDINIS REGII
DE STELLA POLARI COMMENDATORE.
APPENDIX, N°II.

PROFESSORES.

In Facultate Theologica:

Christianus Cavander, S.S. Theol. Prof. Prim. et Archi-Præp. in iis Capitibus, quæ ex Evangelio Lucae adhuc supersunt, publice interpretandis, primum b.c. D. versabitur, in Auditorio Majori h. a. m. IX, deinde Johannis Evangel. suscepturus. Privatim futuris Auditoribus, in primis S. Ministerii Candidatis, fidelia saltem consilia monitque ad praxin munerais et vitae spectantia suppeditare studebit.


In Facultate Juridica:


In Facultate Medica:

ORDINARII:


EXTRAORDINARIUS:


In Facultate Philosophica:


ANDREAS PLANMAN, Physices Prof. Reg. et Ord. Elementa Mechanices, in Auditorio Superiori, hora IIª pomeridiana, publice proponet; privatim vero ea tradet, quae Honoratissimi Commilitones desideraverint.


CAROLUS NICOLAUS HELLENIUS, Α Econ. Profess. Reg. et Ord. absolutis iis, quae ex cultura olerum proponenda restant, præcepta cultus arborum frui-giferarum tradet, idque publice in Auditorio Mathematico hora Xª antemeridiana. Privatim in omnibus, quæ ad se pertinant, Juventutis Academicæ commodis pro virili parte consulet.

JOHANNES GADOLIN, Chemiae Prof. Reg. et Ord. praelectionibus publicis hoc anno Naturam Aquas et Salium, duce libro a se edito, explicabit, in Au-ditorio Mathematico hora p. m. IIIª. Privatam operam ad desideria Auditorum lubens accommodabit.

APPENDIX, N° II.


ADJUNCTI.

In Facultate Theologica:


In Facultate Medica:


Botanices Demonstratoris munus vacat.

In Facultate Philosophica:

ORDINARI:

Henricus Alanus, Reg. Acad. Secretarius, cæptam proxime præerlapso semestri Tituli Codicis Friderici de Jure Hæreditatis interpretationem, per illud hujus Anni Academicæ spatium, quo Holmiae adhuc commorabitur Ordinarius Juris Professor, publicis Lectionibus ejus loco continuabit, quam simulac absolverit, sequentem ejusdem Codicis Titulum pro ratione temporis adgredietur explicandum. Privatim Elementa tradet Jurisprudentiae Civilis.
APPENDIX, N° II.


EXTRAORDINARIUS:

Michael Holmberg, Professor, Adjunctus Chemiae Extraordinarius, Elementa Halurgiae et Pharmaceutices experimentis instituendis Auditoribus demonstrabit.

MAGISTRI DOCENTES.

In Facultate Theologica:


Ericus Johannes Frosterus, Joh. Fil., S. S. Theologiae Docens, in iis, quae suarum sunt partium, praestandis, Honoratissimis Dominis Commilitonibus pro viribus inservire conabitur.

In Facultate Philosophica:


Nicolaus Magnus Tolpo, Metaphysicsi Docens, in exhibenda et pro virili explicanda Terminologia Philosophiae Criticae, vel et in aliis quae ad se pertinent, operam suam Honoratissimis Dom. Commilitonibus offert.


Johannes Petrus Winge, Economiae Docens, in tradendis, quae ad suam spectant scientiam, usui ac desiderio Honoratissimorum Commilitonum lubenter satisfacere conabitur.
APPENDIX, No II.


JOANNES WIDE, Historiarum Docens, ad desideria Honor. Commilitonum lubens respondere conabitur.


ARTIUM CULTIORUM MAGISTRI.

GEORGII DANET, Linguae Gallicæ Magister, diebus Mercurii et Saturni hora indicanda Librum, cui Titulus: Les Aventures de Telémaque, publice interpretabitur; Studiosis privatam in Lingua Gallica institutionem desiderantibus haud defuturus.

