

Weyers says that 'Neither the White Ruthenians nor Ukrainians regard themselves as Russians and they resent being considered as such,' without adding that many of them resent even more that they should be regarded as Poles. Minority propaganda, especially Ukrainian, has over-stated and exaggerated its case too—which helps to show how strong the differences and feelings are.

If there were a little more objectivity and frankness we should not so often hear the suspicious comment, 'You do protest too much'; outsiders would not be so readily aggravated to wish for Poland and Russia 'a plague on both your houses'; for they would recognize that Poland's spokesmen at least were preferring candour to propaganda, and would be better informed about the difficulties with which her people and their leaders have to contend⁹.

DONALD ATTWATER.

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF HETMAN ZOLKIEWSKI.

[Stanislaus Zolkiewski, Chancellor of Poland, was born in 1547 and died fighting as a hero against the Turks in the fated battle of Cecora, on October 6th, 1620. He won great distinction as a classical scholar in his youth, but it is as a loyal and courageous general that he is known. For in spite of Sigismund III's unfriendly distrust he served his King faithfully to the end. He advised the King against war with Muscovy, but obeyed when ordered to lead the army; and, in spite of constant embarrassment from the Sovereign's antagonism, won the campaign at Kluszyn only to have his terms repudiated by Sigismund. His life was filled with disappointments of this sort, but his staunch faith preserved him from disloyalty or even bitterness, as may be seen in this Testament. He was an outstanding politician, a great strategist and victorious general; he was a patriot, who may also one day rank as a saint. He received the Grand Hetman's staff in 1613, and thenceforward was engaged in fighting the infidel Turk. In so many bloody campaigns he often contemplated his own death on the field of battle. So it is not surpris-

⁹ Since this article was written in April, certain happenings and alleged happenings among Polish citizens in Great Britain has done something to inform the public of some of these difficulties, but not in a satisfactory and objective way.

ing that before each campaign he re-wrote his last will, amplifying it with further injunctions. As far as we know, two of these wills have been published. The first, written in the year 1606, was published by Michael Balinski at the Library of Warsaw in 1845. We here give a translation of the text edited by Arthur Sliwinski in his 'Hetman Zolkiewski, Warsaw, 1920.']

In the name of the Most Holy Trinity God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

Before the eyes of every man should always be the uncertainty of his transient life, for it is subject to innumerable mishaps. Thus also do I remember my mortality, and much more so at the present time being on service for the Republic, and desiring for myself that I may protect the Fatherland from danger by my bodily strength and lay down my life at the hands of pagans for the holy Christian Faith; therefore by way of a declaration of my intention and last will, and with the force of a testament annulling all others, should any of the previous be found, I have written what follows:—

First of all I confess that the Holy Christian Faith, according to the Creed of the Apostles, the Nicean Synod and St. Athanasius, I both have believed and do believe, according to the precepts of the Catholic Church, and in this faith have I strong intention to live until my last agony; that to die for it, which please grant me O Lord God, I consider my greatest consolation and so wish it to be; and that by the merits of this very same faith and through the merit and Passion of our Lord and Saviour, I do expect the remission of sins and eternal life, and pray God that He may confirm and strengthen me in this holy faith until the last moment of my life. Towards the Republic my Fatherland, and towards the Kings my Sovereigns, whose reigns my maturer years have outlived, and towards H.M. King Stephen, as well as the present reigning King Sigismund, I have maintained absolute and never failing fealty. Never have I allied myself with any practices which would have been against the dignity and authority of H.M. the King, nor do I know of them. And in as much as I do feel that I have virtuously and faithfully served H.M. my Sovereign Lord, refusing neither my blood nor strength in the service of H.M. and the Republic, so I do hope that H.M. will deign to hold in grateful memory these willing yet laborious efforts of mine, however insignificant. And as I have even by means of correspondence, placed my son under H.M.'s protection, so I do not doubt that being accepted under H.M.'s care he will be granted the favours which have been vouchsafed to me. A certain natural ability can already be perceived in him; please God that in later years he may enter the service of H.M. and the Republic.

