

**DIARY OF
GENERAL PATRICK GORDON
OF AUCHLEUCHRIES
1635–1699**

VOLUME V: 1690–1695

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Portrait
des Generalen Patrick Gordon!

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“From Steppe to Sea”¹

Dmitry Fedosov

On 18 February 1690 Tsar Peter Alexeyevich, the young co-ruler of Russia, was overjoyed by the birth of his son and heir, Tsarevich Alexey. Among those invited for the occasion to the feast “above”, in the Kremlin’s Faceted Palace, was the most distinguished general of the Tsar’s army, the Catholic Scots gentleman Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries (1635–1699).² But the spiritual head of Muscovy, Patriarch Ioakim, known for his extreme intolerance to foreigners and “heretics”, notably “papists”³, forbade the presence of the non-Orthodox guest at the Tsar’s table. On the very next day Peter I, deeply grateful to Gordon for his recent support in the decisive conflict with Regent Sophia, summoned him to the country, where they “dined with his Ma-tie at one table, were merry [and] in comeing home discoursed with his Ma-tie all the way” (*Diary*, V, fols. 6 v. – 7). A fortnight later Ioakim was dead, and Peter no longer had to fear reproaches from the adherents of age-old ways, although they were never silenced. The Tsar promptly ordered himself a full “German” attire, cursed by Ioakim, from periwig to stockings and boots.⁴ He then held the election of a new

¹ This phrase was used by the great Russian historian Sergey Solovyov as a symbol of Russia’s turn from East to West, from Asia to Europe, a formidable journey whereon the 17th century became crucial, largely due to Patrick Gordon and his colleagues. The Russian word *step’* is met with in Gordon’s *Diary* whose author, having served in land forces all his life, suddenly found himself Russia’s first rear admiral.

² Auchleuchries (Gaelic *Achadh luachrach*, “field of rushes”) was his family estate in Aberdeenshire. On Patrick Gordon’s younger years and military career see the previous volumes: *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699, Vol. I: 1635–1659* (Aberdeen, 2009); *Vol. II: 1659–1667* (Aberdeen, 2010); *Vol. III: 1677–1678* (Aberdeen, 2012); *Vol. IV: 1684–1689* (Aberdeen, 2013).

³ See Ioakim’s will in: N.G. Ustrialov, *Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikago*, Vol. II (St. Petersburg, 1858), pp. 467–77. Gordon once called Ioakim a “great enemy to us and our religion” (*Diary*, V, fol. 50 v.).

⁴ G.V. Yesipov, *Sbornik vypisok iz arkhivnykh bumag o Petre Velikom*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1872), No 453. Gordon probably took part in the Tsar’s fitting out (*Diary*, V, fol. 9).

head of the Church, and the choice again lay between new and old: “The Metropolitane of Casan Adrian chosen Patriarch notwithstanding the Tzaars inclination for Marcellus the Metropolitane of Plesko, whom the old boyars and the generality of the clergy hated because of his learning and other great good qualities, and chose this because of his ignorance & simplicity” (fol. 23). Peter yielded once more, but soon in Gordon’s presence he arranged the election of a different “prelate”, his former teacher Nikita Zotov, who was ordained the “All-Foolish Father Ioanikit, Patriarch of Presburg, Kokuy and All Yauza”. Discarding ancient royal ceremonies and hallowed behests of his forebears, Peter boldly and quickly precipitated from the heights of his dignity and began to frequent places where Russian autocrats were never seen before: the households of foreign officers, merchants and craftsmen, workshops and armouries, factories and wharves, which inevitably lured him to the “heretical” West proper. This path, baneful for some, fruitful for others, started in Moscow’s Foreign Suburb under the direct and decisive, even if sometimes unprompted influence of the highest-ranking alien in Muscovy, General Patrick Gordon.

His rapprochement with the young sovereign began already in the late 1680s, especially during and after the coup which gave Peter almost absolute power, as his elder half-brother, Tsar Ivan, was incapable to govern. From now on the Scot saw Peter almost daily: he visited the Kremlin, accompanied the Tsar on his country tours to Preobrazhenskoye, Kolomenskoye, Izmaylovo, Presnia and boyars’ estates. “For there is not a day almost wherein I cannot see & speake with his Ma-tie, who is now settled in the government & is gracious to me beyond measure” (fol. 48). Since January 1690 the Diary reflects a growing attachment between the well-versed general and the adolescent monarch who as yet was not so much ruling his realm as amusing himself: “had large discourse above with his Ma-tie”, “entertained & detained all night”, “in comeing home discoursed with his Ma-tie all the way” (fols. 3 v.–4 v., 7). Alas, the subjects of these long and confidential discourses are not revealed, but we can easily guess that the inquisitive Peter asked the much-travelled Scot about everything the latter knew: of his homeland and studies, of Britain’s internal conflicts and contemporary situation; of his martial baptism in the Swedish and Polish employ, and of the merits of these famous armies; of campaigns, battles and sieges; of his encounters with rulers and dignitaries

in European capitals; of the valiant defence of Chigirin and reasons for the Crimean expeditions’ failure; of the balance of political and military power on European stage; of the novelties and details of military art and different kinds of armament.

All this has naturally led to an event unheard of. On 30 April 1690 Peter made his first visit to Gordon’s home in the Foreign Suburb (no Tsar has so honoured any foreigner ever before!): “His Ma-tie with the boyars & chieffe courtiers supped by me & were joviall” (fol. 11). From then on they seldom parted. On 25 July in Prince B.A. Golitsyn’s village of Troitskoye Peter called on his indisposed general and sent medicines to him; on 22 August “His Ma-tie with all came by me & were merry”; on 13 October “His Ma-tie with 30 or 40 persons dined by me & were m[erry] till ten aclock at night” (fols. 20, 23, 29 v.); on 3 January 1691 “His Ma-tie came to me at 10 aclock and went immediately to dinner, where were 85 persons of quality besides neer a hundred attendants. All were merry & supped, lodging with a *leaguer* [camp] convenience” (fol. 63). Such entries still continue, and the author records not just his own pastimes with Peter, but everything that had to do with the Tsar’s way of life: his attendance of church solemnities and celebrations of name-days, his visits to Russian courtiers and immigrants, his diversions with his “company” of friends, his travels near and far and, not least, his military and naval activities, gamelike at first, but increasingly more serious. Much of Gordon’s evidence is unique. As A. Brückner pointed out, “for the history of Peter before 1697 hardly any other source has more. We can watch Peter almost daily”.⁵

The epic feasts and amusements of the Petrine circle demanded a heavy toll from their partakers in more than one sense. “The sedate Scot, elderly, cautious and careful”⁶ often lamented his troublesome courtly life and the inevitably huge costs. Never a spendthrift, he complained: “I am still at Court to my great expences & continuall trouble, am promised great recompenses, but received litle as yet. When the yongest Tzaar taketh the government in his owne hands, I doubt not of being satisfied” (fol. 58). Indeed, royal favours followed immediately: the privilege of toll-free

⁵ A. Brückner, *Patrick Gordon i yego Dnevnik* (St.Petersburg, 1878), p. 166. This remains one of the best essays on Gordon in any language.

⁶ V.O. Kliuchevsky, *Russkaya istoriya*, II (Moscow, 1997), p. 467.

import of wine and partial exemption from postage charges (fols. 105, 133 v.); lavish gifts: “1,000 r[ubles], halfe in plate⁷, halfe in other things” (fol. 70 v.); “the place betwixt myne & the Yausa” and another one, “below the other house to the Yausa River” (fols. 80, 322 v.); “a great boate” (fol. 285 v.) and rich fabrics. The salary was also augmented: in January 1692, 400 rubles above his regular pay; in 1693 Gordon’s annual salary reached the impressive sum of 954 rubles 13 *altyn* 2 *dengi* (fols. 157, 326). Nor did Peter forget other clan members: during her widowhood the general’s eldest daughter Catherine was granted per year “about 300 Reichs dollers, w-ch is more as ordinary in this place” (fol. 276). For all that, even such substantial means were not enough, and at times the Scot had to borrow, but he did work the Tsar’s gifts off in good faith. On 19 October 1691 he confessed to Hetman Ivan Mazepa: “I am so much distracted by my concerns at court and assiduous obligations, that when I go to bed I know not if the next day I would have breakfast at home, and still I am so busy, not even doing anything for myself” (fol. 145).

Peter’s friendship with Gordon abided to the latter’s dying day, “being of great use [to the Tsar], widening the scope of his knowledge, inspiring new thoughts, training him in matters of military technique and developing his ideas ... Peter was, as it were, a household friend in Gordon’s home and treated him as an equal”.⁸ The Tsar’s unfailing favour was complemented with the general’s high esteem in elevated Russian circles. “Respected and loved by all foreigners residing in Moscow, he managed with his intelligence, honesty and nobility of character to win the trust of Russian grandees as well, so that he could understand better than most the forces and means of Russia”.⁹ From his years in Kiev he was close to the Boyars Sheremetev; the head of that family, Piotr Vasilyevich Senior, entrusted his sons to Gordon during his absence, and the bed-ridden *Voyevoda* Fiodor

⁷ In the papers of the Scots historian J.M. Bulloch (Aberdeen University Library, Special Collections, MS 3051) I found the following note: “Among objects of art belonging to Capt. W.A. Stirling Home Drummond Hay of Abercairny, Crieff, Perthshire, sold at Christie’s, London, on 11 May 1926 there was a Russian bowl of silver presented by Peter the Great to General Patrick Gordon, price 130 guineas”.

⁸ A. Brückner, op. cit., pp. 79, 81.

⁹ N.G. Ustrialov, *Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikago*, Vol. I (St.Petersburg, 1858), p. 129.

Petrovich asked the Scot to oversee the funeral of his wife.¹⁰ Frequent appearance is made in the Diary by "the new favourite" or "first minister", Tsaritsa's brother L.K. Naryshkin, who virtually headed the Russian government until 1694, as well as by Princes B.A. Golitsyn and F.Yu. Romodanovsky, "Near" Boyar T.N. Streshnev and others. This "cabinet of mediocrities" (in M.M. Bogoslovsky's words)¹¹ stayed in power almost until Gordon's death in 1699. But their circle was far from restricted to hereditary aristocracy and Duma ranks: Tsar Peter's "company" presented "a queer blend of nations, creeds, languages, ages and ranks".¹² They took turns as guests of Gordon, "the minister of banquets and amusements"¹³ François Lefort, or other members, prominent merchants and monastic brethren, but also of humbler folk such as a choir master, a steward and a regimental clerk. In this merry company the Scot was one of the oldest fellows, and perhaps the most sober. Although strong by nature both of heart and body, he was already advanced in years, and for all his resilience it often felt bad after wild libations which lasted for hours and even days on end, "for on such occasions Bacchus is always venerated, who bedims the eyes with his leaves".¹⁴ Almost the only cause to interrupt a revelry or ceremony was conflagration in the capital or vicinity: to quench it, everyone rode out together under the Tsar himself any time of day or night, even during state funerals (fols. 417 v. – 418).

Several experts have compared the two greatly dissimilar immigrants who introduced Tsar Peter to Western ways, but few recall that Lefort began his Russian employ as a subordinate and protégé of Gordon's in his regiment in Kiev, lodged in his house¹⁵, and was probably recom-

¹⁰ *Diary*, IV, pp. 3–85, passim; A.I. Zaozersky, *Feldmarshal B.P. Sheremetev* (Moscow, 1989), pp. 13–15.

¹¹ M.M. Bogoslovsky, *Piotr Velikiy. Materialy dlia biografii*, Vol. I (Moscow, 2005), p. 80.

¹² N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., II, p. 128.

¹³ V.O. Kliuchevsky, op. cit., II, p. 468.

¹⁴ Peter I to A.A. Viniius, 21 July 1694 (*Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago*, I (St. Petersburg, 1887), No 29). Peter's "company" often renamed the Roman Bacchus into the Slavic Ivashka Khmelnitsky (*khmel'*, Russian for hops).

¹⁵ Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA), Moscow, F. 124, *Malorossiyskiye dela*, 1678, No. 19, fols. 32–4. On 14 January 1679 Lefort wrote to his mother: "Mon Cousin Gordon ... je suis sous son commandement p[ou]r Capitaine ... Il a beaucoup d'amitie pour moy, a Khioff j'auray sa table franche et logeray aupres de luy" (F. Lefort, *Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Moscow, 2006), pp. 62–3).

mended by the general to the Tsar during their spell in the Trinity-St. Sergy's Lavra in September 1689. Peter's first visit to Lefort is recorded only on 3 September 1690 (fol. 25), which refutes the notion of their close relationship prior to that date. True, Peter took to Lefort fast, and small wonder because the latter was much younger than Gordon and much more prone to carousals and amorous delights. I share the modest estimates of Lefort's talents offered by his contemporaries and some historians. "An amusing and luxurious man, so to say, a French debaucheur (*deboshan*)", according to the well-known remark of Prince B.I. Kurakin¹⁶, he "understood little or nothing of the military art, either by sea or land, but favour supplied all ... A man given up to all manner of pleasures, and could bear a glass well"¹⁷, but "he had no solid education, and could not have been Peter's teacher in any science, not being a master of any trade".¹⁸ I would agree with A. Brückner's conclusion: "It was owing to Gordon that Peter got used to visit the Foreign Suburb, and through Gordon, rather than through Lefort, he was acquainted with the customs of Western Europe"; Gordon, "as a versatile educated man, ... constantly in the closest touch with Western culture, ... much more than Lefort could be regarded as a representative of West European ... civilisation, and thus ahead of Lefort could be Peter's counsellor and mediator in his convergence with European culture".¹⁹

On the whole, Gordon's relations with "the renowned Genevan", whose real qualities he knew better than anyone else, remained familial (they were married to cousins), even friendly, but not without rivalry and complications. Lefort's letters to his brother show that in early 1692 Gordon strove to obtain the vacant post of commander of the First Moscow Selected regiment (formerly A.A. Shepelev's). The Tsars

¹⁶ Prince B.I. Kurakin, *Historia o Tsare Petre Alexeyeviche* in *Arkhiv kniazia F.A. Kurakina*, I (St.Petersburg, 1890), p. 66. Interestingly, the caustic Prince Kurakin, who hardly spared any of Peter's favourites, has nothing bad to say about Gordon.

¹⁷ A. Gordon of A[u]chintoul, *The History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia*, I, (Aberdeen, 1755), p. 135. Auchintoul served in Russia from early 1696 and knew Lefort personally, although this judgement could be influenced by the opinion of his clansman and father-in-law Patrick Gordon.

¹⁸ S.M. Solovyov, *Sochineniya. Istoriya Rossii s drevneyshikh vremen*, VII (Moscow, 1991), p. 455.

¹⁹ A. Brückner, op. cit., pp. 75, 78–9.

intended to grant this unit to Gordon, whose Butyrsky regiment was to pass to Lefort, but the latter objected: "je tesmoignay de la tristesse et je priay instamment que lon ne me donnasse ny lun ny lautre en cas que je neusse pas le premier"—and got it his way, which "luy [Gordon] toucha le Coeur sensiblement".²⁰ By contrast, Gordon's journal very tersely says on this issue that on 20 March "L[e] F[ort] gott the Sh[epelev] Reg[iment]" (fol. 169); strangely, not a word on the author's alleged efforts to solve the matter in his favour (Lefort claims that the Scot "alla aupres de tous les Seigneurs p[ou]r implorer leurs misericordes afin que cela ne ce fisse pas"). If Lefort is true to the facts, Gordon could not but feel affronted, but he did not attend the handover of the First regiment to his rival not because of "grief (tristesse)", as the Swiss writes, but because of the Catholic mass which he seldom missed—it was Palm Sunday; nor is there any proof in the Diary of Gordon's purported solicitations "with all the [Russian] Lords". In any case, this incident does no honour to Lefort, for his cousin surely had a preferential right to the said post on the strength of his undeniable seniority of rank, merit and age, let alone the fact that the new commander was much obliged to the one passed over. Nonetheless, neither Gordon's journal nor his correspondence contain any traces of envy or hostility to his lucky in-law, except one mild reproach at Azov (see below). For his part, on becoming the Tsar's principal minion (in the same letter he vaunts: "j'ay fait plus dans deux annees que les autres non peut faire dans cent"), Lefort did retain sufficient respect for his first patron.

Having become full general in 1687, Patrick Gordon reached the summit of Russian military hierarchy (as a non-Orthodox alien he could not have been styled *royevoda*, and the rank of field marshal was only introduced in Russia after his death). But his legal status was peculiar and somewhat ambiguous. In over forty years of diligent, often selfless service in Muscovy, he had not only held firm to his religion, but never pledged permanent subjection to any Tsar, always regarding himself as a loyal subject of the British crown and the house of Stuart. Initially he was hired for just three years, then swore to serve "so long as the warr with Polland

²⁰ F. Lefort, *Sbornik materialov i dokumentov*, pp. 132–3.

should continue”²¹, i.e. he arrived, in the terms of the age, not “in the [Russian] Sovereign’s name”, but only temporarily, *na nayom* (“for hire”). The conflict with Poland-Lithuania ended with an alliance, but for all we know a new oath was never taken.

* * *

Having considered Gordon “an excellent combat general”, N.G. Ustrialov wrongly believed that he “has studied military art scarcely deeper than Lefort did”, and had “a most limited knowledge of military matters, which fact, however, he did not hide, confessing to Prince Golitsyn that he understood nothing of the art of engineer”.²² Military academies have not yet been founded even in the most advanced countries, so that the necessary skills and expertise could be acquired in two ways, through military practise and self-education. Gordon markedly excelled in both, for even as a mere trooper he “went often to the *leagner*, especially when I heard of any action or assault to be, on purpose to inure my self to dangers and better my understanding in martiall effaires”.²³ Before moving to Muscovy, for six years he fought in the armies with probably the best infantry (Sweden) and cavalry (Poland-Lithuania) of the period. Not only did he serve under the standard of many a talented commander, but also had personal acquaintance with the Polish Hetmans Prince Jerzy Lubomirski and Jan Sobieski, the Swedish Field Marshals Count Robert Douglas and Baron Lorens von der Linde, as well as Prince Rupert of the Rhine, and the Scots Generals Thomas Dalzell of the Binns and William Drummond of Cromlix (the latter won a notable victory over the Poles and Lithuanians at Chaussy in 1662). The young officer certainly learned much from all of them. He then fought in the Chigirin and Crimean campaigns, and greatly distinguished himself in 1678, during the heroic defence of Chigirin against immense Ottoman forces, holding out until the Russian army’s approach. His engineering skills were already discussed at some length in the current publication, and he declined the status of engineer proper not because

²¹ *Diary*, II, pp. 121, 147.

²² N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., II, pp. 122, 124.

²³ *Diary*, I, p. 108.

he lacked relevant expertise, but because he did not see much honour in it.²⁴ Thus, of all Tsar Peter’s commanders, foreign or Russian, none could equal Gordon in varied experience and battle merits earned in the armies of three major European powers, so that A. Brückner rightfully called him “the most skilful of Peter’s generals”²⁵, naturally, of the early part of the reign. It is quite appropriate then, that from their first rapprochement to his last hours Gordon always remained the Tsar’s chief advisor on all military issues, and these have pride of place in the Diary. It has long been accepted that our source “is incomparable ... for military history”.²⁶

The diarist commanded one of the best regular units in Russia, the Second Moscow regiment of selected soldiers, known as Butyrsky after its quarters near the capital. The journal contains monthly lists of Butyrsky personnel by NCO ranks, including retired veterans, widows and children. In fact this unit comprised several regiments, so that Gordon speaks of his “first” or “one of my regiments” (fol. 60 etc); the Tsars’ ukase of 7 January 1692 stated that “from the year 196 [1687] he has command over the Moscow Selected regiments”, which is confirmed in his service record (fols. 157–158 v.). Perhaps this is why some historical works wrongly say that Gordon commanded the First Selected regiment too.²⁷ He tirelessly attended to regimental business, striving to raise his Butyrsky to the highest possible level (see his description of a ceremony in the Kremlin on fols. 5 v.–6), and on 13 July 1691 he laid the foundation of “a Regiment house” in Butyrki (fol. 86 v.). The general, who started his career in the model army of Sweden, adhered to strict discipline, and once demoted his 8th company to 10th because it had allowed its captain to be taken prisoner on manoeuvres (fol. 464). The Austrian agent Otto Pleyer, who observed Gordon’s men in action at Azov, testifies that they were “very well exercised and fitted out”.²⁸

Gordon literally became the godfather of the Russian Guards, having first applied this very term to Tsar Peter’s *potesshnye* (playmen) on 8 August

²⁴ See my article in *Diary*, III, pp. xv–xviii.

²⁵ A. Brückner, op. cit., p. 96.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 159.

²⁷ N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., II, p. 98.

²⁸ “Sehr wohl exercirt und mundirten manschaft...” (N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., II, p. 573).

1689, when they marched to the Trinity-St.Sergy's monastery.²⁹ Already from 1688 dozens of Gordon's *butyrtsy* filled the ranks of the Tsar's own Preobrazhensky regiment, although regular units were being formed from the *poteshnye* after the coup of 1689, when first sergeants appeared among them, and then the familiar company structure took shape, complete with officers.³⁰ Since the spring of 1690 the Scot usually supervised the cavalry and infantry exercises in Preobrazhenskoye and Semionovskoye, so that he virtually became colonel-in-chief of the nascent Guards. His journal teems with mentions of Peter's favourite country residence near Moscow: 7 December 1690—"to Preobrasinsky; the companies of the *Potesbnies* dealt"; 30 September 1691—"In Preobrasinsko; the companies divided & exercized"; on 30 March 1692, apparently on Gordon's recommendation, Georg von Mengden became the first commander of Preobrazhensky regiment (fols. 35 v., 98, 170 v.). At the same time the first Semionovsky commanders were Alexander Sharp and John Chambers; N.G. Ustrialov was surprised by their appointment, but it is easy to explain, for both colonels were "of Scottish race", and good friends of Gordon's (fol. 442 v.).³¹ Prince B.I. Kurakin recalls that "during these exercises foreign officers had an occasion to seek their fortune with His Majesty, as they arranged everything and instructed how to conduct the said exercises, because there were none knowledgeable among Russians... And I was at that time a trooper in General Gordon's company".³²

On Gordon's initiative grenadier companies were introduced in the Russian army. His note to Prince V.V. Golitsyn before the Second Crimean campaign proposed to establish a company of grenadiers in every foot regiment. The prince's decision is unknown, but such a company first appeared in Gordon's own Butyrsky regiment during manoeuvres at Kozhukhovo (fols. 403 v., 404 v.).³³

"Martial amusements" went on in rapid succession, including fire-

²⁹ *Diary*, IV, pp. 253–4.

³⁰ P.O. Bobrovsky, *Istoriya Leib-Gvardii Preobrazhenskago polka*, Vol. I (St.Petersburg, 1900).

³¹ For more on Scottish influence under Tsar Peter see D. Fedosov, "Peter the Great: the Scottish Dimension" in *Peter the Great and the West. New Perspectives*, ed. L. Hughes (London, 2001), pp. 89–101.

³² Prince Kurakin, op. cit., pp. 65, 249.

³³ *Diary*, IV, p. 190; P.O. Bobrovsky, op. cit., I, p. 211.

works, artillery practice, exercises and mock battles. On 4 September 1690 manoeuvres took place near Preobrazhenskoye, “the *Stremeny streltsees* to horse & foot being on one syde against the *Potesbny* & Simonofsky foot, & the gentlemen of the Tzaars court on horseback ... Wee skirmished troop-wise & sometymes whole bodies untill darke night, where many were wounded and burnt with powder. I my self gott a shott in my right thigh a litle above the knee, & in breaking through had my face very much burnt with powder” (fol. 25 v.). Such engagements were far from harmless. On 27 January 1691 a fireworks blast heavily injured Gordon’s son-in-law, Colonel Rudolf (Rodion) Strasburg, who died of wounds after year-long suffering, while Peter often visited him, and attended the funeral (fols. 66, 154 v.). Grand manoeuvres were also held near Preobrazhenskoye and Semionovskoye on 6–9 October 1691; Gordon laid out the camp and deployed the army in battle array; the new regiments grappled with the *streltsy* again (fols. 99–100 v.). The general himself did not overrate these actions, speaking of “the field ballet military” with irony. Nonetheless, his own formidable experience and that of other foreign officers undoubtedly improved the quality of raw Russian troops, from “Bombardier Peter Alexeyev” down, and contributed to the adoption of Western novelties. For instance, in 1693 Peter wrote to F.M. Apraksin: “Tell Piotr Ivanovich [Patrick Gordon] to send me the instrument with all that I have seen by him, as I much need it for a while”.³⁴ On 4 October 1693 the Scot “gave his M[ajesty] the gunners quadrant & the granate-bagge”; on another occasion the Tsar came to him “and tooke three bookes of artillery along with him” (fol. 318 v., 322 v.), and so on. Years of warlike games and field training did not go in vain and, even if not at once, bore fruit in the Azov campaigns and the Great Northern War.

* * *

From his tender years Tsar Peter revealed an even stronger passion than war games on land, and soon proceeded with his companions from the pastimes of Mars to those of Neptune, although he confessed that in

³⁴ *Pis'ma i bumagi Petra Velikago*, I, p. 18.

Russia the idea of a navy “was so strange that it was scarcely heard of”.³⁵ Patrick Gordon has never been, nor pretended to be a seaman, but at least he had more marine experience than anyone else in the Tsar’s milieu, for several times he made the not-so-short seaborne journey from Britain to Eastern Baltic and return. He also paid attention to naval news from the West (battle of Beachy Head on 30 June (10 July) 1690 – fol. 21; reports on the forces and actions of the French fleet – fols. 88, 203 v. etc).

The “grandpas of the Russian Navy” were Peter’s boats, which furrowed the Izmaylovo pond, the Yauza and Moscow rivers. In 1692 on Pleshcheyevo lake in Pereslavl Zalesky a flotilla of two small frigates and three yachts was built with help from Dutch shipwrights; one of the vessels was worked on and launched by the Tsar himself. On 25 April Gordon arrived in Pereslavl, and Peter instantly showed him all the vessels and visited his quarters in the evening; the next day they sailed on the lake and were caught by a storm (fol. 174 v.). Seeing the scale of preparations, the general bought a house in Pereslavl, and in August came again to attend the flotilla’s launch and manoeuvres. Peter and his courtiers were so thrilled by new impressions that they ate and even slept on board (fols. 188 v. – 190 v.). But the lake was landlocked and far removed from main waterways, so that these vessels proved of little use and eventually decayed. The Tsar longed for high seas.

Archangel was then the chief and only Russian port oriented westward, although for all their skills local seamen confined themselves to the extreme periphery of Northern Europe. Very distant from the capital and frozen over for half a year, this city kept its commercial supremacy even after the foundation of St. Petersburg, to the very end of the Swedish war. During navigation the mouth of the Northern Dvina witnessed the arrival of up to a hundred merchant ships a year, mostly from the Netherlands, Britain and Hanseatic centres (Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen). Gordon visited or lived in all these lands and cities, and maintained lively contacts with them. One of the main channels of his links with the West went through Archangel. It was also the abode of his daughter Mary and her husband Karl Snivins, who commanded a regiment of *streletsy*.

For lack of his own sea dogs, Tsar Peter had to bestow naval ranks

³⁵ N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., II, p. 398.

on men who seldom, if at all, left dry land. On 28 January 1694 Gordon was created rear admiral (Dutch *schout-bij-nacht*) and informed of the trip to Archangel (fol. 356 v.); Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky and I.I. Buturlin, who have never been at sea, became admiral and vice admiral respectively. Likewise, "Bombardier Peter Alexeyev" turned into "the Great Skipper". On 30 April the Scot set out for Vologda by land, then sailed by the Sukhona and Dvina rivers in the rear of the Tsar's flotilla as befitted his new rank. His Diary contains their full sailing order (fol. 371 v.). The route, which lay across the richest and most populous parts of Russia, is described in great detail down to small hamlets and rivulets. Gordon admired the picturesque banks of northern rivers with "pleasantly scituated" churches and villages: "very [fine] perspective, and in some places as if artificial" (fol. 375 v.). On 18 May the caravan reached Archangel, on the 20th a new ship was launched, and on the 30th the Tsar held a modest celebration of his birthday on board. On 16 June the 12-gun yacht "St. Peter" was given to Rear Admiral Gordon, who on 31 July translated the first Russian code of naval signals into English for the benefit of British captains (fol. 388 v.).

On 10 August 1694 three Russian ships, including Gordon's yacht, weighed anchor and headed north to convoy 4 German and 4 British merchantmen. The White Sea voyage did not go without trouble; first it was dead calm, then changeful breezes and thick mist arrived. On 15 August, with a fresh wind and very low visibility, "St. Peter" lost course and nearly hit a rock. In describing the difficulties suffered by Gordon, M.M. Bogoslovsky, who resorted to the faulty German translation of the Diary, goes so far as to ridicule "the brave sailor", who allegedly "was struck with terror, got utterly confused" and even "deemed himself for lost".³⁶ But the original tells a different story: in the first case the diarist only shows *anxiety* and, being conscious of danger, fully controls himself; and in the second he is far from "lost", just somewhat off course, for he calmly casts anchor and goes ashore to record the local method of hunting seals, and picks some berries and herbs, which does not agree well with his putative despair (fols. 393 v., 396). In the end Peter's squadron safely cruised up the Kola Peninsula to the Barents Sea, on 17 August reached

³⁶ M.M. Bogoslovsky, op. cit., I, pp. 180–4.

the cape Sviatoy Nos, almost the northernmost point of European Russia, and on the 21st got back to Archangel. Navigations on Lake Pleshcheyevo, the Dvina and White Sea were important voyages of discovery for Peter and Gordon, although the real birth and baptism of the Russian Navy was to come in a couple of years, in the Second Azov campaign.

* * *

Tsar Peter far surpassed his predecessors on the Russian throne by his restless spirit and almost incredible range of interests, the traits which he also expected and demanded from his companions and subjects. Gordon too, in his own words, did not like “to ly idle”, so that he and Peter often failed to catch each other in a given place. At the height of naval preparations in Archangel the Scot compiled a note of all things necessary for grand army manoeuvres near Moscow, including supplies for approaches, redoubts, batteries and mines. He also designed an “engine for breaking battalions of foot and disordering them” wherewith the Tsar was “pleased very well, and ordered 3 such to be made” (fols. 390 v. – 391 v., 402). These massive manoeuvres unfolded near the village of Kozhukhovo south-east of Moscow from 24 September to 18 October 1694 (fols. 403–9). Two large forces opposed each other: one under “Generalissimo” Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky, which included the Tsar and Gordon with the Butyrsky and other regiments “of new order”; the other under “Polish King” I.I. Buturlin with *streltsy* units. The troops advanced in full battle array according to Gordon’s plan. Forts and redoubts were built and besieged in regular fashion with mines and other devices. On 15 October a general assault on Buturlin’s fortress was made. On the 17th, “after much struggling and dispute on both sydes, where many were wounded and one of my sojourns deadly, wee pressed into the *leaguer* from all places, and made the coll[onell]s with their regiments submitt and render themselves”. This was Peter’s last mock battle, and much more responsible enterprises awaited him from now on.

Peter and Gordon suddenly shifted their eyes from far North to distant South. With all their games on land and sea it was nearly forgotten that Russia for many years lived in a state of war with the Ottoman

Empire and the Crimean Khanate (war of 1686–1700). The international Holy League against the Turks and Tatars has long existed, and Russia made her debut in coalition with Western powers (Holy Roman Empire, Poland-Lithuania, Venice and the Papacy), so that the Tsars had to fulfill their obligations under the threat of Tatar raids and separate peace from the allies.³⁷ N.G. Ustrialov called Warsaw’s policy “self-seeking”, which aroused the “justified distrust” of Moscow³⁸, but one can also comprehend the feelings of Catholic powers that waged a terrible struggle with the mighty foe from Italian shores to the Dnieper, while the Russian Tsar, no longer a kid, wasted his silver and powder on amusements for years. The Imperial and Polish-Lithuanian embassies have often and strenuously tried to wake Russia up and launch an offensive against the Tatars and Turks, but after the failed Crimean campaigns a long lull ensued on the eastern front: “there was silence with the neighbouring potentates, and no significant actions transpired”.³⁹ Gordon, an ardent supporter of Christian unity in the face of the Ottoman menace, enviously wrote to Hetman Mazepa on 21 January 1692: “We are celebrating here, while Your Excellency with Your [army] are seeking glory and honours on the path of prowess” (fol. 227 v.). But this course of things could not last because of Tsar Peter’s arriving manhood and his transition from games to pressing affairs of state.

We do not know exactly when and on whose advice the Tsar decided to send his army to Azov, a key Turkish stronghold at the mouth of the Don⁴⁰, but there can be little doubt that the plan was avidly supported by General Gordon, who usually stood for decisive action and had a score of his own to settle with the Ottomans. Ever since Chigirin he was known to the Turks and Tatars and respected by them; already at Azov “they were very inquisitive to know if I was alyve, because they had been informed by some prisoner that I had been deadly wounded, upon which acco- they pined a Cosake, because he averred that I was alive, and had not been

³⁷ On varied fortunes of the Holy League in Hungary, Transylvania and the Balkans at this time see J. Stoye, *Marsigli’s Europe 1680–1730* (New Haven & London, 1994), pp. 36–144.

³⁸ N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., II, p. 190.

³⁹ Prince Kurakin, op. cit., p. 64.

⁴⁰ In early 1693 the Tsars already dispatched A.A. Vinius to Hetman Mazepa “for a council to beleaguer Azov”.

wounded” (fols. 518 v.–519). On 21 December 1694 Gordon informed Johann Kurtz, former Imperial envoy to Russia, that “this summer we shall do something for the good of Christendom and our common alliance” (fol. 419 v.). On 27 January 1695 the ukase for a general muster of the armed forces was declared. A diversion against the Crimea was planned with a large army under Boyar B.P. Sheremetev and Hetman Mazepa with Ukrainian Cossacks, but the main thrust was kept secret, although it was hardly possible to conceal the movements of thousands of armed men with huge supplies and waggon trains. The Cossacks had already captured Azov in 1637, but the difficulty of the task was grasped by Peter and his commanders, because previous clashes with the Ottoman Empire, still powerful even after the rout at Vienna, did not end in Russia’s favour. Moscow’s humiliating duty to pay virtual tribute to the Crimean khan, confirmed by the treaty of Bakhchisaray in 1681, was still in force.

Three independent corps or divisions, roughly equal in strength, were assigned for the Azov campaign, those under Gordon, Lefort and A.M. Golovin.⁴¹ The seniority of command, which of right belonged to the old Scot, was not determined by the Tsar so as not to offend anyone’s pride. In the state correspondence of the time the generals’ names appear in different order: in I.I. Buturlin’s letter to Peter dated 19 August 1695 “Piotr [Patrick] Ivanovich” heads the list⁴², but in other cases Lefort is named first. Nor was supreme command assumed by the Tsar himself, who has never seen real war before. He had his headquarters with Golovin’s division, and undoubtedly the last word in military councils.

As Russia’s most distinguished commander, Gordon played a vital role at every stage of preparations and the campaign itself. On 7 February 1695 he writes in his journal: “wee noted downe with his M. all the ammuniſion & other necessaryes w-ch wee are to take along” (fol. 446 v.). While mainly concerned with his own division, the Scot also advised the other two generals; on 15 February he “adjusted the officers” for General Golovin, who came to him for the purpose (fol. 448 v.). Gordon records that in military councils on 20–21 February “at my perswasion [it was] resolved upon a

⁴¹ According to a contemporary, A.M. Golovin was “a very foolish man, he was just the first of *spalniki* [gentlemen of the bedchamber] who knew the exercise of soldiers” (Prince Kurakin, op. cit., p. 65).

⁴² *Pis'ma i bumagi Petra Velikago*, I, p. 531.

bloquado at Assow” and “to send 10,000 men by land in all hast to Assow, who with 5 or 6,000 Cosakes should post themselves so beforr it as to permitt no succours to come into it, and I ordered to command them, and to make as much hast as possible from hence” (fol. 449 v.). He set out from Moscow on 7 March, and his division marched as vanguard, which was the Scot’s normal desire throughout his career. For the first time in Russian history a foreigner and “heretic”, lacking the rank of *voevoda* or at least a *stolnik*, and not subordinate to a Russian superior, held the sole command of a strong military corps (his own term is *army*).

Having tarried in Tambov because of spring floods and concentration of troops, the van proceeded along the banks of the Khopior, Donets and Don. Gordon’s corps comprised five soldier regiments (Butyrsky of 894 men, and four “Tambovish” under James Gordon, A. Yurenev, James Bane and T. Junger, in all 3,879 men), and seven *streltsy* regiments (Stremianny under S. Sergeyev, D. Zhukov’s, S. Krovkov’s, I. Kobylsky’s, A. Obukhov’s, S. Kapustin’s and A. Kozlov’s, in all 4,620 men). These were later joined by two “Low Country” regiments, bringing the total strength to some 11,500. The general was accompanied by a retinue of Russian officials: 16 *stolniks*, 1 *striapchy*, 1 *zhilets*, 2 *dyaks* and 12 *podyachys*. His artillery numbered 31 field cannon, 12 grapeshot pieces and 10 mortars. The bulky train amounted to 3,986 waggons (fols. 473–4).

On his way Gordon met with the Don Ataman Frol Minayev to coordinate their movements, the latter “tending to the diswadeing me to go to Assow befor the rest of the army should come, which I as hotly urged . . .” The colonels voiced their opinions “so mixed with perplexityes, feares, scruples and insignificant projects, and so varying from my resolution and all reason, that seeing no settled and solid resolution or advice, I told them my opinion”—to advance (fols. 480 v., 482–482 v.). On 27 June 1695 Gordon’s division and the Don Cossacks were the first to reach Azov. The Tsar followed soon with the corps under Golovin and Lefort. In total, in Peter’s own words, the Russian siege army, without the Cossacks, Kalmyks and Bashkirs, numbered “31,000 men, 60 half-*kartouns* [cannon], 110 mortars, 20,000 bombs”—“we jested at Kozhukhovo, and now we are going to play at Azov”.⁴³ The city garrison, by independent estimates, had “at the

⁴³ Ibid., p. 28.

beginning of the siege 6,000 men” (fols. 505 v., 510 v.), but the Ottomans could reinforce them by sea almost unhindered.

Gordon’s Diary presents the most detailed known chronicle of the First Azov expedition, including marching routes, strength of opposing forces, course of action, and losses. Its thoroughness contrasts sharply with the Russian campaign “Journal”, apparently written by some junior officer of the Preobrazhensky regiment in Golovin’s division, which for whole days of the intensive siege says “there was nothing” or “there was a small rain”.⁴⁴ Gordon’s evidence is all the more important because the First Azov campaign was overshadowed by the victorious Second both in contemporary sources and subsequent history writing.

It was resolved that Gordon would keep the centre of the Russian siege lines, with Golovin on the right flank and Lefort on the left. On 1 July the Scot led the van again, fought his way inside the old earthen wall and entrenched there. The other divisions only moved up on the fourth day. The very first skirmish demonstrated the opposite qualities of the Tsar’s forces: while some “received the charge with good resolution”, others “apprehended greater danger as they needed” (fols. 490–490 v.). Russian infantry with the help of its *wagenburg* or tight battle formation was reliable enough, even in attack, but cavalry was no match for Turkish and Tatar horsemen, which is often confirmed in the Diary. The stark difference between mock battles and serious action manifested itself right away, and many soldiers and officers proved inadequate in the face of desperate resistance.

“I haveing viewied the conveniences on the right hand, where to lodge the army and make the approches, did writt particularly to his M[a]jesty of all”; “consulted with his M. where they should stand, and went along and viewied the places of the stations, as where the approches and batteryes are easyest to be made and with greatest advantage,.. and then [the Tsar] sent me to show G-ll Le Fort to his quarter” (fols. 492 v., 493 v.). The bombardment of Azov began with the Tsar serving the cannon and mortars in person. Large-scale siege works got under way on the growing number of trenches, approaches, batteries and forts. Gordon’s men were leaving the rest behind, which brought some advantages, but made them

⁴⁴ N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., II, pp. 540–4.

vulnerable on the front and flanks: "I was gott farr befor and stood bare on all sydes"; "I urged the speedier making of the approaches, representing the danger of delays in a siege" (fols. 494, 496 v.).

On 9 July Gordon's 16-gun batteries suppressed enemy artillery and "shott downe the great watch tower which did us great harme, and this much animated our men" (fol. 496). He did his best to appear everywhere and supervise everything, although it was a daunting task given the extent of siege positions and poor coordination between divisions. The Turks were launching frequent and deadly sallies on all quarters, especially on the left, and Gordon had to come to Lefort's rescue on 7 and 10 July and thereafter (fols. 495, 496, 503). Lefort never mentioned this in his letters to Geneva, and even claimed that his soldiers were able to repel strong enemy onslaughts without any help.⁴⁵ But we do have an independent account by another witness, the Austrian agent in Russian headquarters, Otto Pleyer: on 10 July "at night the Turks stole up from the town within several fathoms of General Lefort's camp, but were detected by a patrol of General Gordon. General Gordon himself with his guard quickly marched out into the field to meet them, and because after this alarm was sounded in both camps, the Turks turned back".⁴⁶ It is significant that Gordon's daily notes, as already remarked by N.G. Ustrialov⁴⁷, mostly agree with Pleyer's dispatches to Emperor Leopold as well as with Tsar Peter's letters, his "Journal" and other sources.

Military councils were often held in Gordon's tent, both because of his high authority and central position. After one of these, on 14 July, the first success was gained in storming one of two towers (Kalanchi), which blocked the way down the Don. But on the very next day the Turks, having learned from a turncoat of a gap in front lines between Gordon and Lefort, and making use of the Russian habit to have a midday nap, made a stinging riposte "with great celerity and force". Colonel James Gordon, Patrick's son, bravely resisted them, but was wounded and had to retreat. The Russians fled "in such confusion and with such a panick terrour, that I

⁴⁵ "Mes soldats pourroit resister a de si grands assaults sans que lon me puisse secourir" (F. Lefort, *Sbornik materialov i dokumentov*, p. 162); N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., II, p. 571; M.M. Bogoslovsky, op. cit., pp. 225–6.

⁴⁶ N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., II, pp. 571–2.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 231–55, 384 and Appendix XVIII.

never see the lyke". The panic was only stopped by General Gordon himself, who nearly lost his own life, but this affair inflicted grave losses on the besiegers; their heavy cannon were nailed, and 7 light ones towed away. The survivors "learned by this mischieffe to be more vigilant and more dilligent in fortifying the redouts & trenchees" (fols. 498–9). However, at the same time the Turks abandoned the other Kalancha tower, which afforded some consolation.

On 18 July another council was summoned at Gordon's, where he insisted on several urgent measures, but "all [was] going so confusedly and longsome forward, as if wee made no earnest" (fol. 500). In some cases Golovin and Lefort sabotaged the Scot's reasonable proposals, even if approved by the Tsar, "they not willing to do any good by any others advice but their owne, nor that I, who offered my self to command [the joint party], should gaine any honour, delayed to send any, and afterwards absolutely refused" (fol. 501). On 23 July Gordon "with much ado prevailed to send a party to stopp the passage of the horsemen into the towne"; his efforts were no less in convincing "those on my right hand to possess a hill very convenient for annoying the towne" (fols. 502, 503 v.). Many Russians obviously hoped to wear the Turks out with little bloodshed.

The offer of surrender was rejected by the garrison, and the noose of blockade tightened up. Despite a third of their men being killed, dead and wounded, the Ottomans resolved to hold out to the last. Every day Gordon "went... 3 or 4 tymes through all the trenchees", and observed that "my trenchees, being alwayes farthest or rather neerer advanced to [the Turks], was most opportune to [their sallies]" (fols. 505, 511 v.). When assault was considered, Gordon pointed out that it was not well prepared and he "oftentimes represented the confusion which would ensue with so great numbers, unexpert officers and want of good direction and order and command, but nothing would help, so I must go along with the streame, if I would not take the blame of all the delayes" (fol. 504 v.). He ordered to make storming ladders and bridges for all divisions, but "could not prevaile to deferr the storme, notwithstanding all the reasons I urged to the contrar" (fols. 506–506 v.).