JOHANNES BAPTISTA MEIJER, Palaestrae Athleticae Praefectus, artem arma dextre tractandi et strenue vibrandi eos docebit, qui suam expetunt manuductionem.

JOHANNES THORENBERG, Director Musices et Organ. ad Templum Cathedral. Aboënse, Musicam publicis concentibus, diebus Mercurii et Saturni hora III. p.m. habendis docebit. Privatam quoque institutionem expetentibus, suam haud denegabit operam.
An Explanation, in the Swedish Language, of the Plan of the Great Mine at Fahlun in Dalecarlia was found among Dr. Clarke's Manuscripts.—The Editor is indebted to the kindness of Dr. Fiott Lee (with whose name the Reader is already acquainted, from the mention made of it in different parts of the present and preceding Volume), for a translation of that Paper.

**PLAN OF THE**

**Situation of the MINES at the GREAT COPPER MOUNTAIN.**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>The Great Mine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>The Mine of Måss Nils (pronounced Mons).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>The Long Mine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>The Mårdskins Mine, or The mine of the skins of martens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>The Mine of John (quære, of King John).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>The Mine of the Queen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>The Mine of Meyenholtz, or The mine of Expectation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>The Drâpp Mine. (The mine of murder, caedes, or manslaughter, or of misadventure; probably the last: a mine where expectations had been formed, and had failed.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>The Mine of Queen Louisa Ulrica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.</td>
<td>Tunkars Mine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>The Mine of Eric Mall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>The Mine of Fahlström.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>The Mine of Kråk (pronounced Krok).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.</td>
<td>Fahlström's Ditch or Dyke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>The Experiment or attempt of Calmare. (I do not think that it is named after the town of Calmar, but after some person.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.</td>
<td>The Shaft of the Queen's Mine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.</td>
<td>The Shaft of Rålamb (the name of a noble family in Sweden).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>The Shaft of Creutz (a noble family).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>The Shaft of Wrangel (a Baron's family).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.</td>
<td>The Shaft of King Adolph Frederic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>Fri-shaft (or a free, or privileged, or noble shaft).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>The Shaft of Wrede (a noble family).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.</td>
<td>The Shaft of King Frederic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.</td>
<td>The Shaft of Queen Louisa Ulrica's Mine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z.</td>
<td>The Shaft of Ambras (quære, Ambrose).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Â.</td>
<td>The Scaffold of Kistwind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ä.</td>
<td>The Scaffold of Blankstöl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(These are piles of timber built over the precipices of the mine, and from which the ore is drawn up from below.)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>The Red-ochre Work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>The Work of Evaporation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>The Vitriol-boiling Factory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>The House for burning the Red-ochre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>The Work for precipitating Copper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>The Machinery of the shaft of Creutz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>The House of the Wheel-machinery of the shaft of Wrede.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>The Machinery of the shaft of the Queen's Mine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>The New Machinery of King Frederic's shaft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j.</td>
<td>The building containing the new machinery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.</td>
<td>The Old Machinery of King Frederic's shaft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>The House of the wheel machinery of King Frederic.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PLAN OF THE GREAT COPPER MINE OF FAHLUN IN DALECARLIA,
showing the situation of all the outworks, buildings, &c.
APPENDIX, No. III.

n. The House of the Dam.
o. The Ditch or Dyke of the Crown.
q. The Dam of Tall-backe.
r. The Dyke of Queen Margaret.
s. The Machinery of King Adolph Frederic.
st. A Magazine for sundries.
u. "Bok" means beech-tree, or a book; and "Wastewärk" means washing-works, where probably the ore is washed. (The word Bok may have been perhaps inserted by mistake.)
w. The House and Premises of the Manager of the mine.
x. Yard or Buildings for the Planks or Timber of the Crown (for the use of the machinery, or of the mine in general).
y. Public-house, or Tavern of the mine.
z. Lazaretto of the mine.