Several years ago in accordance with the requirements of common law, first in the county of Lvov, and later in the town of Kamieniec, I appointed certain persons as executors. Some of these have since died and circumstances did not permit me to renew my nominations. What I would have attested had I had the opportunity while nominating these gentlemen as executors I have now the occasion to mention in my will. And as God has placed here in this country His Grace the Archbishop of Lvov, whose good will I always experienced when living with him in my younger days, so I am now placing my son under His Lordship's grace and protection. In the same way I would ask His Lordship the bishop of Cuiavia, His Worship the Mayor of Poznan, and His Excellency the Trencher-Knight that they would vouchsafe to be kind to my family, particularly to my son, and that they would guide him in honourable conduct. In the trusteeship I have stipulated, with due regard for the instability of youth, that he should be until the 25th year of his age under the authority of the trustees; that I repeat now and that I desire of him.

Thou, my dearest spouse, I entrust thee to God. And indeed to thy care I entrust our children, remembering in what love we lived together; let not my memory fade nor die in thee. I have confidence in thy watchfulness, that as during my life praiseworthy were thy deeds, so after my decease, thou wilt act no less worthily. I have no doubt that in thy vigilance, which is well known to me, thou wilt as long as God will preserve thee, give to our children such upbringing and take such care over them, as is worthy of an upright mother, leading them in the fear of God and in all probity. As by the grace of God our son has an inclination for learning, and has already made no mean beginning, do not tear him away from it but encourage him most diligently. His education befitting the son of a nobleman, was begun at Zamosc; and I would prefer thee to have him educated here in Poland than anywhere in foreign parts, for it is evident that the greater number of those going abroad for training bring back more bad morals than good ones; and rarely indeed does one return with anything good. Let him, as he began, go on learning with Master Thomas. If upon the advice of their Excellencies the Guardians it should be decided to send him abroad, a great deal of his upbringing and indeed almost everything depends upon the instructor. Whatsoever kind of a son one wishes to have, it is necessary to give him that kind of an instructor. It is necessary to have a virtuous man, God-fearing and of good judgment. I would also wish that he were a chivalrous man. Strive under every condition to have such a man beside our son. Do not keep him at home with thee; let him not be proud and officious; thou hast an example at

home to prove how detrimental this is. And when he reaches maturer years, let him attend H.M. the King or enter the military service if he is in good condition. On no account allow him to waste his younger years at home, for even if thou didst conceal him in thy bosom, thou wouldst not shield him from misadventure, if such God foresees.

Living at home results in idleness, and idleness in man begets everything that is evil. Whenever thou shalt have a decision to make in all matters relating to our son, nay in everything else, besides the above mentioned personages, approach also the Lord Justice and the Clerk of the County of Lvov, who being nearer, I am confident will in every case assist thee and our son with sound advice; in whose favour and good friendship I have not been, nor wilt thou be, deceived.

In addition to the gentlemen above mentioned I would also ask my esteemed brother, Jan Zolkiewski, and Master Adam, my nephew, whose wit is of good promise, so please God, to help in advising thee in the honourable and fitting upbringing of our son, as well as in all other cases.

Our elder daughter already has a guardian, through God's Will foreordained. The second, the younger one, I commend to God's Providence and holy protection.

Whenever decisions have to be made with regard to the education of our son as well as the status of our daughter I trust in the benevolence of their Excellencies the Guardians above mentioned, and most particularly in thine, and hope they will assist thee with their sound and willing counsel. And for this I earnestly pray thee, knowing of the precarious health of my sister-in-law, the Lord Chamberlain's wife, that if God should take her from this world, thou wilt have her daughters, my nieces, to stay with thee and bring them up together with our daughter.

To thee John, my dearest son, I now turn my speech. I do not regret leaving this world for any reason, save that I would have liked to train thee in the fear of the Lord and all honourable dealings. And in so far as I had intent to train thee in life, I thus leave thee this short instruction in writing.