The first general assault at Azov was attempted on 5 August 1695. At the outset "the Butirsky and Tambofsky sojourns... played their part

very well" and climbed to the top of the Turkish bastion, killing the Bey of Azov and the *agha* of the Janizaries, but other units sent to storm the walls were very passive, so that not a third of the assailants remained. Tsar Peter with the Cossacks tried to attack the city from the riverside, but without success. "Wee haveing stayed too long for orders, and getting none, I gave order to retreat", writes Gordon, "[I] resolved rather to hazard displeasure, then loss more men unnecessarily". This action, "urged by Rehoboams counsellours, as I may say, had a most fatall success, where were killed of all the 4 armyes [including Cossacks] 1,500 sojourns" and many officers. As a result there was "nothing but sad lookes and mournfull countenances" (fols. 507–8 v.).

Gordon carried on the struggle not just with the enemy, but at times with his own colleagues in command. He could barely overcome their opposition in military councils: "I heard many strange opinions of the present expedition from the wysest heads" (fol. 489 v.); "wee had a counsell where, after the usuall manner, nothing was right discussed nor concluded" (fol. 520). "With much ado I gott it resolved ... to fortify the Kalentzay towers and send away the sick and wounded, and build a fort neerer the river ... I spoke some truth in passion, which was not well taken, as also concerning the bad neighbourship I had in advancing the trenchees equall with me, and communicateing the lynes"; he stubbornly "pressed to have the approches advanced on all sydes equally & together, as also to have the Kalentzayes fortified with an earthen wall, which at last was granted" (fols. 511 v.–512 v.). At last the works on Kalanchi were done according to his plan, but the Diary supports the point of a modern historian: "Lefort and Golovin both resented General Gordon's superior military experience and tended to side together in council to overrule the veteran Scot".⁴⁸

On 8 September Tsar Peter wrote to A. Krevet: "we have come close to the nest and annoyed the hornets, which are biting hard for their trouble, but their nest is crumbling little by little".⁴⁹ However, the nest defied destruction. Regardless of Gordon's warning that the unskilled miner (probably Adam Weide) did not drive the powder chamber far enough,

⁴⁸ R.K. Massie, *Peter the Great. His Life and His World* (New York, 1981), p. 140.

⁴⁹ *Pis'ma i bumagi Petra Velikago*, I, p. 49.

it was blown up, whereby many besiegers were killed and contused (fols. 521–2). The Scot also warned against a new assault, although “haveing no assistance of the other gen-lls to speake, durst not adventure alone for feare of wrath”; he tried to reason with Lefort, but “found litle constancy or judgment in considering what is necessary to be done”. Despite all of Gordon’s arguments, “the great zeale to have the towne made others overcome all difficulties in their imagination, without giving any solid reasons for what they said, and even to doubt of victory or not taking the towne was looked upon as ane unwillingnes that it should be taken” (fols. 522 v.–523, 525 v.).

On 25 September Gordon gave the signal to attack. At first his *streltsy* mounted the enemy bastion, took several Turkish colours and lodged there, but other detachments “only made shoves untill myne should clear the wall of all, and even that opposite to their quarter, that they might have a safer entrance” (fol. 527 v.). The second attempt began when Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky regiments with the Cossacks broke into the lower town, but that effort, and then a third one, were rebuffed, and general retreat was sounded. This decided the raising of the siege, but in Kalanchi towers, renamed Novosergievsk, a 3-thousand-strong Russian contingent was left. On 2 October the army set out on return journey with Gordon’s corps given its usual most dangerous mission, forming the rear, covering others and beating back the Tatars. Everyone knew they would soon see the walls of Azov again, so that many supplies were stored in Cherkassk for the next campaign.

Despite the capture by Sheremetev and Mazepa of several Ottoman forts on the Dnieper, including Kazy-Kermen and Tavan’, the main goal proved elusive. The reasons were evident: multiple command, disputes among the generals “upon some petty scruples of nicenes and formalities” (fol. 494 v.), and lack of mutual support between the corps. The “triumvirate” idea utterly failed. Gordon often found himself in the minority, if not all alone, so that even in most urgent matters he had to convince one by one the Tsar and heads of other divisions, which was hard to achieve. Among other crucial factors were the motley composition and inexperience of Russian troops, especially in conducting a methodical siege, the passivity and slowness of operations, the lack of skilled engineers and miners, the defects of artillery, the absence of a fleet (except transport

boats), which precluded the blockade of Azov by water and opened the way to reinforcements, “wee not being in a posture to hinder them” (fol. 494 v.) and, not least, the valiant and capable defence of the Ottomans. The course and result of the first Azov siege revealed drawbacks even in Gordon’s corps, including his well-drilled *butyrtsy*, for all their commander’s efforts, as well as in other elite regular units of the Tsar’s army, let alone irregular forces. The Diary allows us to conclude that discipline, efficiency, vigilance and fighting qualities were generally higher in “new order” regiments as compared to *streltsy*, but even that was not enough.

Although in this exhausting and disappointing campaign Peter and Gordon were not always of the same opinion, and the latter was wary of the Tsar’s fits of anger, neither the Diary nor other sources imply any discontent with the old Scot on the Tsar’s part. On the contrary, on the way back Peter “was very kind” and “made [Gordon] very welcome”; they often exchanged visits (fols. 545 v., 546, 554 v.). The return march across the barren and deserted steppes was hard, with frosty winds and snowstorms, and many perished from privation and disease. The Butyrsky regiment in this expedition had 88 men killed and fatally wounded, 92 dead from illness and 122 wounded (fol. 565), i.e. almost a third of its complement. We do not know for sure the overall losses of Gordon’s division, because the relevant table at the end of this Diary volume is only partially filled⁵⁰; Lefort, in his own words, out of 10,400 men brought back about 8,000.⁵¹ On 22 November 1695 the army entered Moscow, but both en route and back home Peter, Gordon and others constantly discussed measures for a new campaign in the same direction. On 30 November the Tsar wrote to F.M. Apraksin: “at the council of Messrs. Generals it was ordered to me to build galleys for future war”⁵², and on 26 December “all the gentlemen [were] ordered to rendezvous at Valu[y]ka the 16th of March

⁵⁰ M.C. Posselt in his edition of the Diary in German lists the losses of Gordon’s division gathered from Russian archives: in all 11,408 men went on campaign (as in the Diary); killed 572; died of wounds 397; died of disease 906; wounded 1,748; returned home 8,290; left in Kalanchi 1,301; of officers there were killed and mortally wounded 7 colonels, 6 lt.colonels, 26 captains, 10 lieutenants and 12 ensigns (*Tagebuch des Generals Patrick Gordon*, II (St.Petersburg, 1851), S. 645–6). But since Posselt’s information is not always correct, all this needs to be verified.

⁵¹ F. Lefort, *Sbornik materialov i dokumentov*, p. 164.

⁵² *Pis’ma i bumagi Petra Velikago*, I, p. 53.

without faile, in order to their marching to Assow” (fol. 563 v.). The cruel lesson was learned. “The reign of Peter the Great begins with the Azov failure”.⁵³

* * *

Internal civil affairs of this period, in accordance with Gordon’s vocation and duties, the Tsar’s priorities and capabilities of his ministers, remain in the background in our source. “At this time not a single remarkable law was published, not a single important regulation was made in any branch of social welfare”; indeed, such government acts as forbidding office work at Yuletide, detention of begging priests, or banning coachmen from standing in the Kremlin with horses⁵⁴ were hardly exciting topics even for the keenest of observers. Nevertheless, Gordon did have his interests and fulfilled the Tsar’s commissions outside the military sphere. It was through him that gifts were presented to Peter from the British Muscovy Company, including ceremonial weapons, “a hatt with a faire white plume, a watch with a case with instruments ... as also many dozens of bottles with Canary, cider & other liquors” (fol. 359). It was to him that Peter entrusted the delivery of “15,000 *arsh[in]*s of good English cloth according to the patterns given”, but that was intended for the army too (fol. 402 v.). Besides, the general contributed to the growing import of tobacco, the formerly strictly banned “ungodly, accursed and demonic herb”, as it was known to 17th-century Russians (fol. 447). The Diary also contains a wealth of financial and economic data: prices on real estate, various products, merchandise and services both in Russia and Western Europe, the monetary units of different countries and their ratio, weights and measures etc.

Of much more interest to the author were international politics, especially with regard to the British Isles and the struggle of the Holy League against the Ottoman Empire. He always closely followed European developments, including wars, battles, sieges, peace negotiations, coronations,

⁵³ S.M. Solovyov, *Sochineniya*, VII, p. 513.

⁵⁴ N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., II, pp. 133, 356–7; *Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii*, Vol. III (St.Petersburg, 1830), pp. 52–195.

royal marriages and deaths, election of Popes and other rulers (fols. 21–2, 271 v.–272, 322 etc). He received fresh and reliable news thanks to his constant communications and exchange of visits with all foreign envoys, residents and commissaries in Moscow, prominent merchants arriving from the West, and couriers from Ukraine and elsewhere. It was a two-way process, for since the 1660s Gordon was a correspondent of the *London Gazette*⁵⁵, and regularly informed Britons of the most significant events in Muscovy. His closest links were naturally kept up with Scotland by means of a lively correspondence with kinsmen, friends and aristocrats (the Earls of Erroll, Aberdeen et al.), including chief political exiles and leaders of the Jacobite party in France and Italy (the Dukes of Gordon and Perth, the Earl of Melfort, Sir George Barclay). For example, Gordon's account of the Second Crimean campaign sent to the Earl of Erroll is highly informative (fols. 46–7).

Although Gordon's appointment as British Envoy Extraordinary at the Russian Court in 1686 was not accepted by the Tsars, he never relaxed his efforts to strengthen Russo-British ties and protect the interests of British subjects in Muscovy.⁵⁶ But Gordon, like most of his clansmen, remained a zealous Jacobite and never acknowledged William of Orange as King of Britain. With a sense of his dignity and achievement he wrote: "how steddable I have been, am and may be at this Court to the publick good of the [British] nation. Our countrey men here will, I hope, advise their ffriends what I have done for them at this present, and how able I may be to serve them hereafter ... I fear my old ffriends are out of date, and that my opinion may hinder the acquiring of new, albeit what hath hapened there doth not in the least diminish my care & endeavours for the welfare of the nation" (fol. 48).

Meanwhile, news from home greatly aggrieved the Russian Scot: the new regime has suppressed the Jacobite rising in Scotland, where his son

⁵⁵ S. Konovalov (ed.), "Patrick Gordon's Dispatches from Russia, 1667", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XI (1964), pp. 8–16; "Sixteen Further Letters of General Patrick Gordon", *ibid.*, XIII (1967), pp. 72–95; A.B. Pernal, "London Gazette as a primary source for the biography of General Patrick Gordon", *The Canadian Journal of History* (April 2003).

⁵⁶ For more on Russo-British relations in the 17th century, especially at this period, see: P. Dukes, G.P. Herd & J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs: The Rise and Fall of a Special Relationship* (Dundee, 2009).

and many clansmen fought, and King James was defeated by William in Ireland (fols. 22, 32 v.). Gordon thought about his own contribution to the Jacobite cause, and even considered recruiting some of the Tsars' officers loyal to the Stuarts: "My designe and business was & is to offer my service to his Sacred Majesty [King James], being ready & even passionately desirous to spend lyfe and all I have in defence of his M. just right... It were fitt I had some blanke commissions whereby I might engage such good officers as I may gett moved to a sense of their duty... I have gott this Court to owne still his Sacred Ma-tie" (letter to Earl of Melfort, 8 May 1690—fol. 52). Similar feelings were expressed to his clan chief the Duke of Gordon on 15 November 1690: "The sad revolution in o[u]r cuntry & the Kings misfortunes, wherein Yo-r G[race] hath a large share, hath occasioned inexpressible grieffe to me, which brought me in a sicknesse & even almost to deaths doore. Had I been in a place where I could have been serviceable to his M., I should have vented my passion another way... Yet being so near the Tzaar as I am now (for I have access to his M. every day),... I have gott this Court still to owne his Sacred Ma-tie & not to heare of any other" (fols. 58 v.—59). Deeds went along with words. On 24 December 1690 the journal has the following ironic statement: "The copy of the letter from the pretended King of England calling himself W-m the 3d, & dated the 3d of June, interpreted, and no further notice taken of it, upon pretension that the Hollands resident his name was not in it, it being sent to him to be delivered publickely & solemnly. Another had been sent befor, dated in Aprill, but not havinge the full titles was returned by the resident & this sent; so that it seemes they must have a third, and then a question if that shall be received for diverse reasons" (fol. 37). Gordon undoubtedly painted William in the darkest colours to the Tsars and Duma members, as an unprincipled aggressor and usurper akin to Cromwell, and assured them of something he firmly believed himself, the shortly inevitable fall of the Williamite regime and restoration of the rightful house of Stuart.

With time, however, the considerations of real politics and the efforts of the opposing party under Baron van Keller, Dutch resident in Moscow, prevailed. Early in 1691 Russian authorities finally accepted William's letters and gave an official answer. Jacobite misfortunes and Williamite successes have decided Gordon's fate and barred his way home: "It hath

been always my great desire to have come home & past the last of my dayes in my owne countrey ... But now the want of liberty of conscience there, & his Ma-ties great favour here, hath put me almost out of all hopes. And yet I still imagine & hope that I shall end my dayes there" (fol. 128 v.). He did not give up on his cause completely: "Orange is not so settled but he may be removed" (fol. 135 v.). Jacobite aspirations were reinforced by the fact that William remained childless and soon lost his wife. All these years Gordon and his confederates, even at official banquets in the Tsar's presence, made a point of drinking King James' health.⁵⁷ They could take some consolation, because in the lifetime of Gordon, *de facto* Stuart representative at the Tsars' court, until the next century Russia did not trade permanent diplomatic agents with the Williamite government of Britain (van Keller doubled as British envoy), i.e. their relations were not full-fledged.

* * *

The story of Patrick Gordon, one of the greatest figures of the Scottish diaspora, presents a vivid example of the Scots' national and clannish identity and solidarity in any environment. In the hardest years of his early wanderings he was much obliged to his omnipresent countrymen and, having attained to the highest honours in Muscovy, he fully recompensed and willingly patronised the same. He readily stood for them as petitioner, mediator, executor, godfather or sponsor. One by one, his old comrades-in-arms departed this life, Generals Graham and Menzies, Colonels Calderwood, Galbraith et al., but others grew up or came in their stead, mostly young officers, and Gordon informed some acquaintance of his that he "gott a captaines place for his brother in law and my cousin" (fol. 48). In Archangel Rear Admiral "Piotr Ivanovich" invited into the Tsar's employ (with unrecorded ranks) the Scots named Cowper and Carmichael; within a year the latter died of wounds at Azov, having become a Roman

⁵⁷ On 19 April 1696 "at a feast by Gen-ll Le Fort where w[i]t[h] great solemnity was drunk the usurpator of Great Brittain his health, which I refused, and in place thereof drunk King James his good health" (*Diary*, VI, Russian State Archive of Military History (RGVIA), Moscow, F. 846, op. 15, No 6, fol. 25 v.).

Catholic on his deathbed. Having got Tsar Peter's order to engage Western officers, engineers and artillerymen, Gordon instantly wrote to his son John in Aberdeenshire "to send in my nephew to this countrey, as also some distressed cavaliers & knights errants", i.e. disgraced Jacobites (fol. 559). In five days from 20 to 24 January 1695 Moscow's Foreign Suburb celebrated four weddings wherein one or both newlyweds were of Scots origin, including Major James Bruce, soon to become a famous scholar, statesman and field marshal; of course, Gordon was an honoured guest on each occasion (fols. 443–443 v.). In the rare cases when he could not count on a fellow countryman in some European place, he exclaimed: "I should wish that there dwelt some Scotsman in that Brawnsberg!" (fol. 237 v.).

One of the general's typical protégés was the Jacobite "Harie" Gordon. In 1689 he was an officer of the Edinburgh garrison under the Duke of Gordon, who defended the city castle from Williamite forces. In September 1691, as captain, he came to Russia from Warsaw on the duke's recommendation, received a major's rank with Patrick's support and served in Count Graham's regiment in Belgorod. He attended the sessions of Tsar Peter's "all-drunken synod": "thank God, I am not troubled with the Royal companie, only saw 3 nights be Houtman, which almost head been my death, after I beged pardon and shanked of".⁵⁸ On 21 January 1695 Harie got married in Moscow, then became lt.colonel, evidently took part in Azov campaigns, and in 1697–8 served in Archangel. He is probably identical with Lt.Colonel "Andrey" Gordon, who in 1700 was taken by the Swedes at Narva, but ten years later won his freedom with other Russian prisoners who captured the Swedish frigate conveying them to Göteborg; on 19 June 1711 they safely made it to Russian-held Reval.⁵⁹ Another, much better known Scots officer, who came to Russia in December 1695, was Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul (1669–1751), Patrick's son-in-law, major general, commander of the Jacobite centre at the battle of Sheriffmuir and author of 2-volume "History of Peter the Great".⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Scottish Slavonic Review*, No 10 (1988), p. 41.

⁵⁹ *Vedomosti vremeni Petra Velikago*, II (St.Petersburg, 1906), p. 109; N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., vol. IV, pt. 1, p. 68; J. Staehlin, *Podlinnye anekdoty o Petre Velikom*, III (Moscow, 1830), pp. 135–7; A.F. Steuart, *Scottish Influences in Russian History* (Glasgow, 1913), pp. 68, 70.

⁶⁰ A. Gordon of A[u]chintoul, *History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia*, 2 vols. (Aberdeen, 1755).

Tsar Peter's chief military advisor ordered a copy of his clan history compiled by his namesake.⁶¹ He could justly take pride in his family, related to one of the noblest houses of Scotland and all British Isles. Clan Gordon dates back to the 12th century, and by the late 17th it produced several titled branches: the Marquises of Huntly and the Dukes of Gordon, the Earls of Sutherland and Aberdeen (nearest relations of the Auchleuchries branch), and Viscounts Kenmure. The direct ancestor of our diarist, Sir Adam Gordon of Strathbogie, as ambassador of King Robert the Bruce in 1320, delivered to the Pope the famous manifesto of Scottish independence, the Declaration of Arbroath. By 1700 there were at least 369 landed offshoots of the clan in Scotland⁶²: "even if I knew him not, for many belong to the house of Gordon in Scotland, and yet are as if one family" (fol. 315). On his mother's side the general sprang from the not so numerous but also noble Clan Ogilvie (of Deskford and Findlater).

Cherishing his roots, he carefully entered into all personal and property circumstances, took great pains in dealing with his Scots kinsmen and neighbours, and in improving his estate of Auchleuchries. From the 1660s he did everything in his power to reunite all its parts and to redeem the debts. He also sought to transfer its superiority from the Earl of Erroll to the crown. This modest estate was then valued at £ 357 6 sh. 8 d. Scots a year.⁶³

Having no opportunity to return to Scotland, the chieftain of Russian Gordons set his hopes on his heir. The general's eldest son John (1667–1712) in his tender years was enrolled as ensign in Russia, but never actually served in the army and settled in Auchleuchries. However, he proved negligent and took months to answer his father's letters, although the general sent him detailed instructions and demanded precise accounts of their implementation (fols. 42–5). John was repeat-

⁶¹ "If the history of the Gordons be publick which Mr. Pat. Gordon was compiling, let one be sent me" (General Gordon's memorandum to Captain William Gordon, 1691 in *Scottish Slavonic Review*, No 10 (1988), p. 49).

⁶² *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, I (Edinburgh etc, 1984), No 566; J.M. Bulloch, *The House of Gordon*, 3 vols (Aberdeen, 1903–1912); G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 425–6.

⁶³ I.e. nearly £ 30 sterling (Aberdeen University Library, Special Collections, MS 252. *Valuation of Aberdeenshire*, 1674, fol. 39; MS 568. *The Book or List off Poleable Persons within the Shire off Aberdein*, 1696, fol. 831).

edly exhorted: "I have been striveing all my lyfetye more for honour as riches, & have alwayes preferred a litle gained with a good conscience, befor a great estate gott by unlawfull meanes. And assure your self that there is not a wrong-gained farthing of any thing I have there" (fol. 43 v., see also 49 v.–50, 51–51 v.); "I do not lyke that lyfe you lead"; and it even went so far as his father threatening malediction (fols. 129, 131 v.–132, 135). Still, on 11 January 1692 Patrick Gordon wrote a deed of legal transfer of Auchleuchries to John and sent it to Scotland (fol. 156, copies of this act on fols. 215–216 v., 226–7).⁶⁴ Finally, there followed the indignant reproof of 12 January 1694: "Son, that this wants the ordinary epithete, you have no body to blame but your self" (fols. 347 v.–348 v.). Afterwards, however, the new laird of Auchleuchries was pardoned. On 20 September 1692, with his father's approval, he married a local Catholic gentlewoman, Elizabeth Grant (fol. 273), and took her to visit their relations in Russia in 1698–9.

Patrick's second son James (1668–1722) was more like his father, and gladdened him more. In 1688 "he took up service as cadet in the English King's Guards, and the same year was promoted to ensign, and attained to captain's rank there, and was in sundry battles on land and sea".⁶⁵ He fought in Scotland for the Jacobites and on 27 July 1689 was gravely wounded at Killiecrankie (fol. 138 v.), after which he went to France and Ireland. On 22 September 1690, via Hamburg, Gdańsk and Riga, he came to Moscow for his sister's wedding and was presented to the "younger Tsar", who bade him to join the Russian army again, and was graced Lt.colonel in his father's regiment (fols. 128–128 v.). In August 1691 James accompanied Tsar Peter to Pereslavl, on 23 November 1693 became colonel and soon travelled to Tambov, where he levied new units, though still "being in expectation of something in Scotland" (fol. 282). In the Azov campaign he commanded the Tambov soldiers in his father's corps; on 15 July 1695, during a Turkish sally, he bravely "beat them thrice of, but all deserting him, at last he himself being wounded, was forced to retire" (fol. 498).

⁶⁴ John Gordon legally assumed possession of his father's estate of Auchleuchries on 8 September 1692 (*Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries* (Aberdeen, 1859), p. 213).

⁶⁵ James Gordon's *skazka* (account) of his career (RGVIA, F. 490, op. 2, No 50, fol. 11).

The general's third son (by his second marriage to Elizabeth Ronaer) Theodore (1681–1736?) in July 1692 was sent to study at the Jesuit College of Braunsberg (Braniewo) in Eastern Prussia, one of the best educational institutions of Poland-Lithuania once attended by Patrick Gordon himself. The latter insisted that Theodore “understand the Latine authors & speake the language, and that he be perfect in arithmetick and well mannered” (fol. 351 v.); his teachers confirmed that the boy was making good progress. Moreover, Theodore went to Gdańsk to learn some military exercises, “especially to play with collours & pike”. The general prepared him for a junior officer's rank of ensign, which he duly received. The younger Gordon returned to Moscow in 1695, and Tsar Peter personally appreciated his skills (fol. 556 v.).

Both of Patrick's surviving daughters got married to foreign officers in Russian employ, but both soon lost their husbands. On 23 September 1690 Mary, the younger one, wedded Captain Daniel Crawford, “wher were present his M[a]jesty & diverse others with the p[rinci]p[a]ll persons in the Slabod”; the ceremony had to be performed by a Dutch minister for lack of a Catholic priest, and it was the Tsar's first-ever attendance of a non-Orthodox rite (fol. 27 v.). On 1 December 1691 Gordon's sister-in-law also got married, and again Peter was there (fol. 107). On 12 May 1692 Mary concluded her second matrimony, with Major Karl Snivins, “in presence of his M. & many other noblemen & officers” (fol. 177); for that banquet fish alone cost 30 rubles, a monthly pay of a senior officer!

Gordon's youngest sons got Christian names very rare for their clan and Scotland as a whole. Peter was born on 3 June 1691 and died in 1695 (fol. 81). He was evidently named thus in Tsar's honour, but baptised as a Catholic, while his sponsors were the Imperial envoy and the Polish resident. At this time death was a frequent visitor in the Gordon household, and all bereavements were premature, including Patrick's daughter Jean, son George and both sons-in-law: Major Crawford on 14 May 1691, and Colonel Strasburg on 4 January 1692, “two [of] the compleetest and best qualified men in this countrey” (fol. 220). True, by then the general could find consolation in his grandchildren, and remembered “Anusha, Olinka and Fiodor” in a letter to Theodore; Russian forms of endearment reflect the cultural diversity of their environment, as does the Scottish father's direction to Kiev-born Theodore in German: “Vergesse dein Russe

sprache nicht” (“do not forget your Russian”, fol. 285 v.). Furthermore, the Gordons adopted and brought up two sons of the late Lt.Colonel Hamilton.

A large family and hospitable entertainments, often afforded to dozens of honorary guests, the Tsar himself and foreign envoys, required a spacious home and efficient housekeeping. Gordon never stopped his building and improvement programme, expanding his mansion in the Foreign Suburb (“agreed with the *plotnikes* [carpenters] ... to set over the roomes & 3 new ones”—fol. 177 v. etc). He constructed a new kitchen, bathhouse, hay-barn and cellars with storerooms, and dug a large pond. The general’s cavalcades demanded dozens of thoroughbred horses, new bigger stables and several carriages, decorated with the clan’s three boars’ heads, and the azure and gold livery colours. Besides, unlike Tsar Peter, Gordon was fairly fond of hunting. Knowing the landlord as “a great lover of planting” (fol. 42 v.), we can easily guess that his Moscow garden was nothing inferior to the one in Kiev, although it was colder in the north.

As he grew older, Gordon’s ailments became more frequent and serious. His journal gives some valuable evidence on 17th-century medicine: descriptions of symptoms, methods of treatment and remedies. Such antidotes are mentioned as “crayfish eyes”, “margrave powder”, lily-of-the-valley potion etc. (fols. 311, 362 v., 486). In his travels Gordon collected herbs both in the north and south of Russia (fols. 396 v., 482 v.).

In a word, the Diary preserves many features of everyday life of “the patriarch of the Foreign Suburb”, and is a unique historical chronicle of this settlement as a whole.

* * *

One of Patrick Gordon’s greatest missions was his long and devoted leadership of the Roman Catholic community in Muscovy. After much effort, with support of foreign powers, especially the Holy Roman Empire, in 1684 he secured from the Tsars a verbal permission to establish Russia’s first Catholic church, of timber to begin with. On 5 February 1690 the foundations of the new house of prayer were laid (fol. 3 v.), with the Gordon burial vault as a part of it. The devout general diligently attended

all masses, which was inconceivable at that period both in Russia and in his native Scotland with her strict Presbyterian regime. He constantly solicited for priests (Jesuits were sent away and not allowed, but petitions to Vienna led to the arrival of “lay” paters), church decoration and the parish school, making generous donations to the purpose (fols. 328, 357 v., 366 v., 367 etc). In July 1692 he wrote that “our temple...is enlarged and decently decorated” (fol. 236 v.). On 20 November 1694 Gordon “spoke to his M[ajesty] to give us leave to build our howse of stone, who graciously assented” (fol. 414 v.).

The construction duly began: “in the yard of the foreign merchant Franz Guasconi it is being erected by stonemasons... The church is rectangular, a stone vault is dug underneath and made in the ground, over 3 fathoms long and wide; above the vault all 4 walls are raised of brick for over a fathom and a half; the construction is carried on by the masons, and it is growing by the hour”. Francesco Guasconi explained that “General Piotr [Patrick] Gordon, before his departure from Moscow to Low Country service, has ordered him to erect a stone edifice, where persons of Catholic faith from his, Piotr Gordon’s, family were to be buried after the Roman custom; to build it with his, Piotr’s, money, as much as it would take... The apprentices for the building and purveyors of brick and lime were hired by Gordon himself... This stone edifice, constructed on Gordon’s order and design is not a church: the vault is for burial, the hall... is for walking. And whether General Piotr Gordon ordered him to build this stone burial place in that yard upon the ukase of the Great Sovereigns or by himself, he, Franz, knows not”.⁶⁶ Although the building was suspended for lack of a written ukase, and because of the intrigues of local Protestants (in particular, Doctor van der Hulst—fol. 290), the services in the wooden church never stopped.

Moreover, on 12 December 1694 Tsar Peter himself “heard devotion in our church and dined by me”, and on the 15th the Tsar and courtiers attended the solemn Catholic interment of Major General Paul Menzies (fols. 417–18). Even at Azov Gordon asked Peter “concerning my buriall place, which to compleet and cover had been hindred in Mosko; he prom-

⁶⁶ D.V. Tsvetayev, *Istoriya sooruzheniya pervago kostiola v Moskve* (Moscow, 1886), pp. 107–9. This serious work is tainted with hostile anti-Catholic bias, which leads to prejudice and distortion of facts.

ised to writt about it” (fol. 499 v.). In the end the fervent Scots Catholic succeeded in doing something the Pope, the Holy Roman Emperor and the King of Poland failed to achieve for centuries—the foundation of a Catholic church in Moscow. It was mainly for this feat that his son and successor at the head of the Moscow Catholic community, James, became the first Russian subject to receive the title of Count of the Holy Roman Empire in 1701, and in 1706 he was created Russia’s first knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, styling himself a “Muscovite”.⁶⁷

Patrick Gordon kept up contacts with members of Catholic clergy abroad (Johann Schmidt, Rector of the Jesuit Colleges in Rössel and Braunsberg, Ernst Sturm in Mitau, the Bishop of Olmütz et al.), but he has never been an intolerant “fanatic” as D.V. Tsvetayev calls him.⁶⁸ He had normal and cordial relations with many Orthodox and Protestant acquaintances, exchanged visits with Calvinists, Lutherans and Anglicans, acting as intercessor in their quarrels (fols. 180 v., 363 v. etc). He even invited the Dutch Resident Baron van Keller, his religious and political opponent, to stand godfather to his daughter. He also attended Orthodox liturgies⁶⁹ and donated to Russian churches: he gave 5 rubles for the building of a stone church for *streltsy* in Archangel, and 5 ducats to the Cossack church in Cherkassk (fols. 384, 537). It is symbolic that in both Kiev and Moscow he held celebrations on 30 November, the day of St. Andrew the Apostle, heavenly Patron of Scotland and Russia.

* * *

Although preceding parts of the Diary contain copies of several letters by the author, the largest collection of his correspondence is found in the present volume. It numbers 117 addressed letters, copied entirely or in part, besides the ones abridged or simply mentioned, in English and Latin (one, to his son Theodore, in German). On some days Gordon wrote and/or received a dozen letters or more. The reason for including them in this manuscript is not clear, as the author also kept a separate book of let-

⁶⁷ Archives of the Order of Malta, No 265, fol. 180.

⁶⁸ D.V. Tsvetayev, op. cit., p. 60.

⁶⁹ *Diary*, IV, pp. 66–7, 106.

ters (fol. 108). For the period of 1690–92 they appear at the end of each year, after the journal entries, and in 1693–4 they are placed among daily notes, under respective dates. For 1695, perhaps due to lack of time during the Azov campaign, we have only their short summaries.

The Diary contains only outgoing correspondence. The addressees are mostly Gordon's sons, Scottish relations and Western acquaintances, while eminent subjects of the Tsar are represented by Ukrainian Hetman I.S. Mazepa, who often sent gifts to Gordon, and *Okolnichy* A.A. Matveyev (in the latter two cases Latin was used). From 1695 there began an exchange of letters with Tsar Peter; formerly it was unnecessary because they rarely parted for long. On 29 March the general wrote twice from Tambov "to the Great Bombardirer in Mr. Vinius his *coverto*, one Rus[sian] letters, the other Latine" (fol. 458 v.). This proves that Gordon could write in Russian too, but, regrettably, in the Diary there are no copies of letters to the Tsar and Russian noblemen, with the exceptions mentioned above. A separate group is formed by letters, partially copied in the Diary and sent with Captain William Gordon, who died en route to Scotland in Reval, after which his papers ended up in the Tallinn archive.⁷⁰

Gordon's extensive international network embraced Scotland, England, historic Netherlands, the Swedish Baltic regions (Riga, Narva, Reval and Stockholm), Hamburg, several cities of Poland-Lithuania (Gdańsk, Warsaw, Lwów, Kraków etc), Prussia, Paris, Rome, Vienna and the Empire, and even the Jesuit mission in China (fol. 232 v.). No less impressive is his range of contacts in the Tsar's dominions (Kiev and other Ukrainian cities, Novgorod, Pskov, Smolensk, Archangel, Vologda, Belgorod, Sevs, Tambov, Kazan' and other provincial centres as far as the Siberian capital Tobol'sk).

Simultaneously a lively intercourse of commissions, goods and ideas was maintained. Gordon was friends with Samuel Meverell, treasurer of the Russia (Muscovy) Company, and many other prominent merchants from different lands, making use of all possible occasions via kinsmen and colleagues: "If there be any new military or mechanick inventions set out lately by any of the Royall Society [of London], I desire a modell &

⁷⁰ P. Dukes, "Patrick Gordon and his family circle: some unpublished letters", *Scottish Slavonic Review*, No 10 (1988), pp. 19–49.

description of them, and if there be any thing here [in Russia] wherein they desire to be resolved, or worthy of notice, I shall most willingly strive to give them satisfaction” (5 May 1691, fol. 135). He ordered from abroad various instruments, mathematical (fol. 170) and musical (positive organ—fol. 358). On 8 July 1692 the general asked Meverell “to send me another waywiser and callipers, for his M[ajesty] hath gott these from me. There is also another instrument usefull for shooting of bombes and great shott, which I desire with a semicircle & a quadrate, and a description of the way of shooting so many bombes in ane houre, as wee heare (out of the gazets) is invented & experimented there” (fols. 235–235 v.). He also acquired from Western Europe firearms and swords, silverware, clothes, jewellery, periwigs, lace, various utensils, wines and delicatessen such as cheese and lemons. His kinsfolk were directed to deliver to Moscow “5 or 6 paire of the fynest Scottish plaids”⁷¹, while William Grant of Crichtie had a proposal to send “some of their manufactures hither, promising to returne these of this countrey in requitall” (alas, no details—fol. 445). In his turn, Gordon dispatched to the West as gifts or for sale Russian furs (sables, ermines and squirrels), Persian handkerchiefs, caviar and musk.

His special attention was always drawn to collecting books. From his younger years he became a bibliophile and amassed a formidable library of hundreds of volumes, which can be partly reconstructed from the Diary (see list on fols. 228–228 v.). Among others we get mention of treatises on military art, artillery, fireworks and fortification, including the work by the great Vauban (fols. 60 v., 265, 311 v., 316 v., 363 v.); “some bookes of any new or late inventions” (fol. 130 v.); theology (fol. 351 v.); medicine, surgery, horse-breeding, courtly etiquette, sporting pastimes and games; political pamphlets: “bookes or papers set out in favour of King James, or any thing impartiall relateing to the tymes”, “whereof the reading cannot be well awowed there now” (fols. 228 v., 131), including the writings of the noted Scots lawyer Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh; historical and geographical descriptions of Britain, Poland-Lithuania, Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and their wars; *The Second Decade on the Belgian War* by Famiano Strada (fol. 156 v.); travellers’ accounts; armorials (fol. 61 v.); chivalrous romances, among which, apparently, the earliest mention of

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 39.

Don Quixote in Russia, dated 12 December 1691 (previous Diary volumes also contain first mentions of Ariosto and Shakespeare by a Russian resident); as well as *Arcadia* by Sir Philip Sidney, *Conversations* by Madeleine de Scudéry, Samuel Butler’s satirical poem *Hudibras*, John Cleveland’s poems (fol. 152 v.) etc. The journal has a number of quotations, literary and historical allusions from the Bible, Horace, Ovid, Cicero⁷² and other sources. Besides, there are references to *Basilikon Doron*, the treatise by King James VI (I), and a favourite maxim of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I (fols. 224 v., 230 v.). In his final years Gordon presented the best part of his library to Moscow’s Catholic parish; this gift was estimated at 600 florins.⁷³

* * *

The fifth of the surviving volumes of Gordon’s Diary markedly exceeds all others in size (565 folios, about 140,000 words). Its form is highly varied, being not just a journal of events, but also a collection of correspondence and documents of various types. These include lists of regimental pay, complement, artillery, ammunition and losses; an estimate compiled by a Russian scribe of the Butyrsky regiment (fol. 74); directions for making bridges and anti-infantry “engines”; texts of congratulatory speeches on the birth of princes; the Tsars’ ukase of 7 January 1692 on augmentation of Gordon’s salary, and his service record⁷⁴; the sailing order of Tsar Peter’s river flotilla; “A Regulation of the pay of the Irish Regiments come to France from Limerick”; a letter from the Elector of Brandenburg to the King of France, dated 16 May 1679; two versions of the deed of grant of Auchleuchries to John Gordon; a deed of factory to the general’s trustees in Scotland; memoranda to the merchants Lloyd and Stiles on Gordon’s personal affairs; lists of supplies and debts; bills for carriages, spirits, victuals, spices etc.; brief essays on the Laplanders,

⁷² “Money . . . is the nerves of war” (*Diary*, IV, p. 4) – *Nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam* (Cicero, *Philippicae*, V, 2).

⁷³ Letter of Pater Franciscus Emilianus of 23 June 1699 in *Pis’ma i doneseniya uezuitov o Rossii* (Riazan’, 2010), p. 49.

⁷⁴ This document is all the more important because of the almost total loss of the *Inozemsky Prikaz* archive, which shed light on foreign officers in Russian employ, including the Gordons.

Samoyeds (fols. 394 v.–395) and Don Cossacks (fols. 472 v., 538 v.–540).

From the 19th century to the present historians have greatly valued “Gordon’s always truthful narrative”, “not yielding to any document in reliability and precision”, for the author “made no mistakes in any digit, except for one or two cases, recording everything daily”, and was “very exact with names”.⁷⁵ The “photographic precision” of this Russo-Scottish chronicle was also praised by A. Brückner, because it “sometimes approaches archive material and even surpasses it in accuracy and impartiality”.⁷⁶ Much of the evidence gleaned from the Diary is unique, but as a rule the veracity of its dates and events is confirmed by surviving documents and independent sources. The text does have mistakes, slips and ambiguities (some of which are noted in the commentary), but hardly any distortions. I have difficulty in giving at least one proven instance of factual perversion by the author, although on certain matters he preferred to keep silent.

As for philology, Gordon’s journal is almost as fascinating as in historical respects. It is written in English with a scattering of Scots words (*inferr*, *laird*, *ensigne*, *infelt*, *mains*, *pleugh*, *fele* etc.), forms and expressions (*burn’d bairnes fyre dreads*—fol. 228 v.). We find here a wealth of terms in Russian (*kniaz*, *woywod*, *dumny*, *step*, *knute*, *weczzerinka*, *zsolotnik* etc.), Latin, German and French, along with Polonisms; these are usually marked in the commentary. The Diary also has a fair number of abbreviations, most of which do not present problems, but some are still conjectural or undeciphered.

Finally, a few more words on the flaws and omissions of previous Russian editions of this source, which go back to the faulty German translation by Moritz Conrad Posselt⁷⁷; they have passed into the Russian versions by M. Saltykova⁷⁸ and P.M. Maykov⁷⁹, and since then migrate from

⁷⁵ N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., I, pp. 223, 306; II, pp. 350, 355.

⁷⁶ A. Brückner, op. cit., p. 141.

⁷⁷ *Tagebuch des Generals Patrick Gordon*, Bd. I (Moskau, 1849); Bd. II–III (St.Petersburg, 1851–53).

⁷⁸ *Dnevnik generala Patrika Gordona* (Moscow, 1892).

⁷⁹ *Russkaya Starina*, Nos 165 (January–March 1916), 166 (April–December 1916), 169 (February–March 1917), 170 (April–June 1917), 171 (July–September 1917), 174 (April–June 1918), 175 (July–September 1918). I resorted to P.M. Maykov’s translation in manuscript (Russian State Historical Archive, St.Petersburg, F. 1646, op. 1, No 22), and also used its typescript kindly provided by RGVIA.

one historian to another. Such inaccuracies are rather numerous, which often distorts both the letter and the spirit of the original, and sometimes leads to unjust warnings against Gordon's mistakes, whereas the latter should be blamed upon his translators. For example, in describing the ceremony after the birth of the tsarevich on 18 October 1691 Posselt and his followers assumed the Kremlin as its venue and even confused the name of the infant, Alexey instead of Alexander⁸⁰; meanwhile, Gordon names him correctly and says nothing of the Kremlin, but rather of “the *Dvorets* or Court”, i.e. Preobrazhenskoye (fols. 101 v.–102). At the same time Tsar Peter often visited the wounded Colonel Rodion Strasburg, not Boyar Rodion Streshnev⁸¹ as claimed in some works. The number of Cossacks ordered to march to Azov with Gordon's van is stated by Posselt, M.M. Bogoslovsky and others as just 500 or 600 men; the Diary has an extra zero here (fol. 449 v.). In the same campaign the Don Cossack *ataman* entertained Gordon in his tent on *karpets*, not “sofas”; and during the return visit the Scot treated the Cossacks with *sugar* (an expensive luxury then), not “sweets” (as in Posselt and Bogoslovsky) or “preserves” (as in Maykov), and so forth. In some cases these discrepancies are absurd or even comic: in previous translations a positive organ (musical instrument—fol. 358) turned into “positive answer”, while *Rorate* (a Roman Catholic hymn—fol. 416 v.) was taken for *Razriadny Prikaz*, the Russian army office!⁸²

It is not just a question of details, however important. From January 1692 Posselt changes the Diary narrative from the first person to third without any explanation, although Gordon invariably uses the former. Moreover, Posselt's “translation” often amounts to loose retelling with large cuts, including censorial ones, transpositions of text and a rather arbitrary and meagre commentary. All of Gordon's letters were torn out from their context and published in another volume without saying where they came from etc. In the present edition everything possible has been done to keep true to the original.

⁸⁰ *Tagebuch*, II, S. 353–4; M.M. Bogoslovsky, op. cit., I, pp. 116–7.

⁸¹ *Tagebuch*, II, S. 332 etc.

⁸² *Ibid*, S. 496.

* * *

The manuscript Volume V of Gordon's Diary is kept among all six surviving parts of this source in the Russian State Archive of Military History in Moscow.⁸³ The study of the original, as for the already published volumes, was made by M.R. Ryzhenkov, who has kindly provided the results of his research for the present edition.

Volume V, like all the rest, is written on paper in quarto, folded in quires and bound together. Pagination was added throughout by another hand after the MS entered the archive. The text is placed on both sides of a folio and measures 18 x 12,5 cm when a page is filled completely (about 30 lines). The margins are 1,5–2 cm wide on top, 1,5–2 cm on the sides, and 1–1,5 cm below.

The entire text was written by the author except fol. 74, which contains a list made by a Russian scribe. In the MS there are also some alien notes in French, German and Russian, along with marginal marks and underlinings left by readers and/or translators in the 18th and 19th centuries. The analysis of various shades of brown ferrous ink and different pens used suggests that one-time entries varied from a single line to 2 or 3 pages, excluding letters.

The paper used in this MS is largely similar to that used in the previous volume (IV). Watermarks such as Amsterdam (fols. 1–6), jester (fols. 7–20, 23–40), double eagle (fol. 64) and horn (fols. 397–420) prove it to be Dutch paper produced in the late 1680s and 90s and imported to Russia in large quantities via Archangel. There is also a new type of paper here, not met with in earlier parts of the Diary, with a filigree of two angels holding a crown above St. Mary (fols. 75–6, 89). This watermark occurs in written sources dated 1684–90⁸⁴, which is fully compatible with the dating of this volume.

Some problem is presented by five quires of blank pages bound together with the bulk of MS. The first section of 12 pages precedes the later title page and is not numbered; the second quire amounts to fols. 112–27, the third to fols. 246–61, the fourth to fols. 330–45, and

⁸³ RGVIA, F. 846, op. 15, No 5.