a. The House of the Ammunition (quaer, of the gunpowder used in the mines).
aä. Blacksmith’s Shop.
o. The Room of the mine (probably for public business).
ace. The Public-office of the Master of the mine.
oe. The Out-houses of the Master of the mine (stables, barns, &c.)
au. The Old Timber-yard.
ou. The New ditto.
aa. The Machinery of Blankstöl.
bb. Wood plank or board.
cc. Rivulet or basin of water from the mine.
dd. Yard for charcoal.
e. The Boundary of the Great Mine in the year 1703.
ff. The Boundary of the Mine of Queen Louisa Ulrica in 1794.
No. IV.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE,

ACCORDING TO

DIURNAL OBSERVATION,

Made at Noon, unless otherwise expressed;

WITH

A CORRESPONDING STATEMENT OF TEMPERATURE IN ENGLAND

DURING THE SAME PERIOD:

The latter being extracted from a Register kept in the Apartments of the Royal Society in London, by Order of the President and Council.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit</th>
<th>Where made</th>
<th>When made</th>
<th>Observation in London on the same day, by the Scale of Fahrenheit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Christiania,</td>
<td>October 24, 1799. 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Christiania,</td>
<td>October 25. 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Christiania,</td>
<td>October 26. 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Christiania,</td>
<td>October 27. 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Christiania,</td>
<td>October 28. 52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Romsaas,</td>
<td>October 29. 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Kiölstad,</td>
<td>October 30. 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Edsbroen,</td>
<td>October 31. 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Leerhol, Sweden,</td>
<td>November 1. 58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Carlstad,</td>
<td>November 2. 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Molkem,</td>
<td>November 3. 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Philipstad, 1 p. m.</td>
<td>November 4. 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Onshytta,</td>
<td>November 5. 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Hjulsiö,</td>
<td>November 6. 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Ostanbo,</td>
<td>November 7. 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place omitted,</td>
<td>November 8. 46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Fahlun, 2 p. m.</td>
<td>November 9. 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Hornas,</td>
<td>November 10. 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Grådé,</td>
<td>November 11. 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Broddebo, 2 p. m.</td>
<td>November 12. 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX, No IV.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit</th>
<th>Where made</th>
<th>When made</th>
<th>Observation in London on the same day, by the Scale of Fahrenheit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Between Långtora and Safva, 2 P.M. November 13.</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Upsala, not estimated,</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Upsala,</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Rotebro,</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>44</td>
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<td>Stockholm,</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Stockholm,</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Scale of Celsius:**

<p>| Stockholm                  | December 13. | 35 |
| Ensta                      | December 14. | 36 |
| Staba                      | December 15. | 34 |
| Grisseharn                 | December 16. | 35 |
| Grisseharn                 | December 17. | 33 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale of Celsius</th>
<th>Where made</th>
<th>When made</th>
<th>Observation in London on the same day, by the Scale of Fahrenheit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Grissemann</td>
<td>December 18.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Grissemann</td>
<td>December 19.</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ekerö</td>
<td>December 20.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Frebbenby</td>
<td>December 21.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Skärpans, 1 p.m.</td>
<td>December 22.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½</td>
<td>Vardö</td>
<td>December 23.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kumlinge</td>
<td>December 24.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kumlinge</td>
<td>December 25.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kumlinge</td>
<td>December 26.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kumlinge</td>
<td>December 27.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kumlinge</td>
<td>December 28.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kumlinge</td>
<td>December 29.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kumlinge</td>
<td>December 30.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kumlinge</td>
<td>December 31.</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bjorkö</td>
<td>January 1, 1800</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Vinkela, 4 p.m.</td>
<td>January 2.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Tursanpare</td>
<td>January 3.</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Åbo</td>
<td>January 4.</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Åbo</td>
<td>January 5.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Åbo</td>
<td>January 6.</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Åbo</td>
<td>January 7.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Åbo</td>
<td>January 8.</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Åbo</td>
<td>January 9.</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Åbo</td>
<td>January 10.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Åbo</td>
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<td>January 12.</td>
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<td>January 14.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Near Åbo</td>
<td>January 15.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9½</td>
<td>Sapla</td>
<td>January 16.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Bjorsby</td>
<td>January 17.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>Omitted</td>
<td>January 18.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>Omitted</td>
<td>January 19.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1½</td>
<td>Sibbo</td>
<td>January 20.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Parno, 1 p.m.</td>
<td>January 21.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>January 22.</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scale of Celsius</td>
<td>Where made</td>
<td>When made</td>
<td>Observation in London on the same day, by the Scale of Fahrenheit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 1/2</td>
<td>Frontier of Russia near Pyltis</td>
<td>January 23.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Frederickshamm, 1 P. M.</td>
<td>January 24.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td>Omitted,</td>
<td>January 25.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Wibourg,</td>
<td>January 26.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2</td>
<td>Petersburg,</td>
<td>January 27.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2 1/2</td>
<td>Petersburg,</td>
<td>January 28.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+5 1/2</td>
<td>Petersburg,</td>
<td>January 29.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+5</td>
<td>Petersburg,</td>
<td>January 30.</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1</td>
<td>Petersburg,</td>
<td>January 31.</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2 1/2</td>
<td>Petersburg,</td>
<td>February 1.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+3 1/4</td>
<td>Petersburg,</td>
<td>February 2.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2 1/4</td>
<td>Petersburg,</td>
<td>February 3.</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2 1/2</td>
<td>Petersburg,</td>
<td>February 4.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td>Petersburg,</td>
<td>February 5.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+3</td>
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<td>February 6.</td>
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### APPENDIX, N° IV.

