



Тем, что эта книга дошла до Вас, мы обязаны в первую очередь библиотекарям, которые долгие годы бережно хранили её. Сотрудники Google оцифровали её в рамках проекта, цель которого – сделать книги со всего мира доступными через Интернет.

Эта книга находится в общественном достоянии. В общих чертах, юридически, книга передаётся в общественное достояние, когда истекает срок действия имущественных авторских прав на неё, а также если правообладатель сам передал её в общественное достояние или не заявил на неё авторских прав. Такие книги – это ключ к прошлому, к сокровищам нашей истории и культуры, и к знаниям, которые зачастую нигде больше не найдёшь.

В этой цифровой копии мы оставили без изменений все рукописные пометки, которые были в оригинальном издании. Пускай они будут напоминанием о всех тех руках, через которые прошла эта книга – автора, издателя, библиотекаря и предыдущих читателей – чтобы наконец попасть в Ваши.

Правила пользования

Мы гордимся нашим сотрудничеством с библиотеками, в рамках которого мы оцифровываем книги в общественном достоянии и делаем их доступными для всех. Эти книги принадлежат всему человечеству, а мы – лишь их хранители. Тем не менее, оцифровка книг и поддержка этого проекта стоят немало, и поэтому, чтобы и в дальнейшем предоставлять этот ресурс, мы предприняли некоторые меры, чтобы предотвратить коммерческое использование этих книг. Одна из них – это технические ограничения на автоматические запросы.

Мы также просим Вас:

- **Не использовать файлы в коммерческих целях.** Мы разработали программу Поиска по книгам Google для всех пользователей, поэтому, пожалуйста, используйте эти файлы только в личных, некоммерческих целях.
- **Не отправлять автоматические запросы.** Не отправляйте в систему Google автоматические запросы любого рода. Если Вам требуется доступ к большим объёмам текстов для исследований в области машинного перевода, оптического распознавания текста, или в других похожих целях, свяжитесь с нами. Для этих целей мы настоятельно рекомендуем использовать исключительно материалы в общественном достоянии.
- **Не удалять логотипы и другие атрибуты Google из файлов.** Изображения в каждом файле помечены логотипами Google для того, чтобы рассказать читателям о нашем проекте и помочь им найти дополнительные материалы. Не удаляйте их.
- **Соблюдать законы Вашей и других стран.** В конечном итоге, именно Вы несёте полную ответственность за Ваши действия – поэтому, пожалуйста, убедитесь, что Вы не нарушаете соответствующие законы Вашей или других стран. Имейте в виду, что даже если книга более не находится под защитой авторских прав в США, то это ещё совсем не значит, что её можно распространять в других странах. К сожалению, законодательство в сфере интеллектуальной собственности очень разнообразно, и не существует универсального способа определить, как разрешено использовать книгу в конкретной стране. Не рассчитывайте на то, что если книга появилась в поиске по книгам Google, то её можно использовать где и как угодно. Наказание за нарушение авторских прав может оказаться очень серьёзным.

О программе

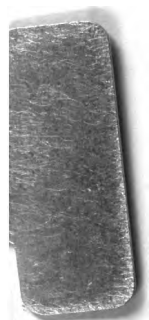
Наша миссия – организовать информацию во всём мире и сделать её доступной и полезной для всех. Поиск по книгам Google помогает пользователям найти книги со всего света, а авторам и издателям – новых читателей. Чтобы произвести поиск по этой книге в полнотекстовом режиме, откройте страницу <http://books.google.com>.

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

<https://books.google.com>





4975/11

LORD ABERDEEN,
THE NUNS OF MINSK,
NICHOLAS,
AND THE
ROSSIAN STATE CHURCH.

BY
V. O. ZIENKIEWICZ.

—◆—
LONDON:
F. A. LITTLE, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1846.

46.
7. 11.
57.

6

LORD ABERDEEN,
THE NUNS OF MINSK, NICHOLAS,
AND THE
ROSSIAN STATE CHURCH.

—◆—

“Deus noster refugium et virtus: adjutor in tribulationibus quæ invenerunt nos nimis.”—Ps. xlv. 1.

—◆—

MY LORD,

On the question being put to you by my Lord Kinnaird, on *February* 10, 1846, whether the British Government had received any information respecting the cruel treatment inflicted by the Rossian Government on the Nuns of Minsk? your Lordship is stated by the reports of the public press, to have made in your reply to that question the following statements:—

I.—The religious persecutions in Rossia are not directed against the Roman Catholics, but against the schismatic Greeks, who four or five years ago joined the united Greeks, or established religion of the State.

II.—Between the schismatic and united Greeks no dogmatic difference exists, but that the former acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, the latter do not.

III.—The accounts published in the papers of the persecutions, are grossly and wickedly exaggerated. Such the British Consul reports them to be; and such your Lordship, in consequence, believes them to be.

Now, my Lord, in these few brief passages are contained grave and important errors—errors, which I am willing to believe were unintentional on the part of your Lordship—but errors into which, the public had a right to expect that your Lordship, holding the responsible situation you do, would not have fallen; errors in fine, into which, from feelings of common justice and humanity to the persecuted and defenceless, your Lordship, when assuming the office of instructor to the British public ought, by proper information to have guarded yourself from falling.

Feeling sure that your Lordship can have no wish to continue in error yourself, nor that the British public should be kept in darkness, as to the historical facts connected with the relations of the Russian, the schismatic Greek, and united Greek Churches with each other, I have been induced to offer the following remarks, in correction of your Lordship's misstatements, which owe their origin doubtless to the misconceptions, but too prevalent in this country, of the real state of facts.

I do not know that I can do better than take up your Lordship's statements seriatim, and point out the errors into which you have fallen from three causes. First, an insufficiency of historical information. Second, from an ignorance of the dogmas of the respective Churches; and, Thirdly, from placing too great a reliance on the inadequate testimony of your official employés.

Your first statement of facts, as you doubtlessly conceive them, contains two misstatements of facts as they really are. You state that the persecutions are not directed against the Roman Catholics, but against the schismatic Greeks. The fact is, they *are* directed against the Roman Catholics—against those who believe all Catholic dogmas, including the supremacy of the Pope, and who form an in-

tegral part of the Catholic Church, under the name of the *United* Greek Church, from their union with the See of Rome. And the Schismatic Church, instead of being the persecuted, is the persecuting party. Secondly, the Schismatic Greeks neither four or five years ago, nor at any time within 300 years, ever joined or were one with the United Greeks.

To prove, my Lord, that my statement is the right one, and yours the wrong, it is requisite that I should briefly explain the meaning and use of the terms *Greek*, *Roman*, *Russian*, *Schismatic*, and *United*—a misconception of which is the fertile source of errors, with others besides your Lordship.

The terms Greek and Roman during a long period were synonymous. The Greeks having been subdued by Rome, became Roman citizens and subjects. When the Roman Empire was divided into the Western and Eastern portions—the latter of which, under the title of the Greek or Byzantine Empire, outlived the former nearly 1000 years—there still prevailed a tacit connexion between them. The word “Greek,” in its application to religious subjects, is still more palpably synonymous with the word “Roman.”* Until the period of the disastrous schism in 1053—both the Eastern and Western—the Greek and Roman Churches, formed the great Catholic unity. The difference in the two terms, during this long period, was either only geographical, the Greek simply meaning the Catholic Church in the Greek Empire, or at most a difference arising from the language, in which the Church service was performed: Greek being the adopted language of the Eastern, whilst Latin was that of the Western portion of the Church. In this sense, neither the present Russian State Church, nor that of the United Greeks, has the least claim to

* Vide Assemani, tom I. p. 351 ; tom. III. p. 391.

the name of Greek, since the ecclesiastical language of both is the old Slavonian idiom of the Slavonian Church.

This Slavonian Catholic Church, from which both the present Rossian State Church and that of the United Greeks have sprung, obtained the appellation "Greek," from the quite accidental circumstance, that the first conversions effected by the labours of Saints Cyrillus and Methodius—the apostles and founders of the Slavonian Church—were from amongst the Slavonian States conquered by or made tributary to the Emperors of Constantinople. These Slavonian provinces were Servia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bulgaria, Gazaria, Mingrelia, Circassia, &c., &c., some of which at this day are tributary to the Turkish Empire—the successor by conquest of the Greek or Byzantine Empire.

These Slavonian communities belonged however to the old Slavonian Church, whose only distinguishing feature from the Roman Church, is the use of the old Slavonian language instead of the Latin; while those Slavonians—such as the Bohemians, Poles, Prussians, Samogitians, Lithuanians, Livonians, &c., &c.—whose conversion was effected through the instrumentality of the Roman Empire, as re-established by Charlemagne, received for their liturgical language the Latin tongue.

In this respect alone, the term "Greek," if applied to that portion of the Slavonians whose ecclesiastical language is not Latin, but the old Slavonian, has a sense distinguishing the former from the latter—or as it were the non-Latin from the Latin Slavonian Church. Though the expression Slavonian Church would certainly be far more simple and intelligible.

I shall now trace the origin and progress of the term "Russian" as applied to the Church, and explain why some of the ancient Slavonian principal-

ties are called Russian territories, or "Russias." It is historically certain, that the Slavonian provinces were visited and infested by Scandinavian pirates, as early as the year 861. Some of these freebooters settled at Novogorod, under the leadership of Rurik; they deduced their origin from a tribe called Russ, in Northern Scandinavia. Their services, as mercenaries, were occasionally employed by the Slavonians, in their struggles against the encroachments of the Emperors of Constantinople: from the position of servants they gradually rose to that of masters of some of the Slavonian provinces, to which they gave the name of Russia, introduced the feudal or despotic rule, and adopting the Christian religion of the country, called that portion, which was under their authority the "Russian" Church. This usurpation gave rise to civil wars, and the contests between the Slavonian natives and their Scandinavian masters, continued until 1169, when these adventurers, or Waregians, as they are generally called, were expelled from the Slavonian territories, which they had conquered, and settled in the duchy of Moskwa. Not long after their settlement at Moskwa, they fell under the power and received the yoke of the invading Tartars, during the period 1237—1259.

Under the leadership of their new masters they frequently infested the Russo-Slavonian provinces—then united under the mild rule of Lithuania and the Polish kings, as they continued afterwards to be from 1252 till 1773, the period of the first deplorable dismemberment of Poland. Such, my Lord, was the origin of the Russian name and the Russian Church in the provinces beyond the Dnieper, or Borysthenes, and the Dzwina.

The terms Schismatic and United are so clear in themselves as scarcely to require explanation. Schismatics are they who have separated from the

Universal, Catholic Church. They who remained faithful to the unity established by Christ in the person of St. Peter, are called united with the Church of Rome—with the successors of St. Peter—with the Catholic Church.