⁸⁴ T.V. Dianova & L.M. Kostiukhina, *Filigrani XVII veka po rukopisnym istochnikam GIM. Katalog* (Moscow, 1988).

the fifth to fols. 425–39 (the final folios of the inner book). All blank sections consist of similar paper, distinct by its thicker quality from the rest of MS and having the same filigree. It presents the coat of arms of Saxony crowned with the Elector’s cap and resting on crossed palm leaves. This watermark on 17th-century paper has not been described by Russian experts, although the use of Saxon arms without palm leaves with the inscription DRESDEN is recorded on paper used in the 1580s and 90s both in the West and in Russia.⁸⁵

Identification of this filigree would help us to ascertain the history of the MS: perhaps the author himself added the blank folios before giving the MS to the binder, intending to supplement his journal with later material (he did leave such gaps in the preceding volume). Gordon’s last entry in this one was made on Saxon paper, as far as we can judge by a watermark fragment partially hidden by the binding edge.

The MS binding is of whole leather, light-coloured and smooth, over cardboard. During restoration in 2005 the binding edge was substituted, retaining the stamped leather surface of the covers. The covers have frames and a lozenge-shaped central figure with vegetable ornament and traces of gilding. The covers’ dimensions are 21,5 x 17 cm, and the inner book with covers is 7,5 cm thick. The edges were once painted red, but there are no laid-on decorative elements on the covers. There are also remains of two brass clasps, later substituted with cords. This binding looks similar to that of volumes II and IV, which allows us to attribute it to a Moscow workshop of the late 17th century.

* * *

Having completed my long labours of translating and editing Volume V of the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for unfailing support and assistance to Paul Dukes, Paul Bushkovitch, I.O. Garkusha and M.R. Ryzhenkov, to the staff of the Russian State Archive of Military History, the Russian State

⁸⁵ N.P. Likhachev, *Paleograficheskoye znachenie bumazhnykh vodiannykh znakov* (St. Petersburg, 1899), Nos 4161, 4179; Ch.M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, I (Genève, 1907), p. 115, No 1417.

Archive of Ancient Acts and the State Public Historical Library of Russia; to my colleagues at the Institute of General History, Russian Academy of Sciences, and at the Moscow Caledonian Club. I am also much obliged to O.A. Kurbatov, P.A. Avakov and A.N. Lobin for their expert advice on some points of the commentary. Special thanks go to Cairns Craig, Director of the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies, University of Aberdeen, and Jonathan Cameron, its Co-ordinator, for assuming the formidable task of publishing the Diary.

I dedicate this book to the memory of my father, Gennady Fedosov. It is to him that I owe my passion for Patrick Gordon's homeland, without which the present edition of the priceless monument of Scottish, Russian and European history would have been impossible.

Editor's Note on the Text

The text of Patrick Gordon's Diary is transcribed, collated, edited and reproduced in its entirety from the original autograph manuscript kept in the Russian State Archive of Military History, Moscow. Every care has been taken to preserve the author's spelling as faithfully as possible, with just a few most evident slips emended and repeated words excluded. The original punctuation has been taken into account and modified, since Gordon hardly uses any question, exclamation or quotation marks. Paragraphs have been introduced where they seemed appropriate. The capitals, rather wayward in the original, have been standardized. Foreign words (not English or Scots) are given in italics, and omissions indicated by ellipses. Except for some obvious or uncertain cases, most abbreviations, contractions and initials have been extended in square brackets, which are also used for editorial additions and conjectures. The author's own notes and significant corrections as well as variant readings of any substance are mentioned in the commentary.

Note on Russian Titles and Ranks

Paul Bushkovitch

In the seventeenth century the only title held by Russian noblemen was that of prince (*kniaz*). In the medieval period the title implied some degree of sovereignty, but by Gordon's time came to signify only greater honor. All Russian noblemen, titled and untitled, held a rank granted by the tsar. These were of two types, the higher being the *Duma* ranks, and the lower primarily honorific titles and many of the designations derived from court service. The *Duma* ranks implied the right and duty to sit in the Tsar's council, the *Duma*, and were, from the highest down, *boyar*, *okol'nichy*, *Duma* (adjective: *dumny*) nobleman and, rarely, *Duma dyak* (secretary) and *Duma* general.

Boyar was the traditional term for untitled aristocrats, dating back to the eleventh century, while the untranslatable word *okol'nichy* (from *okolo*, around or about) came into use about 1500 to mean a sort of junior boyar. Below the *Duma* ranks were noblemen with the rank of Moscow nobleman, *stol'nik* and other lesser grades. *Stol'nik* originally signified a table attendant at the court in the sixteenth century, a small group, but by 1650 included hundreds of noblemen, mostly concentrated in the capital. These ranks were not related to the princely titles. Some great families were princes and *boyars*, others only *boyars*, while many princes received only lower ranks.

The princely title was inherited by all sons and daughters of a prince. The ranks were not hereditary, but until 1682 were governed by the rules of the precedence system (*mestnichestvo*), which implied that most men inherited their father's ranks. A young aristocrat usually received a lower court rank in his youth, gradually moving up the ladder in the course of his life.

In the later seventeenth century the *Duma* ranks included some seventy men in the 1660s, rising to about a hundred by 1682, and 150 by the end of the decade. The lesser ranks numbered in the thousands, mostly pro-

vincial noblemen. All noblemen had landed estates, partly inherited and partly granted by the tsar, as well as grants in money and kind for their service in the army and administration or at the court.

Jan^{ry}

1094

27 his M. went to the church publicly, and then to his mothers grave or where she was to be entorred.

my son James went from home to Town.
In the evening by Mr Gwascon & Mr Pondok
received from Doctor Carbonary the hindered
Rifles which had been lent him

20 at a Feast by G. L. F. where his M. and many others

Received a letter from Mr Robert Maister
dated Narva 15th Jan^{ry} wherein he shewes
that they cannot subscribe that paper of
Mr Howtman being so prejudicial, and
ordered to go to the sea for 2000 Admirall
Mr Maister advise me of having sent 2 d^{ts} of
Canary to me

29 his M. againe by G. L. F.

Lent to Col^l B. Roonaers widdow 4 Rifles.

In the evening M. G. Menzies M. G. Higerman
& C. with Mr Wille & Mr Lloyd by me

VOLUME V:

1690–1695

Ja-ry ¹², Wed. God grant us all a good new year.

4. I mustered the regiment³ in order to their being on the river on the day of Epiphany.

6. The great procession wherein both the Tzaars.⁴

The list of the reg. for this months meanes: 39 serjeants, 41 furiers & foriers⁵, 69 corporalls, 48 pipers⁶, 626 sojors in s.; in all 823 persons, careered⁷ sojourns 8, 99 widows, 43 orphans.

8. Andre Besobrazuf executed on the market place⁸, two others burned, who at his instigation had promised to bewitch the youngest Tzaar,

¹ Words and phrases from the original are in italics.

Pagination of the MS does not belong to Patrick Gordon. Preceding folio 1a bears a Russian title in mid-18th century hand, which translates: "Journal or daily notes (in English language) of General Gordon, who was in the Russian service, written by himself. Volume V, 1690–1696". In fact, this volume does not include the events of 1696. Before fol. 1a there are 13 blank folios, the first 12 of which differ in paper quality and watermark.

² At this period both Russia and Britain used the Julian (Old Style) calendar. The Gregorian (New Style) calendar, already adopted by Roman Catholics, was ten days in advance of the Julian in the 17th century.

³ Since January 1687 Gordon commanded one of Russian army's elite units, the Second Moscow Regiment of Selected Soldiers, which became known as Butyrsky after its quarters in Butyrskaya Sloboda, a Moscow suburb, or simply as Gordon's Regiment. It was raised by order of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich in 1657–58.

⁴ The procession of blessing the waters on the Orthodox feast of the Theophany (Baptism of Christ). From 1682 Russia was ruled jointly by Tsars Ivan (Ioann) V (1666–1696), who was sickly and incapable to govern, and his half-brother Peter I (later called the Great) (1672–1725), who after the coup of 1689 gradually assumed full autocratic power.

⁵ *Führer* (German) in 17th-century Russian infantry was a company sub-ensign (*podznamenshchik*). *Fouquier* (French and German) was a company billeting NCO under the regimental quartermaster.

⁶ I.e. fifers, there were no bagpipes in the Russian army.

⁷ Veterans no longer on active service, but keeping their pay and quarters with the regiment.

⁸ The case of *Stolnik* A.I. Bezobrazov is described in the previous volume (*Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699. Vol. IV: 1684–1689* (Aberdeen, 2013), pp. 269–70).

and ten of his servants *knuted*⁹ & sent to Siberia.

9. I dined by Andre Artemonowitz¹⁰ at a sort of christening feast.

10, Frid. Some words haveing been spoken in prejudice of the government & yongest Tzaar & his ffrriends by a woman, mother in law to *Kniaz*¹¹ Andre Ivan. Golitzin, in the presence of him & diverse others, which a servant going {1v} to tell, they laid hold of him & kept him in irons. But other servants haveing told the same, the noblemen were examined & confronted, and upon their confession, *Kniaz* And[rey] Ivan. Galitzin, Iv[an] Aff. Sabakin, the Chancellour Jeremy Leont. Polansky¹² and other were sent into exile, and some servants *knuted*.

Ja-ry 11. I was above¹³ & did see his Ma-tie the yongest Tzaar busy at his making of the fyre-works.

12. In the evening by Mr. Guascony¹⁴.

The Roman Empresse¹⁵ crowned in Augspurg.

13. I dined above & stayed till near evening.

14. Dined by Mr. Kenkel¹⁶.

Pr[ince] Joseph & King of Hungary chosen King of the Romans.¹⁷

⁹ *Knut* (Russian), whip. In 1661 Gordon affords perhaps the earliest instance of the verb “to knout” in English or Scots usage (*Diary*, II, p. 138). It by far predates the year 1716 given by Merriam-Webster Dictionary.

¹⁰ Andrey Artamonovich Matveyev (1666–1728), future eminent diplomat and statesman. Son of Boyar A.S. Matveyev, whom Gordon knew well, and Evdokiya Grigoryevna Khomutova, who probably descended from a Scot named Hamilton. From 1699 Matveyev jr. was Russian ambassador in The Hague, London and Vienna, then president of the Marine Academy and Justice College. In 1715 he was created count. In his memoirs he mentions Gordon with great respect.

¹¹ Prince (Russian).

¹² *Chancellour* is Gordon’s usual term for *dyak*, a high-ranking civil official in Muscovy. Y.L. Poliansky († 1700) was *dyak* of Razriad and Cannoneer Offices; on 10 January 1690 he was deprived of rank and exiled to his country estate.

¹³ I.e. in the Tsars’ palace in the Kremlin.

¹⁴ Francesco Guasconi (1640–ca.1708), prominent Florentine merchant active in Russia from the 1660s onward. He carried out commissions of the Venetian government and, next to Gordon, was one of the leaders of the Roman Catholic community in Moscow.

¹⁵ Eleonore Magdalene of Pfalz-Neuburg (1655–1720), third wife of Leopold I Habsburg, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1640–1705, ruled from 1658).

¹⁶ Heinrich (“Andrey”) Kenkel, rich merchant of Hamburg active in Russia from 1660s to 1690s.

¹⁷ Prince Joseph (1678–1711), son and heir of Emperor Leopold I. He was Archduke of Austria, from 1687 King of Hungary, from 1690 King of the Romans, and

15. Stayed at home, gave of the 100 rubels to Coll. Wiberg & received Coll. Hamilton¹⁸ his writeing which I delivered to his widdow.

{2} Ja-ry 16, Thur. I was above, dined & stayed untill 7 aclock at night. Wee tryed the fireworkes, which had pretty good effect.

Joseph King of Romans crowned.

17. In towne, above, a counsell.

18. Being invited to the valete feast of the Swedish Commissarius Christopher von Koken¹⁹, I did not go for fear of too much drinking & other respects.

Gave two rubles to the schoolem-r.²⁰

19. I went to court about eleven aclock and attended his Ma-tie to a countrey or summer house belonging to the Boyar Peter Vasileovitz Seremetuf²¹, where wee were all well entertained at dinner; went to the Tzaars house, had some fireworkes, and at evening in the former house, more, were againe plentifully entertained, and dismissed. I came by Mr. Guascony, was merry.

20. Was sick of the yesternights excess and forced to keep bed till neare evening.

{2v} Ja-ry 21, Tuesday. In towne, dined above.

22. In towne, above, my sonne in law²² his misfortune in burning his face with a composition.

23. In towne, see his Ma-tie. At the buriall of Coll. Bockhoven his deceased lady.²³

from 1705 Holy Roman Emperor.

¹⁸ Apparently, Colonel of dragoons Andrew (or Henry) Hamilton († 1689), Gordon's compatriot and friend, who lost his leg near Chigirin in 1678.

¹⁹ Christoph von Kochen (or Koch), Swedish "commissary" (resident) in Moscow in 1683–89.

²⁰ Probably, master of the Roman Catholic school founded by Gordon and others in Moscow's Foreign Suburb.

²¹ Either P.V. Sheremetev the Elder († 1690), boyar and *voyevoda*, in 1681 governor of Kiev, where he kept in close touch with Gordon, or P.V. Sheremetev the Younger, also boyar and *voyevoda*, head of the Estate Office (*Pomestny prikaz*). In the Diary Russian surname endings "ov" or "ev" are usually rendered as "uf", another sign of the fact that the first Slavic language learnt by the author was Polish.

²² Colonel Rudolf (Rodion) Strasburg († 1692), from 1682 husband of Gordon's eldest daughter, Catherine Elizabeth (1665–1739).

²³ The family of van (or von) Bockhoven, originally Roman Catholics from the Netherlands and long settled in Moscow, were related to Gordon through his first

24. In towne, could not go above because of the usuall way of not coming to the Tzaars presence in three dayes after one hath [been] present at a buriall or seen a dead corps.

25. In towne, rumors of stirrs in Pereaslaw²⁴ amongst the Cosakes.

26. Dined by Lew Kirilovits, our new favourite or minister of state²⁵, w[i]t[h] many others, where wee were magnifickly treated and all in silver.

{3} Ja-ry 27, Moon. Above, by his Ma-tie.

28. At the wedding of Coll. Roonaer his daughter.²⁶

Writt to the Earles of Erroll & Aberdeen²⁷, my unkle, Nethermuir, sonne John,²⁸ James Gordon in Rotterdam to whose care recommended w[i]t[h] W-m Gordons²⁹ letter to his brother; the copies in the other booke.

29. Againe at the same wedding feast.

Some persons imprisoned for words against the present government.

30. At a feast by Andre Artemonovitz.

31. Above by his Ma-tie, sent the Tzaars orders to let my provisions of wines & other things pass without toll.³⁰

wife, Catherine van Bockhoven (1650–1671/72).

²⁴ Pereyaslav, Ukraine.

²⁵ L.K. Naryshkin (1664–1705), brother of Tsaritsa Natalya Kirillovna, Tsar Peter's chamber *stolnik*, from 1688 boyar. Virtual head of government at the start of Peter's personal reign.

²⁶ On 3 February 1673 Gordon married his second wife, Elizabeth Ronaer, daughter of a Netherlandish colonel in the Tsar's service. She had many relations.

²⁷ John Hay, 12th Earl of Erroll († 1704), Lord High Constable of Scotland and General Gordon's feudal lord over his estate of Auchleuchries. George Gordon of Haddo, 1st Earl of Aberdeen (1637–1720), Lord Chancellor of Scotland in 1682–84, General Patrick's kinsman and advisor in his Scottish affairs. For texts of Patrick Gordon's letters to these and others see below (fol. 42 ff.).

²⁸ James Gordon and John Gordon of Nethermuir were respectively Patrick's uncle and cousin. His eldest son John (1667–1712), born in Russia, was made ensign by Tsar Fiodor, then sent by his father to study in the West, and finally settled on the family estate of Auchleuchries in Aberdeenshire.

²⁹ Apparently, Captain William Gordon of Russian service († 1692), son of James Gordon of Rothiemay and kinsman of Patrick, under whose command he served in Kiev.

³⁰ The privilege of duty-free import of costly overseas wines was a special reward from the Tsars for outstanding service: "In the year 196 [1688] on August 9th the Great Sovereigns... have commanded for him [Gordon]... to allow... toll-free a barrel of *romaneya* ["Roman" wine], two barrels of Rhinewine, a half-*aam* barrel of French hot wine, two *pogrebitsy* of *vodka*..." (*Dnervnik generala Patrika Gordona* (Moscow, 1892), pt. II, p. 225).

Writt to Mr. Loftus³¹ about the coach.

{3v} Feb-ry 2, Sun[day]. At the inferr³² of Coll. Roonaers daughter, & the contract of Coll. Bal. de Lorge wt Coll. Boleman his daughter.³³

3. Sent my letters for Scotland by Abraham Houtman merch-t, who went over land to Holland.

4. In towne, had large discourse above with his Ma-tie.

5. In towne, againe had large discourse with his Ma-tie.

Laid the foundation of the new building.³⁴

6. In towne, spoke about the business of o[u]r priests.

7. In towne, spoke to his Ma-tie concerning our pay.

{4} Feb-ry 9, Sun. Triall of fireworkes without by *Kn[iaz]* Fiod[or] Yur. Rom[odanovsky]³⁵.

10. In towne.

Writt to the Collonells von Mengden³⁶, Galbreth³⁷ and Pfenningbeer by Coll. Galbreths ser-ts.

11. The Judge Generall of the Cosakes Voikovits came to Mosko and with him Michael Kupr. Savits, the writer³⁸ who had been at the

³¹ Thomas Loftus ("Leffers"), prominent English merchant, from 1666 traded in Narva, where he was British representative in the town council in 1688–98.

³² Infare (Scots), feast given by bridegroom to celebrate the coming of his bride to her new home.

³³ The Frenchman Balthasar de Lauzier(e), as Gordon calls him below, served in Russia since 1687 as colonel, then became rear admiral in the Navy. Col. Boleman was probably Martin Boleman (Polman), an officer of Swedish origin, later major general.

³⁴ Probably, the new Roman Catholic church, established in Moscow's Foreign Suburb (Inozemskaya Sloboda) largely owing to Gordon's great efforts (cf. next entry).

³⁵ Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky (ca.1640–1717), Tsar Peter's "Prince-Caesar" and mock "Generalissimus", head of Preobrazhensky, Siberian and Apothecary Offices. During Peter's Grand Embassy to the West in 1697–98 Romodanovsky virtually ruled in Russia.

³⁶ Georg von Mengden († after 1702), in Russian sources Yury Andreyevich Famendin, Livonian German officer in Tsar's army. Having served in Kiev with Gordon, probably on the latter's recommendation he was given command of the elite Preobrazhensky regiment on 30 March 1692 (see fol. 170 v.). Later major general.

³⁷ The Scot Colonel Tobias Galbraith († ca.1692), who in the 1680s commanded Russian regiments of soldiers and pikemen in Belgorod.

³⁸ Gordon's usual term for *pod'yachy*, middle-ranking civil official in old Russia. M.K.

Zaporogue³⁹, where the Cosakes there & in the Pultavish & Lubnaes Regiments were very much discontent.

12. In towne. A great holy-day in remembrance of Alexy Metropolit, the Tzaars went to the Czudow Monastery.

13. At the wedding of Lt.Coll. Jacobi.

Christian Marselis dyed.⁴⁰

14. In towne.

15. At a feast by the Commissary Andr[ey] Ivan. Boetenant.⁴¹

{4v} Feb-ry 16, Sund. The Commissary Boetenant & others dined by me.

17. In towne, long above with his Ma-tie.

18. At the wedding of Coll. Erick von Werden.

In the 4th houre of the night the Prince Alexey Petrovits was borne.⁴²

19. In towne; the Tzaars in the church, received a *charke* of waters⁴³ out of the yongest Tzaars hands.

In the evening I was sent for by his Ma-tie, entertained & detained all night.

20. Went with his Ma-tie to Chili⁴⁴, entertained at dinner & supper by Lew Kirilovits Nariskin.

21. Came home at 3 aclock in the morning.

{5} Feb-ry 22. In towne, at the buriall of Christian Marsellis, where all was caryed, & ceremonies used according as a gentleman of the highest quality in Germany.

Savin was *podtyachy* in Malorossiysky Office and *dyak* from 1696.

³⁹ Zaporizhian Sich (Zaporogi, Zaporozhye), located on an island in the middle of the Dnieper, was a major Ukrainian Cossack centre from the 16th to the 18th century, and headquarters of the Zaporizhian Host, the Cossack army.

⁴⁰ Christian Marselis was heir of rich merchant and manufacturer Peter Marselis, whose widow married Gordon's compatriot and friend, Major General Paul Menzies. Gordon was one of the guardians of Christian, who died at the age of 17.

⁴¹ Heinrich (Andrey) Butenant von Rosenbusch (ca.1634–1701), originally a merchant from Hamburg, since 1679 served as Danish factor in Moscow and was ennobled by his King; he also owned iron foundries in the Tula and Olonets regions.

⁴² Tsarevich Alexey (1690–1718), the ill-fated eldest son of Tsar Peter.

⁴³ Cup of vodka (Russian *charka*).

⁴⁴ Fili, old country estate, now part of Moscow.

Some regiments of the *streltsees*⁴⁵ saluted & congratulated his Ma-tie, gave fire in the inner court. Myne was ready, but being late were dismissed.

23. About 12 a'clock the regiments advanced towards the Crimlina⁴⁶. At 4 a'clock I marched into the Crimlina & into the court at the west gate & the other Selected regiment at the east gate. Being come within the court wee did draw up the regiments fronting towards the palace. How soone the regiments were drawne up, the Tzaars with the boyars being descended to a staire-head, I caused them present their armes & then put their musquets under their armes with the musles backwards (a very unseemly posture). Then takeing of their caps, by a signe of the drum wee all made a deep reverence to the Tzaars; then I standing directly befor their Ma-ties, & the colonells a litle behind me, I according to my instructions spoke aloud the following speech, translated *verbatim* or *ad verbum*.

“The Lord grant that thou, Great Lord, Tzaar and Great Duke Peter Alexeiowitz of all the Great, Litle & White Russia self-upholder, & of many Dominions &⁴⁷ Countreyes East, West & Northerne from Father & Grandfather Lord, successor & commander, be in health with your Ma-ties new borne successor and our Lord, the most illustrious Prince and Great Duke Alexey Petrovitz of the Great, Litle & White Russia, for many years”.

After which by a signe of the drumme wee all made a deep reverence. Hereafter the Boyar *Kniaz* Fiodor Semenovitz⁴⁸ spoke to us after this manner: “Generall, colonells, officers, subalterne officers & sojourns. The Great Lord doth grace you, or, is gracious to you, and commandeth {5v} me to tell you, be yee yourselves in good health with the Lord Prince & Great Duke Alexey Petrovitz”, for which wee all againe made a deep reverence. Then the same boyar spoke to us againe:

“The Great Lord, Tzaar & Great Duke Peter Alexeyovitz of all the

⁴⁵ *Streltsy* were Russian infantrymen of the 16th and 17th centuries, armed with long guns, poleaxes and swords. They were divided into regiments (*prikazy*), of several “hundreds” each.

⁴⁶ Kremlin.

⁴⁷ *Lands* crossed out.

⁴⁸ Prince F.S. Urusov, from 1681 boyar, in 1684 *voyeroda* in Novgorod. After the Petrine coup, from September 1689 he headed the Foreigners’ Office (*Inozemsky prikaz*), and Cannoneer Office from 1692.

Great, Lesser & White Russia self-upholder, for this his Ma-ties & the universall joy doth grace you with his Ma-ties grace. To you, generall, a piece of velvet”, for which I alone made a deep reverence. “The colonells with a piece of *tabine*⁴⁹, lt. colonells & majors with damask; the captaines, lieutennants & ensignyes with taffety”, for which all these made a deep reverence. The boyar proceeded from his paper: “The serjeants with 40 *altins*⁵⁰, the furiers, foriers and corporalls with 20 *altins*, & the common sojours with halfe a ruble a man”, for which the subalterne officers & sojours made a deep reverence. The boyar againe proceeded: “The Great Lord doth grace you, the generall, colonells, lt. colonells & maiors, to his table; the captaines, lieutennants & ensignies to be entertained with meat & drink; the subalterne officers & sojours with drinking (of brandy)”, for which wee altogether made a deep reverence.

Then I was commanded to cause the sojours give fyre, so being very throng, I drew forward the first three ranks to the very wall of the palace & made them face about, the collours being in the middle, and caused them make ready; & the first ranke kneeling, the {6} second stooping & the third standing upright, give fire altogether, the collours in the meane tyme flourishing, and the drums beating, which pleased his Ma-tie so well that he caused us fyre againe & yet a third tyme; then leading⁵¹ them to their former station & clubbing their musquets & mounting their pikes, marched out of the court, I at the east gate & the other reg. at the wast gate.

Feb-ry 24. Hearing that the Tzaar was to go to Presne⁵², a house without the citty, for ordering of the fyreworkes, I went thither & stayed till night, but his Ma-tie came late.

I received by post letters from Scotland from my unkle dated at Westertowne the 3d *Dec-ris*, from my sonne dated there at Achluichries⁵³

⁴⁹ A kind of silken fabric, also *tabenek*.

⁵⁰ *Altyn*, old Russian unit equal to three kopeks.

⁵¹ *drawing* written in.

⁵² Presnia, now part of central Moscow.

⁵³ Auchleuchries (Gaelic *Achadh luachrach*, field of rushes), Patrick Gordon's family estate and birthplace near Ellon in Aberdeenshire. These lands once belonged to the general's mother, Mary Ogilvie, and were not rich, although he cherished them greatly. They yielded £ 357 6 sh. 8 d. Scots (about £ 30 sterling) a year, and were held by the Gordons of the Hays, Earls of Erroll, in feu-ferme for an annual

the 5th of Dec-r, from my sonne James⁵⁴ dated there the 11 of Dec-r, all in a *covert* from Mr. Meverell⁵⁵ dated London the 31 of December; for which I payed 63 *altins* postage from Hamburgh to Mosko, they weighing 7 *zlotniks*⁵⁶.

25. I went to Presne againe, had the regiment there, but nothing was done, only 50 pieces of cannon of different sizes were fired once to a mark, 3 whereof hitt well, 4 indifferent, 4 mor worse & the rest failed.

26. Againe at Presne. The cannon fired twice apart at the marke, and the third without bullets altogether. Thereafter I marched in with the Selected regiments wthin the court; being drawne up wee all saluted their Ma-ties {6v} with a deep reverence. Then dividing to both sides of the court one opposite to the other & with halfe-files doubling the rankes, gave altogether a salve after the ordinary way; then returning the halfe-fyles wee fired rankewise advancing once over; and last of all another salve together, & so marched of.

A regiment of *streltsees* came in thereafter & fired once, but not halfe so well as the sojourns. By this tyme it being darke, the fireworks in the court befor were fyred, which continued about 2 houres with indifferent good effect, only a gentleman was killed by a 5 pund racket, which returning too

payment of £ 12 Scots.

⁵⁴ James Gordon (1668–1722), Patrick's second son, was born in Moscow and made ensign by Tsar Fiodor, but then went to study in the West. In his own words, "in 1688 he joined the service of the English King's Guards as a cadet, and in the same year was promoted to ensign, and reached the rank of captain there, and was in sundry battles on land and water". On 27 July 1689 he was gravely wounded fighting for the exiled King James at Killiecrankie (see fol. 138 v.). After the defeat of the Jacobite rising he came back to Russia and, as colonel, distinguished himself in Azov campaigns and the Great Northern War. In 1700 he was captured by the Swedes at the battle of Narva, but soon escaped from Stockholm. In 1701, for his father's achievements, he was created Count of the Holy Roman Empire, the first Russian subject to receive such a title. In 1706 he became the first Russian native to be accepted into the Order of St. John of Jerusalem ("according to his vow he went to Malta and became a knight there"), calling himself a "Muscovite". He attained the rank of brigadier (Russian State Archive of Military History, Fond 490, opis' 2, No 50, fols. 11–13; Archives of the Order of Malta, No 265, fol. 180). Keeping his knightly vow of celibacy, he left no issue.

⁵⁵ Samuel Meverall (ca.1630–1696/97), prominent English merchant active in Muscovy from 1658 to the 1680s, Gordon's old friend, correspondent and trustee. He was Treasurer of the British "Russia Company".

⁵⁶ *Zlotnik* (Russian), old Russian unit of weight, equal to 4.2658 grams.

soone did strike him on the head befor it burst. Then were the fireworkes contrived⁵⁷ by his Ma-tie & made above fired in the after *hoffe*⁵⁸, w-ch with very good effect continued about 3 houres, the strangers with their families being permitted by his Ma-tie to stand very neare. Both the 'Tzaars, the *Tzaritsaes*⁵⁹ Dow[ager] & *Tzaritsee*s with some of the Princesses were present. Wee came home at 2 aclock in the morning.

Feb-ry 27. I did returne ane answer to my unkle & sonnes letters, in one to Mr. Meverell, and to the care of W[illiam] G[ordon] M[erchant] in Aberdeen, by convoyance of Mr. Philip Wulffe merch-t; the copies whereof in the copy-booke of letters.

28. I should have dined above, but the Patriarch protested against the admitting of strangers.⁶⁰ I went by the judge generall of the Cosakes, who told me that the Zaporovish Cosakes were growne very disobedient and were seeking new masters, with many other things.

{7} March 1. His Ma-tie sent for me to a village, where I dined with his Ma-tie at one table, were merry. In comeing home discoursed with his Ma-tie all the way; came home late.

2. I found my self a litle distempered. The Polls resident⁶¹ & Doctor Carbonary⁶² came in the evening & stayed a houre or two.

I received a letter from P[ater] John Schmidt⁶³.

3. I had ffriends at a feast, were merry with musick and stayed very late from bed.

4. I found my self very much distempered and kept within doores

⁵⁷ *above* & crossed out.

⁵⁸ *Hof* (German), court.

⁵⁹ *Tsaritsa* (Russian), consort of the tsar.

⁶⁰ Ioakim (Savelov) (1621–1690), Patriarch of Moscow and All Rus from 1674. He was very intolerant to foreigners and dissenters, overruling Tsar Peter's invitation to Gordon to attend the birthday feast for Tsarevich Alexey in the Kremlin.

⁶¹ Jerzy Dominik Dowmont, first Polish resident in Moscow from 1687 to 1694.

⁶² Doctor Gregor Carbonarius de Wisenegg, properly Voglar (1651–1717), native of Slovenia, was sent by the Emperor from Vienna in 1689 on request of the Tsars. In 1700 he was captured by the Swedes after the battle of Narva, came back to Russia in 1704, and finally returned home in 1714.

⁶³ The Jesuit Johann Schmidt, native of Prussia, came to Russia with the Imperial embassy in 1684, remained in Moscow for Roman Catholic worship and headed the first Catholic school there. He left Moscow in August 1688.

for some dayes, and so *dieta et quiete*⁶⁴ I recovered my health againe without the help of medicines.

6. A roll of the regiment for this month: 39 serjeants, for. & fur. 39, 68 corporalls, 48 pipers, 625 *inspaniers*⁶⁵, carceered or *emeriti* 8, 100 wid-owes, 43 orphans.

{7v} March 8. My wifes sister after a long dwining sicknes tooke bed.

10. In towne; gott pay for halfe a year, being 271 rubles 6 *altins* 4 *dengies*⁶⁶; gave to the chieffe writer who brought it a ruble, to the other writer 10 *altines* & to the janitories 3 *alt.* & a *kopike*.

11. In towne, by diverse noblemen.

12. In towne againe; my wyfes sister dyed about 10 aclock in the morning.

13. Sent to invite to the buriall.

15. Buryed the child about 4 aclock in the afternoone.

{8} March 16. Heard devotion; the Pol[ish] resident, P[ater] Konrad Terpilofsky & others dined by me.

My daughter Jean⁶⁷ sickened.

17. My daughter Jean very sick, gott convulsion fitts at one aclock in the morning, againe at 6 aclock & at 11 befor midday.

The Patriarch Joakim dyed at 4 aclock in the afternoone.

Writt to Coll. Evanitsky, Lt. Coll-s Zimmerman & von Bockhoven.

18. In towne. The child very ill. Gave up a petition that the Priest Terpilofsky might stay till wee called for another.

19. In towne, by his Ma-tie who ordered us to send for a priest, but no Jesuite.

20. By the Polls resident, heard devotion & dined, consulted about sending for a priest.

The child nothing better.

Writt to Pater Schmidt, Rector of Rissell⁶⁸.

⁶⁴ By diet and quiet (Latin).

⁶⁵ A mysterious term, possibly distorted German. In the entire Diary this form is not met with elsewhere except one abbreviation above (fol. 1–626 *sojors Ins.*). But evidently private soldiers are meant.

⁶⁶ *Denga*, half a kopek.

⁶⁷ Gordon's daughter Jean was born on 21 June 1688.

⁶⁸ Reszel (German: Rößell), a town in north-eastern Poland, where was a Jesuit college.

21. Lent to Jan Podwin upon a writeing to be payed upon demand 70 Reichs dollers.

22. Litle hope of the child's recovery.

I asked concerning the business of R.⁶⁹

{8v} March 23. The child very sick, and given over by the doctor, she having a looseness & vomiting a sharpe flegme with a tough matter almost choking her, which she could not gett throwne up, with inward convulsion fitts.

24. In the night-tyme the child growing worse & worse, she fainted about 2 a'clock in the morning, at 9 a'clock she began to struggle with death, which with great motions continued 3 houres. She departed at 12 a'clock to our exceeding great grieffe.

25. I received a 100 rubles out of the Office, and sent to invite to the buriall.

At devotion.

26. Made preparations & bought in necessities for the buriall.

Payed of the wrights, giving them in all 10 rubles & a halfe.

27. Betwixt 4 & 5 a'clock in the afternoone my child was buried, convoyed by all the p[rinci]p[a]ll strangers, the Priest Konradt Terpilofsky doing the ceremonies, and a very eloquent pious oration by the grave.

Lent to John Podwin 50 rubles. He gave me a writeing to pay me the 10th of Aprill next, & the writeings of his house.

28. Writt by Mr. Baldus for the following necessities: 6 travelling neck cloths, 4 paire of fine worsted stockens 2 whereof light gray & 2 darke-coloured, 6 litle ivory combs at 6 p. apiece, 6 pieces of fine white narrow tape of different syzes for lace, halfe a pound of fine white threed for the same use.

Writt for a priest.

Bought the house on the corner for 50 rubles.

A chancelour sent to Baturin to the Hetman⁷⁰.

{9} March 29. I went to towne and see his Ma-tie, brought the b.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Possibly Colonel Rossworm (cf. fols. 9, 18).

⁷⁰ Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa (1639–1709), Hetman of Ukraine from 1687. During the Great Northern War he changed sides and joined the Swedes, fled to Turkish dominions after the battle of Poltava and died there.

⁷¹ Probably an item of clothing or equipment (belt or boots?). It could have been

which fitted & pleased very well. Wee were desired to hasten the comeing of our priests as soone as possible.

I asked by R. instigation.

30. At devotion.

31. In towne. This day I compleeted my 55 yeare.

{9v} Aprill 1. At home, visited Mr. Guasconi being sick.

2. In towne, gott ten ells of crimson velvet to be a coat; went in the afternoone and gave his Ma-tie thanks for it.

3. Hired workemen to digg a cellar for a ruble.

Writt for a priest againe.

Col. Sickler⁷² returned from the Hetman.

4. In towne. Thaw weather the first.

The 2 *spalniks* by me, viz. *Kniaz* Ivan Iv. Troykuruf & Theodor Theodoro. Plesheyow.⁷³

5. Payed of the smiths.

Writt to my sonne James & Mr. P. Forbes in Dantzick adressed to Mr. Georg Frazer or commiss[ary] in Riga.⁷⁴

7. In towne, spoke about our pay; a rumour of givinge sables.

8. In towne, dined by Fiodor Fiod. Plesheyow.

The list of the regiment for meanes this month: 39 serjeants at 9 *dengees* a day, 39 furers & foriers at a ruble & 10 *alt.* a month, 68 corp. & 47 pipers at 8 *deng.* a day, 623 sojourns at a *altine* a day, 8 *emeriti* at 8 *deng.* a day, 101

Gordon's gift to the young Tsar, with whom he was becoming close. In those very days (1 April) a full set of "German clothes" was prepared for Peter: coat, stockings, shoes, sword with belt, and wig (G.V. Yesipov, *Sbornik vypisok iz arkhivnykh bumag o Petre Velikom.* Vol. I (Moscow, 1872), No 453).

⁷² Ivan Yeliseyevich Tsykler († 1697), *streltsy* colonel of foreign stock and convert to Orthodoxy. He supported Tsarevna Sophia and was a leader of the *streltsy* revolt of 1682. In 1689 he defected to Tsar Peter's party, informing him of Sophia's plot. In 1692 he became a Duma nobleman and *voyeroda* in Verkhoturys, but was finally beheaded for a new conspiracy against Peter.

⁷³ *Spal'nik* was Russian court rank comparable to British gentleman of the bedchamber. Prince I.I. Troyekurov (ca.1670–1702) took part in Azov campaigns and, as captain, fell at the storming of Nöteborg. F.F. Pleshcheyev (1677–1701), an officer of Preobrazhensky regiment, also fought at Azov and took part in the Grand Embassy of 1697–98.

⁷⁴ Patrick Forbes and George Fraser were prominent Scottish merchants in Gdańsk and Riga respectively, both old friends and correspondents of Gordon's.

widowes at 3 *deng.* a day, 44 orphans at 2 *deng.* a day.

9. In towne, in the Potesshny house.⁷⁵

Queen Christina of Sweden⁷⁶ dyed in her 63d yeare, the heirshap worth 300,000 *scudi*.

This the former year.⁷⁷

{10} Aprill 10, Thursday. Orders to have the regiment in readiness against Palme-Sunday.

12. In towne; the petition given up concerning our pay, and order on it to send another mandate to the Treasury.

13, Palme-Sun. There being no Patriarch, the ceremoniall procession was not used.⁷⁸

I stayed at home this weeke, and confessed and communicated on Thursday.

{10v} Aprill 20, Sund. Being Easter, wee had our devotion with musick.

21. In towne with gratulations.

22. In towne, with his Ma-tie on the river.

23. At their Ma-ties hand & received egges. Dined by M.G. Menezes.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ *Potesshny Dvorets* ("Amusement Palace") in the Kremlin.

⁷⁶ Christina Augusta (1626–1689) was Queen of Sweden from 1632 to 1654, when she abdicated and converted to Catholicism. Gordon met her in Hamburg in 1667 (*Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleubries 1635–1699. Vol. II: 1659–1667* (Aberdeen, 2010), pp. 275, 277).

⁷⁷ This line is crossed out in MS.

⁷⁸ The solemn "Procession on a Donkey" from Red Square to the Kremlin's Assumption Cathedral, when the Patriarch of Moscow, representing Christ, rode on a "donkey" (actually a horse draped in white cloth), while the Tsar humbly led the way on foot.

⁷⁹ Paul Menzies (1637–1694), like Gordon, sprang from an old Roman Catholic family in North-Eastern Scotland, Menzies of Pitfodels, and was distantly related to the Diary's author (his mother was Lady Anne Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Sutherland). Menzies studied at the Catholic Scots College of Douai in Flanders, then joined the Polish army. In 1661 (according to Foy de la Neuville, having killed a Lithuanian colonel in a duel) he moved to Russia with Gordon, whose close friend he became. In 1672 Major Menzies was sent by the Tsar to Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, Venice and Rome to negotiate an alliance against the Turks; although the goal was not achieved, he revealed great diplomatic skill and loyalty to Russia, was promoted to colonel and possibly became the first foreign tutor

24. At home. The pond cleared of ice.

25. In towne; small hopes of our meanes or pay.

{11} Aprill 27, Sunday. His yongest Ma-tie went by water in a jacht to Columinska⁸⁰ and wee all in small barges after him, the great vessells wherein the *stre[t]sees* being befor the jacht. Wee went for the station about midday & arrived at sunsett, being 20 *verst*⁸¹ by water.

28. Wee went with his Ma-tie & dined in a village by Al[exey] Piot. Soltikow⁸², going & comeing by water.

The Polls parliament concluded with resolution to continue the warr against the Turkes & Tartars, & to raise subsidies to maintaine it for 2 yeares till the next parliament.

29. Wee removed to a more convenient station.

30. His Ma-tie with the boyars & chieffe courtiers supped by me & were joviall.⁸³

{11v} May 1, Thursd. His Ma-tie went by water to the groome of the stoole his village. I dined by Ivan Rodion. Stresny⁸⁴.

2. Their Ma-ties with all came to Mosko, & wee to the Slaboda⁸⁵.

to young Tsarevich Peter. With his regiment Menzies fought in the Chigirin and Crimean campaigns, and died in Moscow a major general, honoured by Tsar Peter with a remarkably grand burial (N.V. Charykov, *Posol'stvo v Rim i sluzhba v Moskve Pavla Menez'iya* (St. Petersburg, 1906)).

⁸⁰ Kolomenskoye, the Tsars' grand country estate south of Moscow, now within city limits.

⁸¹ *Versta*—old Russian unit of length equal to 500 *sazhen* (1.06 km) in the reign of Peter the Great.

⁸² Alexey Petrovich Saltykov (ca.1650–1725/26), from 1682 boyar, in 1684 *voyevoda* in Kiev, later governor of Moscow and Kazan'.

⁸³ This dry entry modestly records an incredible event—for the first time ever a Russian Tsar has deigned to visit a foreigner's household! It is significant that the honour was paid to none other than Gordon, the highest-ranking and most distinguished alien in Muscovy.

⁸⁴ I.R. Streshnev (1665–1722), *spalnik* from 1682, later boyar.

⁸⁵ *Novaya Inozemskaya* (*Nemetskaya*) *sloboda*, New Foreign suburb, founded in 1652 on the right bank of the Yauza river near Moscow as a settlement for non-Orthodox immigrants from Western Europe. It became Gordon's permanent home, and the cradle of new westernized Russia under Tsar Peter. The often-used English tag "German suburb" is incorrect, because in old Russian *nemtsy* meant not just the Germans, but also members of many other European nations.

A *panafide* or commemoration of the deceased Tzaar.⁸⁶

I stayed at home three dayes.

3. 11 Tartars brought prisoners, being sent out for intelligence by Galga-Sultan from the Budziak.⁸⁷ They reported that the Chan⁸⁸ was in Adrianople; that they were sent to bring intelligence if the Russes were preparing to invade the Crim againe.

6. In towne, dined by M. G-ll Menezes with the Polls resident & others.

Two regiments of *streltsees* ordered to service.

7. The P[ater?] ⁸⁹ ordered to be gone.

8. At the buriall of Capt. Maas his daughter.

I did writt to the Earle of Melfort⁹⁰ to the care of Mr. Guasconi⁹¹.

{12} May 9, Frid. In Preobrasinsko⁹²; dined there.

10. The Archb-p of Lvova N. Sumliansky⁹³ haveing written to the Cosakes Hetman Iv[an] Step. Masepa by a gentleman called Domaratsky, the Hetman sent him with the letters to Mosko, where being examined, he confessed some things; whereby it was found expedient to confront him with the Polls resident. The p[rinci]p[a]ll thing that was insisted on was that in the letters was written, that it was tyme for the Cosakes to free themselves of the yoake wherein they were, which was here interpreted to be a breach of the treaty. The resident answered that if any

⁸⁶ The elder brother and predecessor of Tsars Ivan and Peter, Fiodor Alexeyevich (1661–1682), reigned from 1676. *Panikbida* is Russian for Orthodox memorial service.

⁸⁷ Kalga Sultan was the title of the prince next in line to the Crimean Khan of the Giray dynasty, usually his eldest son and heir. Budjak is a plain along the Black Sea between the Danube and Dniester rivers, occupied at this period by the Akkerman horde of Tatars.

⁸⁸ Khan Selim I Giray of Crimea was repeatedly deposed by Turkish Sultans, and ruled four times (1671–77, 1684–91, 1692–99, 1702–04).