<table>
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<th>Scale of Celsius</th>
<th>Where made,</th>
<th>When made,</th>
<th>Observation in London on the same day, by the Scale of Fahrenheit,</th>
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</table>
No. V.

APPENDIX, N° V.

NAMES OF PLACES VISITED IN THE AUTHOR’S ROUTE, WITH THEIR DISTANCES FROM EACH OTHER.

CHRISTIANIA to STOCKHOLM.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>CHRISTIANIA, to</th>
<th>Danish Miles</th>
<th>Swedish Miles</th>
<th>English Miles</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schesmoe</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>14 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kjölstad</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hæberg</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ous</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>15 1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sindby</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kongswinger</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>14 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edsbroen</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Magnor (Enter the Swedish territory)</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<table>
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Total - 63 3/4 447
### From Stockholm to Åbo

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<tr>
<td>Osby</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Hall</td>
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<td>Rilanda</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kragstal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svanberg</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staby</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>8 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tresta</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 1/4</td>
<td>10 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grissehamn</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5 3/4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By water to Ekerö</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By land to Frebbenby</td>
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<td>1 1/4</td>
<td>8 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkerby</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 1/4</td>
<td>8 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haroldsby</td>
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<td>8 1/4</td>
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<tr>
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<td>8 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>10 1/4</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<tr>
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<td>8 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8 1/4</td>
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<td>17 1/4</td>
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<td>14 1/4</td>
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<td>5 3/4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Laitis</td>
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<td>3 1/4</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10 1/4</td>
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<tr>
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<td>11 1/4</td>
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<tr>
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### From Åbo to the Frontier of Russia

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<th>English Miles</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handela</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 1/4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahla</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Savankby</td>
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<td>12 1/4</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miiolbaltstad</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kockis</td>
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<td>1 1/4</td>
<td>12 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bollsta</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 1/4</td>
<td>8 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quis</td>
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<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bembole</td>
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<td>12 1/4</td>
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<td>12 1/4</td>
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<td>10 1/4</td>
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From Aberfors to Petersburg.

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<th>Russian Versts</th>
<th>English Miles</th>
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<td>Frederickshamm</td>
<td>22 1/2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Suenoïa</td>
<td>22 1/2</td>
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<td>16 1/2</td>
<td>10 1/2</td>
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<td>Ursala</td>
<td>16 1/2</td>
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Total: 293 195 1/2
ADDITION to the Note in p. 467, from Dr. Thomson's Travels.

When Dr. Thomson visited Sweden, Norway had not been annexed to that Country.