My object in these preliminary remarks, is to impress on your Lordship's mind the necessity—if you would avoid the perplexing confusion of ideas under which, I fear, your Lordship is at present labouring—of not confounding the Russians or Waregians, Muscovites, Rossians, with the Slavonians in general, though the greater portion of the latter is now under Rosso-Tartaric rule—of not attaching to the words "Russian Church," in its application to the Slavonian Church, any sense, beyond the accidental signification, which may attach to it from the Russo-Scandinavian pirates having occupied some Slavonian territories, imparted to them the appellation of Russia, and to the Slavonian Church which they found there established, the Russian name—in short the necessity of considering the terms Russian, Slavonian, Greek Church, as under such circumstances, synonymous.

I. The present Rossian State Church, my Lord, has, since the period of the schism in 1439, nothing in common with the Slavonian-Greek-Russian Church, but the use of the old Slavonian language in their liturgies. Whereas the present united Greeks, as I shall presently shew your Lordship, are the continuators, or to speak perhaps more correctly, the only remains of the old, Slavonian, Greek and Russian Church established by SS. Cyrilus and Methodius in 844—900.*

* Our readers will observe, that we use the term *Rossia* instead of *Russia*. The name *Russia*, belongs to the Waregian princes who ruled over a portion of Slavonia. The appellation—

These holy men are generally called the first apostles of the Slavonians; this is to a certain ex-

Rossia, was given to that portion of the country, which was conquered and invaded by the Dukes of Moskwa and Peter the Cruel, in 1700. This appellation is used by the cabinet of Petersburg, in its country and home transactions. All Slavonian writers, in their works on Rossia, use this modern term imposed by Peter the Cruel.

The Russo-Waregian despots, having settled in the city of Moskwa, assumed the title of the dukes of Moskwa. The new, savage, and heterogeneous population of the duchy, received the appellation of Muscovites. This title of the dukes was changed into that of Czar of Rossia; and the slavish and unthinking masses were capriciously and despotically designated Rossians. St. Petersburg was made the capital of the Muscovites. These changes, made by Peter the Cruel, and Catherine the Immoral, were considered, by mercenary European writers, as beneficial reforms of society. Peter, therefore, and Catherine, began to style themselves, in 1700—1768, Czars of Petersburg, and Emperors of all the *Rossias*, not of all the *Russias*, as sometimes is stated by ignorant or mercenary scribblers.

In that duchy of Moskwa, separated from Slavonia, in that country groaning under the terrible yoke of the Waregian Tartars, the Christian Church received by savage order, the title of the Muscovite Church from 1160, but more especially from 1439—1700. During this gloomy and disastrous period, even this appellation was exchanged for that of the *Rossian* or *State Church*. This Muscovite Church, however, from its rise in 1160 to 1439, strictly adhered to the dogmas and the symbolic books, preserved unaltered the primitive Liturgy and discipline which had been delivered by St. Methodius to the Slavonian Church.

But during even this period, from 1160—1439, some melancholy instances occur of schism in the Muscovite Church. Attempts were made by some of the dukes of Moskwa, slaves of the Tartars, to separate the Muscovite Christians from the Russian Church, and from the Roman Unity. Some even of the savage dukes attempted to translate the Metropolitan See of all the Russias from Kiiow to Moskwa.

These machinations, these cunning Waregian efforts were first made in 1252 by Alexander Newskoi, the pliant serf of the Tartars, the cruel master of the Muscovites; and they were renewed in 1353, 1354, 1379, 1383, 1390, 1415, 1419. But these were only personal and momentary acts of the immoral, violent dukes of Moskwa, and did not receive the sanction of the Muscovite prelates, who remained under the guidance of the Metropo-

tent incorrect, since there is evidence that the gospel had long before been successfully, though partially, preached amongst the Slavonians. But SS. Cyrilus and Methodius have the merit of not only making a lasting impression; they gave a distinct character to the Slavonian Church. They translated the dogmas, the liturgy, and the breviary or prayer books, into the Slavonian tongue. They created for it an ecclesiastical language, a church literature, which, with few alterations, has been preserved to the present time in the *Greek Slavonian Church*. These translations were made from the symbolic and liturgic books of the Church of Rome, were approved of, and sanctioned by, the See of Rome. A sanction frequently repeated and confirmed by successive Pontiffs, particularly by John VIII., 861, Innocent IV., 1246, Eugenius IV., 1439, Clement VIII., 1596, Urban VIII., Innocent X., and Benedict XIV. These translations were adopted uniformly by all the Greek, Russian, and Polish, Slavonian Christians, without distinction. Even the schisms of Photius in 858, and the

litans of Kiiow, the faithful adherent to the unity of the Church of Christ, personified in the successors of St. Peter.

This Muscovite Church, from 1439—1700—this rebellious branch of the Russian Church, forcibly and violently separated from Russia and from Rome, had only occasional, hypocritical communications with the schismatic Oriental Church. But from 1700—1846, this law establishment, this state machinery created by force and violence, assumes a tyrannical dominion over the Oriental, Greek, Russian, and Slavonian Church.

These transformations of the Muscovite duchy and its church—these frequent and violent metamorphoses made by the dukes of Moskwa or the Czars of Petersburg, must be kept constantly in mind by the reader if he wish to guard himself against the machinations and political and religious impositions of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, and its venal writers, who conceal the proper appellation of the Empire created and named by Peter and Catherine in 1700—1768, who create confusion in the history, in order to mislead the public.

heretical opinions of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerulary, in 1053, by which the Eastern or Greek Church, properly so called, was partially separated from the See of Rome—the centre of Catholic Unity—had little or no influence on the Slavonians. They held immovably to their one faith, one baptism, one fold, one pastor, during a period of six centuries, from 844 to 1439, notwithstanding the efforts and intrigues of the Scandinavian adventurers. The Metropolitan of Kiow possessed the privileges and exercised the functions of the primate—granted by the see of St. Peter, under John VIII., to St. Methodius and his successors, Isidorus, Michael Rogaza, Leo Kiszka, and Bulhak. They ordained and appointed the bishops and priests. They governed the Church in perfect freedom from dependence on the secular power; exercising in their plenitude, the legislative, judicial, and administrative powers in the Slavonian Church. The only effect produced on this Church by the terrible civil commotions in Slavonia, particularly under the savage and despotic rule of the Scandinavian dukes from 868 to 1169 was, that the relations of the Greek and Russian Slavonians with Rome were less frequent, perhaps, than subsequently, from 1252 to 1773.

Notwithstanding the decided tendencies shewn by their invaders, the Scandinavian freebooters, to despotism, to the subjugation of the Church, and an annihilation of its independence, the Slavonian Church, preserved its dogmas, its privileges, its influence, and independence, amidst all the political vicissitudes of the Slavonians, whether governed by their own *wieczas*-diets, or by the despotic, independent, Warego-Scandinavian Dukes. Nay, the Bishops often formed the highest tribunal, before which the oppressive or immoral dukes were arraigned by the people, and many of them were

deposed or shut up perpetually in monasteries to expiate their crimes.

Such was the noble position in society occupied by the Slavonian Church in those days, a position, the influence of which she faithfully employed, under the divine direction of the supreme pontiffs, Gregory VII., Innocents III. and IV., Alexander III., and Boniface VIII., in efforts to civilize the degraded, to enlighten and sanctify the depraved portion of mankind, to unite and organize them on the sublime principles of Gospel charity and catholic brotherhood, until the terrible invasion of the Tartars in 1237. When the Scandinavian dukes settled in the Duchy of Moskwa, strange to say, they preferred uniting themselves with the implacable Tartars, in order to oppress the Slavonians, to joining the Slavonians, for the purpose of expelling the Tartars. Strange infatuation! which seems to be a peculiarity of the German race. For, do we not at this very moment, see an exactly similar preference given by Austria and Germanic Prussia to barbarous Russia over their own enlightened subjects.

The name, united Greeks, or united Slavonians, means Slavonians in union with the Church of Rome, and dates its origin from the Council of Florence, convoked by Eugenius IV. in the year 1439, for the purpose of uniting all Christians in firmer bonds, and of persuading them to combine their efforts in arresting the terrible inroads of the Mussulman and Tartar.

To this Council, the Greek Slavonian Churches, including those in the Russian territories, sent deputies, who by their signatures cemented a closer union between the Eastern and Western Churches. The venerable President of the Council, Pope Eugenius, bestowed on the Metropolitan Isidore a renewal and confirmation of his privileges as

Primate of all the Slavonians, and successor of St. Methodius.

Thus the exemplary Isidore, the glory of the Christian world, the learned Metropolitan of Kiow, represented, in the fifteenth century, the union of Greek, Russian, and Polish Slavonians, as St. Methodius and his successors had done, during the five centuries between 861 and 1439.

The noble Isidore was received by all the Greek, Russian, and Polish Slavonians of St. Methodius, without a single exception, save that of the Scandnavo Tartaric inhabitants of the duchy of Moskwa, who received on that occasion the appellation of schismatics, in contradistinction to those who willingly acknowledged the supremacy of Rome, and maintained its dogmas. In other words, from 1439 until now, the Slavonians adhering to the original faith, and acknowledging the supremacy of the See of St. Peter, have obtained the name of the United Greeks. Whilst those who rejected it, have up to the present day, been termed Schismatics, Muscovites, Rossians. This union with Rome remained unshaken, their belief in Catholic dogmas, their adherence to the original Slavonian-Catholic liturgy, their submission to Catholic ecclesiastical government and discipline unchanged, until 1839, when their last faithful Metropolitan, Bulhak, expired.

This, my Lord Aberdeen, is the Church, to which your Lordship has not only refused the title of Catholic, but even stigmatized with the appellation of Schismatic. Said I not rightly, my Lord, that your Lordship had committed grave errors? This is the Church against which the persecutions of Nicholas are directed; and this is not the Schismatic Church—nor ever was known by the name of Schismatic Church—but is Roman Catholic, in every sense of the word. Roman Catholic in its dogmas, in its liturgy, in its acknowledgment of

the spiritual supremacy of the See of Rome, and has derived its distinguishing appellation of "*United*," from its union with the Chair of St. Peter, the great centre of Catholic unity. This, my Lord, forms number one of your list of errors, and is comprized in the first portion of your first statement, viz., "That the religious persecutions in Russia are not directed against the Roman Catholics, but against the Schismatic Greeks."