⁸⁹ Probably the Catholic priest Konrad Terpilovsky.

⁹⁰ John Drummond, Earl of Melfort (1649–1714), former Secretary of State for Scotland. In 1689 he followed King James II (VII) into exile in France.

⁹¹ Gioachino, brother of Francesco Guasconi, Italian merchant who had an office in Amsterdam.

⁹² Preobrazhenskoye, Tsar Peter's favourite residence north-east of Moscow, which Gordon frequented.

⁹³ Iosif Shumliansky (1643–1708), Uniate Bishop of Lwów.

such things were written, it was not done with the knowledge, farr lesse the advice or consent of the King⁹⁴ & Republick. However, this raised much jealousies here, as if the Polls strove to draw the Cosakes to their syde.

The list of the regiment for pay this month: 38 serjeants, 41 fuirers & foriers, 68 corporalls, 46 pipers, 619 sojourns, 8 *emeriti* or carcered, 101 widdowes, 44 orphans.

12. In Preobrasinsko at horse exercise.

{12v} May 13, Tues. In Butirky⁹⁵, exercized the regiment.

14. In towne.

15. In Preobrasinsko at horse & foot exercise.

16. Sent for to Preobrasinsko, dined at Medzivedka⁹⁶, where excess, & supped by M.G. Le Fort⁹⁷.

17. I not well of the former day & nights excesse.

{13} May 18, Sun. Had notice of the conclusion of the Polls parliament. The Polls resident hereupon at a conference.

19. Writt to Mr. Munter⁹⁸ to liquidate our acco-ts.

20. The holy-day of Alexey Metropolit; His Ma-tie came to Mosko & returned in the afternoone.

21.

22. At horse exercise, came home by day light.

23. Received a letter dated 12 May 1690 from Mr. Pat. Forbes merch-t in Dantzick, informing me that some Aberdeens merch-ts were lately come thither, & no notice of money from Scotland; in his enclosed from M. Ro-t Gordon m[erchant] in Chmielnick⁹⁹ a letter dated Crakow

⁹⁴ Jan III Sobieski (1629–1696), from 1674 King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, eminent military commander, with whom Gordon was personally acquainted.

⁹⁵ Butyrki, Moscow suburb (*sloboda*), where Gordon's regiment was quartered.

⁹⁶ Medvedkovo, a country estate of the Princes Golitsyn north of Moscow.

⁹⁷ François (Franz) Lefort (1656–1699), Swiss officer from Geneva, famous as a favourite of Tsar Peter. He began his Russian employ in 1678/79 as a captain in Kiev under the command and patronage of Patrick Gordon whose first wife, Catherine von Bockhoven, was a cousin of Lefort's wife, Elizabeth Souhay.

⁹⁸ Apparently, Heinrich Münter ("Andrey Nikolayev Minter" in Russian sources), wealthy merchant from Riga, Swedish subject active in Russia from the 1660s onwards, an old acquaintance of Gordon.

⁹⁹ A small town in southern Poland.

19 *Dec-ris* 1689, informeing me that the sables I sent to him & Mr. Tho. Gordon of Lvova were not sold yet.

{13v} May 24, Sat. Writt to my sonne John in a covert to James Gordon merch-t in Rotterdam, to Patrick Forbes merch-t in Dantzick in answer to his of the 12th instant st.n., to Mr. Thomas Loftus merch-t in Narva in answer to his of the 18th Feb-ry by Mr. Joachim Guasconi.

In towne, spoke about our meanes or pay.

25. Mr. Guasconi went from hence.

26. In towne.

27. A holy-day [of] P[atres] Metrop[olitans], his Ma-tie came to Mosko.¹⁰⁰ In Prebrasinsko, see his Ma-tie, came to Mosko.

28. At home, the English supped by me.

29. Rode to Prebrasinsko, found no body.

30. His Ma-tie Tzaar Peter Al[exeyevich] his birth. All sorts of people went to Prebrasinsko and at his comeing out of the church gratulated his Ma-tie. Wee were kept to dinner, wee generall persons sitting at on[e] table with the boyars & counsellours, the colonells of the *streltsees* at a cross table next to us, the strangers who were detained in another tent by themselves. Wee had plentifull entertainment, drunk his Ma-tie good health, & after dinner received {14} a *charke* of brandy out of his Ma-ties hand. Afternoone & till night the cannon were fyred & about 300 musketiers fyred; also after the cannon were shott round, they shott at a marke with wooden bullets. I came home wearyed.

{14v} May 31, Sat. Orders sent that our Pater should be gone to his owne countrey.

{15} June 1, Sund. I did writt to L. G-ll Graham¹⁰¹ in Belagrod.

The 2 regiments of *streltsees* ordered for Belagrod & Shewsky¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ This entry is crossed out in MS. The holiday was the Translation of the Relics of SS. Kiprian, Foty and Iona, Metropolitans of All Rus.

¹⁰¹ Count David William Graham, "Baron" of Morphie (ca.1639–1693), a Roman Catholic Scottish officer, who fought for Sweden, Spain, Poland and Holy Roman Empire; he came to Russia in 1679, but was only received into service in 1682, and died a lt. general in Belgorod; the provenance of his title is unclear, but it was acknowledged by Russian authorities.

¹⁰² Sevsk, an important fortress in southern Russia, where Gordon served with his dragoon regiment from 1671 to 1678.

marched from hence, that of the white coats upon the account of not being well affected.¹⁰³

2. At exercise, stormed the Simonofsky *boffe*¹⁰⁴; his Ma-ties face burnt by a fire-pott brakeing too near him, I & diverse others lightly wounded.

List of the regiment for pay this month: 37 serjeants, 41 fuirers & foriers, 67 corp., 46 pipers, on[e] sojour *verstany*¹⁰⁵ to 7 d. a day, 620 sojourns not *verstany*, 8 carceered, 105 widdowes, 47 orphans.

3. Being very wearyed I stayed at home.

Certain notice of the death of the *Okolnitsze*¹⁰⁶ Alexey Ivan. Rsewsky & many more of a sort of pest at the new towne Samara¹⁰⁷.

4. In the morning early I had notice sent me of the birth of the Princess Mary¹⁰⁸, daughter to Tzaar Ivan Alexeyovits, who was borne [...]

5. In towne, & afternoone in the fields.

It was bruited that *Kn[iaz]* Vas[ily] Vas[ilyevich]¹⁰⁹ had caused build the new towne of Samara of purpose to destroy their Ma-ties people, especially the *streltsees*—a weake invention without any ground or likelihood.

The Polls resident being at conference did fall out with the *Dummy* Yemel[yan] Ig. Ukraintzuf¹¹⁰.

{15v} June 6, Frid. Wee had from the Ukraina that the Hetman was

¹⁰³ White coats were worn by the regiment of Moscow *streltsy* which was second in precedence. Its commander, S. Yefimiyev, was discharged in autumn of 1689 because some of his rank and file were involved in the conspiracy of Fiodor Shaklovity.

¹⁰⁴ Semionovskoye, a village east of Moscow, which became home of Tsar Peter's elite Semionovsky regiment.

¹⁰⁵ *Verstany* (Russian), a serviceman with increased pay in kind, money or even land. Below (fol. 30 v.) he is called "*a gentleman sojour*".

¹⁰⁶ *Okol'nichy*, Russian court rank between *boyar* and *stol'nik*.

¹⁰⁷ The fortress of Novobogoroditsk, founded on the Samara river (Ukraine) in 1688. Gordon, as an experienced military engineer, took part in its planning.

¹⁰⁸ The princess was named Feodosia, as mentioned by the author below (fol. 34).

¹⁰⁹ Prince V.V. Golitsyn (1643–1714), eminent statesman of Western leanings, boyar and *voyeroda*, from 1676 head of the Embassy Office and other departments. Took part in Chigirin campaigns and was commander-in-chief of Russian expeditions against the Crimean Khanate. In 1686 he signed the "Eternal Peace" with Poland-Lithuania. He led the government during Tsarevna Sophia's regency, but was ousted by Tsar Peter in 1689, and died in exile.

¹¹⁰ Yemelyan Ignatyevich Ukraintsev (1641–1708), *dummy dyak*, noted diplomat, head of the Embassy Office.

gone to Kyow¹¹¹ to visitt the holy places as also his mother who was prior-ess of the womens monastery in Kyow or rather Petsharsky¹¹².

7. Wee had certaine notice of the great loss w-ch the Tartars who convoyed the provisions to Camenets¹¹³ had done in Polland, carying away many thowsands of people.

8. Whitsunday.

9. Had letters from my son James dated Hamburgh 18th May, from my unkle dated Westertowne the 1st of Aprill, from my son John dated the 3d of Aprill, from James Gordon dated Roterdam 11 May, from Robert Jolly dated Hamburgh the 9th May.

{16} June 10, Tuesd. In towne, nothing to be done.

11. Repaired & enlarged the *sabors*¹¹⁴.

12. At Preobrasinsko. The Polls resident came by me, shew me some letters from the King, wherein was that a Tartars messenger or envoy was come with offer of his mediation for a peace with the Sultan¹¹⁵.

13. Writt to my unkle & sonnes John & James, to Mr. Forbes in Dantzick, Pater Schmidt in Ressel, Mr. Frazer in Riga by post, with a bill of credit from Mr. Andre Boetenant, Dan[ish] *comissarius*, to Mattias Frederick Smitts merch-t in Dantzick, to be given to my son James there if he stand in need of it; the bill for 100 r. dollers.

14. Writt to my son James.

{16v} June 15. *D[ies] Trinitatis*.¹¹⁶

16. In towne, but nothing done.

17. At Preobrasinsko, marched to Ismailow¹¹⁷ & lodged there.

18. In Ismailow still, exercized, entertained by Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin].

19. Corpus Christi day.

At the *L[n]iany dwor*¹¹⁸; marched back to Preobrasinsko and so home.

Certaine notice of the Tartars gone out, some to Budziack, others with

¹¹¹ Kyiv (Ukrainian), Kiev (Russian). Gordon spells it the Polish way.

¹¹² Pechersk, part of Kiev with the famous Pechersky Monastery.

¹¹³ Kamenets-Podol'sky (Russian), Kamyanets-Podil'sky (Ukrainian).

¹¹⁴ *Zabory* (Russian), fences.

¹¹⁵ Turkish Sultan Suleiman II (1642–1691), reigned from 1687.

¹¹⁶ Trinity Day (Latin).

¹¹⁷ The Tsars' estate of Izmaylovo east of Moscow.

¹¹⁸ "Linen yard" in Izmaylovo.

two strong parties towards our borders.

20. At home. C.C.L. came asking the [...] for my d[aughter] M[ary].¹¹⁹

Notice of the Tartars falling into Isume¹²⁰ and their destroying the towne & countrey thereabout.

{17} June 21. In towne. His Ma-tie haveing been in towne in the night tyme, at the cristening of the eldest Tzaars daughter, who gott the name of Mary, returned to Preobrasinsko by day light.

22.

23. In towne, spoke about our pay, but gott small comfort. Wee had notice of the pestilence haveing infected the Kudak & some places of the Zaporogue & also some places of the Ukraina.

24. St. Johns day, had devotion as usuall.

25. At the christening of Frans Snits his son called John, thereafter at the buriall of Coll. Erick von Verden his son.

His yongest Ma-tie went to Alexeyofsky¹²¹, to the vespers.

26. Being the octave of Corpus Christi, wee had devotion.

{17v} June 27, Frid. His Ma-tie came to Mosko; a petition tendred for o[u]r pay.

I did writt to my son James.

28. Another petition presented to his Ma-tie in the afternoone as he went to the church, for our pay.

Wee had newes of the Shewsky army marched to Rilsk.

29. The yongest Tzaar his name-day; a petition given for our pay as he went to church. Wee gratulated his Ma-tie as he came out of the church; the gen-lls, coll-s & lt.colonells graced with a *charke* of brandy. I with 3 more detained to dinner, were m[erry], came home late.

30. My daughter Mary contracted to Captaine Daniell Crawford¹²² by the Pater Conrad Terpelofsky in presence of diverse ffriends.

{18} July 1, Tues. In towne, did nothing in the publick business.

¹¹⁹ Gordon's second daughter Mary (1673–after 1698). The initials must refer to Captain Daniel Crawford (see fol. 17 v.).

¹²⁰ Izium, a town in eastern Ukraine.

¹²¹ Alexeyevskoye, major estate of the Tsars north-east of Moscow.

¹²² Daniel, son of Hugh Crawford, Scottish colonel in Russian service. In 1688 he was a lieutenant in Kiev, and in 1689 is mentioned as captain there.

List of the regiment for pay this month: 38 serjeants, 41 fuir. & foriers, 66 corp., 47 pipers, 1 *verstany*, 618 not *verstany*, 8 carceered, 102 widdowes, 47 orphans.

2. In towne, at the wedd[ing] of L. Georg Reed.

Our Pater ordered to be gone.

3. In the fields with the doctor.

4. Notice from the Ukraina of the Tartars being gone in diverse parties.

5. Most of the spirituality being conveened, they began to advise in earnest of the choising a Patriarch; the great ones being most for the choising of Marcellus the Metropolit of Plesko¹²³, a learned and civilized person, & the small one[s] against him.

6. I told Lt. Russeworme that I would not give him my sister in law for his & his fathers misbehaviour.¹²⁴

{18v} July 7, Moon. I was by his Ma-tie. Coll. Russeworme by me, when much about the business of my sister in law, to his litle or small satisfaction.

A counsell about the feares of the Hetman & the pestilence.

Received lts from my son James dated Dantzick 16th *Junii*, Mr. Forbes dated there the 20th *Junii*, Mr. Frazer dated Riga 26 *Junii* 1690.

8. At the wedding of Capt. Steward.

9. A maior came from Kyow; againe at the wedding.

I did writt to my sonn James.

10. At the contract of my brother in law with Maria Al. Fliwarks.

11. Writt to Mr. Forbes in Dantzick, to Mr. Frazer in Riga, sending the letter to my son enclosed to Mr. Forbes.

{19} July 12, Sat. Our P[ater] Konrad Terpilofsky taken by force & sent away.

I waited on his Ma-tie to *K[niaz]* Mich[ael] Ivan. Likow¹²⁵ his countrey [house], where m[erry], it being this b[oyar] his name day. Wee supped by

¹²³ Markell († 1698), a Greek or southern Slav by origin, was from 1680 Archbishop of Suzdal', from 1682 Metropolitan of Pskov, and from 1690 that of Kazan'.

¹²⁴ Cf. above, fols. 8–9. Colonel Rossworm seems to have been a difficult character, and often clashed with Gordon and other comrades-in-arms (*Diary*, III, pp. 3–4; IV, p. 107).

¹²⁵ Prince M.I. Lykov, boyar and head of the Robberies Office.

Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin], wher f[ull]. Came home late or rather early.

Leonty Polibutka¹²⁶, late colonell of Pereaslaw, being discontented with ye Hetman, fled out of the Ukraina, & notwithstanding that upon the Hetmans writeing orders wt men were sent to stopp him, he came by bywayes hither.

14. His Ma-tie to Preobrasinsky.

15. In towne & in Butirky.

Polibutka desired to speake with his Ma-tie, which if denyed, he desired liberty to give in in writeing what he had to say concerning their Ma-ties effaires ag-t the Hetman.

16. Mr. Pendeck¹²⁷ & the other Englishes went from hence towards Archangell.

17. In towne, dined by *Kniaz* Boris Alex[eyevich]¹²⁸, who should have come by my son in law to supper.

18. Gifts made ready to be sent with the Chancellour Vasily Timof. Poshnikuf¹²⁹ to the Hetman.

{19v} July 20, Sund. Being St. Elias day, on which day it was expected that the Patriarch being chosen should have been installed, but no agreement being made who should be nor no expedient being found for to reconcile the parties for the two chieffe candidates, who were now Marcellus Metropolit of Plesko & [Adrian] Metropolit of Casan¹³⁰, the yongest Tzaar with many of the chieffe clergy standing for the first, the eldest Queen Dowager N[atalya] Kir[illovna]¹³¹ with the abbots, priors & inferior clergy standing for the last. The greatest fault they had to lay

¹²⁶ Leonty Artemyevich Polubotok († ca.1695), general *osavul* (senior officer) and *bun-chuzhny* (standard-bearer) of the Zaporizhian Host, colonel of Chernigov and Pereyaslav.

¹²⁷ James Pendeck, English merchant mentioned in Russia from 1684 to 1695.

¹²⁸ Prince B.A. Golitsyn (1654–1714), Tsars' carver (*kravchy*), from 1689 boyar, head of Kazan' Palace Office. Former tutor to young Tsar Peter and leader of his party in the struggle with Regent Sophia. During the Grand Embassy to the West in 1697–8 he was one of the chief members of Russian government.

¹²⁹ V.T. Pos(t)nikov († 1708), from 1678 *dyak* of the Embassy Office, noted diplomat. In 1690 he "was sent with secret matters to Hetman Mazepa".

¹³⁰ Adrian (1627–1700), Metropolitan of Kazan' and Sviyazhsk, from 1690 Patriarch of Moscow and All Rus. He disapproved of Tsar Peter's innovations, such as beard-shaving, Western clothes and smoking.

¹³¹ Tsaritsa Natalya Kirillovna Naryshkina (1651–1694), second wife of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich, mother of Peter the Great.

to Marcellus his charge was that he had too much learning, and so they feared & said he would favour the Catholick & other religions, to which purpose the abbot of the Spasky Monastery had given in a writing to the Queen Dowager, accusing him of many points and even of heresy. But the yongest Tzaar continuing firme for him, removed with the eldest Tzaar & whole court to Columinska.

21. The yongest Tzaar sent for me & other to Whilee¹³², where wee were mer[ry].

Wee had notice of the battell of Flewry, which was fought on the 21 *Junii st. vet.*, the French victorizing¹³³, & that the Duke Gordon¹³⁴ was come to Paris.

{20} July 22, Tues. Being invited to Capt. Maas his wedding, I could not gett come, dined in Whilee & came home in the evening.

23. I rode to Columinska.

The Chancellour Vasily Timof. Poshnikuf went to the Hetman, taken Leonty Art. Polibutka along with him.

24. I rode to Troitska with his M. and dined by *K[niaz]* Boris Alex. [Golitsyn], it being his name-day, where wee were plentifully entertained.

A son borne to Pr[ince] Georg of Denmarke & the Pr[inces]s Anna¹³⁵ called [...] & made [...]

This the former year.

25. About 6 aclock in the morning I gott a terrible fitt of the col-ick which continued 4 houres most violently with a continuall presse of womiteing, & diverse stooles. His M. came into the roome where I lay & promised how soone he came to Columinska to send me medicines, which came about one aclock in the afternoone, whereby I gott more ease. At 3 aclock in the afternoone I tooke horse & came to Columinska at 6, rideing at great leasure, being 15 *verst*.

26. I gott leave of his M. & came to the Slaboda.

¹³² Fili.

¹³³ At the battle of Fleurus in Spanish Netherlands on 1 July (N.St.) 1690 the French army under Marshal Duke de Luxembourg defeated the allied forces (Dutch, German, Spanish and British) under Prince of Waldeck.

¹³⁴ George, 4th Marquis of Huntly (1643–1716), Chief of Clan Gordon, was created Duke of Gordon in 1684.

¹³⁵ Princess Anne (1665–1714), Queen of Great Britain from 1702. All her children died young.

{20v} July 28, Moond. I rode to towne but did nothing, being a holy day & procession in memory of St. Prochor.¹³⁶

29. I did writt to Mr. Sam-ll Meverell in answer to his of the 6th May, to Mr. James Gordon in Rotterdam in answer to his of the 11th May, & to Mr. Robert Jolly in answer to his of the 9th May from Hamburg, by Mr. Francisco Guascony going for Archangell.

At evening wee were at the *sponsalia*¹³⁷ of Ignatius the barber with Meot his yongest daughter.

I dined by *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyowits [Golitsyn].

30. I was in towne, dined by the Boyar Leo Kirilovitz [Naryshkin]; sent Mr. Guascony his pass after him.

Coll. Bartholomew Roonaer his son dyed.

31. I was in Preobrasinsko. The court foot¹³⁸ were exercized & shott at the marke; in the evening at the cel[eb]ration].

Wee had notice of the great losses which the Polls sustained by the Tartars, 40 companyes being *totaliter*¹³⁹ ruined.

{21} Aug. 1, Fridd. Being a holy day¹⁴⁰ & a procession at Prebrasinsko the Metropolit of Plesko did officiat. 26 pieces of cannon were thrice fired, & diverse vollyes of small shott; afternoon they shott at a marke out of the cannon.

2. The sojourns pay bookes for this month: 37 serjeants, 41 foriers & furiers, 66 corporalls, 47 pipers, 1 *verstany* sojourn, 617 not *verstany* sojourns, 9 carcered, 99 widdowes, 47 orphans.

4. In Preobrasinsky. Wee had the newes of the sea fight betwixt the French & Hollanders & English; the French fleet consisting of 17 great ships triple-decked haveing 100 to 80 cannon, 60 ships of 60 to 70 cannon and 5 of 58 cannon, with 30 branders; the allyeds fleet consisted of 60 to 70 ships & 20 branders; the French had 12,000 land militia on boord. It

¹³⁶ The same day is also the revered Orthodox feast of the Icon of Our Lady of Smolensk (Hodegetria).

¹³⁷ Betrothal (Latin).

¹³⁸ Apparently, Tsar Peter's "playmen" (*potesbnye*) of Preobrazhenskoye and Semionovskoye, not yet formed into regular military units.

¹³⁹ Totally (Latin).

¹⁴⁰ Orthodox Holy Cross Day. By tradition, Rus was christened on this day by St. Vladimir of Kiev, which is commemorated by blessing the waters.

was fought betwixt Dover and the Isle of Wight; the Holl. 22 ships all lost & disabled except 3.¹⁴¹

This being the yongest Empress called Eudoxia¹⁴² her name day, the nobility received a cup of liquor out of his M. Tz[ar] Peter his hand.

{21v} Aug. 5, Tues. In towne, gave the Kyovish Metropolit-elect¹⁴³ a visit.

6. Being the Transfiguration, a great holy day at Preobrasinsky. Afternoon the Court foot fought against the first regiment of *streltsees* called the *Stremeny*¹⁴⁴ & beat them out of the fields. Came home late.

8. In Preobrisinsko, supped by Vasily Yuriovits Leontiuft wt the G.¹⁴⁵

9. In Preobrasinsky.

10. In Preobrasinsko, supped in the L[n]iany *dvor* wt the G.

{22} Aug. 11, Moond. Their Ma-ties came to Mosko in the evening. The sadd newes of K[ing] James his overthrow in Ireland.¹⁴⁶

Had a note of the 2 Aug., Dantzigh, that my son James had received 300 Pols florens from M. Frid. Schmitts.

12. In towne, spoke about our pay, had nothing but fair promises. Afternoone by Kirila Alex. Nariskin¹⁴⁷ with the G.

¹⁴¹ The naval battle of Beachy Head, or Béziers, was fought on 30 June (10 July) 1690. The French fleet under Admiral Count de Tourville won a complete victory over Anglo-Dutch squadrons (Admirals Earl of Torrington and Cornelis Evertsen jr.), not having lost a single ship as against 11 enemy ones, and gained control of the English Channel, although failed to exploit its success. Gordon somewhat exaggerates the opposing forces.

¹⁴² Evdokia Fiodorovna, née Lopukhina (1670–1731), first wife of Tsar Peter. Gordon sometimes calls Tsars “Emperors”, starting with Alexey Mikhailovich.

¹⁴³ Varlaam Yasinsky (1627–1707), Archimandrite of Kiev Pechersk Lavra, Gordon’s old acquaintance from his Kiev years. In 1690 he became Metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine.

¹⁴⁴ *Stremianny polk*, the Tsars’ personal guard whose name comes from *stremia*, stirrup, because they escorted the Tsar while on horseback.

¹⁴⁵ Probably, *Gosudar’* (Sovereign), i.e. Tsar Peter. V.Yu. Leontyev, from 1687 chamber *stolnik*, from 1692 *okolnichy*.

¹⁴⁶ James II (VII) (1633–1701), King of Great Britain and Ireland in 1685–88, was deposed by Prince William of Orange, who seized his throne. In 1690 James headed the army of his supporters in Ireland, but on 1 (11) July was defeated by William on the Boyne and left for France. For Gordon, whose son and clansmen fought for the Jacobites, as for many other loyalists, James has always remained the rightful monarch whose exile was considered temporary.

¹⁴⁷ K.A. Naryshkin (1670?–1723), *stolnik*, Tsars’ carver (*kravchy*), later chief comman-

13. In towne.

Pope Innocentius the [XI] dyed, haveing reigned 12 yeares & 10 months, in the 78th year of his age, of the family of the Odoscalki, the year befor; & Cardinall Ottoboni chosen in his stead the 24 *Sept-ris*, by the name of Alex-r the 8th, being a Venetian, 80 yeares old.¹⁴⁸

14. In towne, dined by Leo Kirilovitz [Naryshkin], afternoone againe by him with the *Gr*.

15. Writt to my son James in Riga in a *coverto* to Mr. Geo. Frazer.

{22v} Aug. 16, Sat. Vasile Timof. Poshnikuf returned from the Hetman. Polibutka put there under the guard, & a councill of warr to be held about his business.

17.

18. In towne; had a letter from my son James from Dantzick of the 8 Aug. *st[ilo] n[ovo]* & from Mr. Pat. Forbes of the same date. Gott an order for 3 *podvods*.¹⁴⁹ for my son.

19. At the wedding of my brother in law Gregory Yak. Roonaer.

20. At the wedding againe.

21. In towne, spoke about our pay, but had small satisfaction.

At the wedding againe.¹⁵⁰

{23} Aug. 22, Frid. In towne, with his Ma-tie to Preobrasinsko. His Ma-tie wt all came by me & were merry.

I did writt to my son James & to Mr. Joachim Voght merch-t in Plesko & to Michell Vasil. Governour, to Minia Ivan. Grobow chancellour there¹⁵¹ & to *Kniaz* Peter Semen. Prosorofsky¹⁵² Governour of Novogrod by post with the Tzaars letter & order to let my son with his servants & baggage come to Mosko & to give him 3 *podvods*.

Given in a signed paper that there remained over of the souldiers pay

dant of Pskov and governor of Moscow.

¹⁴⁸ Innocent XI (1611–1689), Pope from 1676, headed the Holy League comprising the Holy Roman Empire, Poland-Lithuania and Venice against the Ottoman Empire. His successor was Alexander VIII (1610–1691).

¹⁴⁹ *Podvody* (Russian), waggons.

¹⁵⁰ Entry crossed out in MS.

¹⁵¹ *Voyeroda* in Pskov was *Okolnichy* M.V. Sobakin. M.I. Grobov († 1692), *dyak* of Pskov, served with Gordon in Kiev in 1681–82.

¹⁵² Prince P.S. Prozorovsky, boyar and *voyeroda*, under whose command Gordon served in Kiev in 1682–3.

of a serjeant deceased for July & August months 2 rubles 26 *altins* & 2 *dengees*; for another deceased serjeant for August month 46 *altins* & 3 *dengees*, a sojour dead 31 *altins*, of 3 widdowes married 46 *altins* 3 *dengees*; in all 6 rubles 17 *altins*, which was sent into the Stranger Office. In the books written but 5 rub. 3 *alt.* 5 *deng.*

23. The Metropolit of Casan Adrian chosen Patriarch notwithstanding the Tzaars inclination for Marcellus the Metropolit of Plesko, whom the old boyars and the generality of the clergy hated because of his learning and other great good qualities, and chose this because of his ignorance & simplicity.

Greg[ory] my brother in law made maior.

{23v} Aug. 24, Sund. The new Patriarch said masse & had devotion and gave his benediction to the Tzaars & people and made a long severe orison to the Tzaars & people.

25. In towne. In the evening the Tzaar Peter Al. went to Preobrasinsko. Two bedchamber men, *Kniaz* Andre Michael. Czirkasky¹⁵³ & Theodor Theodor. Plesheiw came by me & were merry.

26. Being a holy day in remembrance of [the Meeting of the Vladimir Icon]¹⁵⁴ of the Blessed Virgin, the festival of Nathalia, the Angell Patroness of the youngest Tzaars mother, was deferred till the next day.

27, [Wedn.] Wee were in Preobrasinsky whither the eldest Tzaar & the Patriarch came after devotion. The Tzaar came first, whom the youngest Tzaar received on the top of the stairs, as he did the Patriarch also, who came in his coach with six horses to the midle of the court. With him were all the metropolitess & pppl persons of the clergy, who all brought apart rich presents, each: a picture set in silver & some overgilt; a great *bokall*¹⁵⁵ of chessed worke & some or most overgilt of 4 or 5 pund weight; a piece of 9 or 10 ells of rich *altabass*¹⁵⁶, another of lesse value, & a third {24} slighter; then a piece of damask, another of satin, & a third of *surh such*¹⁵⁷; after the *bokalls* was in a dish covered (yet so as could be seen) about 100

¹⁵³ Prince A.M. Cherkassky (1668–1701), chamber *stolnik*, one of the first officers of Preobrazhensky regiment. He took part in Azov campaigns.

¹⁵⁴ Diary gap filled in by the editor.

¹⁵⁵ *Pokal* (German), cup or goblet.

¹⁵⁶ Persian brocade.

¹⁵⁷ Possibly “susa”, striped Persian silk, sometimes made with silver thread.

ducats; all which were presented yet returned, it not being usuall to receive these presents though offered; by each were also a timber of [...] or 40 sables to the value of 40 or 50 rubles.

When his yongest Majesty came from the church he was felicitated by persons of all qualities, & the eldest Tzaar being come, they both sitting together, presented first to the clergy, then to the boyars & counsellours, then to the generall persons a *bokall* of French wine, & to the colonells, *stolniks* & others a *charke* of brandy. The *goists*¹⁵⁸ & Russe merchants were introduced befor the stranger colonells, which was a great affront. The spir[itu]ality, boyars, counsellours, Russe colonells & *goists* or chieffe merchants were introduced to the Empresse Dowager, and received a *bokall* of white wine or a *charke* of brandy & were entertained at dinner.

After dinner 21 pieces of cannon were fired 4 times & as many vollies of small shott given, & wee had fireworks at night which succeeded very well, wherewith the yongest Tzaar was so pleased, that he kepted most of the boyars & counsellours, bedchambermen & us and mad merry the whole night in the great hall of the fort; where his Ma-tie takeing offence at a word, all had enough ado to gett him pleased againe.

The Patriarch gave 100 ducats to be distributed amongst the constables¹⁵⁹.

{24v} Aug. 28, Thur. Wee had notice from Belagrod that two Cosakes comeing from the Don had informed that a *bassa*¹⁶⁰ with many Turks were come to Assow, & that they were intended to make an incur-sion into their M. dominions.

29. Being the eldest Tzaar his name-day, he went to the Ivanofsky Monastery in the 4th houre, and in the 7th howre the yongest Tzaar came in to the city to congratulate him, & returned immediately.

30. Wee had notice that the Tartars & Assovish Turke had fallen in at Tor¹⁶¹ & ruined all thereabouts.

31. The abbot of the Petshursky Monastery by Kyow, Iassinsky,

¹⁵⁸ *Gosti* (Russian), prominent merchants who received preference in government services and contracts.

¹⁵⁹ Here *constables* means cannoneers. This term was also used in Russian naval artillery from the foundation of the Navy in the 1690s.

¹⁶⁰ Pasha, Turkish commander or governor.

¹⁶¹ Tor (Solianoy), Cossack town, now Slaviansk, Donetsk region, Ukraine.

haveing been elected Metropolit of Kyow in place of the *Kniaz* Czetwertinsky deceased, was this day confirmed & consecrated with the usuall ceremonies.

The greatest discourse all this month was of the pestilence ceassing in Samara & continuing in Kursky, and of the locusts haveing everywhere destroyed all the summer cornes in the Ukrayna and the places to the south of Mosko.

{25} Sept-r 1, Moond. Being the Russe new years day, wee were all in the towne. The ceremonies were delayed untill the 10th howre, waiting for the yongest Tzaar who then came and was present thereat, & immediately returned.

I dined by Mr. Kenkell and in the evening went to Preobrasinsko & wished the yongest Tzaar a happy new year. There were 4 salvees out of 21 pieces of cannon, & as many of small shott given.

Received a letter from Mr. Frazer dated Riga 21 Aug. '90, giving me notice of my son James his arrivall thither the 16th.

3. His M. dined by M. G-ll Le Fort. Afternoone in Preobrasinsky, where was exercize & all things prepareing in order to the next dayes exercize.

4. A list of the regiment for their pay in this month: 37 serjeants, 40 furiers & foriers, 65 korporals, 47 pipers, 616 sojors whereof on *verstany*, 8 carceered, 99 widdowes, 47 orphans.

Alexey Andreuf & Vasily Ivanuf brought 87 *wiadr*¹⁶² of wine.

{25v} Sept-r 4, Thurs. At 8 aclock, being sent for, I came to Preobrasinsky, breakfasted with his M. At 10 wee marched, and drew up our forces in the fields, and did fall to skirmishing, the *Stremeny streltsees* to horse & foot being on one syde against the *Poteszny*¹⁶³ & Simonofsky foot, & the gentlmen of the Tzaars court on horseback, two other regiments of *streltsees* being disposed on against the other. Wee skirmished troop-wise & sometymes whole bodies untill darke night, where many were wounded

¹⁶² *Wiadro* (Polish), bucket (Russian: *vedro*). The first Slavic language that Gordon mastered was Polish, and even after many years in Russia he sometimes polonises Russian words.

¹⁶³ *Potesnyye* ("playmen"), evidently those of Preobrazhenskoye.

and burnt with powder. I my self gott a shott in my right thigh a litle above the knee, & in breaking through had my face very much burnt with powder.

5. In the evening Fiodor Kirilowits¹⁶⁴ & both the Plesheyows came by me, with whom I made merry, which did my wounds much harme.

6. I finding my thigh enflamed sent for a surgeon & caused him dresse my wound, & apply an ointment to my face, and was not well the whole day.

The locusts advanced as farr as to Mosko, but in no such number nor in a season to do any harme.

{26} Sept-r 7, Sund. The Polls resident gave me a visitt and told me many things concerning his private & the publick effaires.

8. I received a letter from my son James dated Riga 25 *Augusti*, showing me that he was to take jorney for Plesko the next day; from M. Pat. Forbes of the 15 Aug. from Dantzick & from M. Geo. Frazer dated Riga 28 Aug.

9. I kept within doores, some ffrinds came to see me.

10. I could not go abroad because of the paine in my knee and thigh.

{26v} Sept-r 11, Thursd. I went abroad to Preobrasinsko, where at exercize, the *Poteshnies* being against the regiment of *streltsees* commanded by Coll. L. Sucharuf; things were well carryed & no harme done.

A hart or *jelein*¹⁶⁵ haveing killed 3 persons the day befor, was now by order killed.

12. In Preobrasinsko, dined with his M. by the Boyar Peter Vas. Seremetuf. Came home late.

13. Dined with his M. by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. Romadanofsky. I spoke to his Ma-tie about my business, and Tichon Nikitovits¹⁶⁶ spoke in my behalfe.

14. Againe at exercize, and no harme done.

15. I received letters from my son James of the 16 *7bris st[ilo] n[ovo]*,

¹⁶⁴ Probably, F.K. Naryshkin (1666–1691), chamber *stolnik*, Tsars' carver, uncle of Tsar Peter.

¹⁶⁵ *Jeleń* (Polish), stag.

¹⁶⁶ T.N. Streshnev (1644–1719), former tutor of Tsarevich Peter, from 1686 boyar, head of the Great Palace, Razriad and Stable Offices. During the Grand Embassy to the West in 1697–8 he was one of those in charge of the Russian government.

from Mr. Voght 7th 7^{bris} st[ilo] vet[eri].

{27} Sept-r 16, Tuesd. Their Ma-ties came to Mosko.

17. Orders to give out the other halfe of our former yeares pay.

18. In towne, gott 171 rubles 2 *grivnees*¹⁶⁷ of my halfe yeares pay.

19. The Troitsky progress¹⁶⁸ deferred because of the bad weather.

20. In towne, invited some boyars & noblemen to the wedding.

{27v} Sept-r 21, Sund. In towne, gave up a petition concerning augmentation of my pay.

22. Was busied with making of preparations for the wedding.

My son James came in the evening.

23. My daughter Mary wedded to Capt. Daniell Crawford, wher were present his M. & diverse others with the ppl persons in the Slabod.

The Hollands minister Mr. Shunderwood maryed them, because no priest of ours was here. Victualls prepared for six places whereof one was not served for want of guests.

24. Guests invited & at supper, victualls prepared & served for 3 places, all in the great roome. Were merry as the day befor till day light.

25. No guests but these who invited, served and helped.

{28} Sept-r 26, Frid.

27. I gave up another petition to his Ma-tie about my business, who gave it to Gabriel Golovkin¹⁶⁹ to be written out shortly & to be deferred to his M.

28. The inferr feast¹⁷⁰, where the Polls resident and other ffriends were merry.

29.

{28v} October 1, Wed. Wee went to Preobrasinsko & from thence with his M. to Chwili or Pokrofsko, where wee frolocked this day & the next.

2. Came home late.

¹⁶⁷ *Grivna*, Russian monetary unit of 10 kopeks.

¹⁶⁸ The Tsars' customary pilgrimage to the Trinity-St.Sergy Monastery northeast of Moscow.

¹⁶⁹ G.I. Golovkin (1660–1734), chamber *stolnik*, later count and chancellor, President of the College of Foreign Affairs and head of Russia's foreign policy.

¹⁷⁰ For Mary Gordon's wedding (see fol. 3 v.).

3. In towne, caused James give of his *otpisky*¹⁷¹.

By *Kniaz* Bor[is] Al. [Golitsyn]. At night by Lt. G-Il Gulits about Litskin his business.

4. In Preobrasinsko where I see his M.

The list of the regiment for this months pay:

38 serjeants

39 furiers & foriers

65 korporalls

47 pipers

614 sojourns

101 widdowes

48 orphans

8 carceered.

{29} Oct-r 5, Sun.

6. Signed a paper that of money remained of the ruble of augmentation remained on[e] ruble; of the Septembers pay 2 serjeants, one furier, on[e] korporal, 2 sojourns deceased in the former year, of 3 widdowes married, in all 10 rubles 8 *altins* 2 *dengees*, which was sent into the *prikase*¹⁷².

A counsell held.

7. In towne, my *nipisky*¹⁷³ commanded to be written out shorter.

8. Exercize in the fields, & wee all at night by Sergey the *ustafizhik*¹⁷⁴, or master of the singers.

{29v} Oct-r 9, Thursd. At a feast by the Danish *commissarius*, where *Kniaz* Boris Alex. [Golitsyn] & Andre Artem. [Matveyev].

10. At Butirky, exercized the regiment; went to Preobrazinsky, see his Ma-tie.

11. At a feast by the Swedish *commissarius*.¹⁷⁵ Came home with *Kniaz* Boris Alexe., but [he] stayed not.

¹⁷¹ Written report (Russian).

¹⁷² *Prikaz* (Russian), government office.

¹⁷³ *Vypiski* (Russian), official records or extracts.

¹⁷⁴ *Ustashechik* (Russian).

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Knipperkron (Knipper), Swedish commissary (resident) in Moscow in 1690–1700.

My sons pistolls stolne.

Received a letter from the Earle of Melfort, his Sacred Ma-ties ambas-sadour, dated at Rome 5th of August 1690, by post.

12. At exercize, which the raine hindred.

13. His Ma-tie with 30 or 40 persons dined by me & were m[erry] till ten aclock at night.

14. 8 regiments in the fields at exercize, where had like to be mischi-effe. Came home late, yet was merry with countrey-men drinking the Kings health.¹⁷⁶

The wedding of Lochmanofsky.

{30} Oct-r 15, Wed. In the evening at the wedding of Lochmanofsky.

Received a letter from Lt. G-ll Zeygh¹⁷⁷ dated Shewsky 27 *Sept-ris* 1690, & another from Coll. Galbreth dated Belagrod 21 *Sept-ris* 1690.

16. With his M. at M.G. Le Fort at dinner & untill 11 aclock.

17. At home.

18. In Preobrasinsko & with his M. in Ismailow.

19.

20. In Preobrasinsk. Signed a list of the regiment for their being entertained upon the acco-t of haveing been in the fields at exercize: 38 serjeants, 39 furiers & foriers, 65 korporalls, 47 pipers, 614 sojors, in all 803.

Dined with his M. by *K[niaz]* Ivan Ivan. Troykuruf.

{30v} Oct-r 21, Tuesd. Signed the bookes of Octobers meanes or pay: 38 serjeants, 39 furiers & foriers, 65 corporalls, 47 pipers, a gentleman sojour, 613 others, 8 carceered, 101 widdowes, 47 orphans.

Signed a paper of money remaining over of Oct-rs pay: of 2 serjeants deceased last year, 1 furier, 1 corporall, 1 widdow maryed, 3 sojors dead this year, being in all 8 rubles 19 *altins* 3 *dengees*, which was sent in to the *Prikase* with a writeing.

The wedding of Joachim Leskin.

22. A great holy day with a procession to the *Casanska Bogaroditsa*¹⁷⁸; his yongest Ma-tie came & assisted & immediately returned. James at their

¹⁷⁶ Gordon always celebrated the birthday of his British Sovereign, in this case the exiled King James II (VII), whose loyal subject he remained.

¹⁷⁷ Of the noted Baltic German family, Zoege von Manteuffel.

¹⁷⁸ Icon of Our Lady of Kazan'.

Ma-ties hand.

23. Sent for to Preobrasinsko, at exercize the whole day; supped with his M. by Taras the *Prikashik*¹⁷⁹.

24. At home the whole day.

25. Supped with his Ma-tie by M.G. Le Fort.

{31} Oct-r 26, Sund. At home.

27. In Preobrasinsko, but found no body.

28. C. Gulits gave up petitions against my son.

29. In Preobrasinsko, see his Ma-tie.

30. Great raine, stayed at home.

{31v} No-r 1, Satur. Was sent for befor day. Came to Preobrasinsko about 4 aclock, went with his M. to the house of *Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. Rom[odanovsky], whose lady being delivered of a son called Michael, wee all congratulated her & had ducats and other presents given us by his M. to present to her, I giving a sable worth 30 or 40 libs. sterling, the sheath being set with stones.

Petition given up & registred upon Coll. Gulits his son Andre.

2. Came home about 3 aclock in the morning. My business spoke of & consulted above.

3. In Preobrasinsko, see & spoke with his Ma-tie & spoke to some boyars about my business.

The list of the regiment for this months pay: 38 serjeants, 38 foriers & furiers, 65 corporalls, 47 pipers, 631 [*sic*]¹⁸⁰ sojors whereof on *verstany*, 8 carceered, 101 widdowes, 49 orphans.

{32} No-r 4, Tuesd. At the wedding of Capt. Peter van Bockhoven.

5. In Preobrasinsko & Ismailow where I was admitted to kiss the Empress Dowager her hand. Was afterwards by *Gr.* with his Ma-tie¹⁸¹, came to the fyre in Pokrofska & afterwards to my house; supped, rested & breakfasted.

My business consulted of but nothing concluded.

6. At home.

¹⁷⁹ *Prikazchik* (Russian), clerk or steward.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. above and below. Author's slip.

¹⁸¹ *Gr.* in the Diary seems to mean *Gosudar'* (Sovereign), usually Tsar Peter, but in this case perhaps it stands for Tsar Ivan.