Now during thy youth thou wilt understand nothing, or at least very little, of my words and admonitions; as thou wilt grow older read them often and bear them constantly in mind. First before all things keep the holy Christian universal faith; do not regret shedding thy blood or laying down thy life for it. Have the fear of God constantly before thine eyes, for through this thou wilt be certain of all that is good and consoling in this world and the next. I do not

leave thee great estates or possessions, although by means of strenuous toil my income has not been small : I have spent all in the service of the Republic and have also sold part of the estate left by my father, but this I do not regret ; I have not spent this in any wastefulness, nor will it be lost to me or thee, there is a certain, infallible reward from God for that which is done with good intent and affection for the Republic. Hence I leave thee an honourable reputation, a picture and example of honourable deeds ; when thou wilt conduct thyself in the way I teach thee, in the same manner as I, when thou wilt live in the fear of the Lord, thou shalt have many benefits, be sure of the blessing of God. Serve faithfully the King of Poland, thy Lord, and the Republic thy fatherland. Do not spare thy blood or strength for the sake of the dignity and glory of thy King, or for the good of the Republic. Polish thy younger years with learning, do not let anyone divert thee from this in youth. Believe me, from learning thou wilt obtain great support and great aid to dignity, to service for the Republic and to all honourable living. Do not say like many others, I have no inclination for study ; that inclination is within thy power, every one who wishes may have it. Thou must needs read historians. I myself had no small knowledge of history and during the course of present events have gained great assistance from my knowledge of the events of past centuries. On approaching the age of manhood, the training of knighthood is most befitting a nobleman ; this bear in mind, beware of idleness as of a pestilence. Do not wish at once to be a master, that thou mayst not go wrong ; stay first of all by the side of the hetman, watching all things well until thou shalt be able to lead the company. And if ever the Republic put forward a claim, I myself never held back ; I do not mention this for personal glory, but that by my example I may waken in thee a greater desire to imitate thy father's virtue. Compete with the foremost, show the courage of a nobleman, for the sake of honourable glory ; thou wilt not be known in a crowd, thou wilt be but a number. Remember this, that one hair will not fall from a man's head without the will of God. And whenever thou wilt perform deeds with good intention for the benefit of the Republic, honour and fame will follow and God will bless thee. If thou shouldst also die in acting so, nothing untoward will have happened. Even the pagans understood that death for the fatherland is sweet ; and when furthermore it is for the holy faith, if chance gives thee the opportunity of acting against the Turks or the Tartars, I repeat to thee the words of the 26th psalm : act with manliness, let thy heart be comforted (*viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum*), to lay down one's life in such a spirit is rewarded by glory both in the eyes of man and

God—and the latter is the most important. Just as I have received this spirit from my father as the foremost part of my inheritance, so also thou shouldst wish to inherit my spirit in particular, as well as everything else. Let not my honourable reputation be degraded but rather enhanced through thee. Who shall give praise to the father if not his fortunate children! The words which were uttered by the virtuous Aeneas to his son, I also say to thee: ‘Learn from me, my boy, virtue, and also true endeavour.’

I wish particularly to remind thee of this: Amongst other things pray God that changes in the Republic may not occur in thy lifetime, much of which God has allowed during my life. Would to God it should not be so. But the times are doomed on account of wicked and reckless people. Do not associate with those who might wish to bring about changes, but rather stand fast with all thy power by the side of the King, thy Sovereign. Such changes in rulers (without looking farther afield) have brought about the ruin and downfall of the Hungarian and Valachian lands; and similarly with us, once started, the only end would be the downfall of the Republic. Remember therefore that all authority comes from God and whatever may be the limitations of the ruler it is better to remain in unison, than bring about a change, which in itself is harmful and very dangerous. Kings also have over them a greater King, by Whom they will be judged if they should perpetrate anything to the detriment of the people who have been entrusted to them by God; should this nevertheless be permitted by God (for even kings are subject to the same mortality as other people, and I again admonish thee) do not allow thyself to be drawn away by any ingenious persuasion whatsoever from what thou truly considerest to be the well-being and beneficial status of the Republic. Do not seek any advantages for thyself on this account, nor even think of them; in my time the house of Rakuzy in particular used bribes, thou wilt find in my deed-box their letters containing certain promises. I, however, did not even allow this to enter my thoughts, seeing and perceiving the very same that I now perceive and with which I die, that the rule of this House would have been destructive to the Crown of Poland, and meant the loss and destruction of the freedom of the nobility.

Bad company is dangerous and very harmful, particularly for the age of youth; beware, I pray thee, of associating with people who are fickle, profligate, wasteful, drunkards and those of excessive and obscene living; associate with careful, steady people and particularly with my friends, to whose benevolence and protection I entrust thee; seek their counsel and act accordingly, for in so doing thou wilt not err. And for such actions and conduct which please

God may be thine, I give thee my paternal blessing; may the Almighty God bless thee, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; may He direct thy course towards virtue and the honour of His Holy Name, for the good of the Republic and also for the genuine good of thine own body and soul.