It now becomes my duty, my Lord, to examine the second portion of your first statement, viz., "That these Schismatic Greeks some four or five years ago joined the United Greeks, or the established religion of the State;" to point out the historical errors contained in it, and to endeavour to clear up the confusion of ideas, under which your Lordship evidently labours, in consequence of your ignorance of the real facts of the case.

In the first place, my Lord, I have already shewn, that your Schismatic Greeks, viz., those against whom the persecutions are directed are not the Schismatic, but the United Greeks. Second, being the United Greeks, they never could either, four or five years ago, or at any period, have joined the United Greeks—unless we suppose the absurdity that they joined themselves to themselves. Thirdly, the United Greeks, neither now nor at any time, constituted or formed an integral part of the present Established Religion of the Russian State Church.

These, my Lord, are my statements in contradistinction to yours. The truth of the first I have already shewn. The second requires no proof, as it involves an absurdity.

To establish the third, I must trouble your Lordship with a brief sketch of the rise and progress of the present Established Church in the Russian Empire.

The errors into which your Lordship has fallen,

and the confusion of ideas, under which you labour, clearly owe their origin to the designed, as I shall hereafter shew, misappropriation of the terms Greek and Russian, to the present State Church, by those who founded or modelled it to its present form.

It is a misnomer to call it either a Greek or a Russian Church in the true acceptation of the terms. Its proper title is a Muscovite Rossian Church; as having originated in the Duchy of Moskwa, and being founded, nursed, and shaped into its present form by the barbarian Warego-Tartaric Dukes of Moskwa, and the Czars of Petersburg.

We have seen that the Scandinavian adventurers, expelled from the independent Slavonian principalities, retreated to Moskwa, assumed the appellation of Dukes of Moskwa; having been conquered by the Tartars, they served them, from the year 1246 to 1500, as serfs against European Society, against Christian civilization. They identified themselves with the barbarians, with the degraded part of humanity, disseminated immorality, carried devastation and plunder on every side, under the tutelage of their masters. They rejected the Metropolitan of Kiow, 1439, the learned Isidore. They cut off the glorious unity with Rome, with the successors of St. Peter, and with the patriarch of Constantinople, in short with European civilization, they remained barbarians with the barbarians. This is the beginning of the deplorable schism among the great family of the Slavonians, among the Christians whom Saint Methodius and his successors enlightened in the Divine truths. This is the beginning of the present Rossian State Church.

It dates its origin from the refusal of the Warego-Tartaric inhabitants of the Duchy of Moskwa, to join the other and larger portion of the Slavonian Church in its union with the See of Rome at the

Council of Florence in 1439, and to receive or acknowledge the authority of Isidore, the regularly constituted Primate of all the Slavonian Churches in Slavonia and in the Russias.

Their first step, after this, in the onward progress of schism and departure from Catholic unity, was the creation in 1439 of a Metropolitan of Moskwa, by name Jonas.

Ivan the Savage, in the period between 1536 and 1584, still farther widened the breach, by creating a mock Patriarch of Moskwa, Job, in 1581, taking the Church especially into his own hands, remodelling it after his own fashion, making it completely his tool, usurping the election and institution of the Bishops, arrogating to himself the legislative, judicial, and administrative powers in the Church government. But even under all these changes, the dogmas, the symbolic books, and the liturgy of Saints Cyrillus and Methodius remained, with a few slight exceptions, unaltered. The task of completing the change in the confession of faith, in the liturgy and symbols; the introduction of an entirely new liturgy by despotic authority and force, was left to Alexis, the Infidel. Complete as was the change effected by Alexis, the Infidel—in essentials—it still left a shadow of an external Church, an appearance of Church Hierarchy.

Peter the Cruel, the wholesale butcher of his own priests and bishops, abolished even the mock Patriarch of Moskwa, annihilated every semblance of the Church, left untouched by Ivan the Savage, and Alexis, the Infidel, forming a permanent synod, composed of his own slaves, misnamed Bishops, whose only duty was to execute his sanguinary Ukases.

Such, my Lord, was the origin and progress, and such is the present state of the Established State Church of Russia. With this elaborate political

machinery, the immoral Catherine began the work of persecution in 1764,—a persecution planned with cunning and executed with cruelty. The Czarina laboured indefatigably, from the year 1764 to 1796, to effect the destruction of the United Greeks, and the incorporation of their territories, with those of the Duchy of Moskwa.

To Nicholas is due the honor or the reproach of having completed the work. For by an Ukase delivered by him in 1839, he made it a crime in the United Greeks not to join the Rossian State Church; or, in other words, not to adopt its confession of faith, its symbolic and liturgic books, its Church government, not to acknowledge the Czar as the supreme ruler and master of the Church. This violent and unjust act of Nicholas in 1839, this atrocious violation of the right of conscience, is the only joining of the United and Schismatic Greeks which history records.

But assuredly, my Lord, you would never, had you been acquainted with the real state of the facts, have committed yourself so far as to adduce this compulsory and tyrannic coercion of union as a voluntary joining of the United Greeks with the State Church. You, my Lord, could never have intended, in the present enlightened age, and while your compeers in office are wiping the last stains of the sanguinary code of religious persecution from your own Statute Books, to avail yourself of this perversion of terms, to justify or excuse the atrocities of Nicholas. How necessary it is, my Lord, that even Secretaries of State should learn before they presume to instruct.

Should your Lordship feel any disposition to become better instructed on these matters, I would beg to refer your Lordship to the works of Assemani, Allatius, Kulczynski, Gopitar, Stredowski, in *Moravia Sacra*, and other collections

of the dogmatic, symbolic, and liturgic books of the Slavonians, especially *Bullarium Romanorum Pontificum*, in which full details may be met with on these subjects.

In an earlier part of my letter, I stated, that it was a misnomer to call the present State Church either "Greek" or "Russian" in the proper acceptation of the term. I will, with your Lordship's permission, briefly substantiate this assertion by the following reasons:—In the first place, the Russian State Church has no claim whatever to the appellation "Greek Church." Firstly, because at the time of her origin in 1439 she broke off all connexion with the Patriarch of Constantinople, the rightful head of the Greek Church, then in communion with Rome, by conferring the dignity of Metropolitan on Jonas upon her own authority, in opposition to Isidore, the rightful Metropolitan of all the Russias, and all the Slavonian Churches.

Secondly, because she preserved the liturgical idiom of the old Slavonian Church, and did not adopt or substitute in its place the Greek language, used by the Oriental Church.

Thirdly, because she introduced an organization of Church government, altogether different from that of the Greek Church, by abolishing the dignity of Metropolitan, Primate and Patriarchs, and substituting in their place a perpetual Synod, under the absolute rule of the Czars.

Fourthly, her confession of faith, her symbolic and liturgical books, are different from those of the Greek Church.

And fifthly, because she was founded in the Duchy of Moskwa, a territory which had at no period formed a part of the Greek Empire, and at a time when the Greek Empire had actually ceased to exist, and but a few years only previous to the extinction of even its nominal existence by the Turks, at the taking of Constantinople in 1453.

In the second place she has, strange though it may at first appear, as little claim to the appellation "Russian" Church. Firstly, because the original—the real Russian Church, namely, that portion of the old Slavonian Church settled on the territories bearing the name of the Russias, from 861 until 1439—was in union with the Church of Rome, a union persevered in by the greater portion of the original Russian Church, even under its present ruler.

Secondly, the original Russian Church had its profession of faith, its symbolic and liturgic books approved of and sanctioned by the Supreme Pontiffs; whilst the present Russian State Church has substituted in their place works composed without this sanction, and on their own authority. Thirdly, the original Russian Church was under the direction of primates, or metropolitans, instituted and confirmed by the Popes, having a free and independent church government, convoking and holding synods, and exercising legislative, judicial, and administrative powers. The present state Church is, on the contrary, entirely under the despotic rule of the Czars.

Evidently then, she can have no legitimate claim to the appellation of the "Russian Church."

Her only rightful titles are Muscovite, Russian, or at least, the Russian Schismatic Church: the former she derives from the territory of her origin, the Duchy of Moskwa, and from the Dukes of Moskwa, to whom she is indebted for her first foundation, who successively changed and remodelled to their own taste her confession of faith, her liturgy, and the whole of her internal and external organization, during the period included between the years 1439 and 1720. It was not till the last named year that even the Dukes of Moskwa, in the person of Peter the Cruel, thought of assuming for themselves the

title of Rossian, or Czar of Russia—a title afterwards expanded by Catherine II. in 1773, into that of Emperor of all the Russias. The appellation of Russian Schismatic Church she has earned by her schismatical separation from the ancient Russian Church in the year 1439, as we have described.

For all political, religious, and historical purposes, it would be far better that both the Church and state now called Russian should be known under their proper designation of Muscovite Rossian, neither the one nor the other having the slightest claim to any other. But it was to serve the deep political schemes of the Rossian rulers that they gave to their Church the title Greek and Russian, and assumed to themselves that of Emperors of all the Russias. Under these titles they hoped, and their hopes have been too well realized: to delude the Greek Christians living under the dominion of Turkey with the idea that in the Russian Greek Church they would find a natural protector; and on the other hand, to give themselves a pretext for laying claim to all the Slavonian or ancient Russian provinces; and to impress Europe with the notion that the assertion of this claim was but the assertion of their just and natural rights.

It is but too evident that in the assumption of these two simple names of "Russian" and "Greek" lies the great secret of the nature and success of the Muscovite policy and cunning. Let these two appellations be stripped from the Scandinavian Tartaric tyrants, let them be called the Dukes, the Kings, the Czars, or even the Emperors, if they will, of Moskwa, of St. Petersburg, or of Russia, to which appellation alone they are entitled, and they will quickly be deprived, in the eyes of the European public, of the best means of intriguing amongst the Christian populations in the Turkish

empire, and of subjugating the Poles and Slavonians in general.

I have thus, my Lord, as briefly and as succinctly as my subject would permit, endeavoured to point out to your Lordship the grave errors into which you had fallen in your first assertion, and the probable source of the confusion of ideas but too prevalent on this subject.

II. I will now pass on to your second statement, that "between the 'Schismatic' and 'United' Greeks there exists no dogmatical difference, excepting that the former acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, whilst the latter do not," and trust I shall be able to shew your Lordship that this is not less erroneous than your former assertion. In that instance, the source of your errors was an ignorance of historical facts; in this, it is an insufficient acquaintance with the dogmas of the respective Churches. Perhaps your Lordship may conceive, and probably with some degree of justice, that ignorance on dogmas is more pardonable in a layman than on historical facts.

But then, my Lord, laymen should not venture to give an opinion in an official capacity on theological subjects; or if they do they should take care to inform themselves correctly on them, more particularly when their opinion will influence that of millions, and practically affect the interests of thousands suffering under tyranny and persecution, by depriving them of the probable protection that the strong expression of public detestation of their treatment might interpose between them and their persecutors.