7. At dinner by M.G. Le Fort with his M., sat up late.
{32v} 8, Sat. Being indisposed, I stayed at home.
9. At devotion, the Pols resident dyned with me.
10. At home.
11. In Preobrasinsko, spoke with his Ma-tie.
12. The sad newes of the taking in of Belgrad the 8th of October by storme, as also of the taking of Corke in Ireland by accord.¹⁸²
13.
{33} No-r 14, Frid. In Preobrasinsko, being the first day of the Russe fast. I supped by the Boyar Leo Kirilovits [Naryshkin].
15. Writt to the Duke of Gordon in Paris and therewith to the Earle of Melfort in Rome, by the convoyance of the Pols resident. To my sonne John, in a *coverto* to Mr. Sam. Meverell by post.
17. In Preobrasinsko.
{33v} No-r 18, Tuesd. In Preobrasinsko, his Ma-tie went to Ismailow.
19. The holy day in Ismailow.¹⁸³
20. Went & mett his Ma-tie, convoyed him and in the evening Leo Kirilovits [Naryshkin] in his shese, and were both throwne over.
21. In the Andronofsky Monastery¹⁸⁴; frolocking all night.
22. Came home, at the buriall of Mad[am] Kinkeds¹⁸⁵.
23. My daughter Katherine¹⁸⁶ her birthday.
{34} No-r 24, Moond. In Pokrofska with his Ma-tie.
- Given in a writeing to the Office of the Strangers with money left over of the former & this months pay, being of men deceassed, amounting to 9 rubles 21 *altins* & 4 *dengees*.
25. At home.
26. In Preobrasinsko. The 100 rubles, which I had borrowed, gifted me.

¹⁸² The city of Cork, which stood for King James II (VII), surrendered to Williamite forces in October 1690.

¹⁸³ The day of St. Ioasaf Prince of India, to whom the palace church in Izmaylovo was consecrated.

¹⁸⁴ Monastery of the Saviour and St. Andronik in Moscow.

¹⁸⁵ Possibly, widow or relation of the Scottish Colonel Alexander Kincaid, who served under Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich.

¹⁸⁶ Gordon's eldest daughter, Catherine Elizabeth (1665–1739), married Colonel Rudolf (Rodion) Strasburg in 1682.

27. By M.G. Le F[ort] with his M. at dinner.

28. In towne, gave of the underwritten petition for the 100 rubles.

Signed a list of the regiment for a *safian*¹⁸⁷ to each because of the birth of the Princess Feodoshy Johanovna, being 38 serjeants, 38 furiers & foriers, 65 korporall[s], 47 pipers, 613 sojourns; & since the *skasky*¹⁸⁸ 12 dead whose wiwes & children are alive. Another list for salt for this year, being 3 maryed *verstanich*, 1 unmarried & not *verstany* under officers & sojourns maryed 765, unmarried 32.

{34v} *No-ris* 29. Gott the order for the 100 rubles.

30. In Pokrofsky with his Ma-tie. A fellow came and uttered some speeches concerning a tumult like to be in Mosko.

His Ma-tie went with all to Mosko.

First sledge way.

{35} *Dec-ris* 1. Gott the 100 rubles. In towne the whole day & with his M.

2. Made an end of the business with Litskin.

3. Dined with his M. by Andre Fiod. Narishkin¹⁸⁹.

4. In towne, R[odion?]¹⁹⁰ to Butirky.

His M. came to R[odion?].

5. In towne.

{35v} *Dec-ris* 6, Satur. In towne, dined by Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin], being St. Nicolas day.

7. In church, afternoone to Preobrasinsky; the companies of the *Potesbnies* dealt; the Tz[ar]s there. His M. to Le F[ort] in the night, where lodged and [...]

8. Dined by L[e] F[ort] with his M. & signed 3 rubles.

9. In towne, rumours of warres lyke to be with Polland without any sure ground.

10. In towne, see his Ma-tie.

{36} *Dec-ris* 11, Thurs. At home.

¹⁸⁷ *Safyan* (Russian), morocco leather.

¹⁸⁸ *Skazka* (Old Russian), notification or report.

¹⁸⁹ A.F. Naryshkin († ca.1716), cousin of Tsaritsa Natalya, chamber *stolnik*. In 1692–94 *voyeroda* in Verkhoturys, in 1695–98 in Tobolsk.

¹⁹⁰ Below Gordon uses R. for his son-in-law, Colonel Rudolf (Rodion) Strasburg.

12. Writt to Lt. G-ll *Graf*¹⁹¹ de Graham, the Coll-s von Mengden & Galbreth.

In towne, dined above with his M.

13. In towne, my son James ordered to be sent into the *Inoshemsky* or Stranger Office¹⁹² in the same charge he came in with.

14. Some Tartars & Turkes brought by the Zaporovish Cosakes, whereby the truce betwixt them was out, & the Cosakes returned to their duty.

15. Dyned with his M. by the eldest Peter Abramovits¹⁹³.

16. In towne by Yem. Ig. Ukraintsuf & *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn].

A letter sent from the King of Polland to the Tzaars informing that he had not, neither intended to make any peace with the Tartars or Turkes w-t[h]out their Ma-ties, and that when the Ro[man] Emperour should make peace, their Ma-ties interest should be taken care of by his [Royal] Ma-ties plenipotentiary there.

{36v} *Dec-ris* 17, Wedn. The order brought into the Stranger Office concerning James, & not received because he was not present.

18. Dined with his M. by Alexey Petr. Soltikow.

19. In Preobrasinsko with his M., by Jan Baltus & Elizary Isbrant.¹⁹⁴

20. In towne, his M. came not downe.

Bor[rowed] 100 r. of Phil. Wulffe.

21. Dined with his M. by Peter Vasil. Seremetuf.

A envoy from [...] received; he came to complaine of some insolencies

¹⁹¹ *Graf* (German), Count. The Scot David William Graham became the first count serving in Russia whose title, a novelty for the realm, was officially recognised there.

¹⁹² Foreigners' Office (*Inozemsky prikaz*) dealt with foreigners in the Tsars' service as well as "regiments of foreign order", i.e. regular army units of horse, dragoons and foot soldiers organised and armed along Western lines. Gordon and other Western officers were responsible to it.

¹⁹³ P.A. Lopukhin Senior (1636–1695), from 1689 boyar, head of Yamskoy Office. In 1695, having been delated by L.K. Naryshkin, he incurred Tsar Peter's wrath and was tortured by him personally, which led to his death.

¹⁹⁴ Jan Baltus was a Dutch merchant mentioned in Russia from 1684. Elizary (Eberhard) Isbrandt Ides († 1708), a native of Holstein, from 1687 lived and traded in Moscow. Later he headed a Russian mission to China; he set out in the spring of 1692 with Gordon's letter of recommendation to the Jesuits in China dated 10 March, and returned in February 1695; his travel diary was published in Germany and other countries.

done by the Dons Cosakes.

22. Dined with his M. by Andre Artemon. Matfeuf & lodged there.

A letter came from the Ro[man] Emperours resident in Polland to the Kings resident here, with an enclosed to the *Dummy Diack*¹⁹⁵ of the Ambassy Office, declareing how grievously the Emperour tooke the expulsion of the Jesuits from hence; & that upon acco-t of permission for that mission here the Ro. Emp. had permitted to the Tzaars ambass-s & envoyes to deliver the letters to & from the Emp-s owne hands; that if order were not taken for their restauration, he was afayed, the Ro. Emp. would refraine from further correspondence with them.

{37} *Dec-ris* 23, Tuesd. Signed the bookes of the regiment for Decembers pay: 38 serjeants, 39 foriers & furiers, 65 corporalls, 47 pipers, 612 sojors whereof one *verstany*, 8 *emeriti*, 99 widdowes, 49 orphans.

Sent into the Office with a writeing 11 rubles 2 *altins* 1 *denge*.

24. In towne. The copy of the letter from the pretended King of England calling himself W-m the 3d¹⁹⁶, & dated the 3d of June, interpreted, and no further notice taken of it, upon pretension that the Hollands resident¹⁹⁷ his name was not in it, it being sent to him to be delivered publickely & solemnly. Another had been sent befor, dated in Aprill, but not haveing the full titles was returned by the resident & this sent; so that it seemes they must have a third, and then a question if that shall be received for diverse reasons.

{37v} *Dec-ris* 26, Frid. In towne, see his Ma-tie & visited some boyars.

27. In towne.

28. I did writt to Lt.G-ll Graham in Belagrod.

29. In towne, by the Tz[ar's] father in law¹⁹⁸ & others.

¹⁹⁵ *Dyak* of the Duma, the aristocratic assembly advising the Tsars.

¹⁹⁶ William of Orange (1650–1702), from 1674 ruler (*Stadhouder*) of the Netherlands. In autumn of 1688, allegedly in order to defend the Protestant faith and the rights of parliament, he led a successful invasion of England with Dutch and mercenary forces, dethroned his father-in-law, King James II (VII), and was proclaimed King of Great Britain (so-called “Glorious Revolution”). Until 1694 he ruled jointly with his wife, Mary II. For Gordon, an ardent Jacobite, he always remained a usurper, which explains the ironic tone of this entry.

¹⁹⁷ Baron Johan Willem van Keller, resident of the United Provinces in Moscow from 1677 to 1698.

¹⁹⁸ Fiodor Avraamovich Lopukhin (1638–1713), father of Tsaritsa Evdokia, who after

Dyned by Mr. Kenkell. In the evening went by divers nob[le]men with his Ma-tie. Came home at 3 aclock in the morning.¹⁹⁹

{38} *Dec-ris* 30, Tuesday. Writt to Mr. Tho. Loftus merch-t in Narva, to Mr. Patrik Forbes in Dantzick, Pater Schmidt, Mr. Tho. Gordon in Lvova, & Mr. Robert Jolly merch-t in Hamborgh.²⁰⁰

{42} 1690, Mosko, Ja-ry 28

To my sonne John

Loveing Sonne,

These two years past I have written diverse tymes²⁰¹ to you but have had no answer, notwithstanding my earnest desire and command in each letter to that purpose. I cannot imagine what may be the reason hereof, whither negligence in you or miscariage in transporting, of the last whereof I doubt, haveing given you so particular instructions for your guberne.

I am confident that all or most of mine you have received and therein my will & information how you should behave your self, and what you are to do in my effaires there; all which to repeat here may be as unnecessary as impertinent. However, I find it needfull to put you in mind againe of the things of greatest concernment²⁰².

First of all, be sure to keep ane exact & particular acco-t of the rents of the land you receive & your disbursments, observing the tyme that is the terme, the year & day of the month, from whom, for which labouring or place, & how much you rece[ive], makeing a liquidation of your acco-ts every year or halfe year; all which you may forme in a booke, whereby you may give me great satisfaction & your self much content.

You are once in the year to send me an extract of these acco-ts, as the duties²⁰³ of the tennants of the land, your disbursments upon the pub-

she was betrothed to Tsar Peter changed his name from Ilarion to Fiodor. From 1689 he became a “near” boyar (i.e. close to the Tsars), but in 1697 fell from favour and was sent away as *vojevoda* to distant Tot’ma.

¹⁹⁹ Clearly it was a customary jolly round of greetings on Christmastide.

²⁰⁰ 7 blank pages follow in MS (38 v.–41v.).

²⁰¹ *many letters* crossed out.

²⁰² *in my effaires there* crossed out.

²⁰³ *inkomes* crossed out.

lick & other expences, and what remaineth of the yearly rents; how you dispose of these by giving it {42v} upon rent or interest and to whom, concluding with the facit of the generall stock.

You are to give me an exact acco-t of the tennants of the land, the termes or tymes of their leases, in what condition they are as to the being responsible, as also in what condition the buildings are, and the ground, if according to my former order & desire any progress be made by any of them in planting.

You know how great a lover I am of planting, and how in every letter as well as by word I have recommended to your care the promoting thereof; which you are to do and encourage by your owne practice. This I still recommend to you, for which purpose I should be very willing to be at the expences of a gardiner, by whose advice & labour you may forward & even in short tyme bring to perfection any thing of that nature; which in tyme (as I have often told & writt to you) will bring very considerable advantages.

As to the places where you may plant, I have told you befor, yet if you be diswaded from takeing in so much of the intowne, I think you might enclose the litle mossy ground betwixt the place where you live and Westertowne, & take in so much upwards on the broad shedd (as they call it if I well remember) as you can well, because in the mossy ground such trees may be planted as will grow there & on the other conforme, sowing in the furrs broome, & you may from that mossy ground better the other gravelly {43} ground. In dikeing of it in you must observe the hight and carry the dikes on with that advantage, w-ch will be a shelter for your planting & keep it warme, heat being a ffriend & the nurse of nature.

You have many other places on the land very convenient for planting, and I remember of one wherewith my dear father²⁰⁴ was pleased for that use. It is the place where a killbarne did stand on the litle maines; you may aske advice and see the place, and do as may be convenient.

There is²⁰⁵ an epidemicall disease through the most part of Scotland, which is the unendless labour of digging out the very guts of the ground, and the merciless scruifeing of the most fertill places to dung the other. I

²⁰⁴ The author's father, John Gordon of Auchleuchries, was born ca. 1610 and died shortly before 30 May 1682 (*Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries* (Aberdeen, 1859), p. 212).

²⁰⁵ *a evill which is* crossed out.

looke upon this as a very great evill, which I should wish to be redressed by any meanes.

It is a great empoverishing of the ground to build & repaire the houses and yard-dikes with turfe or fele (as you call it), which could be farr better done with clay or mudd; the benefitt recompensing the paines by farr, the foundations and the corners especially of dykes being laid and builded with stone, of both which materials you have no defect there.

Enquire by what meanes & wayes my grandfather Nethermuir²⁰⁶, Lessendrum, Edinglassy, Achintowle²⁰⁷ & others made up their estates by industry and a sober & quiet way of liveing, and strive to imitate them as farr & much as you can, which will be very commendable for you and turne to your great satisfaction & advantage at last.

{43v} I know it is ordinary and expected that every person should live & keep a port according to his quality & revenues. Herein you may have a very good excuse, I allowing you so litle. I do not care what they may say of me in this case, for indeed I have been striving all my lyfetye more for honour as riches, & have alwayes preferred a litle gained with a good conscience, befor a great estate gott²⁰⁸ by unlawfull meanes. And assure your self that there *is not a wrong-gained farthing of any thing I have there, & I have reason to be provident, not knowing to what I or the rest of my family here may be compelled hereafter.*²⁰⁹

The victuall & other things which²¹⁰ is due from the tennants, you will do best to gett a person to receive it & sell it out in smalls, from whom you may exact a particular acco-t, to whom you may allow a salary; which if he be honest and industrious, he will very well deserve.

²⁰⁶ The author's paternal grandfather, Patrick Gordon of Nethermuir († no later than 1633).

²⁰⁷ As usual, Gordon calls his neighbour lairds after their lands. Lessendrum belonged to the Bissets, Edinglassie and Auchintoul to the Gordons. In 1637–46 the latter estate was owned by the first-ever Russian general, Sir Alexander Leslie of Auchintoul (1590s–1663), who gave it up before moving to Russia, after which it passed to the Gordons (*Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, Vol. IX (Edinburgh, 1984), Nos 647, 1683); in 1710 it was inherited by Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul (1669–1751), the Tsar's major general and Patrick Gordon's son-in-law, who wrote the *History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia* (Aberdeen, 1755).

²⁰⁸ *gained* crossed out.

²⁰⁹ Words marked ** added on margin.

²¹⁰ *you receive* crossed out.

Give all the encouragement you can to tennants by protecting them & helping them in their necessities, or giving them tyme to pay their duties. Yet this last I have heard blamed, to give downe the rent is approved by few, yet methinks it were the only way to gett constant tennants & the rent well payed. In this you must take the advice of our best and most understanding ffriends.

The advantage of constant tennants and a well payed rent is great, for they being responsable and setled, will not run out the ground so as others who have short takes. Besides they may, for their owne pleasure & the decorement of the places where they live, take paines about planting, especially if it be promised that the {44} planting shall be comprised or valued, and payed or allowed them at their removeing.

Gett as many tradesmen as you can to live upon the land, to whom you may give white crofts or conveniences according to their inclination and your owne advantage. I could give you mor instructions of this nature, but even these may perhaps seeme too many, and some not agreeable with the practice there.

You are to give me notice if the Laird of Rothemay²¹¹ hath payed the bills of exchange for 500 and 1,700 markes Scottish, which his brother hath drawne upon him & he answered; which I desired might be remitted to Mr. Patrick Forbess in Dantzick.

You are to informe me if the declaratour of the business with the Laird of Watertowne be obtained and if you have possession of the Muir-take²¹².

You are to informe me if you have received the things I left by Mr. Tho. Gordon in Edinburgh, some whereof belongs to you & some to your broy-r James (whereof you have the particulars), as also if you have received a sword & a paire of pistolls which I sent to you by your brother James?

How the 300 pund st. last remitted is disposed of, I know not as yet, whereof you are to informe me, and particularly of every thing as above.

²¹¹ John Gordon of Rothiemay, elder brother of Captain William Gordon († 1692), who served in Russia under General Patrick.

²¹² Muirtack, an outlying farm, or “pendicle”, of the general’s estate of Auchleuchries, about which he had a dispute with his neighbour, Thomas Forbes of Watertoun.

{44v} Haveing heard of my brother James²¹³ his infirmity and poor condition, I ordered something to be given him every year dureing his lyfe, which you are to pay duly and allow him a house to live in and give him & family as much assistance as you can, for upon whom can charity be better bestowed as upon our owne?

I have written the last year to my unkle and cousin Nethermuir that, if they should think it convenient, you should marry; wherein I could not nor can give any prescriptions, a godly, wise, vertuous woman of a good family are the best qualities can be desired. If you be not married already, I tell you by this you may, yet so as by the advice of ffriends, especially the Earle of Aberdeen, my unkle & Nethermuir, by whose advice & not otherwise, you are to make the contract and allow a jointure.

When you are to returne an answer to this, you are to give me an answer and information to every one of these particulars as they are here written (for I reserve the copies of all my letters, as you know), and you are to omitt no tyme that I may this year receive an answer, either by the way of London or Dantzick. The names of my correspondents in these & other places you have.

{45} I shall end as I began with my sense of your not writeing oftener, and with telling you that you will irritate me very much if you mend not this fault.

So long as my unkle and his bedfellow liveth, respect them as you would do me & your mother. If you hear any thing of your brother James, informe me. Be devout & constant in your religion, just to all, respectfull & loveing to your ffriends & neighbours, dilligent & industrious in your effaires.

The letters here enclosed give of your self if you can, wait upon the Earles of Arroll and Aberdeen so oft as you can, and ask their assistance & advices in your p[ri]nci[p]a[l]l effaires.

²¹³ The author's younger brother, James Gordon (ca.1640–1691).

{45v} 1690, Ja-ry 28

To my unkle²¹⁴

{46} [To the Earl of Erroll]

Mosco, 28 Ja-ry 1690

May it please Yo-r L[ordshi]p,

I hope my last of the 1st Feb-ry '89 hath come safe to Your L-ps hands. Wee had last summer ane early campagne²¹⁵, made quick expedition & returned sooner to Mosko as usuall; the particulars whereof would be as tedious as perhaps impertinent, yet to be as good as my word I shall give Yo-r L. a short & true relation.

The 7th of Aprill wee marched from Achterk²¹⁶, the utmost inhabited place of the Tzaars dominions, most of our armyes being conveyened. The 26th *ditto* wee marched from the r. Samara, where a new towne or fort was built the last year; and so forward with our numerous armyes, keeping still within sight of other, through the wild desarts, where for the most part good convenience of grasse, but litle & unwholesome water, & farr less wood, which wee had only in some few places.

The first sight wee had of any considerable number of the Tartars was the 15th of May on our march betwixt the Green & Black valleyes (which are places distant from other 12 or 14 English miles, wherein extraordinary good grasse & in the last water). They came from the r. Dneper in the Kasa-Kirmiens road. With these wee had skirmishing about 3 or 4 houres with some but no great loss on both sides. Wee judged them not to have been 10,000 strong.

The next day the Chan himself presented himself with all his forces befor us, and marched to the right hand of us. About midday they tooke the advantage of a suddaine great raine, and with wonderfull celerity and courage charged in our reare the left wing, and forced all our horse & foot into the *waggonburgh*²¹⁷, from whence with cannon & small shott they were

²¹⁴ The rest of this page is blank.

²¹⁵ The Second Crimean campaign of 1689.

²¹⁶ Akhtyrka.

²¹⁷ *Wagenburg* (German), a temporary, moveable fortification made of army waggons.

repulsed with great loss. Whence chargeing along {46v} the reare of the armyes on our left hand, did fall on the least, consisting of two numerous Czirkass²¹⁸ regiments, whose rear not being well guarded nor fenced wt waggons, they break in killing many people & more horses & cattell, but made no great stay. In their marching of they suffered great loss by the continuall thundring out of cannon & musquets. After this they had no stomack to attack us any more, only diverse tymes they made show of chargeing us, but wheeled of againe, they not seeing any advantage. Towards night they marched of 2 or 3 English miles from us & befor us.

The day thereafter being the 17th *st. vet.*, wee being on our march in good order, and haveing brought all our horsemen within the *waggonburg*, because they were not able to withstand the assaults of the Tartars, the enemy againe appeared and at some distance rode round our armyes, but finding no horsmen without the *waggonburg*, & not darcieing to attact our foot, towards evening they marched away towards Kalentzak, whither wee followed & encamped by wished conveniency of grasse and water, but no wood.

The 20th wee came befor the Perecop & lodged as wee marched; where wee were to enter into a treaty with the Tartars, which tooke no effect, our demands being too high, and they not condisceding to any other thing as to establish a peace on the former conditions. So that not being able to subsist here for want of water, grass & wood for such numbers as wee had, and finding no advantage by takeing the Perecop, the next day wee returned. And from midday till night wee were hotly persued by the Tartars, the danger being great & fear greater if the Chan with all his forces should persue us. So that I was commanded from the {47} left wing with 7 regiments of foot & some of horse (yet all on foot) to guard the rear. They persued us very eagerly 8 dayes together, yet gained but litle, haveing no such great numbers as wee suspected.

Nothing troubled us & our horses & draught beasts so much in this march as the want of water. For albeit wee had many great caskes with water along with [us], yet was farr short of giving relieffe to all, and had not God Almighty sent us raines more as ordinary in these places, wee had suffered great losses.

²¹⁸ *Cherkasy*, another name for Ukrainian Cossacks.

On the 12th of June wee came to the river Samara, where wee were past danger, yet held on our march circumspectly untill wee came to the r. Merlo, from whence the army was dismissed the 29th of June, & I came to Mosko the 17th of July.

I have nothing to say more but that since wee have had a change at Court, the Princess who governed hitherto²¹⁹ being put from the government, the chieffe favourite²²⁰ with some others exiled and their goods confiscated, the 2d favourite²²¹ with others of meane quality executed for a plott to murder the yongest Tzaar. & now the yongest Tzaar with his eldest brother are seated in the government. Wee are not like to have any great expedition the next summer, being only to defend the borders.

But now methinks I have been too tedious, so that humbly desiring the continuance of Yo-r L-ps favour, protection & assistance to my sonne & effaires there, I take leave & remaine

Yo-r L. most humble & devoted ser-t
PG

To the Earle of Erroll

{47v} To the Earle of Aberdeen

1690, 28 Ja-ry, Mosco

May it please Yo-r L-p.

I doubt not but myne of the 1st Feb-ry last yeare hath come to your hands, for I had notice of the reecat thereof at London. I am perplexed that I have heard nothing from thence in near²²² two yeares, for which I blame the negligence of my sonne very much. For albeit by the troubles there the passage by the way of London might have been uncertaine, yet

²¹⁹ Tsarevna Sophia (1657–1704), daughter of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich. In 1682–89 she ruled Russia as regent to her under-age brothers Ivan and Peter, with Prince V.V. Golitsyn as first minister. After deposition she was forced to take the vows in Moscow's Novodevichy convent.

²²⁰ Prince Vasily Golitsyn.

²²¹ F.L. Shaklovity († 1689), *dummy dyak*, from 1682 head of Streltsy Office, from 1688 *okolnichy*. In 1689 he was one of the main conspirators against young Tsar Peter, which led to his execution.

²²² Word crossed out in MS.

I doubt not but ships have come from Aberdeen to Dantzick by which he might have written.

I am very much grieved for the troubles, divisions & the distracted condition of that our poor countrey. I pray God to grant peace & quietness, for there is nothing more as to my owne particular which I desire in this world, as to come home & end my lyfe where I received it in tranquillity. I have written to Nethermuir & my sonne concerning the particulars of my effaires, so that I only most earnestly recommend to Yo-r L-ps care & protection my sonne & concernes there. So takeing leave I remaine

Yo-r L. most humble & devoted ser-t

These sent by the way of Holland to the care of James Gordon, merch-t in Rotterdam.

{48} 1690 Mosco, 27 Feb-ry

[To] Mr. Samuell Meverell

Worthy ffriend, both yours by the way of Archangell wt the enclosed from my cousin Mr. Alex-r Gordon I received in Sept-r and yours of the 22 *No-ris* in Dec-r, & now yo-r last of the 31 *Dec-ris* the 3 dayes ago; to all which this for answer.

I have notice of the reseat of the money you remitted to Scotland. I am very sensible of your care & paines to recover the money expended about getting out of the privy seale. Methinks, seing it was expended upon the acco-t of the publick & not any particular, such difficulty should not be made, and consideration taken how steddable I have been, am and may be at this Court to the publick good of the nation. Our countrey men here will, I hope, advise their ffriends what I have done for them at this present, and how able I may be to serve them hereafter. For there is not a day almost wherein I cannot see & speake with his Ma-tie, who is now settled in the government & is gracious to me beyond measure.

Pray let me know how much you have expended, and *if it be fitting that I appear in it my self^{*223}, to whom at Court I might make my

²²³ Phrase added on margin.

address. I fear my old ffriends are out of date, and that my opinion may hinder the acquiring of new, albeit what hath hapened there doth not in the least diminish my care & endeavours for the welfare of the nation. Pray informe me who is Secretary of State for the Northerne province & who for Scotland. *and give me your advice if I shall appear my self in that business, or if I may writt to him, and offer my service here upon the publick acco-t*²²⁴

Pray advise (if you can safely) Mr. David²²⁵ Lindesay that I have gott a captaines place for his brother in law, and my cousin Alex-r that I thank him for his large letter sent by the shipping and desire him to writt to his brother Mr. Thomas that he cause deliver the trunk I left by him to my sonnes there *& the other things to the sisters of the deceased Lt.Coll. Guild²²⁶.

The yongest Tzaar & his ffriends are settled in the government here. I have small hopes of getting {48v} from hence.*²²⁷

I have advised my sonne James to stay in Scotland by his brother till my further orders.

I presented your respects to your ffriends here. Dr. Kellerman²²⁸ sayes he will writt to you againe concerning his particular. Wee are all here well, I haveing still the Selected Regiments, which obligeth me to live at Court much against my will & humour. I am much rejoiced to hear of the welfare of your family and others our good ffriends there, to all whom I with mine desire our due respects to be presented, remaining

Yo-r affectionate br. & ser-t
PG

P.S. Pray give me notice how much it is you have of mine in your hands now.

²²⁴ Fragment crossed out in MS.

²²⁵ Name crossed out, probably because it belonged to a rebel Jacobite.

²²⁶ The Scot William Guild, Gordon's former comrade with the Life Company of Swedish Field Marshal Count Robert Douglas, served under Gordon for Poland and Russia. He died a Lt.colonel in Moscow in 1685.

²²⁷ Marked fragment crossed out in MS.

²²⁸ Andrey Kellerman, doctor who sprang from "Moscow merchant foreigners". He studied in Leipzig, Strasburg, Leiden, Oxford, Paris and Padua, where he received his M.D. Since 1678 he practised in Moscow.

[To James Gordon]

[Feb. 27]²²⁹ 1690

Much honoured and most loving unkle,

Yours of the 3d *Dec-ris* bypast I received 3 dayes ago. It much rejoiced me to heare that you &²³⁰ bedfellow are still alive, as also that my sonne James is alive, haveing been very sollicitous to know what was become of him.²³¹ I have received a sort of acco-t from my sonne John of his intromission & disbursements, but no wayes exact. It seemes he will not be at the paines of keeping an exact and particular acco-t, whereof I expect amendement. I approve of my sister her keeping that wedsett for five yeares, & am very sorry for the death of her husband.²³² As to my sonne John his mariage, I know not well what to say. I am afrayed to declare too farr, lest I come home my self, as also lest conceit make him more negligent. Yet to give satisfaction, I do not intend to burthen that I have there any more, but with the 3,000 merks I allow for my sonne James his portion, so that he is {49} to have all, yet so as after my death.

As for my sonne James, I perceive that he hath no great mynd to a countrey lyfe unless his portion were augmented; which I cannot do from hence, spending now all I gett by my liveing at Court, which because of the command I have now I am obliged to do. Yet if my estate there could bear another 1,000 merks, I could be content to allow it him, whereof I desire your advice. I should rather wish him to a countrey lyfe then to be a sojour. I have writt to him to stay a yeare yet there untill he see how things passeth, & that his brother shall give him 200 merks yearly for his maintenance.

As for the 2,200 whereof Rothemay accepted the bills, the enclosed can remove his scruple, which was very unnecessary, as also for Nethermuir to have told him what I did writt in confidence to him; that money, at lest

²²⁹ Date written on next page.

²³⁰ *my aunt* crossed out.

²³¹ James Gordon, Patrick's second son, joined the Jacobite rising in Scotland and was badly wounded at the battle of Killiecrankie.

²³² Patrick's sister Elizabeth Gordon (1644–after 1698) was married to William Hay of Ardenrit.

2,000 merks thereof, I desire still to be transmitted to Dantzick to Patrick Forbes merch-t there.

As for the business of Watertowne, I would not have thought that such a clear & just business should have caused such trouble & expences. By a former from thence I understood that it wanted only the taking out of the declaratour. The Earle of Aberdeen promised me that I should have my owne againe, and I rely on his word. Our cousin Mr. Tho., I see, is not much to be relied on, he might have gott that done without trouble. I have not been behind hand with him for anything he hath ever done for me. He hath also neither restored a trunke with things of considerable value belonging to my sonnes, nor some gold and rings left with him to be given to two poor women²³³.

I shall add nothing more but that I with my family here are, praised be God, in good health, and have our dutifull wishes & respects tendred to you. I remaine

Your most dutifull nevoy
PG

P.S. I have writt at large the 28 Ja-ry bypast by ffriend to Holland, recommending it to the care of James Gordon merch-t in Rotterdam. I have not received yours dated in August; it seemes it hath miscarried betwixt that & London.

{49v} [To John Gordon]

Feb. 27, 1690

Loveing sonne John,

My last, being large, was the 28th Ja-ry bypast p[e]r ffriend to Holland. Since I have received yours of the 5th of December some dayes ago with an acco-t very imperfect. For besides that the acco-ts of your disbursement come farr short of the summes you have received, when you come to the rents of the land, you give ane acco-t to have received for 2 yeares 800 pounds or 1,200 merks, & then in particularising them you bring in

²³³ Sisters of Lt.Colonel Guild. Thereafter "*As for Nethermuir...*" crossed out.

but 458 mercks yearly, which are very discrepant. The customes you forgett altogether, at lest in the particular which my father reckoned about a 100 merks. I find nothing for the halfe of on[e] of the pleughs in Easter Achluichries but 32 merks, which is strange to me. But according to your reckoning the yearly rents of the lands being 600 mercks, & the annual rents of money 384, in all 984, & your disbursements yearly to the church, for cess & to my L-d Erroll 187 merks, there should remaine 800 wanting three mercks, whereof you are to give your brother James yearly till he dispose of himself, or so long as he stayeth there 200 merks, & to my brother James 8 bolles²³⁴ of good meale, & the rest to give out upon interest or annuall rent in sure hands to abide my order.

You writt you are not halfe plenished, yet I hardly beleeeve any gentleman of a ffarr greater estate as I have there alloweth his sonne 3,000 merks for plenishing as you have had. You must not tell me of liveing lyke my sonnes, or what honour I may have by putting you in a condition to live. So you must live upon your allowances so long as I live, and when I am dead, according to the estate you possess. I have written enough in my former to take you of from such conceits. My family here encreaseth²³⁵, & I have straitned my self & them too much already to put you in a way of a livelyhood there. Therefor be content with what I allow you, & give me hereafter a better acco-t of the superplus.

As to your mariage, I have written my mynd to my unkle, but methinks you could have been more particular & mentioned the person & {50} portion. Of other things I have written to him also, w-ch concerneth my effaires there, and this [is] all I have to you at this tyme, referring you to my last mentioned above.

[To James Gordon]

Feb. 27, 1690

Loveing sonne James,

I have received yours of the 11th of December, whereby I under-

²³⁴ Boll, old Scots measure of weight that varied from 145 to 212 litres.

²³⁵ *dayly* crossed out.

stand²³⁶ your being with your brother. It seemes, yours of the 20th of August hath in the passage to London miscarried, for I have not seen it. I wonder you did not writt to me by the way of London befor you left France.

As for what course you shall take now, you know you cannot serve in Polland, & I here, because of the jealousies betwixt the two nations, and this place you know well enough. My advice is you stay yet a year by your brother untill you see how effaires frame, for if things change there, then would you loss a greater certainty then any you can expect abroad. I allow 200 mercks a year for your maintenance, which is all can be spared. If you resolve upon a countrey lyfe, then I shall order to give you so much of the p[rinci]p[a]ll as may be fitting. I wonder your brother & you both have lost the note of your things left in Ed[inbu]r[gh] by Mr. Tho. Gordon, which I send you againe here inclosed.

The later part of the letter above belongs as well to you as your brother, whereof make just use. All of us here are well as you left us, & your youngest sister²³⁷ borne after you were gone; which is all I have but our love from all to you both, and praying God to blesse you, I remaine

Yo-r loveing father
PG

{50v} [To Pater Johann Schmidt]

Moscuae, 20 Mar. 1690

Reverende in Christo Pater,

Literas R. V. datas Resselii 30 Jan. an. cur. mihi gratissimas accepi, laetor et plurimum gratulor de sanitate et incolumitate R. V-rae, doleo quod non acceperit meas datas primo Feb-rii praeteriti anni, quas Gedanum transmisi. In illis significavi me literas a D-no Patricio Forbes accepisse, in quibus agnovit *se accepisse* sibi traditas a R. V. pelles illas. Quoad nos, post discessum R. Patrum decessit D. Meot *et D-nus du Pre ex Sabaudia Leg. Vigil. magister Grecam accepit religionem, ut uxorem acciperet, et

²³⁶ *I am glad* crossed out.

²³⁷ Patrick Gordon's daughter Jean (1688–1690).

nunc bigamus*. Communitas n-ra convenit dominicis et festis diebus in loco solito, et prescripto a Patribus modo devotionem habemus. R. P. Terpelofsky huc rediit ex Astracano pro quo supplicavimus, ut hic maneat usque *donec* alium vocare nobis liceat *permittetur*.

Familia mea et tota communitas salutant humillime R. V-ram et recom-mendant se precibus V-ris *Theodorulus meus precipue, quem libenter haberem apud R. V-ram vel in Colegio aliquo V-ro propter educationem et studia. Patriarcha nobis et Rel. n-rae inimiciss. ante biduum mortuus est. Non per* Nullo modo nec ullis sollicitationibus possumus obtinere *per-moveri* ut sacerdotes V-rae ordinis accessere *vocare* liceat. Habemus hic ludimagistrum, cui damus annuale salarium 40 rublones. Denique me precibus R. V. humillime recommendo et permaneo

R. V-rae

Sincerus amicus et servus²³⁸

²³⁸ "Moscow, 20 March 1690

Reverend Father in Christ,

I have received Your Reverence's most agreeable letter, dated Rössell 30 January of the current year. I rejoice and am most grateful that Y.R. is healthy and sound. I regret you have not received mine, dated the 1st February last year, which I had sent to Danzig; therein I gave notice that I have received from Mr. Patrick Forbes a letter whereby he had confirmed the transfer of those furs from Y.R.

As for ourselves, after the departure of Reverend Fathers Mr. Meot died, *and Mr. du Pre from Savoy, army major, has embraced the Greek religion in order to get married, so that now he is bigamous.* Our community convenes on Sundays and holidays in the usual place, and we have devotion according to the rite prescribed by the Fathers. Rev. Father Terpilovsky has returned here from Astrakhan; we have petitioned for him that he might stay here until we are permitted to invite another one.

My family and the whole community most humbly salute Y.R. and commend themselves to Your prayers, *especially my little Theodore, whom I would gladly send to Y.R. or to some College of yours for education and study. The Patriarch, great enemy to us and our religion, died two days ago.* We can by no means nor any solicitations obtain permission for priests of Your order to be summoned. We have a schoolteacher here, whom we pay an annual salary of 40 rubles. At last, I most humbly commend myself to the prayers of Y.R., and remain

Your Reverence's

Sincere friend and servant" (Latin).

Words and fragments marked ** are crossed out in MS and substituted with synonyms. Theodore (1681–1736?) was Patrick Gordon's third son, and later colonel of the Russian army.

On the Synod of Dordrecht:

“Quid Synodus? Nodus. Patrum chorus integer? Aeger.
Conventus? Ventus. Sessio? Stramen. Amen.”²³⁹

{51} [To Patrick Forbes]

Mosco, 5th Apr. 1690

Sir,

My last was the 18th of October bypast with encloseds to Ro-t Gordon of Chmielnick & Tho. Gordon of Lvova, wherein I desired them to cause sell the sables at the mercat prize, which I hope is done at this parliament and whereof I expect notice.

By letters from my sonnes lately (who are both together in Scotland) I am informed that no shipping came from thence to your citty last summer, and that the Laird of Rothemay could not remitt the money his brother did writt for. If any ships come this summer and money be remitted to you, I desire you to give me notice befor you remitt it. If you or any there keep correspondence with any in Aberdeen, pray gett the enclosed be convoyed to my sonne by post over London. This being all, with my kind respects to your family I remaine

Yo-r assured ffriend to serve you
P.Gor.

*P.S. If a light coach with horses not very deare, and w-ch could be made use of for rideing also, could be gott sent to Riga or hither, albeit a trusty servant should be hired to come with them, good advantage could be made by them. Halfe a dozen of horses could be sent with a couple of servants. Pray writt me your opinion & give me notice in tyme.*²⁴⁰

²³⁹ “What’s the Synod? A knot. Is the Fathers’ choir sound? Sickly. Convention? Wind. Session? Litter. Amen” (Latin). The Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church and Calvinist clergy from several countries including Scotland met in Dordrecht in 1618–19 and upheld the doctrine of predestined salvation of the Elect. The epigram’s author is unknown.

²⁴⁰ Post-scriptum crossed out.

[To John Gordon]

Loveing sonne John,

Befor this come to your hands I hope you will have received myne of the 28th Ja-ry sent by the way of Holland, & my last of the 27th Feb-ry, being an answer to yours of the 5th of December.

I have litle to add to my former, only to desire you to be industrious & carefull and keep an exact & particular acco-t of all you gett in & disburse. The more can be saved now will be the better for your self hereafter. If ships come from thence to Dantzick or go to London befor or in the beginning of July, then send me the things which I ordered to be sent. I have written diverse things to my unkle at more large concerning my {51v} effaires there. You must desire the Earles of Erroll & Aberdeen to assist you to make an end of the business with Watertowne. *Keep Nethermuir & o[u]r cousin Mr. Tho. to yo-r ffrriends notwtstanding any thing that hath happened, and by no meanes show any discontent towards them.*²⁴¹

Writt to me by the first what match that is you can have, as also what the person & the portion is. Methinks, getting a good portion, you could with it & the money there upon interest buy Birnes, *and if you should be necessitate to borrow some*²⁴² and if I can gett you helped with a litle from hence, I shall, yet this is uncertaine. You must not run your self out by keeping too great a port. Your grand-unkle can give you good advice, which follow. Be kind to your brother James & love one another. If things go cross there, & that he hath no mind to a countrey lyfe, then may he prepare to come hither against the next spring, and I shall procure him a good charge. In the meane tyme lett him writt to me oft, & informe me what hopes there is of his old masters²⁴³ business. Writt you to me also so oft as you can, & do not irritate me by your negligence. I do not writt to my unkle nor your brother at this tyme because this goeth in a ffrriends letter. So haveing nothing else, I pray God to bless you, I being

Yo-r loveing father

PG

²⁴¹ Added on margin.

²⁴² Crossed out.

²⁴³ King James.

Mosco, 5th *Aprilis* 1690

In a covert to Mr. Forbes in Dantzick

{52} 1690, Mosco, 8 May

To the Earle of Melfort

*Most Noble Lord*²⁴⁴

May it please Yo-r L-p.

Since the unhappy revolution in our countrey I have written diverse tymes to Yo-r L-p, but have had no returne. My last was the 4 *Dec-bris* 1689 by a Italian Marquess Gabrielli. My designe and business was & is to offer my service to his Sacred Majesty²⁴⁵, being ready & even passionately desirous to spend lyfe and all I have in defence of his M. just right. *My service may be usefull.*²⁴⁶ I only want his M. commission without which I cannot safely adventure nor capitulate nor my service, my zeale & duty signify much. For in whatsoever quality or place his Ma-tie will employ me, I am ready & willing, and with great celerity shall transport my self to any place where the King shall order me to receive his commands.

It were fitt I had some blanke commissions whereby I might engage such good officers as I may gett moved to a sense of their duty. *The Court of P[aris] or Ham[bург] will be the fittest places in my opinion to receive his M. orders.*²⁴⁷ My sonne James is in Scotland in his Ma-ties service, whom I have commanded to be constant & faithfull. Mr. Guascony, who taketh care to convoy this to Yo-r L., will not faile to send me the returne, wherewith I hope you will favour

Yo-r L-ps most humble ser-t
PG

P.S. Wee have had a change at Court, in Sept-r last the Princess [was deposed] & favorites of the yongest Tzaar with his ffriends settled in the

²⁴⁴ Crossed out.

²⁴⁵ King James.

²⁴⁶ Added on margin.

²⁴⁷ Added on margin.

government. The eldest remaines as befor. I have gott this Court to owne still his Sacred Ma-tie & not to hear of any other.

{52v} May 24, 1690

To my son John, mentioning my former letters, approveing his desigene of building a house, and promiseing to allow what it cost; desireing to remitt Rothemayes money by London or Hamburg in bills of exchange to Pat. Forbes in Dantzick; and that he give me notice of the person he is to marry & what the portion; and that if James will not apply himself to a countrey lyfe, or be no hopes of a change there, he come hither, & he to give him 8 or 900 merks to furnish him with cloths & bring him hither; & that he send me the things I did writt for formerly.

To Mr. Patrick Forbes in Dantzick in answer to his of the 12th May *st. n.* & desireing to be informed of what passeth in Scotland.

To Mr. James Gordon, m[erchant] in Rotterdam, mentioning my former with the enclosed & desireing the dispatch of one now to my son, & to give me notice of the reseat & dispatch of myne.

To Mr. Thomas Loftus, m[erchant] in Narva, in answer to his of the 18th of Feb-r, & telling him the difficulties of selling his coach, desireing him to acquaint me with what he heareth from our countreyes.

These sent by Mr. J[o]achim Guasconi.

{53} June 13, 1690

[To James Gordon]

Loveing sonne James,

Yo[u]rs of the 18th May from Hamburg received.

I will not stand now to expostulate with you for your not waiting for an answer to yours of the 11th of Dec-r, which could not but have been in Aberdeen about the tyme you came from Edinburgh. Now your best will

be to say, that haveing a commission from King James to levy a company, & being sickly, you came downe to your brother, & recovering your health, you were going about your business of levying, but being discovered, was seized on & carryed to Edinburgh, where by saying that you were on your way to me-wards, and intercession of ffriends, upon giving baile or cation to go out of the countrey, you had your liberty, but not permitted to go to London to have shipped for Archangell (as you intended when you wrott to Mr. Meverell), but was forced to take the first occasion which offered. This, being but a circumstantiall untruth, is the less sinne.

Your intentions to serve in Polland I do not approve, for you cannot serve there & I here, because of the jealousies & suspiciousnes of these people. So, my advice is that you come hither by the way of Riga. You must mind what I wrott to you above concerning the occasion of your coming away, & call yo[u]rself capitaine. If you intend to stay here, you need not doubt of an honourable charge. You know the difficulties here of getting a good match. As for your getting out of the countrey, when your occasions serve, I shall procure a promise for that.