Thee also Katherine, my daughter, do I entrust to God and to His protection. Thou must also practice the fear of the Lord, modesty, humility and the other virtues befitting thy position; may God shower upon thee His blessings and His grace. Imitate the example of saintly women, that thou mayest also be a model and example of all womanly virtue.

Thou knowest, my dearest spouse, of my plan to build a church in a certain place where the material is already being prepared, of which a model has already been fashioned in my room. Paul, our builder knows of this. Strive to have this church built. It cannot be done without cost, but no expenditure will bring better return than this which is for the celebration of the glory of God. The property which I bought a year ago from M. Rzczycki, I have bequeathed for the church and I have already leased it to the priest. I have not sworn this bequest, I had thoughts of adding something still further, but at least let no doubt occur about this.

The hospital also, according to the affidavit which I have signed on my way to Infant, is to be provided for now and afterwards; may the orphans pray to God for us departed. The buildings which I had erected at no small expense, foreseeing the dangers which threatened us during the anarchy of our Republic and even now hang over us, see that they are maintained so that they do not decay—indeed nothing further is necessary than to see there are no leaks; or if a tile should be broken, it will not be difficult to replace. As regards the inscription which is written down on a separate piece of paper order this to be cast in brass in big lettering so that it can be clearly read when placed above the gateway. Seek advice from M. Szembek of Lvov. There is also a gun-smith at Lvov who would undertake the work, but I do not know if he would do all that is required. It is certain, however, that it can be cast in Danzig or Nuremberg.

There is in the vault a tombstone which I had engraved for my deceased father. This is to be cast to the same pattern in brass and so placed beside the altar which I had erected in the church of Lvov by his grave. I beg thee to see that the monument is cast to that design. As for the inscription beneath the feet, this also is to be cast in brass in accordance with what I have written on a separate sheet. As regards the burial of my body, it happens even to great kings that their bodies remain without burial. More glorious was

the life and more praiseworthy the death of King Ladislas who died at Warna, than of many others whose monuments we can see. But all this takes place according to the will and promise of God. I certainly wish for myself so sweet a death, for the Holy Faith, for the Fatherland. But I do not know whether I am worthy to receive that grace from God. Whatsoever God may have foreseen, if it is possible let me be buried in my father's grave but without pomp, without horses and trappings. However, should I die in battle, in place of the black velvet which denotes mourning, let the coffin be covered in scarlet to signify death in the cause of the Republic. All this is not for the sake of vainglory, but to awaken virtue in others and as a reminder against self-preservation in the cause of the Fatherland.

Furthermore, the tombstone is to be without vainglorious words; in this consult M. Symonides.

As for Kamionka, my dearest spouse, thou hast joint rights with me for life; through the bond of matrimonial love I pray that thou shalt endeavour to obtain authorisation for the leasing of it to our son, for as thou knowest, it is more convenient for him than Rubieszow, to which with the consent of H.M. the King I have resigned my rights in his favour, and of which more than a quarter has already passed under his name. The deeds and other papers will be found in the big safe, each pertaining to a different county in a separate drawer; there also will be found the deeds and papers pertaining to Rohacin and Katun; also papers relating to the purchase of Surzyn for which I have paid well. But this does not constitute all, for I have loaned some concerning the affairs of Madame Sanocka; whatever is missing ask His Excellency the County Clerk to retrieve them from her or to take them out of the archives.

With regard to other domestic matters, such as the furniture or the revenues, these are better known to thee than to me for I have plunged my mind in the affairs of the Republic to the neglect of my own. Whatsoever I owe to anyone, or anyone owes to me I have recorded on a separate sheet in my own handwriting, as also the wages due to the servants.

I pray thee to see that the cattle are well looked after, as this is very necessary.

At Easter time give as alms to the monks of St. Bernard 500 zloty for the upkeep of their crafts, and thereafter give what thou canst each year. Give assistance also to the Sokalskis; and to the hospitalso so they may pray to God for us.

(Signed and dated in his own handwriting).

Translated by A. Z. GORDON.