Besides, there is a want of common information displayed here that one would scarce expect to meet with in any tolerably well informed schoolboy of the present day, certainly not in the merest tyro in the history of ecclesiastical events in Europe,

—an ignorance so great that I must really suppose that your Lordship's speech has been incorrectly reported.

Your Lordship is made to state that the former, the Schismatic Greeks, acknowledge the Supremacy of the Pope, whilst the latter, the United Greeks, do not. Now, your Lordship really ought to know that the meaning of the term Schismatic implies a breaking off from, and a refusal to acknowledge some constituted ecclesiastical authority; and in the case of the Greek Schismatics, their refusal to acknowledge the authority of the Pope; whilst the term United, as I have shewn your Lordship, means those Greeks in union with, and acknowledging the authority of the see of Rome.

I have already in a great measure anticipated the reply necessary to be given to this assertion, "that there is no dogmatical difference between the Schismatic and United Greeks," in the details I have been under the necessity of entering into when pointing out the source of your errors in the first of your statements.

Having there proved to you that the real Schismatics are the present Rossian State Church, and that the United Greeks are not and never have been a part of that Church, but in every sense of the word Roman Catholics, I have now to convince your Lordship that you are seriously in error when you state that there is no other dogmatic difference between them than the question of the supremacy of the Pope. There was a period when this statement of your Lordship's would have probably been true, namely from the year 1439—the epoch of their first separation, at the time when the Russo Tartaric inhabitants of the Duchy of Moskwa, rejecting the authority of the primate Isidore, established for themselves Ionas, as metropolitan of Moskwa, until 1536. This, as I have remarked,

was the real origin, not of the Schism between the Greek and Roman Churches, which is of an older date, but of the Schism in the old Slavonian Church. It was not till Ivan the Savage, in 1536, and his successors had substituted an entirely new liturgy of their own making, for the ancient Catholic Liturgy of Saints Cyrillus and Methodius had introduced changes into the organisation and government of the Church, that such a change of belief, and such an internal difference arose, as to involve other questions of dogma than the supremacy of the Pope, and to preclude any similarity or points of union between the two Churches. That such has been the result of these changes, that the two Churches do differ on other dogmas besides the supremacy of the Pope, I trust to make evident to your Lordship by a resumé and examination of the leading points of distinction in dogmas at present existing between the two Churches.

First, the grand dogma of the Blessed Trinity, one God, one nature, three persons. The procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Father and the Son, is at the present time firmly believed and maintained in the confession of the "United Greeks," and in their symbolic works and Liturgy, the identical ones delivered to them by Saints Cyrillus and Methodius, in 844. This sublime dogma of revealed religion, this fundamental principle of Christianity, has been completely destroyed by the Moscovites, Rossians, and the Russian Schismatics. They deny the procession of the Holy Ghost from both Father and Son, restricting it to the Father alone; thus implicitly denying the most essential condition of the one substance, one nature, and one essence of the three persons. The Rossians must believe in three distinct persons, of whom two, the Holy Ghost and the Son, were both created by and after the Father, in a state of inferi-

ority to him, like the EONES of the Gnostics; in a word, the present Rossians of the State Church must be either Trideists or Unitarians.

Surely, my Lord, you must admit that here is something more than a mere difference respecting the acknowledgment or non-acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Pope? It not only implies a fundamental difference, it establishes such a line of demarkation between the United Greeks and the Moscovites, Rossians, and Russian Schismatics, as renders union between them all but impossible.

Secondly, there is a fundamental difference between the symbolic and liturgic books of the Moscovites, Rossians, and the Russian Schismatics and the United Greeks. The Confession of Faith, the Liturgy, the Breviary of the latter, are those of the Catholic Church translated into the Slavonian language in 861, by Saints Cyrillus and Methodius, preserved and faithfully adhered to by the whole Slavonian Church, until the Council of Florence in 1439, when the use of them was at the request of the Slavonians again solemnly confirmed to them by Eugenius IV. and a confirmation that has since been repeated by several successive Pontiffs. John VIII. 861; Eugenius IV. 1439; Leo X. 1521; Clement VII. 1526; Clement VIII. 1595-96; Paul V. 1615; Urban VIII. 1624; Benedict XIV. 1743-44-45; Pius VII. 1802. Those of the Rossian State Church are the same that were altered and corrupted from the genuine works of Saints Cyrillus and Methodius, first by Ivan the Savage in 1536—1584, and finally more completely so by Alexis the Infidel, and Peter the Cruel, in 1720, and which, in that state of corruption, were presented to the "United Greeks," and have been enforced upon them with all the pains and penalties that a savage and ingenious cruelty could devise, under Catharine and Nicholas, or from 1764 to the present moment.

It may appear to your Lordship that I insist with too much detail and minuteness on these simple facts and dates; my reason for doing so, my Lord, is that I know the Rossians spare no pains in endeavouring to falsify and deny them, or at least withhold them from public knowledge.

Thirdly, the Greek Slavonians received the dogma of the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors in the see of Rome from their apostles, Saints Cyrillus and Methodius. They firmly believed that Christ appointed unity as a mark of His Church, and established the centre of it in St. Peter and his successors. *Tu es Petrus, &c., pasce oves meas et agnos meos.* This belief they have unvaryingly persevered in, and boldly proclaimed on various occasions, from 844, particularly at the Synods in 1439, 1595, 1720. This their belief they have nobly and unflinchingly attested by their sufferings under Catharine in 1772, as they are now doing under Nicholas at the present day.

The Moscovites, Rossians, and the Russian Schismatics, on the contrary, have rejected this article of faith, and bowed themselves down under the temporal and spiritual supremacy of tyrants who have erected themselves into the spiritual and temporal masters of their enslaved populations, impiously styling themselves the representatives of God—His vice-gerents on earth, the expounders of His gospel, and the governors of His Church, in opposition to the Divine principle laid down in the Gospel: “*Spiritus sanctus posuit episcopos regere ecclesiam Dei.*”

The noble resistance made to this monstrous assumption—this tyrannous and cruel violation of the rights of conscience—is the sole crime of the “United Greeks.” Can it be that in enlightened and liberal England, whose soil is proclaimed to be the sanctuary of liberty and of the rights of con-

science, any one can be found to regard with indifference and an unpitying eye these champions of the very rights that England boasts as her privilege and her pride,—these victims, because opponents of merciless tyranny and oppression?

Much less, my Lord, should I expect to find an apologist of such soul-crushing tyranny among the rulers of the land of liberty. No, my Lord Aberdeen, you never could have intended to display your chivalry in so Quixotic an attempt.

Fourthly, there is another and a very important point of difference between them in a theological and dogmatic view. The Russian Slavonians deduce the uninterrupted succession of their Bishops and Priests from the Apostles through the See of Rome. The Primates of all the Russias received their spiritual powers and jurisdiction through St. Methodius, the Primate of all the Slavonians, appointed by Pope John VIII., 861. They had it confirmed, through the learned Isidorus, by Eugenius IV. in 1439; through the Metropolitan Michael Rogoza, by Clement VIII. in 1595; through the zealous Primate Leo Kizska, by Clement XI. in 1720; and through Bulkak, the Metropolitan, in 1812—1838.

The Moscovites, Rossians, and the Russian Schismatics, on the other hand, by their schism in 1439, which separated them both from the See of Rome and the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was then in communion with the See of Rome,—and by the appointment of Jonas as their Metropolitan on their own lay and usurped authority, lost and wilfully renounced the legitimate power of ordination, the spiritual jurisdiction, the benefits and rights of the Apostolic succession of the Slavonian Church. They lost in the terrible changes, and in the civil commotions under Ivan in 1536, under Alexis the Infidel, and Peter the

Cruel, the regular form of ordination. The very exercise of this altered and spurious ordination became the usurped privilege, the legal law made right, of the tyrant Czars.

This point, my Lord, allow me to tell you, constitutes, in the eyes of Christians, an important and immense doctrinal difference between the United Catholic Greeks and Moscovites, Rossians, and Russian Schismatics. Now, my Lord Aberdeen, are you prepared to say that the poor Nuns of Minsk, the priests and the people of the United Greek Church, had not a right to resist this sacrilegious subjection—this prostration of their hitherto free Church to the usurped despotic authority and behests of the Czars?

Fifthly, the United Greeks have their sacred Hierarchy, their independent Church, an ecclesiastical Government, distinct from the State, and free from the influence of civil power. Their Primates, in conjunction with the Suffragans, governed the Church, regulated its spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs, resolved doubtful points of belief, &c., in virtue of the authority committed to them by the Supreme Pontiffs. The Moscovites, Rossians, and Russian Schismatics possess no independent Church-government, no free Church; the Czars are their church, who made it in their own cruel likeness, and rule it according to their own pleasure and caprice.

Is there no difference, my Lord, between a church under the government of Christ, conducted by Bishops appointed by the Holy Ghost to govern the Church of God, and a church under the unrestricted and absolutely supreme rule of infidel laymen and sanguinary women? I must leave you, my Lord, if you have any doubt on the point, to seek your answer from your own free kirk of Scotland and the English Dissenters.

I can only assure your Lordship, that far happier in this respect is the position of the Greek Schismatic Church in Turkey, whose temporal rulers, to a great extent, have respected and still respect the independence of that Church in its separation from the State, and in the undisturbed exercise of its own spiritual jurisdiction.

Sixthly, the "United Greeks" established schools for the instruction of the rising generations in the important duties of a Christian, and ecclesiastical seminaries for the formation of fit teachers of divine Truth, where they were trained in all the virtues and knowledge requisite for the holy vocation of the Priesthood. The instructors in these schools were the Primates and Bishops themselves, or persons of approved virtue and piety appointed by them. Numerous and flourishing were these schools and seminaries from 861 to 1764; but where or what are they now? The schools abolished; the buildings in which they were held converted into dungeons for the keeping of state prisoners; laid in the dust, or at most a mass of ruin and dilapidation—objects for the curiosity of the traveller as he journeys on his way through Polock, Witepvk, Mohylew, Kiiow, Wilna, &c., &c., &c. The Moscovites, Rossians, and Russian Schismatics, have certainly their schools and seminaries, but seminaries regulated by savage Czars, conducted and superintended by decayed soldiers.