I have written to Mr. Forbes to lett you have money if he hath received the product {53v} of sables sent from hence to Polland. If not, he hath a note to Mr. Schmitts from *Commissarius* Boetenant to advance you 50 or 60 Reichs dollers if you stand in need of it. If you have not brought along good cloaths, you will be forced to make a handsome suite, but not rich. For your safety in travelling you must procure a passe from the governour there & another in Riga, which you may do through ffriends. Enquire if any treatise of the late warres of Polland be gone out & bring it along.

You shall have a letter from me at Riga also with orders what to do, & bring a litle lanterly²⁴⁸ sword or two & a pair of good French pistolls, which will be needfull for you on the way. If the yong man you have with you be of age, you may say he was a *furer* or caryer of collours, but if litle, say nothing of him. You shall have a letter from me at Riga & another at Plesko wt an order to let you pass upon *podvods* for Mosko.

Just as I am writeing, o[u]r schoolm-r hath desired his dimission & wee have granted it, & so must have another; wherefor go to the rector of the Jesuits Colledge there & desire him to wish you to a good well

²⁴⁸ Perhaps akin to lanterloo, an old card game.

bred & well conditioned yong man, that may be perfect in the Latin & German languages, & understand the musick, singing at least, his business to teach the children & serve in the church. According as he is qualified, you may gett some-body to agree with him at the rate of 50, 60, to a 100 R. dollers pr annum & free lodging, but no accidents from us Catholicks. If he gett children from others, he may make his advantage by them, and surely a well qualified person might have here a good livelihood. I have written to P. Schmidt in Ressel to this same purpose, so that you must expect an answer from him. In the meane tyme be enquireing [...]²⁴⁹

{54} June 13, 1690

Writt to my unkle in answer to his of the 1st of Aprill, giving him notice that I had ordered my son James to come to Mosko, my concernes in Scotland being repeated agreeable with my former, and reiterateing my desire to have my son John maryed for fear of miscarying.

To Mr. Pa. Forbes in Dantzick, desireing his assistance in furthering my son on his jorney, and to gett money advanced for putting him in an handsome equipage, if so be he hath not received the product of my sables, and in his letter a bill of credit from Mr. H. Boetenant, Dan[ish] *Commissarius*, to Mr. Mattias Frederik Smits, merch-t in Dantzick, to advance to my son 50 or 60 R. dollers, if he stand in need of it, augmented to a 100 R. dollers.

To Mr. Geo. Frazer in Riga, congratulating his safe returne, informing him of my sons comeing thither; desireing him to assist and furnish him with what he standeth absolutely in need of, & to procure him a pass from the governour; that if any were found who by this occasion would hazard in a new modish coach with 2 or mor light horses, good advantage might be made by them; to send me buts, ling & a *laxe*²⁵⁰ or salmond.

To my son John, repeating shortly what I had wrott in my former;

²⁴⁹ This letter breaks off.

²⁵⁰ *Lachs* (German), salmon.

informing him of my calling his brother James hither, but not having him engage in service here, & only to passe the tyme a yeare or so.

To my unkle.

{54v} June 13, 1690

[To Pater Johann Schmidt]

Reverende in Christo Pater,

Non dubito quin acceperit R. V. literas meas datas 20 Martii, in quibus significavi de receptis a R. V. datis Resselii 30 Jan. an. cur. et de notitia a Domino Forbes, quod pelles zobellinae traditae fuerint ipsi a R. V., q-d etiam ante an. notificavi sed hae ut videtur perierunt.

Hic sumus in statu eo sicut q-ndo antea scripsi. Nollunt pati diutius ut R.P. Terpelofsky hic maneat, libertas oretenus a Tz. M. concessa est nobis ut accerseamus sacerdotem, sed secularem, plebonum uti hic vocant; qua de re scripsimus ad Ill. D-num Zierofsky, a quo nullum adhuc responsum. Ludimagister qui hic est ultra mensem Septembrem non vult manere, q-mobrem debemus de alio tempestive providere, nolentes liberos ad Luth. vel Cal. scholam mittere. Ideo ego meo et totius communitatis nomine rogo ut R. V-ra faciat nobis gratiam et curet aliquem ad nos mitti. R. V-ra scit q-d debet scire Germ. et Lat. linguas et musicam, et ut sit bonae indolis, educationis et bonae vitae omnino necessarium; secundum qualitates illius, dabimus salarium, usque ad 60 rublones vel 100 thaleros. Post annos tres, duos vel et unum libertatem si placueret habebit exeundi vel redeundi in patriam. Pro hoc et salario fidejussor noster erit D. Forbes in Gedano. Sed debet cito mitti, ut possit cum filio meo Jacobo venire, qui nunc est Gedani, quem etiam jussi ut octiduum unum vel alterum expectet, nam in illius comitatu tuto admittetur, aliter erit difficultas intromittendi, quia valde suspicarentur {55} illum esse sacerdotem.

Si talis in V-ra urbe invenietur, tunc q-m cito mittatur Gedanum vel Rigam, si non, rogamus ut scribat ad Rectorem Societatis J. Gedanensis ut talem bene moratum provideat, et rogo ut q-mprimum filium meum Gedani certiolem faciat, nam non diu manebit ibi et cavendum est ne duo

simul obligentur. Nam et scripsi ad filium ut alloquetur R.P. Rectorem Gedani de hac re.²⁵¹

Eustachius Schmidt in Brawnsberg²⁵². Matthias Radt in Königsberg.

²⁵¹ “Reverend Father in Christ,

I do not doubt but Your Reverence have received my letter dated 20 March, wherein I gave notice of the receipt of Y.R.’s [letter], dated in Rössell 30 Jan. of the current year, and of the news from Mr. Forbes that sable furs were transferred to him from Y.R.; whereof I have already notified last year, but that [one] was evidently lost.

We are here in the same condition as I have written before. [The authorities] do not wish to allow Rev. Father Terpilovsky to remain here any longer; we have been orally granted liberty by his Tsarian Majesty to invite a priest, but a secular one—*plebanus*, as they call him. We have written thereupon to the Illustrious Mr. Zirowski*, from whom there is no response as yet. The schoolteacher who is here does not want to stay beyond the month of September; therefore we must timely provide another one, being reluctant to send our children to the Lutheran or Calvinist school. Thus, on behalf of myself and our whole community I beg Y.R. to do us a favour and take care to send someone to us. Y.R. is aware that he has to know German and Latin as well as music, and it is utterly necessary that he be capable, educated and well-behaved. According to his qualities, we shall pay him a salary of up to 60 rubles or 100 thalers. After three, two or even one year he shall be free, if he pleases, to depart or return to his homeland. For that and his salary our guarantor shall be Mr. Forbes in Danzig. But he has to be sent soon in order to arrive with my son James, who is now in Danzig; I have also ordered him to wait for one or other for eight days; since in his company [the teacher] shall be safely admitted [to Russia], otherwise difficulty shall arise, as it could well be suspected that he is a priest.

If such a one can be found in Your town, let him then be sent quickly to Danzig or Riga, if not—we ask [You] to write to the Rector of the Danzig Society of Jesus that he provide us with such a well-behaved [man]. And I ask that he inform my son in Danzig as soon as possible, as [the latter] shall not stay there for long. And take care lest you oblige two men at once, for I have written to my son that he should also apply to Rev. Father Rector in Danzig anent the same matter”. (Latin).

* Baron Johann Christoph Zirowski headed an embassy of the Holy Roman Empire to Russia in 1684. The letter to him from the Moscow Catholic community led by Gordon, dated 26 March 1690, is preserved in the State Archives in Vienna (N.G. Ustrialov, *Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikago*. Vol. II. (St.Petersburg, 1858), pp. 382–3).

²⁵² Braunsberg (German), Braniewo (Polish). In 1651–53 Patrick Gordon studied at the Jesuit College there (Collegium Hosianum), founded by Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius in 1565 and regarded as one of the best educational institutions of Poland-Lithuania. In 1692–95 Gordon’s younger son Theodore also studied there.

27 Junii

[To James Gordon]

Loveing son James,

Myne of the 13th instant will have given you advice & orders what you are to do. I have spoke to his Ma-tie about your comeing in hither & going out againe when you have a mind. I had answer that you might come, & that if you did not engage in service, you might go when you pleased, but if you once take service, not so. However I find it fitt that you come hither rather as run up & downe hunting after uncertaintyes. So you may stay here untill things change in Scotland, for certainly the government there cannot subsist long. Be a good husband of your money & stay not long in one place.

{55v} 9 July 1690

For my son James

Loveing son,

Yo[u]rs of the 6th past from Dantzigh I received two dayes ago. I wonder you stayed not at Dantzigh untill you had received an answer to yours of the 18th of May from Hamburg, nor in Scotland untill you had received an answer to yo-rs of the 11th of December last year. You should consider the distance of places & the²⁵³ tyme which is required for transmitting letters hither & returning answers. Be assured I omitt no tyme nor let a post go by. And perhaps befor this come to you, you will upon the receit of my last be gone from thence, so that I know not what to think of such inconsideratenes & inconstancy. Your staying in Dantzigh a weeke or two (in which tyme you might have had an answer to y-r former) needed not to have cost so much. How could you expect an answer of a letter from Hamburg to Mosko in Dantzigh in 4 weeks tyme, which was the tyme of your jorney & stay in Dantzich, whereas a letter from Hamburg to Mosko is neer 4 weekes in travelling, & from Mosko to Dantzigh neer 3? But enough of this.

I know not now what counsell to give you. I and your ffriends here would gladly have you by us. I am only afrayed that when you are here you

²⁵³ *convenient* crossed out.

will not resolve upon settling, and but spend your tyme idley. No where used merit to be better rewarded as where you are, yet there are many difficulties there too for strangers, as well as here, though not of alike nature. The lofty & haughty cariage of that people²⁵⁴, joynd with a contempt of strangers, is harsh and to unstayed humors even unsupportable. However, these who can comport with this, and comply, may come {56} forward.

In my former I shew you the inconveniences of yo-r being there and I here, for if knowne, it would be a meane to bring me in suspicion here, and perhaps you not to be trusted there. So that if you be not engaged befor this come to you, it will be best in my opinion to come hither. Yet I would not have you engage in service here, unless you resolve to settle here. For as I have told you often, where a stranger hath not the priviledge to marry with the natives, nor to be admitted to advantagious employments & places, there no considerable fortune can be made. I reckon not high charges or titles for fortunes, for these without proportionable & sufficient maintenance are but burthens. You know the difficulties here, and you will see both the difficulties & advantages there, so that I give it in your choice to remaine or come hither.

If you resolve to stay there, you must shunne to be knowne by the Moskoes Resident or any from hence who may be there. But if you have showne your self to him, then you must go to him againe & tell him that I have written to you that you come in hither, but that you intend to try a campagne in Hungary to gett more experience & to render [your]self mor able for service. If you get a patron of some nobleman, you may in tyme come to a fortune.

All my acquaintances there are dead, only the King (whose prisoner I was a[*nno*] 1657, and who caused deliver me to the deceased Lubomirsky the Crowne Marshall)²⁵⁵ may remember me. The Crowne Gen-ll Yablonofsky may perhaps call to mind of haveing seen me by Lubomirsky at the expedition of Czudnow.²⁵⁶ I cannot give any recommendations to

²⁵⁴ The Poles.

²⁵⁵ Properly, in 1658–59 (see *Diary*, I, pp. 273–82). Prince Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski (1616–1667), eminent Polish commander and politician, Great Crown Marshal and Field Crown Hetman. Gordon served with his dragoons and then commanded them.

²⁵⁶ For the Chudnov campaign see *Diary*, II, pp. 66–104. Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski (1634–1702) was another famous Polish commander, and from 1683 Great

any other, having no acquaintance, & to these is not convenient nor practicable.

If you resolve to come hither you {56v} must come by the way of Dantzick to Riga, and you may either stay here so or take service as I did writt to you in my former of the 13th *Junii*. One thing I must advertise you, if you stay there, that you writt to me by no other way as by the way of Dantzick or Riga; then, that you date not your letters from any place in Polland, & antedate a whole month, but as out of France, dateing your letters from such places as have their letters beginning alike with the places there, as for Posna Paris, for Lvova Lyons, for Cracow Caen, for Warso Wentadour²⁵⁷ etc. Neither must you name the sirnames of any there, for fear of interception of letters, the people here being of no body mor jealous and suspicious as of the Polls.

You know my intentions if I could get free of this place. Your sister Mary is contracted to Captaine Daniell Crawfuird, your yongest sister, whom you never saw, dead, & the sickly child, my wifes sister, also. So, whither you stay there or come hither, I pray God to bless you, remaining [...]

P.S. Mr. Forbes shall be contented, you will perhaps gett an acco-t of my sables there by Tho. Gordon of Lvova. I tell you this at last, unless you be engaged in honourable conditions, or that you cannot gett of, I think it best that you come hither for a tyme, and if it be required, you can give your promise to returne. You know my mynd also. Give notice to Mr. Forbes of your resolutions and to me also by the first.

{57} For Mr. Pat. Forbes in Dantzik

1690, July 11

Sir,

Since myne of the 13th past I have yours of the 20th with an enclosed from my son James. I was surprized to hear he was gone from thence without my order, which by staying two weekes longer he could have had.

Crown Hetman.

²⁵⁷ Ventadour is a castle and former duchy in the French province of Limousin, and birthplace of the great 12th-century troubadour Bernart de Ventadorn.

In the meane tyme I give you infinite thanks for putting him in an equipage & recommending him, and fitting him for appearing amongst honest people. His going to that countrey hath put me to a stand and doubt what I shall advise or order him. I have alwayes looked upon that countrey fitter for making a fortune in as this for many reasons, yet he cannot well serve there, & I here, because of the jealousies, antipathy & suspicion betwixt the nations. For it would be a meane to make him and me both mistrusted, if knowne.

It is true, I would willingly have him by me rather as have him wandering amongst such uncertainties, yet I am not so much wedded to my owne fancy or interest as to have him spoile or desert even the appearance of a lyvelyhood. Besides I am afrayed that he will be in the same opinion of this countrey as he was when last here, & not contented to stay. He knoweth the difficulties of this countrey, and a short tyme will discover to him the inconveniences of that. It seemes his ambition is greater as the fortune which is allotted him at home, but he will fynd it hard enough to attaine to a competency in the way he is in, & enclined to. I have put it in his will to stay there if he be engaged, and seeth appearance of a subsistance, or come hither. Yet I have advised him to the last, though without intention to have him engage in service here, but only to stay by me a voluntier untill the tymes²⁵⁸ change, or he fixe himself to a constant resolution.

If he had {57v} stayed my orders in Scotland, he needed not to have come so ill accoutred from thence, for I had ordered him 8 or 900 merks to furnish him on his way. Pray forward the enclosed to him by the first, and if he resolves for this place & come your way, pray help him forward that he be in no necessity on the way. My ffriend at Riga hath advice²⁵⁹ to furnish him with what he wants. The bill of credit to Matthias Frederick Smits, I hope, is answered, and so you will be reimbursed; what remaines over you may give him on the way, & more if he stand in need thereof.

Pray remember me to M-rs Browne, Wast & Adie & thank them from me for their kindness to my son. I doubt not but Tho. Gordon of Lvova, how soone he sells the sables or receives the money for them, will advise

²⁵⁸ Instead of the crossed-out *world*.

²⁵⁹ Instead of the crossed-out *order*.

you. I thank you for forwarding my letter to my son. So, with my due respects to your fyre-syde & all our kind ffriends there, I remaine

Yo-r obliged ffriend & ser-t

PG

For Mr. Geo. Frazer

1690, July 11

Sir,

For yo-rs of the 26 *passat*. I render many thanks, and for your succinct & judicious acco-t of the effaires in England. Pray continue to advise me when any thing extraordinary passeth. I have nothing to advise you from hence. My son will not be so soone there because he hath taken a towre to the Court of Polland, but when he comes, I doubt nothing of yo-r care, kindnes & assistance. Pray forward the enclosed by the first. I being in great hast remaine

Yo-rs

PG

{58} 1690, July 29, Mosco

Mr. Sam. Meverell

Worthy ffriend,

Yo-rs of the 6th of May received in due tyme, whereby I understand the receit of myne of the 27th Feb-ry & your forwarding the enclosed to my son. As for the moneyes expended about the privy seale & excheq-r fees, I thought even at first that it was irrecoverable that way. Our countrey men here have promised to writt something concerning it to their ffriends; if they do, I doubt not but you will make the best use of it. As for what remaineth in your hands of myne, I would not willingly have had it here, yet seeing I have small hopes of getting of from hence, I find it best that you remitt it with convenience, wherein you need not to straiten yourself with tyme.

My son James came to Hamburgh, thence to Dantzigh, and being furnished with money there, is gone for Polland. I have ordered him to

returne & come hither, and stay here without engaging in service unless he please. My daughter Mary is to be maryed in Sept-r to a Capt. Daniell Crawford, son to Colonell Hugo Crawford. I am still at Court to my great expences & continuall trouble, am promised great recompenses, but received litle as yet. When the yongest Tzaar taketh the government in his owne hands, I doubt not of being satisfyed. This being all, with due respects from me & my family to you & yours I remaine

Yo-r most affectionate br. & ser-t

PG

By Mr. Fr. Guascony over A[r]changell.

{58v} [To the Duke of Gordon]

1690, *No-ris* 15

May it please Yo-r Grace.

The sad revolution in o[u]r countrey & the Kings misfortunes, wherein Yo-r G. hath a large share, hath occasioned inexpressible grieffe to me, which brought me in a sicknesse²⁶⁰ & even almost to deaths doore. Had I been in a place where I could have been serviceable to his M., I should have vented my passion another way. I perceived even when I was there²⁶¹ that the Kings too great goodnes & credulity in intrusting dissaffected & ill principled persons in high charges could not but prove fatall. Notwithstanding all that hath fallen out, I am sorry from my heart that his Ma-tie did not, when I was in Scotland, lay his commands upon me to stay there, albeit without employment. Then might I have had occasion at this tyme to have given proofs of my loyalty, and what I can do.

Wee have nothing from our countrey but what wee have from the Hollands gazets, from which, though partiall, wee may collect that the want of good conduct and vigilancy are partly the causes why his M. effaires & armes have so bad success there. If there were any likelihood of doing any good, and that I had a commission, I am ready still to hazard lyfe & all I have in his M. service & for the maintaining of his just right, &

²⁶⁰ The Diary for 15–22 January 1689 confirms this (*Diary*, IV, p. 234).

²⁶¹ In Britain in 1686.

that in any place where his M. shall command, and in whatsoever quality I may be thought capable of.

{59} I may have some difficulty in getting of from hence, yet being so near the Tzaar as I am now (for I have access to his M. every day), I doubt not but to obtaine licence, if it be but for a tyme. I have gott this Court still to owne his Sacred Ma-tie & not to heare of any other. If their friendship²⁶² could signify any thing to the effaires of his M. or the most Christian Kings²⁶³, it may (notwithstanding former disgusts) be obtained by a message from the most Christian King, which perhaps he will not, because he will not seeme to be seeking. Yet it might breed great ombragies & jealousies in our neighbours²⁶⁴, albeit it were but a complement.

I shall think my self much honoured²⁶⁵ by receiving a line from Yo-r Grace. The way of Polland is not the best, because of the suspicions & jealousies arising betwixt these nations. So, committing Yo-r G. to the protection of the Omnipotent, I desire still to be esteemed

Yo-r G. most humble ser-t

PG

For his Grace The Duke of Gordon at Paris

Pray cause forward the enclosed returne *to the Earle of Melfort, being a returne to his*²⁶⁶

{59v}

[To the Earl of Melfort]

1690, *No-ris* 15

May it please Yo-r Excel.

I find my self honoured with your most acceptable [letter] of the 5th of Aug-t some posts ago. I am glad to heare of the least hopes or appearance of any good in his M. effaires, & am sorry that in Ireland things have gone so cross. Wee have nothing here but what wee learne

²⁶² *of this Court* crossed out.

²⁶³ Louis XIV (1638–1715), from 1643 King of France, whose court provided asylum for the exiled King James II (VII).

²⁶⁴ Probably a hint at the Holy Roman Empire, Russia's ally in the anti-Ottoman Holy League and enemy of France.

²⁶⁵ *be exceeding glad* crossed out.

²⁶⁶ Marked words crossed out.

from the Hollands Gazetts, from which, though partiall, wee may gather that all does not go in our countreyes according to Orange his wishes, so that it may be hoped that by tyme a strong party may appear, & act vigorously for his M. restauration. I²⁶⁷ looke upon that revolution as another²⁶⁸ conquest by a medley of forreigne nations. I²⁶⁹ wonder how they can endure so long such slavery & oppressions by forreigne forces, & intollerable taxations²⁷⁰. I am sorry that I must in such a tyme be a looker on, & not capacitated to serve his M. with any thing, but prayers, wishes and goodwill.

Wee have not here been in a condition to act any thing this summer, but are resolving of doing something the next to please our allyes. I have nothing else now, but still desire to be esteemed

Yo-r Ex. most humble ser-t

PG

For his Exc. the Earle of Melfort at Rome.

{60} 1690, *No-ris* 15

To my son John

Loveing son,

Your brother James came hither the 22th [*sic*] of September, the day befor your sister was marryed. He hath cost me a great deale of money by the way. I understand by him that it is the Laird of Crichy his daughter²⁷¹ that you are in suit of, wherewith I am well²⁷² satisfied, being informed that she is of our religion, a vertuous woman and of a good family, with a reasonable portion; wherefor by this receive my blessing, if other ffriends consent & advise, especially my unkle. You may, according to the fashion, infest her in so much land as my unkle & friends shall

²⁶⁷ Instead of the crossed-out *and wee*.

²⁶⁸ Written above: *a 5th*, i.e. after the Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Danish and Norman conquests of Britain.

²⁶⁹ Instead of the crossed-out *and wee all here*.

²⁷⁰ *subsidies* crossed out.

²⁷¹ John Gordon's bride was Elizabeth Grant († 1726), eldest daughter of the Roman Catholic Scots laird William Grant of Crichtie.

²⁷² *fully* crossed out.

advise. I know her father to be an understanding gentleman, who is able to give you assistance & advice in yo-r effaires, which you must ask & follow; from whom as from her, when she shall be your wyfe, I expect to hear by the first.

Your brother is lyke to stay here some tyme, being graced Lt.colonell in one of my regiments. This going by post in a ffriends *coverto*, he could not writt to you nor his grand-uncle, nor I to him either, but both shall some weekes hence. Your brother giveth me a favourable relation of your ordering effaires. I approve of your industry in planting, but it must be well looked to & preserved from beasts when they go without a heardsman. As for your ponding, I know not what great advantage you may have by it. You had by my last of the 24th May & 13th Junii that I approved of your building {60v} a good house. In all things else I referr you to my many former, expecting always particular answer to what I writt. Remember my duty to my unkle, & kindnesse to all our ffriends, remaining

Yo-r loveing father

PG

Mr. Sam. Meverell

My last of the 29th July in answer to yo-rs of the 6th of May was p[e]r ffriend to Archangell; to which I have nothing to add, this being only to desire you to forward the enclosed by the first.

My son James came hither about 6 weekes ago, and is graced Lt.coll. in one of my regiments. My daughter Mary was married the 23d 7bris bypast. I have good hopes to have my pay augmented to the halfe at least of what it hath been in former tymes. My son saith he left some things there when he went from thence, as also in Paris, which, if recovered, he desires they may be sent with the other by the next shipping. I desire also to send me a booke of military discipline set forth by Lt.Coll. Rudds²⁷³, and if there be any newer as these I had last, to send me one. My wyfe & family desire

²⁷³ Probably, the illustrated military treatise by Lt.Colonel Richard Elton with an appendix by Captain Thomas Rudd: Lt.Col. Richard Elton, *The Compleat Body of the Art Military: exactly compiled, and gradually composed for the foot, in the best refined manner, according to the practise of the modern times... to which is added a Supplement... formerly written by Capt. Tho. Rudd...* (London, 1668).

heartily to be remembred to you & yours, & I, who remains

Yo-r affectionat bro. & ser-t

PG

Per post.

{61} 1690, *Dec-ris* 30

R. Patri Schmidt

Reverende in Christo Pater,

Quod Scripsi ad Re. V. Junii 13 an. cur., sed quia nullum habui responsum vereor ne perierint meae; tunc vero significavi me scripsisse ad R. V. 20 die Martii responsum ad literas R. V. datas Resselii 30 Jan., et de notitia a Domino Forbes quod pelles zebellinas acceperit, et de mittendo ad nos ludimagistro. Nunc autem notum facio, quod ludimagister quem hic habuimus, manebit in alterum annum, etsi non valde capax, tamen quid faciendum, damus illi 40 rublones per annum cum libero hospitio et lignis.

Habemus Libertas a Tz. M. nobis concessa est ut accerseamus sacerdotem, sed secularem vel alii ordinis, non autem V-ri; qua de re scripsimus ad Illustrissimum D-num Zierofsky, a quo nullum adhuc responsum. Miserum est quod ob defectum confessoriorum in lamentabili statu sumus, et propter hoc quidam deficiunt, si non cito habuerimus sacerdotes, tunc libenter mitterem Theodorulum meum ad Collegium propter studia et educationem. Ideo a R. V-ra *obsecro, ut mihi* peto consilium, ad quod Colegium mittam illum, et quanti illius subsistentia per annum constabit. Tota vidua communitas salutat R. V-ram et precibus R. V-rae se commendat, precipue ego cum mea familia, interim et semper permanens

R. V-rae obsequientissimus servus

P.S. Filius meus Jacobus venit huc 22 Sept-ris et est nunc vice-colonellus in mea prima legione. Filia mea Maria nupta fuit 23 die Sept-ris juveni Cap. Cal. Rel., sed spero quod sequetur vestigia D-ni Strasburg.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ "To Rev. Father Schmidt.

Reverend Father in Christ,

I have written to Your Reverence on 13 June of the current year, but since I have not had any response, I am afraid lest mine be lost; I have given notice then

{61v} 1690, *Dec-ris* 30

For Mr. Tho. Gordon in Lvova

Sir,

Pray excuse me that I have been so long in acknowledging your kindness to my son James, & your pains in putting of my sables. I expect that²⁷⁵ you will now shortly receive or have the money & remitt it to Dantzick. I intended to have had my son stay here without engaging, but his Ma-ties will prevailed to have him serve, & now he is Lt.colonell to my first regiment. I shall say no more, but if I can be any way serviceable to you in this place, you shall find a great willingnes & redines in

Yo-r affectionate kinsman & ser-t

PG

P.S. If the product of the sables sent to Robert Gordon do not suffice to pay him the money he disbursed for me, pray satisfy him & yo-rself & remitt the rest as above.

that I had written to Y.R. on 20 March in answer to Y.R.'s letter dated in Rössell 30 Jan.; also of the news from Mr. Forbes that he had received the sable furs, and of the sending of a schoolteacher to us. Now I give you notice that the teacher that we have here shall remain for another year. Although he is not very capable, but what are we to do? We pay him 40 rubles per year with free lodging and firewood.

From his Tsarian Majesty we are granted liberty to invite a priest, but a secular one, or from another order rather than Yours; of that matter we have written to the Most Illustrious Mr. Zirowski, from whom there is no response so far. Unfortunately, from the lack of confessors we are in a lamentable state, so that, while they are deficient, if we do not obtain priests soon, I would all the more gladly send my little Theodore to the College for study and education. Therefore I ask Y.R.'s advice as to what College I shall send him, and how much his subsistence would cost per year. Our whole widowed community salutes Y.R. and commends itself to Y.R.'s prayers, especially I with my family, meantime and always remaining

Y.R.'s most obedient servant

P.S. My son James came here on 22 September and is now lieutenant colonel in my first regiment. My daughter Mary on 23 September was married to a young captain of the Calvinist faith, but I hope that he follows in the footsteps of Mr. Strasburg" (Latin).

The last phrase implies conversion to Catholicism.

²⁷⁵ *by this tyme* crossed out.

For Mr. Pa. Forbes in Dantzich

Sir,

I have been long your debtor for yours of the 8th of August, as also too long deferred my thanks to you for your kindnes to my son. He came hither the 22 of September. I was loth to have him engage here, but his Ma-ties desire prevailed, so that he is now Lt.colonell in my first regiment.

I can writt nothing concerning the money which I desired T. Gordon of Lvova to remitt to you untill I hear it be remitted, and how much, for he hath not informed me for how much he hath sold the sables. In the meane tyme, when you receive the money, I entreat you to cause buy for me 2 paire of such pistols as Mr. Adie bought for my son there, & 2 paire for 15 or 20 R. dollers a paire, if such be there to be had, as also halfe a dozen ordinary walking swords *and a light birding or fowling peece for a yong youth. I have some other things...^{*276}; as also 2 bookes of all the armes of Germany, it is in 5 parts²⁷⁷, & I would have 2 such. {62} I did buy one in Hamburgh for 9 dollers, but must part with it here. *I payed for it 9 dollers.^{*278} I would have them of the latest edition; all which might be sent to Narva or Riga by shipping & recommended to Mr. Tho. Loftus or Mr. Geo. Frazer, but all must be well marked & sealed for fear of being changed.

I stand in need of diverse other things, but cannot writt for them untill I know how much money you shall have of mine. I shall conclude with due respects from me & myne to all ffrriends there, especially to Mr. Browne, Mr. Vaast, Mr. Adie, not forgetting your owne fyresyde, I being & wishing still to be esteemed

Yo-r affectionate obliged ffrriend & ser-t
PG

P.S. The bookes are printed in Nurenbergh.

²⁷⁶ Marked words crossed out.

²⁷⁷ Clearly, the most famous German armorial by J.A. Siebmacher and his followers (see P.S. below): Johann Siebmacher. *Das erneurte Teutsche Wappen-buch, in welchem dess H. Römische Reichs Potentaten, Fürsten... Namen, Wappen... abgebildet zu ersehen. 5 Teile.* (Nürnberg, various editions).

²⁷⁸ Words crossed out.

For Mr. Ro-t Jolly in Hamburg

Sir,

I could not omitt by this occasion to render you many thanks for yo-rs of the 9th of May last & your kindnes to my son James. I doubt not but that he will acknowledge the same himself, & writt to you & informe you of his present condition. He is lt.colonell to my first regiment. I shalbe glad to have a line from you now & then by your shipping, to informe me of what passeth in our countrey, and if there be any thing wherein I can be steddable to you in this place, do let me know, & you shall find a great willingnes & readines in

Yo-r loveing ffriend & ser-t
PG

{62v} 1690, *Dec-ris* 30

For Mr. Tho. Loftus M[erchan]t in Narva

Sir,

I have been long your debtor for yours of the 2d of July. I am sorry that your coach is lyke to find such a bad market here, the reasons I did writt you in my former. I have not spoke with Commissarius Kniper lately, so knowes not what he hath done about it, but doub[t]less he will have acquainted you himself what you have to expect. I have nothing else *to writt you from hence^{*279} but that my son, to whom you did shew so much kindnes, is returned hither lately & is lt.colonell to my first regiment; who will by occasion acknowledge your civilities, as shall alwayes be done by

Yo-r affectionate ffriend to serve you
PG

²⁷⁹ Words crossed out.

Ja-ry 1, Thursday. At devotion, afternoone²⁸⁰ sent for, in towne, by diverse. Orders for many to attend his Ma-tie the next day in Preobrasinsko.

2. Writt to my unkle, son John in a covert to W-m Gordon, merch-t in Aberdeen. All with the former dated 30 *Dec-ris* sent by Mr. N. Beck, who was to depart from hence the 5th instant; these to Dantzick & Polland in Mr. Forbes his & the Scots to Mr. Jolly his care.

After dinner I went to Preobrasinsko, and was dismissed by his M. with orders to provide for his dinner & supper in my house, & that he would lodge by me all night.

3. His Ma-tie came to me at 10 aclock and went immediately to dinner, where were 85 persons of quality besides neer a hundred attendants. All were merry & supped, lodging with a *leagner*²⁸¹ convenience.

{63v} Jan-ry 4, Sunday. His Ma. & all dined by M.G. le Fort & went at 7 aclock at night to towne.

My son in law Daniell Crawfuird graced maior.

5. In Butirky, mustered & ordered the regiment.

A letter from the King of Polland²⁸² to the Tzaars, expostulating with them for haveing done nothing the last year in reference to their promise by the treaty in keeping of the Tartars, and desiring a declaration of what they are to do this next summer.

6. In towne, at the ceremony of the procession & sanctifying the water.

I dined by the Pollnish resident.

7. At home. The Polls resident at conference.

{64} Ja-ry 8, Thur. In towne, gave of Dan[iel] his petition to the boyar.

Given in a list of the regiment for Januars pay: 38 serjeants, 39 foriers & furiers, 65 corporals, 47 pipers, 665 sojourns whereof one *verstany* & 54 newly written in to full meanes; & of the last month one runaway, 8 *emeriti*, 91 widdowe who have yong male children, 39 orphans, 11 of the

²⁸⁰ Slip in MS: *aftertowne*.

²⁸¹ *Lager* (German), military camp.

²⁸² *Polnish resident* crossed out.

former number being written in to full meanes.

Signed another paper for entertaining the souldiers upon the acco-t of Christmasse day & 3 Kings²⁸³, to witt for 854 under officers & sojourns, & 70 litle boyes in Dutch²⁸⁴ cloaths.

9. In towne & above. The m[onk?] fr[om] *K[niaz]* V[asily].²⁸⁵

10. In towne.

{64v} Ja-ry 11, Sund. At dinner by *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovits [Golitsyn].

At the christening feast, his M[ajesty] there.

12. My son James brought above for makeing of *pyrobolia* or *-technia*²⁸⁶.

13. In towne, above. Dined by *K[niaz]* F.Y. Rom[odanovsky].

14. In towne, dined above.

Received a letter from Col. Galbreth.

15. At home.

{65} Ja-ry 16, Frid. Orders for sending Iv[an] Iv[anovich Chaadayev?] & Ach[tomon] Iv[anov] to *K[niaz]* V[asily] to confront him with the m[onk?].²⁸⁷

17. In towne, above.

18. Many Zaporovish Cosakes came & brought some Turkes & Tartars.

The English & other ffrinds at a feast with musick by me.

19. The *D[yak?]* prevailed upon to receive the p[retended] k[ing] W[illiam] his letter to their Tz. M[ajesties].

20.

{65v} Ja-ry 21, Wed. In towne, above.

22.

23. A letter from the K[ing] of Poll[and] to the Tzaars, giveing notice of Prince Jacob his mar[riage] to the Princess of Newburgh.²⁸⁸

²⁸³ On 6 January O.St. Roman Catholics celebrate the Adoration of the Magi, while in the Orthodox Church it is the Theophany (Baptism of Christ).

²⁸⁴ By *Dutch* Gordon usually means German (Deutsch).

²⁸⁵ At this very time a monk named Ioasaf gave a false delation against Prince V.V. Golitsyn, who was exiled and strove to justify himself to Tsar Peter (S.M. Solov'yov. *Sochineniya*. Vol. VII. (Moscow, 1991), p. 450). Cf. below, entries for 16 January and 5 February 1691.

²⁸⁶ Fireworks (Greek & Latin).

²⁸⁷ Cf. entries for 9 January and 5 February.

²⁸⁸ The wedding of Prince Jakub Ludwik Henryk Sobieski of Poland (1667–1737) and Countess Palatine Hedwig Elisabeth Amelia of Neuburg (1673–1722) took

The bookes signed, & a paper of 9 rubles 6 *alt.* 4 *deng.* to be sent into the *Prikase*.

24. Above. The Hollands resident gave up the letter from the P[rince] of Orange, giving notice of his being advanced to the Crowne of Great Brittain.

{66} Ja-ry 25, Sund. *Had the Engl[ish] & others at a feast with musick.*²⁸⁹ At a wedding in Preobrasinsko.

26. At the wedding againe with our wywes.

27. *In towne, above.*²⁹⁰ At the wedding of Antonius.

My son in law Rudolph Strasburgh by a great misfortune burnt his head, hands, knees & feet, their fireworks above being fired, & he escaping narrowly, 3 being burnt to death & Fr. Zimmerman²⁹¹ hurt also.

28. Orders on Ja[me]s his *wipisky*, he getting for his welcome into the countrey 50 rubles in money, 60 in sables, 2 pund of plate & 5 ells of cloth.²⁹²

His M[ajesty] came to see Rodivon²⁹³ & was by me.

Sisoy, Kopile[v?] & divers others with 83 *spanne*²⁹⁴ of brandewine taken into the *Prikase*.

29. *In towne, orders.*²⁹⁵ At the wedding of Coll. Alex-r Sharpe.²⁹⁶

place on 8 February N.St. 1691.

²⁸⁹ Phrase crossed out in MS.

²⁹⁰ Phrase crossed out.

²⁹¹ Frans Timmerman († 1702), Dutch merchant, who taught Tsar Peter geometry and mathematics. At the first siege of Azov he served as military engineer.

²⁹² "In the year 199 [1691], on 21 January, according to the ukase of the Great Sovereigns... it is given... of the salary for his arrival to Lt.Colonel Yakov [James] Gordon: in money 50 rub., a cup worth 2 *grivenki*, 40 sables worth 60 rub., of *lundysh* cloth 5 *arsbins*. But henceforth that is not to be written out as a precedent and example for others, because the Great Sovereigns have graced him, Yakov, for the services of his father, General Piotr [Patrick] Gordon, for the reason that he, the General, has been serving them, the Great Sovereigns, for many years, and he fought against [their] enemies in many battles, and in Chigirin he has been besieged by the Turks, and manifested his numerous and evident services" (*Dnèrnik generala Patrika Gordona*, pt. II, pp. 226–7).

²⁹³ Colonel Strasburg, Gordon's son-in-law.

²⁹⁴ *Zhban* (Russian), can or jug.

²⁹⁵ Words crossed out.

²⁹⁶ Alexander, son of William, Sharp (Sharf) († after 1708), colonel of Scots descent. In 1692–3 he was the first commander of Semionovsky regiment, then took part in Azov campaigns and Great Northern War. From 1704 major general.

Sisoy the writer beat & set of, & Nikita Solochin ordered to be in his place.²⁹⁷

30. *In towne, spoke about our meanes*.²⁹⁸ Signed 3 bookes, one for halfe a ruble for the mariage of the Tzaar Peter Alexeyovits *s[uo?] t[empore?]*²⁹⁹; another halfe a ruble for the birth of a yong Princess *of the Tsaritsa*³⁰⁰ Mary Ioannovna, given to 36 serjeants, 36 foriers & furiers, 65 corporals, 46 pipers, 586 sojors, 2 *Potesbny konuchs*³⁰¹ & to 22 widdowes. Remained of this 5 rubles.

{66v} The 2d booke for halfe a ruble a man upon the acco-t of [...] Of this remained 3 r. 10 *altins*.

The third for 10 *altins* a man upon the acco-t of [...] Of this remained 30 *altines*. In all 9 r. 6 *alt*. 4 *d*.

Signed a paper of 21 colours 3 whereof white taffety with eagles in them, 9 red taffety & hippocentaures³⁰² on them, 9 coloured with hippocentaures in them & one chequered, which all may be made use of, but the last not suitable, and 18 colours all torne or *vetchy*³⁰³; and there is necessary to be made 11 collours for the three regiments.

{67} Feb-ry 1, Sund. In church.

2. In church. Rod[ion] very weake. His M. in the evening came to see him.

3. Rod. a litle better.

4. His M. came to see Rod[ion]. The wed. in Preobrasinsko.

Capt. von der Weiden dyed of his wounds.

Aleshka Strisow pined.³⁰⁴

5. Lampe his wed[ding], & another with Coll. Cro his daughter.

²⁹⁷ The post of military clerk in Gordon's Butyrsky regiment, which Sisoy has lost, apparently for illegal trade in vodka.

²⁹⁸ Words crossed out.

²⁹⁹ In due time (Latin). Tsar Peter married Evdokia Lopukhina as far back as January 1689.

³⁰⁰ Words crossed out.

³⁰¹ Tsar Peter's "play stablemen", who were being formed into the elite Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky regiments under the supervision of General Gordon.

³⁰² Centaurs, symbols of Gordon's regiment.

³⁰³ Threadbare (Russian).

³⁰⁴ *Strelets* Alexey Strizhov was one of chief accomplices in Fiodor Shaklovity's plot against Tsar Peter.

Ivan Ivan. Shaydayuf³⁰⁵ sent to examine *Kniaz* Vasil. Vasil. Gol[itsyn].

6. In towne. Coll. Sikler returned from the Hetman.

His M. dined & lodged by L[e] F[ort].

{67v} Feb-ry 7, Sat. In towne, our halfe pay brought to us, myne being 271 r. 6 *al.* 4 *d.*

Dined w[i]th others by Daniell Hartman, being a meeting about the agreement of G.M. Menezes wt Commissary Boetenant.

8. At devotion.

9. In towne. His M. came to see Rod[ion].

10. In towne. The weddings of Pet. Marselis, *apteker* & others.

Left over of moneyes of the sojourns pay for the month of Januar 18 rubles 17 *altins*, which ordered to be given to those new made sojourns, so farr as it will go.

{68} Feb-ry 11, Wedn. The list of the regiment for the month of February: 37 serjeants, 39 furers & foriers, 63 corporalls, 47 pipers, 661 sojourns, 8 *emeriti*, 96 widdowes, 39 orphans.

I went & supped at P. Marselis his wedding.

12. Received letters from the Hetman.

13. Wisoczky³⁰⁶ came by me.

14.

15. At devotion.

{68v} Feb-ry 16, Moon. In towne, by diverse noblemen. All the fireworkes were brought to Presny.

Writt to my unkle, son, Nethermuir, W-m Gordon in Scotl[and], to James Gordon in Rot[terdam], Mr. Meverell, Mr. Frazer by Mr. Brest³⁰⁷.

17. The fireworkes in Presne in his Ma-ties presence.

I at the wedding of Ignatius.

18. Againe at the wedding.

19. Being the Princes birth day, I was sent for by his M., stayed till neer evening. His M. in the Slaboda by me, I afterwards at the wedding of [...] Meyer with Madam Hamiltons [...]³⁰⁸

{69} Feb-ry 20, Frid. At Pokrofska with his M., stayed all night.

³⁰⁵ *Okolnichy* I.I. Chaadayev.

³⁰⁶ Roman Vysotsky, envoy of Hetman I.S. Mazepa.

³⁰⁷ Hendrik Brest, Dutch merchant in Russia in the 1670s–90s.

³⁰⁸ Possibly a word missing, which indicated M. Hamilton's relation.

21. At a feast & dancing by Commissary Kniper with [...] & many others.

The Polls resident at conference, where had answer of his propositions, wherewith not well satisfied.

22. At a feast by Commissary Boetenant with the same company & more.

23. Writt to the Hetman by his servants.

24. At devotion.

25. The lyke, being Ash Wednesday.

{69v} Feb-ry 26, Thurs. His M. came to the Slabod, was in Preobrasinsko & Ismailow. The name day of the Empresse Eudoxia Fiodorovna.

27. In towne, by Tichon Nikitovits [Streshnev], see his Ma-tie.

Dined by S. Kenkell.

A list of the English forces for this year:

881 companies of foot, being 59,054 men; a yeares pay for them amounteth to 1,194,939 pund sterling. 144 companies of horse, being 8,702 men; their yeares pay 605,102 p. sterling. 52 companies of dragounes, being 3,440 men; their yeares pay 142,808 pund sterling.

28. At home.

{70} March 1, Sund. His M. by LeF[ort].

2. His M. dined by me.

3. A list signed of the regiment for their pay for March: 37 serjeants, 39 furiers & foriers, 62 corporalls, 47 pipers, 662 sojors, in all 847; 8 carceered, 91 widdowes, 45 orphans.

4. In towne.

{70v} March 5, Thur. His M. at Preobrasinsko, came by Rod[ion].

6. His M. told me that he graced me with 1,000 r., halfe in plate, halfe in other things of the confiscated goods, and for my son in law 500.

7. In towne, by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev]. Orders given into the Office for the above.

The Hol. Resident obtained an answer to the p[retended] k[ing] W-ms letter.