Among these instructors, appointed and removed at pleasure by the Emperor, there may be found a few with comparatively higher pretensions to learning, but even these few are generally ignorant of the first rudiments of Christianity, or decided enemies of the Gospel Revelation. Here, my Lord, is another point of difference involving dogmatical disagreement. For the United Greeks believe that

Jesus Christ, instituted a divine order of teachers, whom he commissioned to preach his revealed truths to all nations. That this divine institution of holy orders is the only judge to decide who are to be admitted into Holy Orders, and who are to be the instructors of the people in the Christian religion. Whereas it is the opinion of the Moscovites, Rossians, and Russian Schismatics, if they have an opinion on the question, that every person appointed by the Czars at Petersburg, is a fit instructor of the people, and of the future instructors of the people in Christianity, and that this fitness is wholly determined and imparted by the will and ukase of the Czar. Is there, my Lord, no dogmatical difference here? Again, my Lord, I refer you to the Divines of the Kirk, and the English Dissenters; they, or I mistake much, will furnish your Lordship with an instructive answer.

Seventhly, again, my Lord, on the doctrine of purgatorial punishment for sins after they have been remitted by the sacrament of penance, there is a decided dogmatic difference. The "United Greeks" believing the Catholic doctrine on this point, whilst the Rossian State Church rejects this article of faith, or entertains most erroneous notions respecting it.

This catalogue, my Lord, of differences between the two Churches, might be still farther enlarged by an analysis of the legislative, judicial, and administrative powers of both. But, I presume, enough has been said to convince your Lordship, or even the most sceptical person, that I was not wrong when I stated you were gravely erroneous in your assertion, that "no dogmatical difference existed between the United Greeks and the Schismatic, Rossian State Church, except that the one admitted whilst the other denied the Supremacy of the Pope."

I have thus, my Lord, analyzed your first two assertions, and the result of the analysis has been to show very strongly your Lordship's power of condensation. For in two very short paragraphs you have condensed no less than five serious errors. Three of which, wholly historical, occur in your first statement; and two others, partly dogmatical and partly historical, in your second. But I trust, my Lord, that I have succeeded in showing you that the United Greeks are not Schismatics, but Roman Catholics. That it is against them as Roman Catholics, and because they adhere to Roman Catholic doctrines, that the persecutions of Nicholas are directed. That the United Greeks never were Schismatics, nor ever joined the Russian Schismatics, the Russian State Church, and in concluding this part of my argument I have been at the pains, and I hope not unsuccessfully, of proving to your Lordship, that the present State Church has no just claim to the name of either Russian or Greek Church, and that the United Greeks, are in truth, the only legitimate representatives, the lineal descendants of the old Russian, Greek, and Slavonian Church.

And farther, your Lordship will not I think, on a future occasion, should one occur, venture to affirm that there is no other dogmatical difference between the Churches in question than that of the Papal Supremacy, after my having shown you that they differ on no less than seven material dogmatic points, including that very important and fundamental doctrine of the Blessed Trinity.

I have thus, my Lord, pointed out the errors into which you have fallen from two sources, your ignorance of historical facts, and your want of sufficient information on dogmatical points. It remains now, my Lord, to point out how erroneous are the conclusions you draw from the information stated by you to be derived from the British Consul,

and the little reliance which you and the public ought to place on information derived from such a source, arising from the peculiar circumstances of the case, and the policy of the Rossian Empire.

III. Your Lordship's third assertion is, "the accounts of the persecution are grossly and wickedly exaggerated, as the British Consul reports to your Lordship, and your Lordship believes them to be exaggerated."

Here two points present themselves for our consideration. First, the value of the particular evidence of the British Consul in this case. Second, the motives or other collateral evidence which has induced your Lordship to BELIEVE these accounts to be exaggerated; for your mode of expression implies that you have particular and distinct reasons for believing what the British Consul states, and which induce you to throw your belief into the scales to increase the weight of evidence against the poor Nuns of Minsk.

Now, my Lord, it is a very just and rational rule in testing the value of the evidence of any particular witness, to enquire whether the facts to which he speaks are likely to have occurred or not. Suppose a witness speaking to the character of an accused party, and stating that he did not believe the party to have been guilty of the crime, or to that degree, of which he was accused; the very natural question to be put to this witness would be, Why do you believe so? And the very natural answer to it would be, Because I never knew the accused to be guilty of any similar act; I always knew his conduct to be of quite an opposite character. It is therefore highly improbable that he should have been guilty of the crime laid to his charge. Now in the case of the accused Nicholas, brought to his trial at the bar of public opinion, for cruelties committed on some poor defenceless women, can the

British Consul, or your Lordship—who have undertaken the tardy, and therefore I must suppose you think chivalrous task, of defending the reputation of a poor innocent Emperor, and of speaking to his character—presume to plead the same reason for believing that he has not been guilty of, or sanctioned the atrocities imputed to him. Can your Lordship, or the British Consul, with the pages of history before you, in which are written in characters of blood, the story of unhappy Poland, and the deeds not only of Nicholas but of his predecessors, venture to assert that the atrocities of Minsk are “grossly and wickedly exaggerated,” because no similar conduct on the part of the accused, no parallel cases of atrocity have been known?

So far, my Lord, from the accounts being improbable, of these atrocities at Minsk, they are, on the contrary, highly probable; from the whole history of the conduct and policy of the Czars of Petersburg, in their treatment of unhappy Poland and the United Greeks, a conduct that has been one uninterrupted series of cruelties and atrocities; a policy, marked by selfishness, craft, duplicity, by a total disregard of treaties, and the very commonest principles of good faith.

Lest your Lordship may be as ill-informed in history on these points, as you have already shewn yourself on others connected with this subject, I shall trouble your Lordship with a few facts and dates, illustrative of the truth of my assertions.

After the dismemberment of Poland, in 1773, solemn treaties were entered into by the Pope, the Polish Republic, and Czars of Petersburg, in which the latter bound themselves by a solemn oath to respect the Catholic Religion, its privileges and rights; to maintain it in “*statu quo*” in all the provinces detached from Poland; to leave both the Latin Catholics and the United Greeks in the un-

disturbed and free exercise of their religion, and in possession of their ecclesiastical properties. See Article 8th of the Treaty concluded on the 18th of September, 1773, at Warsaw. "*The Roman Catholics utriusque ritûs. of the detached provinces will enjoy all civil rights; and as regards their religion, all shall remain in statu quo: i.e. the RITUAL and discipline of their Church shall be the same as hitherto; the possessions of the Church and the Church property which they have in 1772, are guaranteed them in PERPETUITY; and neither H.M. the Empress nor any of her successors will EVER USURP the right of Sovereignty at the expense of and to the prejudice of the statu quo of the Catholic religion utriusque ritûs in the said Provinces.*" This treaty as well as that bearing date 1768, were most solemnly renewed and confirmed in 1775, 1792, 1795, 1815, 1825. But every stipulation and obligation in them has been broken by Catherine II, Paul I, Alexander, and Nicholas.* Authentic documents whose veracity can be impugned by no one, are annexed to the consistorial allocation of Gregory XVI, pronounced in 1842, documents shewing that these treaties had been most shamefully violated. All intercourse of the United Greeks and Latin Catholics with the See of Rome was prohibited by the severest penalties. The Papal nuncios were expelled from the provinces of ancient Poland, of which the Petersburgian Czars had obtained possession. The ecclesiastical properties were taken away from the Church. The old metropolitan and episcopal sees of the Russian Slavonians and Latin Catholics were destroyed, and new ones arbitrarily erected. The monasteries were abolished, the

* On some future occasion we shall favour the public with all the ukases issued by the rulers of Petersburg in violation of these treaties, a collection of which we are preparing.

seminaries and schools were taken away from under the control and superintendence of the United and Latin Bishops, and handed over to heretical directors and teachers. The people were forced to forswear their religion, to accept heretical doctrines. The priests who stood faithful to their duties and convictions were deprived of the care of souls, imprisoned, or sent to the mines of Siberia.

But it is logical indeed, and consistent for the Czars to uphold their Empire by the same means by which it was founded; viz:—by persecution, by extirpating all the elements of Christian and European civilization on their territory. This barbarous mission the Dukes of Moskwa inherited from the Tartars, under whose tutelage they were nurtured, 1246—1500. The civilization and enlightenment of the masses; the propagation of revealed truth; the observance of international engagements and treaties are incompatible, as it would seem, with the task they have to perform. This is not vain declamation, a vague accusation; it is history. It is the history of the Muscovite, Rossian Empire from 1224, to 1846; of which the present territorial extent of the Empire; the frightful degradation and ignorance of its inhabitants, and the consistent and systematic violation of international treaties form only the principal features.

The policy of all these Muscovite Princes, whether called Dukes of Moskwa, or Czars of Petersburg, is founded on a firm impression, a fixed belief that not to continue making inroads; to enlighten the masses; to teach them the arts of peace, would be death to their mission; rebellion against the vital element and base of the Muscovite Empire, as formed by Ivan the Savage, and Peter the Cruel. Their mission is war, perpetual conquests; their avocation is to spread devastation, degradation, depravation and ignorance.

One feature of their policy, that of making even their enemies subservient to their own safety when in danger, or to the carrying out their own views of aggrandizement, is very remarkable, and owes its success to the most shameless violation of oaths, and the breach of the most solemn promises.

When Ivan the Savage, fresh and vigorous in his audacity, by his recent emancipation from the yoke of his late masters, the Tartars, invaded the Slavonian Principalities beyond the Dnieper or Broysthenes and Dwina, under the rule of Stephen Bathory, King of Poland, he was soon taught to feel the prowess and the vengeance of that famous warrior; humbled by the just punishment inflicted on him by the victorious arms of Bathory; trembling in the recesses of his Cremlin at Moskwa, at the prospect of death or captivity that awaited him, he dispatched his legates to Rome, requesting the Jesuits to solicit the Pope, Gregory XIII, to act as mediator between him and his justly provoked conqueror. He desired union with the See of Rome as an affectionate son, he requested the Pope to send his nuncios and instructors from the Holy See. The Jesuit Passevinus by order of the Pope and as his delegate interceded for him with Bathory, and saved the Muscovite Duke. Stephen Bathory signed a treaty, disbanded his army, and shortly after died suddenly!!! Ivan safe, in the interregnum, forgot his promise of becoming an affectionate son of the Pope, resumed his former audacity, braving the Polish Republic, and insulting the Pope who had saved him from destruction.

Peter the Cruel, when meditating the design of calling himself the Czar of all the Rossias; when invading the Swedish and Turkish provinces; when murdering the priests of the United Greeks at Polock,* sent to Rome in 1717, a delegate Kurakin,

* Vide Kulczynski, p. 136.

to tell Clement XI. that he protected by all the means in his power the Catholic Religion, and personally assured the Doctors of Sorbonne that he with his subjects would join the Catholic Religion.

Catherine entered into the most friendly treaty with the Republic of Poland in 1768;* assuring the world and the Pope of her disinterested views, her pacific feelings, her anxious desire to settle the disturbances, which she had fomented in the Republic, to protect the dissenters; and immediately afterwards, in 1772, seized by fraud and violence on the Polish provinces, extirpating equally the Dissenters and United Greeks, laughing at treaties and at her most solemn engagements. In these flourishing countries of ancient Poland she began the work of the extirpation of the United Greeks and Latin Catholics, forcing *three millions one hundred and sixty thousand* of the United Greeks to forswear their religion; taking possession of their Churches, seizing on their ecclesiastical properties; compelling them to accept the new confession of faith, the liturgy, &c., remodelled by Alexis, the infidel; butchering without distinction of age or sex in the cities of Human, Czegrin, &c. &c., the unhappy and conscientious recusants of Ukrania, Wolhynia, Podolia, and the provinces beyond the Dnieper.† In short it would require volumes to describe the persecutions and cruelties inflicted on the United Greeks by this immoral woman.

And Nicholas has faithfully followed in the footsteps of his predecessors.‡ Immediately after his

* This treaty is guaranteed by England, Holland, and Sweden.

† Vide Mlodanowicz Memoirs.

‡ He, as well as Catherine and Alexander, said to the Poles at the Coronation, "I swear and promise before God and the holy Gospel, to maintain and execute to the utmost of my power, the Constitutional Charter."

coronation as King of Poland in 1825, he took away the schools from the United Greeks in the provinces of Witepsk and Polock; in 1828 he abolished ten ancient bishoprics of the United Greeks, leaving two eparchies or archbishoprics, viz: Wilna and Palock; in 1829 he persecuted the inhabitants of the detached province from Poland. Threatened in his security, and trembling for the results of the noble Polish struggle in 1830-1, Nicholas sent Prince Gagarin to request his Holiness Pope Gregory XVI, to issue his well-known brief to the bishops of Poland. But no sooner was the storm blown over, the danger passed, than he commenced driving the Greeks by the terrors of imprisonment, death, or the mines of Siberia, into his Church, the present Rossian Schismatic State Church.

Whilst perpetrating these atrocities and planning the final destruction of the United Catholic Church, through the instrumentality of three apostates, Joseph Siemaszko, Basile Luzynski, and Anthony Zubko, he sent his son Alexander to Rome, on the 25th of February, 1839, to assure the Pope that he took the greatest care of the Catholics in his empire.*

Such, my Lord, has been the conduct of the rulers of Rossia; such their systematic and unvarying persecution; such their base, selfish, and faithless policy.

Where, my Lord, is the man who will dare to

* The Emperor Nicholas himself visited Rome during the late year 1845. Doubtless not without a design, and that a deep one. Does he think his Empire in danger, or is he meditating the destruction of some other religion or nation? The Czars of Petersburgh have never yet abandoned their mission of incroachment, or slackened in their career of spreading degradation and immorality. Poland is looked upon as settled and done for. Whose turn will it be next? Turkey, Austria, or Prussia? Time will show.

say that the atrocities at Minsk are likely to be "exaggerated," are improbable, because at variance with the antecedent conduct of Nicholas or his predecessors?

Where, my Lord, is the man, who after this will quote the assertion of a Czar of Petersburg in denial of the existence of a fact, as a proof that the fact has no existence? If your Lordship has been hitherto such a man, I think your Lordship will for your own future credit's sake cease to be so, in the face of such undeniable facts as I have adduced. Facts attested by such numerous authorities* that it is really surprising how either you, my Lord, or your Consul could have been ignorant of them. And yet we must suppose you ignorant of them, or you never could have ventured before the assembled Peers of the British Empire, to make the assertions you are reported to have made.

Having thus shewn, my Lord, that the veracity of the accounts stated by the British Consul "to be grossly and wickedly exaggerated," is not shaken by the improbability of their occurrence. We must now take another leaf from the practice of courts of law in testing the value of evidence, we must examine what sources and means of information the British Consul possessed respecting the facts, to enable or entitle him to say that the accounts of them were "grossly and wickedly exaggerated."

The first witness I shall call "as to the means the British Consul had of ascertaining the veracity of the facts" will be your Lordship himself, the next will be your Lordship's compeer in office, Sir Robert Peel.

Your Lordship on the 10th of February, in reply

* Vide—"Allocation of 1842." "Revelations of Russia." "Persecutions of Russia." "Eastern Europe and the Emperor Nicholas." "La Russie," &c. &c. &c.

to a question from Lord Kinnaid, whether the British Government had any information on the subject of the persecution of the Basilian Nuns, stated that Her Majesty's Government "had not received any information from the representative of Her Majesty at the Court of St. Petersburg," giving the very words of the British Consul himself, as a reason why that "*there were no MEANS of ascertaining the veracity of the facts.*"

Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, on the 5th of March, 1846, on a motion of the Hon. Wm. F. Cowper, "to make public any paper bearing on the facts, either one way or the other," answered in a similar way, "that he was not enabled to communicate to the House any official dispatches, Her Majesty's Government not having received from Her Majesty's representative or from *any other quarter* information on the subject. It was therefore impossible for the Government to produce any document which would throw light on the subject."

These, my Lord, are very plain and intelligible statements. But, my Lord, how is it then that you are enabled to state that the British Consul believes these accounts to be grossly and wickedly exaggerated, when from your own testimony the British Consul "*has no means of ascertaining the veracity of the facts.*" This, my Lord, is rather mysterious for common understandings, and your Lordship is certainly bound to explain it.

Again, my Lord, how is it that the British Government has received no information? Is it the fault of the British functionaries? Or that of the circumstances in which they are placed? That the British Consul speaks the truth, when he stated that there were "no means of ascertaining the facts" in the Muscovite Empire, your Lordship as an official man believes probably as well as

I or any one, who knows the true condition of the Muscovite Empire in general, and the special nature of its rule and organization, which is of the sort.

The vast extent of the Muscovite Empire, its entire circumference is surrounded and guarded by a triple line of cossacks, who permit no person, no traveller to enter it without a Muscovite passport, indicating the route, the purposes, &c. &c. of the bearer.

Every province is in a similar way separated from all the other provinces of the Empire; without a special permission of the respective governors no person is allowed to pass from his province into another. In each province every district is in a similar position. The districts again are subdivided into parishes and villages, the inhabitants of one parish or village cannot pass into another parish or village without the express leave of the district officers. Under such circumstances what Russian can have much knowledge of occurrences at the smallest distance from his abode?

There is no free press; there is nothing deserving the name of press in Russia, from which any fact of importance can be learned; nothing but the Imperial version of the facts. There are no public meetings in Russia, and private conversations even are held under the control and fear of an omnipresent secret police. There are no political gossipings, no rumours, not even family intrigues. Under such circumstances what information I ask, is likely to be obtained in Russia? There is only one Master, one omnipotent Sovereign, who devises everything; who directs and moves every spring of action in this vast Empire. But has he not Ministers? Do they not know what happens, or what is doing in the Empire? Most of the advisers of the Emperor are foreigners, well rewarded for

their services, who certainly know all the plans and projects which they themselves have suggested, but their adoption or execution remains a profound secret from them. It depends on the Emperor alone, who in case of adoption, enforces the execution by orders or ukases, sent by him to the civil or military governors of the provinces. It is the Emperor again, who arbitrarily appoints all the civil and military governors of provinces and their subalterns. It is the Czar of Petersburg alone who selects his officers of police, who in one word nominates and removes the whole mass of his civil, spiritual and military officers at his own pleasure.

No Muscovite governor, no Muscovite minister knows more than he is allowed by the Emperor to know. What then can a British representative at the Court of St. Petersburg, what can a British Consul residing at Warsaw know? Of course still less. In fact, nothing.

The only accessible sources of information are the official version, which the British representatives may obtain from the Muscovite Government. And of what nature most, if not all these official versions are? The world must by this time be sufficiently well aware.

It may perhaps be said that a British Ambassador ought to endeavour to see with his own eyes, to hear with his own ears. Will he try that? It is in the power of the Muscovite Government to manage that he see and hear no more than what the Government actually wishes him to see and hear. Europe has had an example of that in the exhibition of Woznozenk.

Nor is this the position of the British representatives alone, it is the position of the representatives of every foreign power residing in Russia.

Now, my Lord, what conclusions can the public deduce from this view of the means of gaining in-

formation respecting facts that occur in the Russian Empire? They are as follows: First—That the British Consul announced a great truth, when he stated that “he had *no means* of ascertaining the veracity of the facts respecting the persecution of the Nuns at Minsk.” Secondly—That the fault was not his, nor that of the Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg. Thirdly—That these functionaries are as useless as they are expensive appendages to the Foreign Office.

But what conclusion, and this is of most importance in the present instance, are we to come to, as to the degree of credence to be given to the assertion of the British Consul, that he believes these accounts to be *grossly* and *wickedly* exaggerated; what value are we to attach to his evidence? And what again is the British public to think of a functionary employed and paid to convey correct information to his government, who has the hardihood to mislead that government, by asserting his belief on points respecting which he has evidently not the slightest reasonable ground for forming a belief at all? But above all, what are we to think of a noble Lord, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of a great and powerful Empire like this, who must know, and ought to know, or he is unfit for his office, that his employé could have no certain means for ascertaining the truth of facts, getting up in his place and misleading the hereditary legislators of this country and the British public, by adducing this ungrounded assertion as a reason for his disbelieving those facts, or believing the accounts of them to be grossly and wickedly exaggerated? My Lord, these are grave questions, which I leave to your Lordship, to ponder on at your leisure, and to answer them as best you may.

But it would appear, my Lord, you have other grounds besides the statement of the British Con-

sul. The denial of Nicholas himself, and that of his Ambassador M. Boutanief, of the truth of these accounts. These are high sounding authorities, let us test the value of them. First, as to the denial of Nicholas. We might at once dismiss this denial, as totally inadmissible as evidence in this case, by referring to the former denials and assertions of this same Nicholas, as well as to the reliance to be placed on the assertions or denials of Czars or Emperors of Muskwa in general, discussed in a former part of this letter. But we have no disposition to appear harsh. We will try it on its own merits, and by them let it stand or fall.