8. At devotion.

{71} March 9. Had letters fro[m] Coll. von Mengden, showing how

the Tartars had taken away numbers of people.

Dined by El. Isbrandt with his M.

10. In towne, see the things in the *Gostiny dvor*³⁰⁹ and noted them up.

11. Gave the roll of these things to Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev].

Rod[ion] evill with a paine in his stomake & the hickup or hitchet.

12. See things cheaper rated.

His M. in Preobrasinsko & sup[ped] by Le Fort.

{71v} March 13, Frid. Writt to Col. Roonaer in Koslow³¹⁰.

Told to cleare the house.

14. In towne, brought the new jacht to the river. See more things cheape rated.

15. At devotion.

His M. in Danielof Monastery.

16. In towne. Tichon Nikitits returned.

{72} March 17, Tuesd. Being the Prince his name day, a feast above.

18. At a feast by the Boyar Peter Vasil. Seremetuf.

19. In towne, till night in the *Barchatne Hoffe*³¹¹.

20. At home indisposed, writt to Lt. G-ll Lord Graham & Coll. von Mengden.

{72v} March 21, Sat. Stayed at home.

22. At devotion.

23. In towne, by his M.

24. Gott out some things above.

25. In towne, by L[ev] Kirilovits [Naryshkin].

26.

{73} March 27, Frid. Brought up the great jacht.

Gott the plate & other things above.

28. Gott out more things in the *Gostiny yard*.

29. At devotion.

30. All day in the *Barchatne Hoffe*.

31. Gott the last things out of the *Gostiny yard*.

At night by Mr. Ba[ldus?].

³⁰⁹ Merchant Court (Russian), accommodating both shops and warehouses.

³¹⁰ Kozlov, a town in southern Russia, now called Michurinsk.

³¹¹ *Barkhatny dvor* (Velvet Court), originally the Tsars' silk factory, later a part of the Kremlin Armoury, where weapons were made and stored.

{73v} *Aprilis* 1, Wed. Subscribed a list of the regiment as followeth: 37 serjeants, 39 furiers & foriers, 60 corporalls, 47 pipers, 1 *verstany* sojour, 661 not *verstany* sojourns, in all 845 persons; 8 carceered sojourns who have male children of the male sexe, 92 widdowes who have male children yong, 46 orphans who have no parents, in all 991 persons.

2. In towne, gott the goods from the *Goist[iny dvor]*.

His M. went by water to Koluminska.

3. At home. His M. returned late.

4. In towne, in the *Barchatne Hoffe*. Gott orders for my sables. By Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev].

{74}³¹² “In the year рѣѹ [199] on the a [1] day of April a list of the Moscow Selected regiment of [Ge]neral Piotr Ivanovich Gordon for their pay in the month of April:

Sergeants	Λз [37]	men
Sub-ensigns	Λθ [39]	men
Corporals	ξ [60]	men
Fifers ³¹³	мз [47]	men
Privates <i>verstany</i>	а [1]	men
Not <i>verstany</i>	хѣа [661]	men
In all	ωме [845]	men
Retired soldiers	и [8]	men
Widows	чв [92]	persons
Orphans	мс [46]	persons
In all	цча [991]	persons”

{75} April 5, Sun. Dined by Mr. Lhoyd³¹⁴.

6. In towne, by his M.

7. In towne, did nothing.

8.

³¹² This folio is an original Russian-language list with Cyrillic numerals of NCOs and others in Gordon's Regiment, apparently compiled by the regimental clerk. The numbers exactly agree with the Diary entry for 1 April. The next page is blank (74 v.).

³¹³ *Sipovshchiki* (Old Russian)

³¹⁴ William Lloyd, British merchant in Russia from 1689, obviously a Welshman.

9. In towne.
{75v} *Aprilis* 10, Good Frid. At devotion.
11. At devotion.
12. At devotion.
13. In towne, payed visits to most of the boyars.³¹⁵
14. In towne. In the evening in the Andronofsky Monastery with his M.
{76} *Aprilis* 15, Wed. In towne, at their Ma-ties hands, by M.K.³¹⁶
The Imperiall *internuncius* Joseph Ignatius Kurtz³¹⁷ received in Mosko.
16. In towne, on the water till night. The R[oman] Emp. envoy by his secretary gave me notice of his being come.
17. His M. to Preobrasinsko. In towne, payed³¹⁸ a visit to the Emp-s envoy.
18. The Emperours envoy had audience.
19. Wee went in progress by water as farr as Samara-gora, it being windy & unpleasant weather.
{76v} *Aprilis* 20, Moond. After breakfast wee went by water to Koluminska notwithstanding the great contrary wind.
21. His Ma-tie came to see R[odion].
22. Wee went by water to Nikolay Ugrisha, a monastery 20 *verst* from Mosko & lodged there. This monastery was founded 310 yeares ago, hath 400 *panres*³¹⁹ & 35 monkes.
23. After dinner wee went by water to Vasily Al. Sukovnin³²⁰ his vil-lage & lodged there.
24. Wee could not get returned by water, so went by land & dined in the former monastery, & towards night came to Columinska.

³¹⁵ On the occasion of Easter.

³¹⁶ Initials are undeciphered.

³¹⁷ The first name of the Imperial envoy was Johann (cf below, fols. 155 v., 173, 419). He expressed the Emperor's discontent at the inactivity of his Russian allies, demanded to launch another campaign against the Crimean Khanate and, in case of further lack of Russian support, threatened to sign a separate peace with the Turks. The mission had no success.

³¹⁸ *gave* written above.

³¹⁹ Boors, peasants (German: Bauern). Gordon uses this term whether peasants be German, Polish, Ukrainian or Russian.

³²⁰ V.A. Sokovnin, *stolnik*, eldest son of *Okolnichy* A.P. Sokovnin; the latter in 1697 was quartered for conspiring against Tsar Peter.

{77} *Aprilis* 25. I came to Mosko.

26. At devotion. The pater & other ffriends dined wt me.

27. I went to Koluminska.

28. Being indisposed, I begg'd leave to come to Mosko.

29. At home, being not well.

In the 6th howre of the night Kirila Poluicht[ovich] Nariskin³²¹, his yongest M. grandfather, dyed, being aged 75³²² years.

{77v} May 1, Friday. I confessed & received the Blessed Sacrament, dineing by Mr. Guascony with the Emp. envoy, Polls resident & other ffriends.

2. Signed a list of the regiment for the pay of May month: 37 serjeants, 39 foriers & furiers, 58 corporalls, 47 pipers, 1 *verstany* & 656 not *verstany* sojourns—in all 837; 7 carceered, 92 widdowes, 46 orphans—in all 982.

3. At devotion, dined by M. G-ll Menezes.

4. Tooke phisick with good success.

{78} May 5, Tues. Writt to Mr. Meverell & to my son John & to Mr. Frazer by Mr. Slater his sons.

The English merchants went from hence.

6. Some merchants went over land & Mr. Thomas More to Narva³²³.

7. Payed some visits.

My son in law Daniell came sick from Columinska.

I heard devotion. The p[ater] & doctor dined by me.

8. I received 200 rubles for sables & disposed of it so viz.: 50 to Mr. Guasconi, 7 to M. Meyers, 45 to Chr. Simonis³²⁴, 21 to the church, 20 to widdowes & orphans, 4 1/2 to the brewer, 10 to Rod[ion], the rest at home.

His M. came by Rod. & supped by L[e] F[ort].

Writt to Mr. Tho. Loftus, m[erchan]t in Narva, p[e]r post.

³²¹ K.P. Naryshkin (1623–1691), father of Tsaritsa Natalya, boyar. In 1682 he was forced to take the vows under the name of Kiprian, and exiled to St.Kirill's-Belozersky monastery.

³²² Second digit crossed out in MS.

³²³ *Revell* crossed out.

³²⁴ Christoph Simonis, apparently a Dutch merchant.

- {78v} May 9, Satur. At home indisposed.
10. At devotion. The Emp. envoy & Polls resident with other friends dined by me.
- Daniell still worse & worse.
11. In towne, by diverse noblemen.
12. The yongest princess of Tzaar Johan Al[exeyevich]³²⁵ dyed. Janko buried with all Catholick ceremonies.
13. The princess buried.
- {79} May 14, Thur. About 12 aclock my son in law Daniell Crawfuird dyed to our great grieffe.
15. Many condoleing visits.
- 16.
17. The wedding by Le Fort.
18. Received letters from the Duke of Gordon dated at London *an.* ⁹⁰ *April*. 12, enclosed in a letter from Harie Gordon³²⁶ dated at Varsow 30 *Martii* 1691; a letter also from Mr. Pat. Forbes dated at Dantzick *an.* 1691 May 14th.
- {79v} May 19, Tues. About 12 aclock my son in law Daniell Crawfuird was caryed out from my house in this manner: First, a horse with rich furniture led betwixt two servants in red cloaths; 2 companies of foot with their officers & collours, the pikes trailed, muskets reversed & the collours rufled with mourning; a horse covered all over with black cloth with the decesseds armes; the schooles; schoolm-rs; inviters; ministers; corps; mourners & these who accompanied. 3 salvees were

³²⁵ Tsarevna Feodosia.

³²⁶ Harry (Henry, in Russia *Andrey*) Gordon, Scottish Jacobite captain. In 1689 he was an officer in the Edinburgh garrison under his clan chief Duke of Gordon, who held the castle against William of Orange (*Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, 1689* (Edinburgh, 1828), pp. 36, 58, 60, 75). In September 1691 with the Duke's recommendation Harry came to Russia via Warsaw. Under the patronage of General Gordon on 16 August 1692 he was advanced to major, then served in Count Graham's regiment in Belgorod and saw action against the Tatars in Ukraine. On 21 January 1695 in Moscow he married Caroline Ronaer. Probably took part in Azov campaigns. In 1697–8, as Lt.colonel, he was based in Archangel. In 1700 he fell prisoner to the Swedes at Narva, but 10 years later won his freedom with Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky and other Russian captives, who seized the Swedish frigate that transported them from Stockholm to Göteborg; on 19 June 1711 they reached Russian-held Reval.

given: 1, when sett in; 2, when the grave was filled; 3, at parting.

20. His Ma-tie came to R[odion]. The courtiers came to me & stayed till night.

21.

{80} May 22, Frid. His M. dyned by L[e] F[ort].

I did writt by Mr. Guascony his convoyance to the Duke of Gordon in answer to his of the 12th *Aprilis an. Domini* 1690, & to Harie Gordon, to Pat. Forbess & to Geo. Frazer, all by post.

23. His M. came to my house, & gifted me the place betwixt myne & the Yausa.

The Imp. envoy must go out of the Slabod againe.

24. At devotion without a priest.

25. In towne & afternoone in Preobrasinsko. Tryed the new invention of mortar pieces, being to be taken from another in 2 or 3 pieces, w-ch was not found sure, the staves & warrants yeelding.

{80v} May 26, Tuesd. Being indisposed, I stayed at home.

27. His M. abroad.

28. Given to Mary³²⁷ 12 rubles & for fish 4 rubles.

29.

30. In Preobrasinsko. Being his Ma-tie Tzaar Peter his birth day, the celebration thereof was delayed to Tuesday next because of the *Roditelska Sobota*³²⁸.

31. Whitsunday, at devotion.

{81} June 1, Moond. Given in a list of the regiment for this months pay, being 36 serjeants, 39 furiers & foriers, 58 corporals, 47 pipers, one sojourn *verstany*, 652 not—in all 833; as also 7 *emeriti*, 46 orphans, 91 widowes—in all 977 persons.

At the buriall of Basilius the musician.

2. In Preobrasinsko; wished his Ma. good luck, received from his hands a glasse of wyne, recreated with shooting, stayed till midnight.

3. A wedding in the Slaboda, where [...]

³²⁷ Probably, Gordon's widowed daughter.

³²⁸ "Parental Saturday", in Russian Orthodox Church one of the principal days to commemorate the dead.

Betwixt 4 & 5 aclock in the afternoone my son Peter³²⁹ borne.

{81v} June 4, Thursd. I went to Preobrasinsko, recreated with shooting.

5. Bespoke a hogshead of French wine by Christopher Simonis for 30 rubles.

6. In Preobrasinsko.

7. My son Peter christened, godfathers: [...] Kurtius, *Internuntius* of the Roman Emperour & Georg Dominicus Dowmont, Resident for the King of Polland; godmother, Coll. Leviston³³⁰ his lady. He was christened by a Dominican fryer called [...] All dined by me and were merry according to the tyme.³³¹

A great feast by Daniell Hartman, where [...]

{82} June 8, Moond. Lt.Coll. Menezes³³² dyed.

9. In Preobrasinsko, came home late.

10. M. Gregory Roonaer gave of the armes in the *Potesbny Hoffe*.

The buryall of Lt.Coll. Menezes.

11. Corpus Christy, w-ch was celebrated according to custome.

I dined by Commissary Boetenant with *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn] & others.

{82v} June 12, Frid. In Preobrasinsko.

13. At home, being indisposed. Fatall [...]

14. At devotion. Dined by the Hollands resident with [...]

³²⁹ This name, rare among the Gordons and Scots at large, was obviously chosen in honour of the Tsar.

³³⁰ The Scot Alexander Livingston (Leviston) in 1666 was captain of Pereyaslav soldier regiment. In 1668, during the Ukrainian revolt of Hetman Briukhovetsky, he was "all covered with wounds, with an arrow in the head, musket shots in both legs, a finger slashed on his left hand". Promoted to Lt.colonel on 20 October 1677, he served under Gordon's command for many years. In 1684, along with Gordon and others, he signed a petition to establish the first Catholic church in Muscovy. Ca. 1687 his project was used to fortify the Sophia Gate of the Kiev fortress. As colonel, he was mortally wounded at the siege of Azov in 1696. One of his two wives was named Elisabeth Arentson.

³³¹ The Gordon family was in mourning for the recently deceased Daniel Crawford. The Dominican was named Ludovic Koblitius.

³³² John Ludovic Menzies (ca.1654–1691), son of the Scots Lt.colonel in Russian service, Thomas Menzies, who died of wounds at Chudnov in 1660 (*Diary*, II, p. 99). By 1681 John converted from Catholicism to Orthodoxy. From 1688 he served in Gordon's regiment.

15. At home.
- {83} June 16, Tuesday. At home, makeing preparations.
17. The [...] dined by me with many others & were very soberly merry.
18. At home.
19. In towne, dined by the Imperiall envoy.
- {83v} June 20, Saturn. At exercize by Semenofsky.
21. At devotion.
22. At home.
23. At a feast by Mr. Mounson³³³, where his [Majesty?] & others.
- {84} June 24, Wedn. Went to Chwili *alias* Pokrofska.
25. Dined and lodged there.
26. Came home towards night.
27. At home.
28. At devotion.
- {84v} June 29, Moonday. At the solemnity³³⁴ in the citty; above and received a cup of wine out of his M. hand.
30. At home.

- {85} July 1, Wedn. In Butirky.
2. At devotion.
3. At dinner by S. Kelderman³³⁵, where [...] and many others. *651 sojors, in all 831 men.*³³⁶
4. At home. Gave in a list of the regiment: 36 serjeants, 39 furiers & foriers, 58 corporalls, 47 pipers, 651 sojours—in all 831; 7 *emeriti*, 90 wid-dowes, 48 orphans—in all 976 persons.
5. At devotion. Dined by M.G. Menezes; went to Preobrasinsko to a wedding.
- {85v} July 6, Moond. At the wedding againe.
7. Received a letter from the Earle of Melfort dated at Rome the

³³³ Probably, the wine merchant Johann Georg Mons, whose daughter Anna Margaret became an object of attraction for Tsar Peter.

³³⁴ Feast of SS. Peter and Paul the Apostles, name-day of Tsar Peter.

³³⁵ Von Kelderman (Kellerman), a family of “Moscow merchant foreigners”, which included Doctor Andrey Kellerman.

³³⁶ Marked words crossed out.

12th of May, acknowledging the reseat of myne of the 15th of November.

8. At home, gave in a signed writeing upon Ivaska Adamuf.

9. My daughter Mary delivered of a son at 2 aclock in the morning.

{86} July 10, Frid. My daughters child being weake, I caused christen him in the afternoone, godfathers my self, M. Gen-ll Menezes & Coll. Campbell; godmothers his grandmother Coll. Crawfuirds widdow and my daughter Katherine. He was called Daniell³³⁷ & christened by a Dominican fryer called [...]

11. At home.

12. At devotion.

{86v} July 13, Moond. At a feast by Mr. Kannegiter³³⁸ after I had been in towne & in Butirky, laying the foundation of a Regiment house.

14. At home, being wearied.

Having agreed for digging of a pond of 20 fathome broad & 40 fath. long at the rate of 8 *grivnees* a *prute*³³⁹, they haveing received 15 rubles in hand, began this day about midday to worke.

15. In Preobrasinsko, spoke wt his M. At Ismailow also.

16. In Preobrasinsko the Colonell Christopher van Leuwenfelt put to make³⁴⁰ a prooffe in makeing a redout.

The Tartars wyfe & Russe girle runaway.

{87} July 17, Frid. Writt to the Earle of Melfort in answer to his dated at Rome the 12th of May; to Mr. Tho. Loftus & Mr. Tho. More, merch-ts in Narva, to the last in answer to his of the 18th of May from Novogrodt; to Mr. Meverell, all p[e]r post, the first by the Polls residents convoyance.

At a feast by M.G. Menezes, where his [Majesty?].

18. At home, given ten rubles to the *podriadshiks*³⁴¹.

19. At devotion.

20. In Butirky. At a feast by Mr. Verjes³⁴², wher his M. & others.

³³⁷ Corrected from *Patrick*. They clearly wished to name the boy after his grandfather, but preferred the name of his late father.

³³⁸ Probably the Dutch merchant Koenraad Kannegiter or his son Daniel.

³³⁹ *Prut* (Russian), rod. Probably, a measuring rod a fathom long.

³⁴⁰ Word crossed out.

³⁴¹ *Podriadchiki* (Russian), contractors.

³⁴² Possibly, the Dutch merchant "Ivan Farius" mentioned by Russian sources from the 1660s to the 1690s.

The progress to Troitza delayed till August.

{87v} July 21, Tuesday. At home. In the evening by Le Fort with his M.

22. In Preobrasinsko.

23. In Preobrasinsko. His M. with many others supped by me & stayed all night.

Given to the *podriadshikes* 10 rubles.

24. At home.

{88} July 25, Satur. At the buriall of L.C. Meves his child.

Given to the *podradshikes* 10 rubles.

26. Received a letter from Harrie Gordon dated at Czystochow the 6th of July *st.n.*, being an answer to myne of the 22 May, enclosed in a letter from Geo. Frazer dated Riga the 16 instant.

At a feast by Pawl Westhoffe with the ordinary company.

27. Given to the *podradshikes* 5 rubles, being in all 50 rubles.

The French Fleet: 70 or 80 capitall ships, 27 branders, besides victual-
lers & advice jachts, wherein 29,450 men & 4,544 cannon.

28. At home.

{88v} July 29. In Preobrasinsko. 300 men of my regiment ordered to be ready in armes next day.

30. In Preobrasinsko, excercize, came home late.

31. Sold the silver plate at 10 & a halfe ruble ye pund to Ivan Spiridonuf.

Writt to Mr. Tho. More, Mr. Frazer & Capt. Gordon by post.

{89} Aug. 1, Saturn. Given to the *podriadshikes* 10 rubles more, being now 60 rubles.

Fiodor Kiril[lovich]³⁴³ dyed, his M. by me & [...]

2. At devotion.

3. At Simonofsky, excercize, by the Colonell Leuwenfelt.

List of the regiment for August: 36 serjeants, 39 fur. & for., 58 corporalls, 47 pipers, 649 sojourns, 7 carceered, 92 widdowes, 48 orphans—in all 976.

4. The Empress her name-day, as also St. Dominik.

³⁴³ Probably, Tsar Peter's uncle F.K. Naryshkin.

{89v} August 5, Wed. In Preobrasinsko, ordered to go wt his M.

Wee had notice how the old Chan with his sons were put from the government of the Crim.

6. In towne, gott horses to go on the progress with his Ma-tie.

7. Writt to Mr. Ro-t Jolly, Capt. Harie Gordon, Mr. Joachim Vaget³⁴⁴ by post with the Tzaar letter for Capt. Gordon.

{90} August 8, Satur. Writt to the Earles of Arroll and Aberdeen, the Laird of Rothemay, Nethermuir, my unkle, W-m Gordon, my son John by Capt. W-m Gordon; to Pater Schmidt and Madam Crawfuird³⁴⁵ by L.C. Crawfuird.

Given to the *podriadshiks* 15 rubles, in all now 75 rubles.

Gott from Mr. Kenkell 20 rubels & befor 50.

	r[ubles]
Owing to Doctor Carbonary	100
To Doct. von der Hulst upon Greg. Yak. his acco-t ³⁴⁶	123
To Christopher Simonis for wyne	43
*To the Emperours Envoy	30
To Commissarius Kniper	25
To Mr. Howtman	20* ³⁴⁷
To the playmen	5
To Mr. Hartman	9
To Alexey the fishmonger	20
To my son in law R. Strasb[urg]	-
To John Baldus	13

{90v} Aug. 9, Sunday. His M., haveing supped by [...], came & lodged by me, & dined. The progress delayed because of the old Empress her sicknes.

10. Being St. Laurence day, at devotion.

Writt to Lt.G-ll Zeugh & Coll. Geo. Scott³⁴⁸.

³⁴⁴ Previously he is called *Voght*.

³⁴⁵ Mary, widow of the Scot Daniel Crawford († 1674), major general in Russian army, who was Gordon's friend and one-time regimental commander.

³⁴⁶ Apparently, Gordon's brother-in-law, Major Gregory Ronaer, and Zacharias Arnold van der Hulst († 1694), Dutch doctor at the Tsars' court.

³⁴⁷ These three lines are crossed out in MS.

³⁴⁸ George Scott (in Russia Yuri Andreyevich Shkot), colonel of obvious descent,

11. In towne, at Butirky.

12. At home.³⁴⁹

{91} Aug. 13, Thurs. In towne. Dined by Sr Isbrandt & stayed all night.

14. At home, being not well.

15. Being the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, at devotion.

Given to the *podradshiks* 20 rubles, in all 100.

16. At devotion.

Received a letter from Mr. Georg Frazer dated 6³⁵⁰ August 1691 at Riga.

{91v} Aug. 17, Moond. In Preobrasinsko. Had notice of the Cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitane, being chosen Pope, & called Innocentius the 12th.³⁵¹

18. In towne & Butirky.

19. Being the holy day of *Donska Bogaroditsa*³⁵², [I was] there & in Preobrasinska.

20. In Butirky at exercise.

{92} Aug. 21, Frid. Writt to Mr. Georg Frazer, Mr. Thomas More & Mr. Philip Wulffe.

22. Being troubled with a sore legg, I stayed at home.

Given to the *podriadshiks* 20 rubles, in all 120.

23. At devotion. The Imp. envoy dined by me.

Received a letter from Georg Frazer dated Riga the 13th.

24. At home.

{92v} Aug. 25, Tuesd. Sent for to Preobrasinsko, orders taken for exercise.

26. At Preobrasinsko, orders taken, and the horse excercized.

Being the yongest Tzaar his mother her name-day, the celebration thereof was deferred till the next because of a greater falling in the same day.³⁵³

who served in Sevsk. He is the progenitor of the Russian noble family of Shkot.

³⁴⁹ Before this it is crossed out: *Being the holy day of Donska Bogaroditsa, there...* (see below, entry for 19 August).

³⁵⁰ This date is indistinctly corrected.

³⁵¹ Innocent XII (1615–1700), Pope from 1691.

³⁵² Icon of Our Lady of the Don, to which a monastery near Moscow was consecrated.

³⁵³ The Meeting of the Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir.

27. In Preobrasinsko. The Empress name day celebrated, & fire-works in the evening.

The Polls envoy had audience and delivered his letters³⁵⁴; Kalmuicks messengers dispatched.

{93} Aug. 28, Frid. Writt to Mr. Frazer in answer to his last, to Capt. Hary Gordon, to Mr. Voget & Mr. Meyer.

In Preobrasinsko at exercize to horse.

29. In Preobrasinsko, orders taken for the next dayes excercise.

30. At exercize in the fields by Semenofsky and came late home.

31. At the buriall of Coll. Pawl Grabow.

{93v} Sept-r 1, Tuesd. In towne, where both the Tzaars at the usuall ceremony.³⁵⁵ I dined by the Imperiall envoy, and was by Sr Tabert³⁵⁶ in the evening, where his M.

2. I made an end & payed of the *podradshiks* for the pond, giving them 15 rubles & [...]

The Imp. envoy at audience.

Received lemons.

3. Dined by M.G. Menezes and in the evening by L[ev] Kirilovits [Naryshkin], where his M.

4. At home.

Given in a roll of the regiment for Sept-rs pay: 36 serjeants, 39 furiers & foriers, 58 corporalls, 47 pipers, 651 sojourns, 7 carceered, 91 widdowes, 47 orphans—in all 976.

{94} Sept-r 5. Writt to the Laird of Rothemay and to Lt.Coll. von Bockhoven; to Mr. Sam. Meverell, desireing him to assist Capt. W-m Gordon with 8 or 10 libs sterling.

Adjusted my acco-ts with the s[ai]d Capt. W-m Gordon, and he remaineth indebted to 469³⁵⁷ libs Scottish 6 shil. 8 pence, for w-ch his bond. This ordered to be payed to W-m Gordon merch-t in Aberdeen,

³⁵⁴ Polish envoy Jan Okrasa tried to persuade the Tsars' government to launch a new campaign against Crimean Tatars and to render military assistance to Poland-Lithuania, but without success.

³⁵⁵ This was Russian New Year day.

³⁵⁶ Elias Ta(u)bert, Dutch merchant in Russia from the 1660s to the 1690s.

³⁵⁷ Last two digits are indistinctly corrected.

and his bond to be given to Nethermuir.

Borrowed from Adolph Howtman one hundred rubles upon M.Gen. Menezes his acco-t to give to Capt. Gordon for his jorney. Payed the 10 Ja-ry '92.³⁵⁸

6. At devotion. Dyned by the Imp. envoy & came home late.
{94v} Sept-r 7, Moonday. Writt to W-m Gordon in Aberdeen.

In Preobrasinsko, dined by Iv[an] Inochof³⁵⁹ with his M.

8. At devotion, the Imper[ial] & Polish envoyes by me.
The first had a conference.

9. At Preobrasinsko & Semenofsky.

Lt.Coll. Crawford & Capt. Gordon went from hence.

10. At the Butirky.

Mr. Sclater buried.³⁶⁰

{96} Sept-r 11, Frid. Writt to Mr. Meverell pr post wt a letter to Ro-t Sclater from Mr. Termunt³⁶¹ & Mr. von Sume.

12. His Ma-tie by me in the evening.

13. At devotion, spoke with the Imp. envoy & pater about the staying of the p[ater] here.

Received lrs: from Mr. Meverell dated London 7 Aug. with a copy of his former dated 11 July, whereby I understood of my great loss by the takeing of the English ships; from Mr. More dated Narva 24 Aug.; from Hary Gordon dated Novogrod 8 7ber; from Mr. Frazer dated Riga 3 7ber with an enclosed to Stephan Zukow in Smollensko.

{96v} *Sept-ris* 14, Moond. In towne & in Preobrasinsko.

The Imp. envoy & Polls had their dispatch & parting audience. The Dominican frier ordered to stay till o[u]rs come.

15. In Preobrasinsko. The wedding of Martin Cambell.

16. At Preobrasinsko, the chancellours & writers³⁶² monstered. His M. by me.

³⁵⁸ Entry on payment was inserted later.

³⁵⁹ I.T. Iniokhov, "general clerk" of Preobrazhensky regiment.

³⁶⁰ Probably a relation of the Briton Robert S(c)later ("Roman Afanasyev Shlator"), apothecary of the Tsars' pharmacy in Moscow from the 1670s to the 1700s. There follow 2 blank pages (95–95 v.).

³⁶¹ Johan Termond, a native of Friesland, later chief physician with Tsar Peter's Grand Embassy to the West.

³⁶² I.e. *dyaki* and *pod'yachye*.

17. In Butirky. Dined by M.G. Menezes. At night in Preobrasinsko.
18. His M. went to Troitsa, whom wee convoyed to the other side of the Yausa R[iver].
Writt to Mr. Frazer & Mr. More pr post.
{97} Sept-r 19, Satur.
20. At devotion. The Imp. envoy with the Polls came & gave their parting visit to me.³⁶³
21. In towne. Dined by Leo Kirilovits [Naryshkin].
22. I convoyed the Imperiall envoy, entertained him at Pokrofska & Kuntzova³⁶⁴ by Leo Kirilovits his desire, where all magnificent & to content; went with him to his nights lodging & came home late.
His Ma-tie returned in the evening.
{97v} Sept-r 23, Wednesday. At Preobrasinsko, kissed his M. hand.
24. At Butirky, in towne & at Semenofsky; by Serge Ivanovits the *ustafshik*.
25. Writt to Capt. Gordon with the Emp. letter to let him pass & give him 4 *podvods*.
At a feast by Elia Tabert with his M. & others.
26. At home.
{98} Sept-r 27. At devotion.
- Rec-d lts from Duke Gordon dated 22 July *s.n.* 1691; from James Gordon dated Rotterdam 7 Aug. 1691; from Ro-t Gordon dated Lublin 13 July 1691.
28. In Preobrasinsko at the exercize of horsemen.
Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, Riga 17 of Sept-r *dato*.
29. In Butirky. At masse & dined with his M. by Achtemon Ivanovits Ivanuf³⁶⁵.
30. In Preobrasinsko. The companies divided & exercized.

{98v} Oct-r 1, Thurs. Being the holy day called *Pokrove*³⁶⁶, in the village Pokrofska by Leo Kirilovits [Naryshkin] at a feast, a new built church

³⁶³ *tooke their leave of me* crossed out.

³⁶⁴ Kuntsevo.

³⁶⁵ A.I. Ivanov († 1709), from 1688 *dummy dyak*, in 1693/94–1696/97 head of the Foreigners' Office.

³⁶⁶ Orthodox feast of the Intercession of Our Lady.

being then consecrated³⁶⁷.

2. In Preobrasinsko, ordering of business & getting horses for the strangers who wanted.

3. In Preobrasinsko, no exercise because of raine.

The yong Prince Alex-r³⁶⁸ borne about 4 aclock afternoone.

Writt to Coll. Barthol. Roonaer and sent him things for 8 rubles & his lace w-ch was bought formerly.

{99} Oct-r 4, Sunday. In Preobrasinsko, gratulated his M.; entertained & stayed with our companies all night.

5. Went and mett my foot regiment & placed it behind the *sesye isby*³⁶⁹.

Haveing the day befor measured out the *leaguer*, I went & shewed every on their places, haveing alowed in the front for the accomodation of the foot, & drawing up the horsmen w[i]t[h]in 10 fathome; here also the Emperours tent; for the tents of the *ruitm[aste]rs*³⁷⁰ 8 fathome, for the horsmen 26 fath., for the convenience of the foot behind 8 fathome—in all in length 54 fath., the breadth 8 fathome on each side for convenience of the foot 10 fathome for each company, whereof 2 or 1 1/2 to be taken out for the streets, and {99v} 20 fathome in the midle for the *generalissimus*, the generall staffe, artillery & ammunition—the breadth in all being 136 fathome.³⁷¹

Oct-r 6, Tuesday. After breakfast wee marched out in to the fields. I placed on each wing 3 companies of horse and after them, against the distances, 3 companies of foot; behind these 2 companies of horse & after them 2 companies of foot where the distances were; in the *corpo*³⁷²

³⁶⁷ *sanctified* crossed out. The Intercession Church in Fili, an outstanding monument of “Russian Baroque”, is preserved to this day.

³⁶⁸ Tsarevich Alexander (1691–1692), Tsar Peter’s second son.

³⁶⁹ *Syezchaya izba*, in old Russia, a local office used as a mustering place for servicemen who assembled for inspection or military campaign.

³⁷⁰ *Rittmeister* (German), captain of cavalry.

³⁷¹ Gordon describes the large manoeuvres near Preobrazhenskoye and Semionovskoye on 6–9 October 1691. The forces were divided into two “armies” under “Generalissimi”, Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky and I.I. Buturlin. The first consisted of Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky regiments with the two Moscow ones of “selected soldiers”, including Gordon’s Butyrsky, plus a number of cavalry (*reitary*) and hussars; the second, of *streltsy* regiments, also with some horsemen. The young Tsar under an alias of *Rittmeister* Piotr Alexeyev distinguished himself in the action.

³⁷² Corps (Latin).

the husars & a company of voluntier horsmen, behind whom the *general-lissimus* & his guards; after whom 8 companies of foot in equall front with the first companies of the {100} wings.

About 12 aclock wee began to skirmish with the horsemen, & beat some of them out of the fields and tooke some collours.

Oct-r 7. Wee marched out about midday and engaged only with the horsemen, whom wee beat againe.

8. Wee marched out into the fields, but because of the great raine could not engage, so towards evening retired into the *leaguer*.

{100v} Oct-r 9, Fridday. Wee marched into the fields about 8 aclock & because the wind was against us wee marched suddainly to the right hand & gained the wind. In the meane tyme our adversaries sent 300 foot with some troupes of horse to invade our *leaguer*, which made us hast thither with the horsemen, and so beat them of & returned to our former stations; & shortly after haveing beat the horse from their stations & chased them beyond the *leaguer*, wee made the foot charge, & in a short space bringing them into confusion, beat them out of the fields & into their *leaguer*, which wee tooke; and afterwards brought in our *generallissimus* with great pompe, & after some formalities & ceremonies wee marched of into our *leaguer* & dined with the aldermen, & at night came to the Slaboda.

{101} Oct-r 10, Satur. At home.

11. At devotion; afternoone at the buriall of M.G. Le Fort his daughter.

12. In towne & afternoone in Preobrasinsko.

Received a letter from Mr. Frazer dated Riga [...] present.

13. At the wedding of Andrew Bush, where his M. & others.

14. Againe at the wedding. About midnight *Kniaz* Ivan Dmitreovits Dolgorukoy³⁷³ dyed of a shott gott 9 dayes befor in the right arme at the field ballet military.

{101v} Oct-r 15, Thurs. At the wedding againe.

16. In Preobrasinsko.

17. At home. His M. by R.³⁷⁴

18 [Sund.]. At devotion, and afterwards marched with my regiment

³⁷³ Prince I.D. Dolgoruky († 1691), “near” (i.e. close to the Tsar) *stolnik*.

³⁷⁴ Probably, Gordon’s son-in-law Rudolf (Rodion) Strasburg, who has never recovered from his wounds and was often visited by Tsar Peter.

through the *Dworets* or Court.³⁷⁵ Haveing drawne it up and after the souldiers had laid their musquets on their left armes and given a low reverence, I went forward & spoke after this manner with a loud voice, his M. looking out {102} at a high window, and the other windowes filled with noblemen, ladies & other spectators.

“God grant that thou, Great Lord, Tzaar and Great Duke Peter Alexeyovitz of All the Great, Litle & White Russia Self-upholder, & of many other Kingdomes and Countreyes Easterne, Westerne and Northerne from father & grandfather Hereditary Lord and Commander, be in good health with thy newly borne son & heire and our Lord, the High Prince and Great Duke Alexander Petrovits of All the Great & Litle and White Russia for many yeares”.

And after the ordinary ceremonyes and reverences I was graced with velvet for a coat; the colonell with *podeswoy*³⁷⁶; the Lt.colonells & maiors {102v} with damask; the captaines, lt-s & ensignes with taffety; the serjeants with 40 *altins*; the other under officers & corporalls with 20 *altins* & the sojors with halfe a ruble a man. And after 3 salvees given wee marched of.

Oct-r 19, Moond. Capt. Gordon came. His M. by Le Fort.

20. At home.

{103} Oct-r 21, Wedn. In towne. Capt. Gordon gave up his letter.

22. At a feast by M. Mons where his M.

23. Againe at the feast. Charles Guascony buried.

24. Rode to Petrofsky.

{103v} Oct-r 25, Sund. In Petrofsky, the church sanctified and wee at the feast.

26. There the whole day, returned home late.

27. At a christening by Peter Matfeovits Apraxin³⁷⁷.

³⁷⁵ This ceremony took place in Preobrazhenskoye, not in the Kremlin, whose mention here is wrongly ascribed to Gordon by some Russian historians as a result of faulty German translation (*Tagebuch des Generals Patrick Gordon*, Bd. II (St. Petersburg, 1851), S. 353–4).

³⁷⁶ This term is unclear, but apparently means a piece of expensive fabric.

³⁷⁷ P.M. Apraksin (1659–1728), brother of Tsaritsa Marfa, second wife of Tsar Fiodor. From 1689 *okolnichy*, then *voyevoda* in Novgorod, governor of Astrakhan' and Kazan'. From 1715 count, from 1717 senator, from 1722 President of Justice College.

Received letters from Mr. Krevet³⁷⁸.

28. At home. His M. by Le Fort.

29. At home.

30. In towne, Preobrasinsko & by Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyow, where lodged.

31. Came home late.

{104} *No-ris* 1, Sunday. At devotion. Payed a visitt to L.G. Zeugh & Coll. de Lorgier.

2. At the wedding by Le Fort.

3. Againe. Writt to Mr. Krevet.

Received letters of the 7 & 14 of August from Mr. Meverell.

*Writt to Mr. Krevet.*³⁷⁹

4. In towne, againe by Le Fort.

5. At home indisposed.

6. Writt to Mr. Tho. Loftus & Jacob Meyer per post.

{104v} *No-ris* 7, Sat. At home indisposed.

8, Sunday. At devotion. His M. by Sr Kniper.

9. By the Boyar Fiodor Al. Golovin³⁸⁰.

10.

11. In towne & Butirky. In the evening by Abraham Fiod. Lopuchin.

{105} *No-ris* 12, Thurs. By Gabriel Ivan. Golofkin at a christening feast.

In the evening my son Peter sickened.

13. At home because of the child's sickness.

14. In towne by Leo Kiril. [Naryshkin]. Orders concerning the bringing in without toll 10 *oxhoofts*³⁸¹ of wine for my provisions.

15. At devotion. His M. by me.

³⁷⁸ Henry (Andrey) Crevet, English merchant and translator of the Embassy Office.

³⁷⁹ Crossed out in MS.

³⁸⁰ F.A. Golovin (1650–1706), “near” boyar, noted statesman and diplomat. From 1699 admiral, from 1700 Russia’s first field marshal, from 1702 count. Also “Commissary General”, State Chancellor, head of Embassy, Naval and Yamskoy Offices, Governor General of Siberia and director of the Mint.

³⁸¹ *Oxhoof* (“ox head”), old Netherlandish and German liquid measure, which varied from 148 to 235 litres. Gordon possibly uses it as a synonym for the British hogshhead.

16. His M. went from hence to Pereslaw³⁸². Gott the Emp. l[ette]rs for the wine & Coll. Bockhovens comeing from Kyow.

{105v} *No-ris* 17, Tuesd. At home, ffriends came to seeke my sister in law for Coll. Lewenfelt.

18. In towne, gave up the *pamel*³⁸³, but not received.

Coll. Lewenfelt came & gott his wished-for answer.

19. In towne, did nothing.

The child better.

Ffriends by me.

20. Went and mett his Ma-tie at Bratufshina, & came home late.

21. In towne. Borrowed 100 rubles of Mr. Wulffe, given to Mary³⁸⁴ 20 rubles & to Rod[ion] as much.

Payed to Fiodor the smith 22 *altins*.

{106} *No-ris* 22, Sund. Dined by Le Fort.

The business w[i]t[h] L. almost of.³⁸⁵

23. In towne, gott the Emp. letters to Novogrodt to let 10 tunne of wine passe without paying of toll there but in Mosko.

Writt to Mr. Meyer & Mr. Loftus with the same letters.

24. In towne, orders to meet in the Potesny *Hoffe* by day light.

Gott a 100 rubles more from Mr. Wulffe.

25. I rode early with the horse-trowp to the Poteszny *Hoffe*, from thence to Rod. Meyers³⁸⁶ & so in march to Mr. Howtmans, where all merry till past midnight.

{106v} *No-ris* 26, Thurs. Againe by Mr. Howtman till late in the night.

Gott 50 rubles more from Mr. Wulffe.

27. Writt to Mr. Frazer & to Lt.Coll. Crawfuird.

Againe by Mr. Howtman.

Mr. Vegetius came by me.

28. Againe by Mr. Howtman, convoyed the G.³⁸⁷ on horseback into the towne & came home late.

³⁸² Pereslavl' Zalesky, where on lake Pleshcheyevo Tsar Peter's flotilla was to be built soon.

³⁸³ *Pamiat'* (Old Russian), official note or memorandum.

³⁸⁴ Either Gordon's daughter or his sister-in-law Mary Ronaer.

³⁸⁵ Possibly, some obstacles arose in Mary Ronaer's engagement to Colonel Löwenfeld.

³⁸⁶ Rodion Meyer, Dutch merchant mentioned in Russia from 1686.

³⁸⁷ Apparently, *Gosudar'*, i.e. Tsar Peter (cf. fols. 21 v. – 22).

Gott orders for 200 rubles of my pay.

29. At devotion.

30. At home, makeing preparations for the wedding. His M. came in the evening.

Gott 200 rubles of my pay.

{107} *Dec-ris* 1. My wyfes sister Mary maryed to Coll. Lewenfelt in presence of his M. & many others by Mr. Vegetius.

2. The wedding againe with the same company.

3. At the buriall of Magnus Pile, where 2 t[roups] of horse & some R.L. went in M.Cl.³⁸⁸ after the coarse.

The wedding againe with lesse company.

4. At a feast by Peter Matfeovits Apraxin.

Payed of the fisher Alexey giveing him 62 rubles.

{107v} *Dec-ris* 5, Sat. At home, being wearyed.

6. At devotion and at the inferr by Coll. Lewenfelt.

7. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & in the Possolsky Office³⁸⁹. Dined by Sr Boetenant.

Received l-rs from my son, uncle & a joint letter with Nethermuir dated the 3d of July in a *covert*o from Mr. Meverell dated the 22 July.

8. *In towne, dined by Sr Boetenant. In the e[vening]...^{*390} At devotion. His M. by me in the evening.

{108} *Dec-ris* 9. His M. went away 2 howres befor day.

I in towne & dined by Leo Kirilovits [Naryshkin].

10. In towne.

11. C.F. Wid.³⁹¹ came.

12. Writt to my uncle & Nethermuir in a joynt letter, enclosed to Mr. Meverell & that in one to Mr. Frazer by post; the copies of the 2 first in the copie booke of letters.

{108v} *Dec-ris* 13, Sun. At devotion. At the buriall of Francisco³⁹² his child.

³⁸⁸ Abbreviations are undeciphered.

³⁸⁹ *Posol'sky prikaz*, Embassy Office, virtually Russian ministry of foreign affairs.

³⁹⁰ Marked words crossed out.

³⁹¹ Abbreviation is undeciphered.

³⁹² Probably, Francesco Guasconi.

14. In towne, dyned by Sr Kenkell.

15. Went to the Troitsa & lodged in the village 7 *verst* from thence.

Received a letter from Mr. Jolly dated the [...]

16. Stayed the whole day expecting his Ma-tie.

17. His Ma-tie came by day light, & after haveing dined by the *Chilar*³⁹³, wee went forward to Mosko.

{109} *Dec-ris* 18, Frid. Writt to Mr. Loftus in Narva and Mr. Jacob Meyer in Novogrodt.

My son in law very ill with the *singultus* or hickup.

19. My son in law still very sick, whereupon all the doctors were sent for & held a consultation, who concluded to use lenitive & cordialls.

20. At devotion.

21. My son in law very ill & tooke the Blessed Sacrament very devoutly.

{109v} *Dec-r* 22, Tuesday. His Ma-tie came from Troitska to see my son in law, who appeared better.

23. In towne.

24. In towne.

25. At devotion, his M. came to me in the evening.

My son in law in one condition.