Your Lordship is reported to have affirmed in the House of Lords on the 10th of February, 1846, "that the Emperor of Rossia, when visiting Pope Gregory XVI., denied the truth of the persecutions inflicted on the Nuns of Minsk," as related by their Abbess. We know that the poor Nun of Minsk, had forerun the Czar, when he set his foot on the soil of Italy. We all know that the Pope complained to him of the sufferings, of the persecutions heaped by Nicholas on the Catholics and the United Greeks of his Empire. We know that the Pope made an especial mention of the case of the poor Nuns of Minsk; but did the Emperor deny the fact? No, my Lord, with all due deference to your Lordship, he did not. He only entreated the Pope not to believe the reports published in the newspapers; fully aware that could he induce the Pope to discredit the statements of the press and of private individuals, he would be perfectly secure. For no one knew better than the Emperor himself how difficult it is for truth to make its way into publicity in the Muscovite Empire. But what, my Lord, was the answer he received from the Pope? It was but too satisfactory. His Holiness, without using many words, proved the facts and corroborated

the statements made, by handing over to the Emperor his own ukases, his orders for the persecutions, confiscations, and oppressions complained of. The Emperor is stated to have staggered, and been struck dumb with amazement. Doubtless he was puzzled to account for the escape of these documents from the omnipotent vigilance of his own police. All that the Czar did was to request the Pope to grant him time;—time for what? To investigate the truth of the facts? He knew they were true. He wanted time to assure himself of the means by which these documents had found their way to Rome. So much, my Lord, for the denial of the Emperor. But what was the result of the Emperor's investigations? A note presented to his Holiness by M. Boutanieff. The second authority on which your Lordship rests your belief in the falsity or exaggeration of the accounts.

We will now examine the value of that authority. There is an adage, "that a bad excuse is better than none;" we are not of that opinion; we think a bad argument from a clever and interested advocate is a strong proof of a bad cause. M. Boutanieff, amongst the many Journals that have described the treatment of these Nuns, finds one Paris Journal, in which she is called the Abbess of Kowno; and immediately M. Boutanieff exclaims triumphantly,—“There is not a convent of Basilian Nuns at Kowno, therefore all the cruelties, all the sufferings of the Nuns of Minsk, as described by the Abbess, are false, the Abbess herself an impostor.” Precious logic!! indeed, and worthy of the Czar of Petersburg. But the Abbess never said that she was Abbess of Kowno, neither at Poznan, Paris, nor Rome, she never stated herself to be any other than Abbess of Minsk, and as such was known to many Polish Gentlemen: even the very Journal itself corrected

its own blunder. Yet on such a subterfuge, such a mere blunder of the press in one solitary Journal, does M. Boutanieff, the Ambassador of the Emperor of all the Rossias, venture not only to ground his denial of these persecutions, these cruelties charged on his master, but had even the audacity to stigmatize the venerable sufferer as an impostor!

The second reason adduced by M. Boutanieff, why the Pope and the European Cabinets should consider the deposition of the Abbess as a falsehood and the Abbess an impostor is, that Joseph Siemaszko is not the Bishop of Polock, Witebsk, and Minsk, but Bishop of Wilna, and therefore could not, by the CANON LAW, exercise spiritual jurisdiction in the other Bishoprics, could not force the Abbess and her sisters to forswear their religion. M. Boutanieff quotes the Canon Law, forsooth!! What an insult to the understandings of the Cabinets of Europe. What!—the Czar of Russia an observer of the Canon Law? The violator, as we have shewn, of all laws, human and divine,—the despiser of oaths, and the contemner of treaties, sheltering himself from the loud execrations of the Christian world under a pretended regard for Canon Law!! M. Boutanieff gives us a high opinion of the credulity of the European Cabinets. It would seem, that he knows, they *must* believe whatever he asserts, because he knows well that they have no “means of ascertaining the veracity of facts.” But, my Lord, what is the real state of the case? We shall speak from our own knowledge. We know that apostate Siemaszko well, having been fellow-students of his at the University of Wilna. Joseph Siemaszko, having been elected and nominated Bishop by the Czar, conscious that he should never obtain the approval of the Pope, turned apostate in 1828, and was appointed by the Emperor Bishop of all the Sees of the United

Greeks, as omnipotent master of the Catholic Slavonian Church, with the single exception of that of Wilna. He dared not assume that See until after the death of the venerable Archbishop Bulhak, when he was put in possession of it by an imperial ukase, and continued to exercise his power over the Sees of Polock, Witebsk, and Minsk, reconstructed for the purpose of being occupied by the apostates Bazil Luzynski, and Anthony Zubko, apostate Catholic Priests, equally created Bishops by imperial ukases, and placed under the immediate direction and control of the omnipotent Siemaszko. In short, Siemaszko was and is the great favorite of the Czar; his grand instrument in his scheme of religious persecution, invested with all necessary powers to command assistance, both civil and military, for compelling the United Greeks to forswear their religion. The ground on which M. Boutanieff exculpates the Emperor, and charges the Abbess with being an impostor, is therefore an historical falsehood. But of course he must say what his master Nicholas ordered him to say. With this falsehood does M. Boutanieff hope to impose on civilized Europe? But, my Lord Aberdeen, you must believe whatever M. Boutanieff or the Rossian Cabinet tells you, because you have "*no means of ascertaining the veracity of the facts.*" Now the Emperor of Petersburg can stigmatize, on the same ground, on the same basis, any Polish refugee residing in England, who may have escaped from the dungeons or from the mines of Siberia, as an impostor, as a robber, as an assassin. And on the same plea as on the 10th of March, 1846, you, my Lord, triumphantly declared to the House of Lords that the statement of the Abbess Mieczyslawska had been declared false by M. Boutanieff, you may to-morrow, or any day you please, declare all the Poles to be rogues and vagabonds, because the

Czar and his Ambassador say so, and you have "*no means of ascertaining the veracity of the facts.*" You are in a pitiable condition indeed, to be obliged to believe whatever a Muscovite Ambassador may tell you. A tolerably fine way of ascertaining the truth—we mean official Muscovite truth. But what opinion must we form of the House of Lords that can swallow such palpable imposition and falsehood?

Now, my Lord, why have the Emperor, M. Boutanieff, and yourself been at such pains to falsify the narrative of the Abbess Mieczyslawska? It was not a private document, it was a public deposition, which this Lady, worthy of credit from her position in life, made before the Commissioners of His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI., as there are many documents published by His Holiness. But the Emperor keeps silent. The narration of the Abbess of Minsk is not an isolated fact; it forms part and parcel of that invariable system of persecution, which the Muscovite Cabinet has carried on without an interruption since the year 1768 until the present moment. Let M. Boutanieff come forth, with the known treaties and the solemn engagements of the Muscovite Czars of 1768, 1773, 1775, 1793, 1795, 1815, and 1825, in his hand—treaties, each stipulation of which has been impudently broken, and let Europe, in the face of these facts, judge what claims the Muscovite Ambassadors have for their words, their most solemn asseverations, being taken as truth.

And yet, my Lord, on the assertion of one of these Muscovite Ambassadors—of M. Boutanieff,—an assertion supported by a blunder of one single Paris Journal in the first place, and a palpable falsehood in the second, do you, my Lord, on the 10th of March, 1846, venture "to congratulate the House of Lords that the accounts of the persecu-

tions were not only *exaggerated*, but totally FALSE, as," you added, "it appears from the note of M. Boutanieff." My Lord, do not congratulate the House of Lords nor yourself too soon. You have seen on what flimsy grounds, what futile subterfuge, M. Boutanieff pronounced his denial. His Holiness Gregory XVI. and the Catholic world know by this time—they have, as we have seen, had cause to know—what is the exact value of the solemn promises of the Emperor and his Ambassadors. A denial of the Emperor and his Ambassadors is worth exactly as much as one of their promises. No, my Lord Aberdeen, do not congratulate yourself too soon; the persecutions inflicted on the Nuns of Minsk, on the United Greeks, and the Latin Catholics, will be tried by the free public European press. The trial will be long, certainly, but the decision will be just and disastrous to the persecuting governments and their confederates.

Thus, my Lord, I dispose of the note of M. Boutanieff, your Lordship's second authority for believing the accounts of the persecutions of the Nuns of Minsk to be "grossly and wickedly exaggerated;" and thus conclude my strictures on your third and last assertion, by which I flatter myself I have made good my assertion,—that your Lordship had been "led into error, by placing too much reliance on the inadequate testimony of your official employés;" and have proved that the value of the collateral evidence—that of Nicholas and M. Boutanieff, on which you relied when you gave in your adhesion to the Consul's belief, was valueless and naught.

I have now, my Lord, only to add the errors contained in this your last assertion to those pointed out in your two former ones, and my sum will be finished, shewing the following results:—That your

Lordship was *wrong* when you stated that the persecutions were not directed against the Roman Catholics; *wrong*, when you stated that the Schismatic Greeks joined the United Greeks; *wrong*, when you asserted the United Greeks were synonymous with the Rossian State Church; *wrong*, when you asserted that between the United Greeks and the Schismatics there was no dogmatic difference but on one point; *wrong*, when on insufficient grounds, and even in the face of your own statement, that the British Consul "had no means of ascertaining the veracity of the facts," you believed his belief that these accounts were "grossly and wickedly exaggerated;" *wrong*, when you asserted that Nicholas had denied the truth of them; *wrong*, when you trusted to the assertions contained in the note of M. Boutanieff.

And now, my Lord, having bestowed so much pains in proving my assertions,—that your Lordship had in your three statements committed grave and important errors, I trust I may claim your Lordship's serious attention to a few brief reflections that I have to make in conclusion.

What, my Lord, have you done? What will be the opinion of the public on your conduct? What have you thrown away the opportunity of doing? And what may be the probable results of such conduct on the part of the rulers of nations?

You have stood up as the advocate of the oppressor, against the oppressed; you have defended the mighty, the powerful, and guilty, against the weak, the defenceless, and the innocent. You have thrown the mantle of your powerful protection, as a Minister of the British Empire, over a mighty and powerful Emperor, and endeavoured to tear a noble and chivalrous deed from a lone, persecuted, and aged woman, her only protection that of public opinion, by stigmatizing her as an impostor.

You have taken up arms on the side of despotism and religious persecution, against civil and religious liberty. And what are the arms you have employed?—statements, which display a total ignorance of the subject on which they are made, or a wilful suppression of the truth to serve political purposes.

What might you have done? What have you and Sir Robert Peel thrown away the opportunity of doing? When the Emperor of Petersburg had visited the Pope last year, and entreated His Holiness not to believe in the persecutions as narrated in the European public press, the Pope, besides handing the documents spoken of to the Emperor, expressed his wish to ascertain the veracity or falsity of the facts reported, and believed in the free press of Europe. The Pope requested permission that his Nuncios might be admitted at Petersburg and Warsaw. Gregory XVI. wishes to ascertain more palpably through his Nuncios whether the treaties and solemn engagements of 1768, 1773, 1795, 1815, 1825, concerning the Catholic religion of both rites—“*utriusque ritus*”—Slavonian and Latin, are acted upon by the Muscovite Czar;—whether the confession of faith, the symbolic and liturgic books are still the same as those delivered to them by Saints Cyrillus and Methodius, confirmed and sanctioned by Clement VIII., Urban VIII., Benedict XIV., &c. He wishes to know whether their churches, their ecclesiastical property, their seminaries, their schools, their Bishops and Clergy, are free and independent as they had been from 844 to 1768, when Catherine II., in the name of all her successors, solemnly swore to preserve the Catholic religion, Slavonian and Latin, for *all* perpetuity. His Holiness wishes to know if the people are allowed the free exercise of their religion as guaranteed to

them by the treaties above named. You, my Lord, and Sir Robert Peel, might, by throwing the influence of the British Empire into this question, and guaranteeing the faithful discharge of all the conditions, have served the British interests and those of humanity; have aided in expressing this request, and, if granted, you and the whole of Europe would have had in the Papal Nuncio the best "*means of ascertaining the veracity of facts*" passing in the Muscovite Empire, and known the truth of the facts connected with the religious persecutions, the oppression of the Poles.

The Nuncios, and the Nuncios alone, could, had they been supported by the influence of England and France, have, through their free access to the Bishops, Priests, and Catholic people, elicited the truth. It is that freedom, that security of access, which is most wanted in "*ascertaining the veracity of facts*" in the Muscovite Empire; and this security can alone be ensured by the support and guarantee of England and France. But alas, you and Sir Robert Peel maintain that England ought not to interfere in the domestic affairs of Russia. In the first place, these persecutions and oppressions are not domestic affairs; they interest every lover of civil and religious liberty. And why must you not interfere in the affairs of Russia forsooth? We will not instance your interference with Turkey on the Greek Question, with Belgium, or with Spain; we will simply refer to a recent case or two. This doctrine of non-interference, announced by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons on the 5th of March, 1846, stands in contradiction to that of the five powers, and their collective note presented to the Sultan, and especially with the mission of Mr. Alison, Her Majesty's Oriental Secretary at Constantinople, who was sent in 1844, by the advice of the representatives of the five great

powers, to enquire into the state of the Lebanon Question.

Almost at the very moment that Sir R. Peel was announcing this doctrine of non-interference, Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, was giving an instance of effective and glorious interference. We adduce the words of a Correspondent of the *Morning Post*, March 26, 1846:—"The Armenian Patriarch has for the present received a severe shock in his persecution of proselytes to Protestantism. Sir Stratford Canning, seconded by Baron Le Coq, the Prussian Minister, has made some friendly remonstrances in their behalf to the Porte, in consequence of which, thirteen individuals, who had been condemned to deportation and exile, have been allowed to remain at Constantinople."—*Correspondent of the Morning Post*, under date Constantinople, March 11th, 1846.

You interfered with Turkey on the Question of Religious Persecution in Lebanon, why not interfere with Russia on the Question of Religious Persecution in Poland? By the announcement of the doctrine of non-interference, Sir Robert Peel and you, my Lord, have deserted the cause of Religious and Civil Liberty; have given up the defenceless and innocent assertors of the rights of conscience to the mercies of the Emperor of Russia. By the announcement of the doctrine of non-interference, Sir R. Peel and you, by your congratulation of the House of Lords on the 10th of March, 1846, have encouraged the Emperor, the butcher of the United Greeks, the Catholics, and the Nuns, to go on in his nefarious work; giving to the assertions of the Czar of Petersburg and his Ambassadors such an implicit credit, as to invite them to tell you in future whatever they may think proper. It is enough that the Czar has said it, that it should become for your Lordship a divine truth.

Are there no means, my Lord, of knowing the truth about Russia but through the notes of the Petersburg Cabinet? Are there in the world no honest and truthful persons, but Cabinet Ministers? Do you believe, or can you make the public believe, that it is possible to conceal a state of things, which is the regular and legal *i.e.* Czar willed condition of every Muscovite subject, from the inquisitive eye, although the sufferers, the victim nation, were silent? Several intelligent travellers have recently more or less lifted the veil—the veil which covers that repulsive scene of human degradation. Does your Lordship imagine that it is possible to prevent those who have been selected by the Russian government as victims of its cruelty from obtaining a view of the whole truth? Their number is not small. There are thousands of individuals, of rank, of learning, of piety, who, after having been sentenced by the Czar to perpetual imprisonment in dungeons, to the mines of Siberia,—who, after having suffered for months and years, have escaped, still bearing on their bodies the marks of the atrocities perpetrated on them, or by their debilitated frames displaying the effects. Are you, my Lord, *really* anxious to know the truth—the full truth? Is any generous Englishman desirous of knowing it? Neither you nor he need go to Russia, or to any Muscovite Ambassador—the least likely sources of information.

There are in England and France many thousands of victims of Muscovite tyranny—Poles, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews—examine these, my Lord; induce them to unfold their tale of woe, and you will soon see that their recitals bear the stamp of truth; that whatever variety may prevail in their personal details, they all agree in stating the main points, the general system of Muscovite

tyranny. The persecutions inflicted on the United Greeks and Latin Catholics are a general persecution, systematic, and of long standing, many of whose victims have made their escape. Many laymen, Priests, Sisters of Mercy, of St. Vincent of Paul, as well as the Nuns of Minsk, are in a position to tell the same tale. These are the sources of information, my Lord, to which you should have gone to ascertain the truth respecting Muscovite transactions, not to the Muscovite Czar, or his Ambassadors,—not to the culprit himself, nor to his confederates. But it is your good pleasure to act otherwise. You reject the testimony of history written in seas of blood; you reject the cry of martyrdom and innocence, placing, forsooth, all your trust in what a Muscovite Ambassador chooses to tell you, confessing at the very time that you and your Ambassadors at the Court of Petersburg have “no means of ascertaining the veracity of facts.” When the venerable Abbess of Minsk is placed in your presence, and laying her hands on the crucifix before her, in simple and truthful language attests her and her sisters’ sufferings, you, my Lord, the Minister of the proudest and most powerful nation of the world, rise in your lordly dignity and announce to the House of Lords, to all Europe, and to all mankind,—“This woman has been detected by M. Boutanieff of falsehood and calumny; she is an impostor and a liar.” Oh! my Lord Aberdeen, this is not lordly, courteous, or chivalrous—not even Christian. Still, right or wrong, you, as Minister of Foreign Affairs in England, are a powerful man; you may with impunity insult a poor helpless woman.* But can you, my

*The simple and affecting narration of the Abbess Macrina Mieczyslawska is a true specimen of the persecutions which the United Greeks and Catholics have had to undergo under Musco-

Lord, all-powerful though you be, call *history*, the history of these hundred years, during which the Muscovite Cabinet has been persecuting the Catholic Church,—can you call that a lie? You cannot, my Lord, have the audacity or blindness to make such an attempt.

Now after such melancholy manifestations on the part of English Ministers, it becomes a matter of indifference to Europe, to the Catholic world, and particularly to the United Greeks and Catholics in the Muscovite Empire and in Poland, whether the negotiations of the Emperor with Rome are continued or not,—whether the Papal Nuncios are admitted at Warsaw and Petersburg or not. The mission of the Papal Nuncios cannot be effectively accomplished. They will be placed in the same position as the representatives of England and France, they will “*have no means of ascertaining*

vite rule from 1768 to 1846. There are others, pretended Christians, who, on account of the very atrocity of the tortures, doubt the truth of the narration, thinking, or rather seeking, an excuse for their disbelief,—that human nature, or the animal construction of man, is unable to bear such protracted torments. Such things certainly are not possible for persons given to the enjoyments of sensual gratifications and pleasures, who are entirely unmindful of the holy mission of man, given to him by his Creator and Saviour, Jesus Christ:—“Be perfect as your celestial Father is perfect.” But such things were and are possible for the children of God. They were possible to Saints Peter and John, who rejoiced in the flagellations and tortures received for the name of God. They were possible for Saint Paul, who was flogged, imprisoned, shipwrecked, &c., who gladly confessed—“*omnia possum in eo qui comfortat me.*” They were possible to the Christians who suffered under the Emperors Nero, Caligula, Domitian, Dioclesian. They were possible to the pious Nuns of Minsk, and to all those who suffered martyrdom and death under the persecutions of Catherine II., and of the tyrant Nicholas. “They subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight,” &c., &c.—*Heb. xi.*

the veracity of facts." Should they attempt to elicit the truth from the Bishops, Priests, and Catholic people, they will not be allowed free, secure access; or they will be sent away, and all promises broken, after the fashion of Ivan the Savage, Peter the Cruel, Catherine the . . . Paul, Alexander, and Nicholas himself.

It is not the Nuns of Minsk alone that are persecuted, their case is not an isolated one; it is against the whole Catholic Church that these insidious efforts have been for nearly a century directed. From the ruins of Catholic Poland the Catholic world has now to lament another victim—the body of United Greeks. The injustice and atrocity of the Muscovite Government are written in characters of blood on one-half of Europe at least. And what consolation remains for their numerous victims?—even their complaints are not listened to; they are made the subject of contemptuous scorn and heartless scoffing by the European rulers.

The Pope, the Bishops of Christendom, the Clergy, and Catholic flocks, will probably soon arrive at the conviction, that the European Governments do not deserve their assistance and support. Because they abandon justice and morality,—because they despise divine revelation;—yes, my Lord, strong as the expression may appear, the European Governments despise divine revelation, by arrogating to themselves the interpretation of it, as much as the Rationalists, Communists, and Socialists despise it. These latter are but the scholars of the governments, and they are now contending for the mastery with their teachers. They are now seeking to satisfy their material cravings—to practice what they have learned from their rulers and instructors, the governments. The Pope then, the Bishops, &c., clearly see that the

cause of justice, morality, and religion cannot be advanced by such immoral governments as that of the Muscovites, who use the Holy Church only to serve their worldly purposes and selfish designs. It is not impossible that the Pope, Bishops, and Clergy will withdraw from both the Anti-Christian parties, and, assuming the position occupied by the Apostles, Apostolic Fathers, and the first Christians under the Cæsars, or under the Indo-Germanic Barbarians, pursue their own divine mission of instruction and sanctification, without looking after the two parties striving for political supremacy. My Lord, in conclusion, I would say to you, and to European Governments, beware: do justice to the oppressed, and submit yourself to divine revelation and to its divinely appointed expounders. "*Et nunc Reges intelligite: erudimini qui judicatis terram.*"—Ps. ii. 10.

I remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

V. O. ZIENKIEWICZ.

18th March, 1846.



34