{110} *Dec-r* 26, Sat. At devotion.

27. Choysed a Patr[iarch]³⁹⁴ above, came home late.

28. At devotion r[...]

Rec-d letters from Mr. Loftus dated Narva 17 *Dec-ris* with advice that my wynes were to go from Narva the next day.

29. In towne in the evening, came home late.

{110v} *Dec-ris* 30, Wed. His Ma-tie came to see my son in law.

The doctors againe at a consultation about my son in law.

*He received the Sacrament of extreme unction.*³⁹⁵

31. His M. againe by my son in law & in the evening by Coll. Rigeman.

³⁹³ *Kelar'* (Russian), cellarer.

³⁹⁴ Clearly, the mock "election" of *Dummy Dyak* Nikita Zotov (ca.1644–1718), former tutor to young Tsar Peter, as "All-Foolish Father Ioannikit, Patriarch of Presburg, Kokuy and All Yauza".

³⁹⁵ Entry crossed out.

{111} A Regulation of the pay of the Irish [*sic*] Regiments come to France from Limerick.³⁹⁶

Every company shall have a capt., lt., 1 underlt., 1 ensignie, 3 serjeants, 7 corporals, 10 *Lands-Besaten*³⁹⁷, 30 pikemen & 50 musquetiers & 2 drummers, who are to have dayly pay: a capt. 100 pence, each lt. 45, underlt. 36, ensignie 36, each serjeant 12, corporal 8, *Lands-Besaten* 7, a pikeman 6 1/2 & each musquetier 6 pence.

If the company be 90 men strong, the capt. to have 2 sojors pay, if 100, then 5.

The colonell to have dayly pay 13 guilders 4 stubers³⁹⁸ 8 pf[ennig], the lt. coll. 45 stubers besides his pay of 100 stubers as capt., the maior 6 guld. 13 stubers 4 pf., the interpreter 50 stubers, the aid-maior 60 stubers, the almosiner 40 st., the chieffe chirurgion 30 & the quarterm-r 30 stubers dayly.

The reformired officers³⁹⁹ are to have: a capt. 66 stubers 8 pf. dayly, a lt. 30, a underlt. & ensignie 24 each, the 20 cadets each 10 stubers a day.⁴⁰⁰

{128} 1691, Ja-ry 2.

For my much honoured & loveing unkle
Mr. James Gordon of Westertowne

Much honoured & most loveing unkle,

³⁹⁶ After the defeat of the Jacobite rising in the British Isles, by the Treaty of Limerick dated 3 October 1691, many adherents of the deposed King James II (VII) followed him to France. From Ireland alone about 14,000 soldiers and officers moved there, along with 10,000 women and children ("Flight of the Wild Geese"). Many of them formed the Irish Brigade of the French army. Judging by terminology, Gordon took this document from a German or Dutch source.

³⁹⁷ *Lancia spezzata* (Italian), lancepessade (French), literally "broken lance", i.e. experienced soldier, veteran.

³⁹⁸ *Stüber* (German), small billon coin of Rhineland and Westphalian principalities (Dutch: *stuiver*).

³⁹⁹ Officers deprived of command by reorganisation or disbandment of their units, but retaining rank and receiving full or half pay.

⁴⁰⁰ There follow 33 blank pages (fols. 111 v. – 127 v.).

I hope⁴⁰¹ you have received myne of January 28, Feb. 27 & *Junii* 13, which last was an answer to yo[u]rs dated the 1th [*sic*] of Aprill. I should be loth to trouble you with any thing in my former, and especially seeing there was no new thing in any of them; but concerning my son John his maryage, my son James tells me that it is the Laird of Crichy his daughter he was in suit of, & that he would not marry unless he had particular orders from me. If this was an excuse or no, I know not. However, I find in the cotypes of all my letters written last year my desiring him to marry, restricting him only to do it by the consent of ffriends, especially your self. And now in my last to him of the 15th of November I laid my commands on him to marry the same person he was in suit of, so that I wonder all this tyme not to have had any notice from him, neither an answer to any of the 6 letters I have written to him last year. I suspect⁴⁰² he hath more as need of a good industrious wyfe, and haveing now no excuse, I hope to hear that he hath obeyed my commands.

My son James came hither the 22th of Sept-r, the day befor my daughter Mary was married to one Daniell Crawfuird.⁴⁰³ I intended that he should have stayed here only untill things should be settled there, but his Tz[arish] Majesty being in my {128v} house *at a feast*⁴⁰⁴ would needs have him take service, and so graced him to be Lt.Colonell in my first regiment with other ceremonies, whereof he hath written perhaps to you himself. Yet I do not intend to have him marry here unless an extraordinary good bargaine offer.

It hath been always my great desire to have come home & past the last of my dayes in my owne countrey, to the which I had great encouragement when I was last there. But now the want of liberty of conscience there, & his Ma-ties great favour here, hath put me almost out of all hopes. And yet I still imagine & hope that I shall end my dayes there.

I have written in all my former to my sonne John that he shall do nothing of importance without your advice, and shall looke upon & respect you no otherwise as me; which if he doth not, & prove obstinate & opinionative, he shall not only not gett anything what I can keep from him, but

⁴⁰¹ Instead of the crossed-out: *doubt not but*.

⁴⁰² Instead of the crossed-out: *am afrayed*.

⁴⁰³ See fol. 27 v.

⁴⁰⁴ Words crossed out.

shall not have my benediction. I have nothing else but that God Almighty may long preserve you & your bedfellow my aunt in good health & prosperity, is the daily prayer of

Yo-r most affectionate & dutifull
Nevoy till death

{129} 1691, Ja-ry 2.

For my son John Gordon⁴⁰⁵

Loveing Son,

This yeare bypast I have written to you 6 letters, to witt, Ja-ry 28, Feb-ry 27, April 5th, May 24, Jun. 13 & *No-ris* 15, and have received only from you one, dated the 5th of Dec-r last, & another of the 3d *Aprilis* this year. So that I have not an answer to any of myne of the year bypast. I have writt in those so much that it will be needless in this to add any thing, only to recommend to you the often reading of them, & the striving to obey my commands therein.

I thought to have heard by this tyme that you were married. I do not lyke that lyfe you lead. Fyre must be kept farr from all combustible matter, and wee are forbidden to looke upon a woman to lust after her, which is equivalent with the act.⁴⁰⁶ Take heed that you defile not the Temple of the Lord. It is a sinne which God rarely permitts to go unpunished, even in this world. If you be earnest in Prayer & reading the Bible & good bookes, and give not your self to idlenes & company, you may easily overcome your spirituall adversaries. Do not be obstinate & opinionative, but by the exercize of vertues strive to gett my affection continued to you, & not to draw my curse & indignation upon you. Respect your grand-uncle as me, & aske & follow his advice in all {129v} yo[u]r important effaires, and let me be hearing of your industry and well-doing. Let not the tennants ruine the cott-townes, as I hear is done on the south pleugh of Easter Achluichries, and follow my directions in my former, haveing written to you so earnestly.

Concerning your often writting to me, your exact keeping & sending

⁴⁰⁵ Instead of the crossed-out: *Mr. W-m Gordon, Merch-t in Aberdeen.*

⁴⁰⁶ Matthew, 5, 28: "whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart".

me your acco-ts with many other things, too long here to repeat, whereof I expect answers to all particulars. I shall add no more but do well & be industrious as you desire that God shall blesse you, and that I shall continue

Yo-r loveing father

PG

P.S. Send the things I did writt for by the Dantzick shipping, recover the things left in Edinborgh by Mr. Tho. Gordon. I hear there wants a high gilt cup, it costs 16 R.dollers, I left it with other things & the note thereof by him. Dispatch the business with Watertowne.

{130} 1691, 2 Jan-ry.

For Mr. W-m Gordon, Merch-t in Aberdeen.

Loveing Cousin,

I address the enclosed to you, pray gett it safe delivered, and give notice to my son when your Dantzick shipping goeth, that he may writt to me & send me the things I have formerly written for. Pray urge him to writt oftener to me. He hath information which wayes to writt, & how to address. I entreat you to writt to me your self and informe me how my son behaves himself, & that impartially. Remember me to your father & family with all our other friends, not forgetting your owne fyreside. I desire still to be esteemed

Yo-r most affectionate cousin

PG

These above of the 30th *Dec-ris* and 2d Ja-ry by Mr. Beck going by land.

{130v} 1691, 16 Feb-ry.

*The last ordinary brought me yours of the 21th of November, by which I understand your reseat of myne of the 29th July. I doubt not but my last of the 15th of November with the enclosed to my sonn John is come also safe to hand.*⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁷ Fragment crossed out in MS.

Mr. Samuell Meverell

Worthy ffriend,

My last was the 15th of No-r with ane enclosed to my son John, since which I have yo-rs of the 21 & 28th of No-r. I cannot find any good occasion of drawing of money from home, so that I desire you to keep still one hundred pounds in your hands untill a better tyme, & of the rest to remitt 5 pund st. to Mr. James Gordon Merch-t in Roterdam⁴⁰⁸, to whom I have written how to dispose of it. Send me also by your shipping a paire of earrings wt diamonds of the newest fashion for 20 p. st. and another paire for 10 & a third for 8 p. st.; as also the following small things, as 20 yards of the best flannell, *a stand of English gray curtaines for a bed of 5 or 6 p. st.,^{*409} 12 pair of red worset stockings for women, 2 paire of fine bed blankets, *2 periwigs of 2 or 3 p. st. a piece, light coloured but not white,* 12 paire of gloves 6 paire whereof halfe stagges, 10 travelling kravats, *2 suits of*, some combes, silk buttons for suits of light coloured cloth, & such things as you think may be fitt for the house, or that I may gett my money for that which I need not; *some bookes of any new or late inventions,* a booke of military discipline by Lt.Coll. Rudds.

So, giveing you many thanks for I am glad to hear the particulars of your family. I pray God {131} preserve you all in health & prosperity. I and mine are well at the writeing hereof, and all of us desire to be remembred to you & yours. So, desiring you to excuse the putting you to so much trouble, I take leave & remaine

Yo-r most affectionate br. & ser-t

P[e]r Mr. Brest

1691, 16 Feb-ry

[To James Gordon, merchant in Rotterdam]

⁴⁰⁸ After this crossed out: *with the enclo[sed]*.

⁴⁰⁹ Here and below the marked fragments are crossed out in MS. The reading of this part of the letter is difficult due to a lot of author's corrections with minute and barely legible insertions between the lines.

Sir,⁴¹⁰

I doubt not but you have received myne of the 29th July last year as also my former of the 24th May with an enclosed to my son John. This is to desire you to gett the enclosed convoyed safely to my son, as addressed to W-m Gor[don] m[erchant] in Ab[erdeen], as also to advise you that I have ordered 5 pund-sterling to be remitted to you from London, wherewith I entreat you to cause buy such laces for kravats & cuffes as you wished me too⁴¹¹ when I was there. Pray, if you meet with any bookes or papers set out in favour of King James, or any thing impartiall relateing to the tymes, send me them.

The bearer hereof, Mr. Hendr. Brest, will give you notice where he is to be found, so that you may send the things I have written for by him. Pray let me heare from you, and know what passeth in our countrey by your shipping to Archangell & by other such occasions. My cor{131v}respondent in Riga is Mr. Georg Frazer, and in Dantzick Mr. Patrick Forbes. My son James who was with me there is Lt.Colonell in my First Regiment, who with the rest of my family, though unacquainted, desire to be remembred to you & yours. So, desiring you to excuse so much trouble, I remaine

Yo-r affectionate kinsman

PG

1691, Feb-ry 16

[To John Gordon]

Loveing son,

I gave you ane acco-t in my last of the 2d of Ja-r how I have written the last year 6 letters to you, to none whereof I have received any answer, which neglect doth much dissatisfy me. Haveing written so often & what is needfull in almost every one of my former, I think it very superfluous to writt any more, only referr you to these⁴¹². I must only tell you this, that if you continue so careles, I will be forced to take such measures as will not please you well, for which you will have no body to blame but your self. *This is

⁴¹⁰ Instead of the crossed-out: *Loveing Cousin*.

⁴¹¹ *I bought* crossed out.

⁴¹² *other* crossed out.

the last tyme I shall writt to you in such termes. The next shall come with such a resolution as all your endeavours shall not move me to cancell it.*⁴¹³

Wee are all here in the same condition as at my last writeing. Send me the things I have so often writt for; recover the things I left by {132} Mr. Tho. Gordon in Edinburgh; make an end of the business with Watertowne; see to recover the money from Rothemay; and keep and give me an exact & particular acco-t of my rents & effaires there. All which neglect not, as you desire that I should continue

Yo-r loveing father

1691, Feb-ry 16.

[To James Gordon]

Much honoured and loveing unkle,

My last to you was of the 2d of Januar by the way of Hamburgh at large. The hopes I have of thats coming to your hands makes this the shorter. I am much discontent that my son there does not writt oftener to me, notwithstanding my often & earnest puting him to it, but haveing written so much of this in my former, I shall desist.

Wee are, praised be God, all well as at the writeing of my last, and are passionately desirous to hear the lyke of you & yours. I am not like to go to the fields this yeare, so that I shall still continue in a troublesome Court-lyfe. Wee all have our duty remembred to you, and {132v} that the Almighty may preserve you & yours long in health & prosperity is the dayly prayer of

Yo-r most dutifull nevoy

1691, Feb-ry 16.

For John Gordon of Nethermuir

Sir,

I have been silent a long tyme in expectation to have had an answer to diverse of myne, but I am unfortunate in this not to find a recipocall

⁴¹³ Fragment added at letter's end on fol. 132.

kindnes in these I most desire & expect.

Albeit my son at my unkle & your desires hath obtained from me a power of my effaires there, yet I expect that you will at least give him your advice & assistance. I wonder that my busines with Watertowne is not ended; the Laird of Rothemay hath not paid the money, which I have advanced to his brother; and that our cousin Mr. Tho. in Edinburgh hath not sent the trunk with the things in it to my son John. My son James tells me that there wants a high silver over gilt cup belonging to him. I cannot beleeve that it is lost, seing I delivered every thing particularly to him in presence of ffriends. To redress & recover all these I know you can contribute much, wherefor I entreat you to give your assistance, and by the first {133} advise me what is done therein.

I wish you much joy in you[r] married state, haveing expected to have had notice from your self thereof, not troubling you further, but only with due respects from

Yo-r most affectionat cousin

1691, Feb-ry 16.

For W-m Gordon

Sir,

My last to you was the 2d of Ja-ry with encloseds to friends, & this cometh with the same trouble. I doubt not of your care of getting them safely convoyed & delivered, and shall be glad by your meanes to have an answer of these & my former, as also a line from your self, whereby you will oblige me to remaine

Yo-r most affectionate cousin

{133v} 1691, Feb-ry 16.

To Mr. Geo. Frazer in Riga

Sir,

Pray excuse my long silence, occasioned by want of tyme & other accidents. I doubt not Mr. Munter hath advised you long ago of my paying

him the 60 R. dollers. My son James stayes here & is Lt.Coll. in my first regiment. I am not like to go to the fields this summer, unless something fall out more as wee know of as yet. If any thing extraordinary happen⁴¹⁴ in our countreyes, pray acquaint me & send your letters immediately to me because I pay no postage from nor to that place. This being all, only my kind respects to Mr. Daniell & to all our kind countreyemen, not forgetting your owne fyre-syde. I remaine

Yo-r reall ffriend at command

These of the 16th Feb-ry by Mr. Brest going by land, and departed from hence the 24th Feb-ry.

{134} 1691, Feb-ry 23.

[To Hetman Mazepa]⁴¹⁵

Illustrissime & Excellentiss[ime] Domine,

Pro acceptissimis literis et honorariis, humillimas ago gratias. *Ex animo gaudeo et gratulor de sanitate Exc. V-rae et autem* Quia autem audiui de solita infirmitate V-ra consului cum D-no Medico Carbonario qui missurus in scriptis regimen et remedia, cum approbatione aliorum. Nihil habeo quod scribam hinc quia procul dubio omnia *aliunde* Exc. V-rae nota sunt. Gratulor (Exc. V-rae de felici et prudente regimine & vigilantia circumspeditione) mihi ipsi quod Exc. V-ra dignatur me suo favore proseguere et in eodem conservare. *Gratiam alterius implere* Ego pro re nihil possum promittere, tantum quoad posse bona vota et officia, optans et desiderans ut dignetur me semper estimare

Illustriss. D-nationis V-rae
humill. servum⁴¹⁶

P

⁴¹⁴ *fall o[ut]* crossed out.

⁴¹⁵ The addressee is inferred from the Diary (fol. 69).

⁴¹⁶ "Most Illustrious and Excellent Lord,

For [Your] most agreeable letter and gifts, I render my most humble gratitude. *From my heart I rejoice in Your Excellency's health and...* Since I heard of Your habitual ailment, I have consulted with Mr. Doctor Carbonarius, who is to send in writing his instruction and the remedies with the approval of others. I have nothing to write about from here, as I little doubt but *from elsewhere* all is

{134v} 1691, *Martii* 9.

To L.G. Lord Graham in Belagrod

Right Honourable,

Yo-r L[ordship's] friends here, & I amongst them, do much admire that by so many sure occasions hither wee have not heard from you. Your boyar⁴¹⁷ being here, told us of the differences betwixt you, yet in hopes of future better comportment was so generous as not to speake or do any thing to your prejudice. He is in great favour here & like to continue, being dismissed thither with as ample power as ever any of his predecessours have had. I am sorry that ever any discontentment should have happened betwixt you, and shal be much more grieved not to heare of your reconciliation. As I did writt to you befor, so now I advise & desire you to endeavour to live in amity with him; for I assure you, it is impossible for any of us to beare it out with any of them, so it is better to digest some things which may seeme or be harsh, then to resent them.

This being no tyme for action, I have litle to advise you from abroad, but that the p[retended] k[ing] W-m with his confederates are reveling & consulting in the Hague, all the princes asking money from the Holl[anders], otherwise they declare they will not be able to keep their armyes in the fields. In the meane tyme the King of France, having long ago resolved what to do, is preparing for an early *champagne*.⁴¹⁸

known to Your Excellency. I congratulate Your Excellency with a happy and prudent rule and vigilant circumspection, [and] myself that Your Excellency deigns to grant me Your favour and preserve me therein. *I implore another grace...* As for that matter, I can promise nothing, only what can be achieved by good gifts and services. I wish and desire that You always be pleased to esteem me

Your Most Illustrious Lordship's
most humble servant" (Latin)

⁴¹⁷ Boyar Boris Petrovich Sheremetev, *voyeroda* in Belgorod.

⁴¹⁸ In 1688–97 France was at war with a coalition of her enemies ("Augsburg League" of German principalities, Spain, England, United Provinces, Savoy etc.). Known as the Nine Years' War or that of the Grand Alliance, it entwined with the Jacobite rising in the British Isles.

{135} 1691, May 5, p[e]r post.

Mr. Samuel Meverell

This above is a copy of my last sent p[e]r Mr. Henry Brest to Holland. I have litle to add, only to desire the convoyance of the enclosed to my son. I stay in Mosko this summer, have lately received a good gratuity from his Ma-tie, my family lyke to be encreased by my wyfe & yongest daughter. I am desired by Mr. Slater to entreat you to be kind & assisting to his sons, and to advance to *either*⁴¹⁹ them, in case they call for it, 20 or 30 or to 40 pund sterling.

If there be any new military or mechanick inventions set out lately by any of the Royall Society⁴²⁰, I desire a modell & description of them, and if there be any thing here wherein they desire to be resolved, or worthy of notice, I shall most willingly strive to give them satisfaction. Haveing nothing else but kind & due respects from me & myne to your self, family & concernes, I remaine

Yo-r most affectionate br. & ser-t
PG

[To John Gordon]

Loveing son,

In myne of the 2d Ja-ry & 16th Feb-ry you will have an acco-t of my many letters written to you last yeare, and how passionately desirous I am to hear from you; which, albeit it might no wayes concerne you, yet, understanding my will, you should be ashamed to be so negligent. Peruse my many former, to all which befor I receive particular answers you shall heare no more from me, unless it be the irrevocable sentence of a latter will. So, take heed what you do, as you would have me to continue

Yo-r loveing father
PG

⁴¹⁹ Word crossed out.

⁴²⁰ Royal Society of London, founded in 1660. One of its first presidents was Gordon's friend and correspondent Sir Joseph Williamson (in 1677–80).

To Mr. Frazer for 2 coach & a rideing-horse at 50, 60 or 70 R.dollers a piece.

{135v} 1691, May 22.

For his Grace the Duke of Gordon

May it please your Grace.

I received by the last ordinary your Graces most kind and obligeing letter dated at London 12th April *an.* '90, being sent from Varsow by Harie Gordon. Haveing heard of your G. being in Paris, I did writt to your G. the 15th of November last yeare, with an enclosed being a returne to the Earle of Melfort. I shall be glad to hear yo-r G. hath received it. Your G. behaviour all along is highly commendable, and in myne & all honest mens opinion you have done very wysely.⁴²¹

Wee have nothing here but as represented to us by the Dutch & Hollands gazettes, which are partiall, yet wee may collect that Orange is not so settled but he may be removed. For I cannot imagine but that, when the English see their purses emptyed, their trade ruined, & their necks bowing under a forreigne yoke, and small hopes of prevailing against {136} the Most Christian King⁴²², a sense of loyalty & generosity, at least of their owne ruine & slavery may prevail, so as to move the most generous of them to take other measures. There is nothing here more highly commended in the Most Christian King as his generous & most Christian resolution not to give eare to any peace untill his Sacred Ma-tie our gracious King be restored.

As for Harie Gordon, he is in Varsow exspecting my advice, which I have sent him by this post. I have showne him the conveniencies & inconveniencyes of this countrey, so that if he resolve to come in hither, I shall not be wanting in anything that lyes in my power to do for him. By our

⁴²¹ The Duke of Gordon remained loyal to King James II (VII) and, as Governor of Edinburgh castle, defended it against William of Orange until 14 June 1689. He then visited the exiled king at St.Germain-en-Laye near Paris, was arrested on the way back and by November 1692 imprisoned in the Hague; upon return to Scotland he was virtually kept under house arrest by the new regime (J.M. Bulloch. *The First Duke of Gordon*. (Huntly, 1908)).

⁴²² King Louis XIV of France.

change at Court I am in a better condition as formerly to help my self & others, having the favour of the yongest Czar in a large measure, & dayly accesse to him. Here is a *internuncius* from the Ro. Emperour sent hither to move us to divert the Tartars, but lyke to prevail litle, wee neither being in a capacity {136v} nor resolved to do any more as intended befor his comeing, which is to defend our borders.

I shall from my heart wish⁴²³ to hear of hopes of his Sacred Ma-ties restauration, and that your Grace may enjoy your owne in tranquillity, to the which if I knew a way to contribute any thing, I would most willingly hazard my lyfe & fortunes. I long to hear if your Grace approve of what I wrote in my former. *In this place I am not able to do more as...^{*424} In the meane tyme I comfort my self very much with the thoughts that your Grace is pleased to give me a place in your remembrance & favour, the continuance whereof I humbly crave, and shall as in duty obliged [to] remaine

Yo-r Grace's most humble
& totally devoted ser-t
whilst I breath⁴²⁵
P.Gordon

{137} 1691, May 22.

[To Harie Gordon]

Sir,

Yo-rs of the 30th of March I received by the last ordinary. I am very sensible of your condition as of that of all other loyall persons, whom to assist to my power I am most ready & willing. As to your comeing hither, I must first show you the conveniencies & inconveniencies of this place, and leave it to your choice what you will do.

The pay is here but very small (being redacted to a third part of what it hath been formerly *yet it is constantly payed^{*426}). A captaines pay is 20

⁴²³ *be much rejoiced* crossed out.

⁴²⁴ Words crossed out.

⁴²⁵ Instead of the crossed-out: *till death*.

⁴²⁶ Marked words crossed out.

or 22 R.dollers a month, & other officers conforme, yet a third part of this is but given, & the halfe of that in sables & other furies, on which for the most part great loss. The people are not so civilized and conversible with as in other countreyes, & the worst of all that a man cannot have his liberty to be gone or gett of when his occasions offer. & on the other side, {137v} the pay is constantly payed at one or two termes yearly. A man may serve here with a good conscience (for here are no accidences), a man may live in ease (if this to a martiall spirit can be called a conveniency), and lastly, a man using the wayes of this countrey may easily & in a short tyme be preferred to honourable offices. So that you may consider what you will do.

If you resolve to come hither, you need not doubt but that I shall do for you all that lyes in my power. I shall gett an order sent to the borders to let you come in. When you come you shall be welcome to stay in my house so long as you please. I shall gett you entered into the small pay that is immediately [given], and if you can procure a pass from any governour or nobleman by the way for a captaine, if it be but a travelling passe, I shall gett you immediately entered into that charge, & perhaps in short tyme preferred also. And if you find it your convenience to pass the tyme here without engaging in service, it shall cost you nothing {138} for your dyet so long as you stay, and you shall have your liberty to go when you please. But if you once engage in service here, it is ill getting of.

Thus I have represented to you the practice of this countrey, so that you may advise & resolve what you think fittest. If you resolve to come hither, then give me tymely notice, that I may gett order sent to the borders to permitt you to pass, and know that you must come by the way of Riga, where if I have tymely notice you shall find a letter from me, all other wayes being suspicious, especially from the place where you are. If you do not resolve of coming hither, then pray send that relation you writt of to Patrick Forbes in Dantzick, who will take care for its convoyance to me. Give me also from your self an acco-t of what hath passed since in our countrey, & who are interessed in the parties & who neutrall (I meane the noblemen & families), and if you know any thing of the present condition thereof, informe me also.

As for my recommending you to any in Germany, God knoweth {138v} my acquaintance there are worne out & all dead, & in other places

also. Here is a Polish resident, as also an Imperiall *internuncius*. If any of them can gett you helped, I shall oblige them to do it.

I have a son here, who being sore wounded at the battell of Gillykranky⁴²⁷, was forced to fly & come hither. He served in England & went to France after the King, & so to Ireland & to Scotland. So, expecting to heare of your resolutions as soone as possible, I remaine

Yo-r affectionate kinsman & ser-t
P.Go.

{139} 1691, May 22.

To Mr. Pat. Forbes

Sir,

Yo-rs of the 14th May I received by our last ordinary. I wonder Thomas Gordon should think it strange that I put him in mynd of remitting the money for my sables, which I did not untill the tyme was expired that he gave me notice that he was to receive the money, being, as he wrote to me in Januar, at the distribution, as he called it. I am, I confess, troublesome to my ffrriends, but it is farr from my nature to engage them in any expences or loss. For the money advanced to my son, he may pay himself with such interest as he pleaseth. I have great reason to admire that he hath given me no notice all this tyme at what rate he hath sold them. I see I must have patience now to an indefinite tyme and price.

I returne an answer to Mr. Gordons letter. He is recommended to me by the Duke, & by his writeing seemes to be a well qualifed person. I shall be glad to help him wherein I can. Pray, when you have occasion to writt to Tho. Gordon, advise him of the sence hereof. I desired him, if the {139v} sables sent to Ro-t Gordon of Chmielnick were not sufficient for what he had disbursed on my sons acco-t, that he should supply it, w-ch I desire still.

⁴²⁷ Killiecrankie, mountain pass in Perthshire, Scotland, where on 27 July 1689 a battle was fought between the Jacobites (about 2,500) under John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, and Williamites (about 3,500) under General Hugh MacKay of Scourie. The Jacobites won the day, but their valiant commander was killed in the decisive attack, which proved fatal for the rising.

Pray informe me what passeth in our countrey, for I have not had any thing from thence in a twelve-month. This being all, with my due respects to all reall ffriends I rest

Yo-r very affectionate friend & ser-t
P.Go

{140} 1691, July 17.

Mr. Samuelli Meverell

Worthy ffriend,

My last was of the 5th May with a copy of my former of the 16th of February, wherein I did writt what then needfull. The first was by Mr. Brest, & the other by Mr. Slater his sonnes. I hope the first is come in tyme to your hands, to have sent me the things I wrott for; if not, then the next year will do it. Mr. Slater desires me to entreat you to have a litle inspection over his sonnes & not to let them want for what they may stand in need of. If you advance them any money, you may draw it to me.

I cannot omitt to advise you that about ten weekes ago it pleased God to take my son in law Daniell Crawfuird out of this world to himself. His wyfe is delivered 10 dayes ago of a son, & myne 6 weekes ago of another. I continue still in Mosko to my great expences & trouble, yet am getting now & then something extraordinary to help me.

I shall be glad to heare of the welfare & particulars of your family & relations, to all whom I & myne desire our due respects & affection to be tendred. I remaine

Yo-r most affectionate br. & ser-t
PG

{140v} 1691, July 17.

For the Earle of Melfort

May it please your Excellency.

I could not delay an houre the acknowledging yo-r Exc. favour, & rendering thanks for yours of the 12th of May last. Wee are still in suspense,

attending the event of this campagne, and what Orange will effect with his numerous (as wee are informed) army. I am very ready to beleeve and glad to heare of the appearances & probabilities of his Sacred Ma-ties reestablishment.

Here is an Imperiall *internuntius* and Polish resident, pressing the doing of something against the Tartars, yet this yeare is lyke to pass without the undertakeing of any great action. I wonder all this tyme I hear nothing of my Chieffe⁴²⁸, only some weekes ago wee had in a gazette that he was to go with succours to Scotland. I pray God to bless his G[race] and to prosper his endeavours, especially in these for the King. So, desireing the continuance of your favour, & to be still esteemed

Yo-r Exc.
most humble ser-t

P[e]r post.

{141} Mosco, 31 July 1691.

To Mr. More

Sir,

My last was the 17th instant in answer to yours of the 18th May from Novogrodt, wherein I gave also an acco-t of your effaire here, since your business is all ready, and the *Dummy* hath promised me to gett shortly an order, which must be signed by another *Dummy*. He desired me to writt to you that you might provide a halfe-coach, which may [be] light & strong & grave withall, I meane not gawdy. He sayes he shall give the money befor hand, how soone you give me notice what it may cost.

[To George Frazer]

Sir,

My son in law haveing gott notice of the hereditary living lands & dwelling place of his father in Liefland, whereof as followeth. His grand-

⁴²⁸ The Duke of Gordon. More proof that Scottish clanship and chieftdom are not just a later Romantic legend.

father Lilow Strasburgh possessed it, who haveing diverse sons, they are all deceased without children except his father. The place is called Rokill near Revall⁴²⁹ & is now possessed by the widdow of Jochim Strasburgh, my sons unkle, who is maryed as wee hear to one *Ruitm-r* Branof or Branhoffe.

My earnest desire is that you would writt to some {141v} ffriend in Revell, who may diligently enquire in what condition the said lands of Rokill are, what they may be worth of yearly rent, what houses, of what extent⁴³⁰ the lands are, how many *pawres*, how farr from the towne & w-ch way, or what other conveniencies; as also to gett notice if there be any other pretenders, the nature of their holding, if entire or dismembred, if they know any thing of such a person in Russia, with other circumstances necessary to be knowne in this business. By obtaining an exact notice of the above-mentioned particulars, you will very much oblige

Yo-r affectionate ffriend at command
PG

P.S. I doubt not but as soone as possible you will give me an impartiall acco-t of the effaires in o[u]r countreyes.

Mosco, 31 July 1691.

{142} Mosco, 31 July 1691.

[To Captain Harie Gordon]

Sir,

Yours of the 6th came to me by the last ordinary, wherein I see your resolution to come in hither. Wherefor I have obtained an order to be sent to the borders for admitting you, & to give you horses to help you forward. You will find the letter to the governour of Plesko in an enclosed from me, by a merch-t called Jochim Voight, who being a civill man will informe you how [you] shall travell the way hither. You have done well to have gott a passe, and if it be not expensive or troublsome, on[e] from

⁴²⁹ Now Tallinn, Estonia.

⁴³⁰ *how large* crossed out.

the governour of Riga could do you no harme. I have written to Mr. Geo. Frazer in Riga to be kind to you & help you forward.

{142v} Mosco, 7 Aug. 1691.

Mr. Robert Jolly

Worthy ffriend,

The occasion of my writeing at this tyme is a business of consequence, and yet because of the uncertainty thereof, I would be loth to have troubled any other but your self, in whose sincere & reall ffriendship I have great confidence & proofes upon divers occasions.

But to be short, here liveth a merchant called Henry Kenkell, who hath neither wyfe nor children, nor lyke to have, being in yeares, and hath a considerable estate, which he is to leave to two brother[s] daughters of his, who live in Hamburg or thereabout, so-being all things concurr to his lykeing; and yet, being an humorous man, he will not declare himself as yet. However, wee have had diverse overtures about my son James his marryeing one of them, so that he hath desired me to writt in my owne name to Mr. Philip Ver Porten⁴³¹ (who, I suppose, hath the tuition or inspection of them) that he should take a care of them, & tell them that if they behave themselves well and not {143} marry but with his approbation, they may assure themselves that any thing he hath shall not go by them.

Now, I haveing no such intimate acquaintance with Mr. Ver Porten as to trouble him with such an uncertainty, I thought fitt to address my self to you, entreating you to enquire where they live, how qualified, and in what condition they are. I know they live meanly, but if honestly, that is the chieffest. It appeares by a letter of the eldests to her unkle some yeares ago that she hath a good witt. They are the daughters of Dirik Kenkell, the eldest called Sarah & the other Josepha, as I think. If you think them well qualified & of good fame, then may you tell Mr. Ver Porten what I was desired to writt to him, and give the yong women a hint of it also. And let me know how they are enclined as to their comeing hither.

⁴³¹ Gordon mentions a person of this name when in Hamburg in August 1666 (*Diary*, II, p. 235).

Informe and give me your opinion & advice by the first post, that I may resolve what to do. And {143v} truly, unless I gett him resolve[d] to send for them, & they be willing to come, any thing he hath may go by them. You may perswade them to writt to him, but they need take no notice of what I writt now, only they may complaine of their necessities, and that they rely upon his goodnes, and referr the disposall of themselves to his will & care, which will be the way to please him.

So, desiring you to excuse this so great trouble, which perhaps may ly out of your way, yet I know you will do much for one who desires to be esteemed

Yo-r reall ffriend at command
PG

Writt to Mr. Jolly, Mr. Vaget & Capt. Harie Gordon by post.

{144} Mosco, 14 Aug. 1691.

To Coll. Sir Georg Barclay⁴³²

Sir,

The short acquaintance wee had at London, and the many kindnesses & civilityes you shewed to my son James whilst he was under your command, obligeth me to a thankfull remembrance.⁴³³

I am extreemly sorry for the⁴³⁴ unhappy distractions & miseries happened in our unfortunate countrey. God of his mercy send peace & tranquility, & that every one may enjoy his owne right without disturbance.

⁴³² Sir George Barclay (ca.1636–1710), infantry colonel, then brigadier, noted Scots Jacobite, one of the leaders of the Scottish rising in 1689–90. Just then, in August 1691, he went from Scotland to France to the exiled court of James II (VII) to ask him to free loyal Scottish clan chiefs from allegiance to him in view of their plight back home. Gordon's letter suggests that his son James served under Barclay in King James' Guards and, evidently, in the Jacobite campaign. In 1695–6 Barclay headed a plot to assassinate William of Orange in London; it failed, but Barclay managed to slip away (I.B. Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason...* Vol. XII (London, 1812), pp. 1299–1466).

⁴³³ Crossed out here: *wishing I might have ane occasion to...*

⁴³⁴ Crossed out here: *misfortunes and the...*

Sir, the bearer Capt. Gordon⁴³⁵, who is dismissed from this service for a tyme, will sufficiently informe you concerning the state of this countrey & my owne particular.⁴³⁶ So, wishing that I may have ane occasion to show you how much I am

Your affectionate reall ffriend & ser-t
PG

{144v} Mosco, 2 *Sept-ris* 1691.

[To Hetman Mazepa]

Illustris et Prepotens Domine,

Per hanc occasionem Ex. V-rae debita mea offero officia. Lator hujus, D. Coll. de Leuwenfelt, quia noluit pro tam parvo salario inservire, sicuti nos, dimissus est, et cum gratia quidem. Ego certe quantum potui pro illo laboravi, et cum multis difficultatibus luctatus sum, sicut ipse narrabit. Quantum etiam potis ero nepoti Excell. V-rae inservire, in omnibus et ubiq[ue] paratus ero. Interim me Exc. V-rae favori commendo, optans haberi

Exc. V-rae
humillimus servus
PG

Illustriss[imae] et Excellentiss[imae] Prepotenti D-no, D-no Johanni Stephanidi Masepae Tzar. Majest. Excercituum Zaporoviensium utriusque

⁴³⁵ Captain William Gordon in Russian service (see fol. 3). This letter is one of many sent with him to the West by General Gordon, his relations and other Muscovite foreigners, but these were not delivered since the captain died in Reval in January 1692. Some of the letters ended up in the Tallinn city archive, and 29 of them were published by Paul Dukes, including 10 letters from the general himself: to merchant William Gordon in Aberdeen of 8 August and 7 September 1691; to John Gordon of Nethermuir of 8 August; to Colonel Sir George Barclay of 14 August; to Patrick's son John of 8 August; to the laird Gordon of Rothiemay of 5 September 1691; to Captain William Gordon in Reval of 29 January, 12 and 19 February 1692, and an undated memorandum to the latter, apparently given at his departure from Moscow (P. Dukes, "Patrick Gordon and his family circle: some unpublished letters", *Scottish Slavonic Review*, No 10 (1988), pp. 19–49).

⁴³⁶ Crossed out here: *In the meane ty[me] no more but...*

ripae Boristhenis Campiductori meritissimo.

Pateant. Bat[urin].⁴³⁷

{145} Mosco, 19 *Octobris* 1691.

[To Hetman Mazepa]

Perillustris et Excellentissime D-ne,

Reditus Magnifici D-ni nepotis Ex. V-rae optimam mihi dedit occasionem deferendi debita obsequia mea Exc. V-rae. Doleo certe et rogo ut mihi ignoscat quod non potui plus hic illo inservire, nam non tantum in domo mea sicut optavi illum habere neque frequente illius conversatione frui potui. Nam adeo aulae curis et assidua observantia distractus sum, ut *certe* quando cubitum eo nescio si sequenti *altero* die domi prandere possim, et tamen ut plurimum occupatus sum nihil agendo saltem pro me ipso.

Interim non desum neque unq[ua]m deero per omnes occasiones partes amici Exc. V-rae agere, et certe gaudeo et Exc. V-ram assecurare possum, q[uo]d Serenissim[us] et omnes Vestro conductu et ratione vivendi bene contenti sunt.

Quoad nepotem Exc. V-rae, presens fui quando elegantissime perora-

⁴³⁷ "Illustrious and Most Potent Lord,

On this occasion I offer my due respect to Your Excellency. The bearer of this is Colonel de Löwenfeld, who was not willing to serve for so small a salary like ours, and was dismissed, yet favourably. I certainly worked on his behalf as much as I could, and struggled with many difficulties, as he himself would tell. Insofar as I am able to do service to Your Excellency's nephew*, I shall be ready to do so in all things and everywhere. Meanwhile I commend myself to Your Excellency's favour, wishing to be

Your Excellency's
most humble servant"

"To the Most Illustrious, Most Excellent and Most Potent Lord Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa, [Their] Tsarian Majesties' Most Worthy Hetman of the Zaporozhsky Host and Both Banks of the Borysthene."

"Letters patent, Bat[urin]" (Latin).

* Mazepa's nephew was probably young Andrey Voynarovsky (ca.1680–1740), his adherent and heir. During the Great Northern War he followed the Hetman in joining the Swedes, and after their defeat at Poltava fled to Bendery. In 1716 he was arrested in Hamburg on Russian demand, imprisoned in St.Petersburg and exiled to Yakutsk.

vit, et quidem hic ita se gessit ut bonam famam, laudem et optimae {145v} indolis egregiam spem meruerit, et post se hic reliquerit.

Quo-ad D. Colonellum Lewenfelt, feci pro illo quicq[ui]d potui et, ut antea scripsi, luctatus sum cum multis in illa re difficultatibus, et quia primo noluit pro tali salario sicuti colonelli hic inservire, procuravi sicuti optavit celerem dimissionem. Sed nescio qua de causa iterum resolutionem sumpserit hic manendi. Ego autem securus Ex. V-rae gratiae et benevolentiae permaneo

Exc. V-rae
Humillimus servus
in obsequia paratus⁴³⁸

{146} Mosco, 8 Aug. 1691.

To the Earle of Arroll

May it please your Lordship.

⁴³⁸ “Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord,

The return of the Magnificent Lord, Your Excellency’s nephew, gave me the desired occasion to offer my due respect to Your Excellency. I surely regret, and beg his forgiveness, that I could not do him more services here, for I could not receive him in my house and enjoy his conversation as often as I wished. For I am so much distracted by my concerns at court and assiduous obligations, that when I go to bed I know not if the next day I would have breakfast at home, and still I am so busy, not even doing anything for myself.

Meantime I do not lose any chance, nor ever shall, to play the part of Your Excellency’s friend. I am truly glad, and can assure Your Excellency, that the Most Serene [Tsar] and everyone are well content with Your conduct and way of living.

As for Your Excellency’s nephew, I was present when he made a most elegant final speech, and besides, bore himself here so well that he would merit and leave behind him a good repute, praise and high hopes of his best talents.

As for Colonel Löwenfeld, I have done all I could for him and, as I have written before, struggled with many difficulties in this matter. And since at first he was unwilling to serve for such a salary as colonels have here, I obtained his prompt dismissal as he wished. But I know not for what reason he might again make a decision to stay here. And I, being secure in Your Excellency’s grace and benevolence, remain

Your Excellency’s

most humble servant,
ready to oblige” (Latin).

My last was the 28 Ja-ry last year, wherein I gave your L-p a short acco-t of our expedition to the Crim and what followed thereupon. I have nothing to advise from hence now but what the bearer Capt. Gordon can informe, whom I have desired to wait upon yo-r L. I only humbly entreat your L. to continue your favour to me and protection to my son & concerns there, whereof I have no doubt. So, takeing leave, I remaine

Yo-r L-ps most humble ser-t

PG

To the Earle of Aberdeen.

The usuall complements.

{146v} Mosco, 8 Aug. 1691.

Writt to the Laird of Rothemay, desireing the 300 merks Scottish with the interest for 8 yeares, which his brother⁴³⁹ oweth me; as also 200 merks upon the acco-t of Charles Gordon (he being cation for it) may be delivered to W-m Gordon merch-t in Aberdeen, & his bond be given to the custody of John Gordon of Nethermuir.

Writt to Nethermuir & W-m Gordon concerning the same.

To my unkle and son, about my domestick effaires.

To Madam Crawfuird & Pater Schmidt.

The former by Capt. Gordon, the other 2 by Lt.Coll. Crawfuird.

{147} Mosco, 6 *No-ris* 1691.

Mr. Samuelli Meverell

Worthy ffriend,

My last was the 11th of 7ber by post. I have since received yours of the 11 July, 7 & 14 of August, but that of 22 July with the packet from my son John I have not seen as yet, so that I am afrayed it is lost. I entreat you to get notice from Sr Ben. Aylofffe by whom it was sent & to whom recommended at Narva.

I am very sorry for the great losses wee have all had by the takeing of your ships, but patience is the best remedy. I am loth to hazard any more

⁴³⁹ Captain William Gordon.

that way so long as the warr lasteth. I expect to heare if you have advanced any money to Mr. Slaters sonnes.

When I get my sons letters, I will be obliged perhaps to returne an answer, and so take occasion to writt shortly againe. I & myne are still in good health as at last, desirein[g] to be remembred to you & yours. I remaine

Yo-r affectionate br. & ser-t
PG

This not sent, but the substance y-rof in that of the 12th *Dec-ris*.

{147v} Mosco, 6 *No-ris* 1691.

For Mr. Tho. Loftus in Narva

Sir,

I find yours of the 12th of August befor me unanswered. I am sorry that wee can gett no merch-t for your coach, the reasons writt in diverse former. Mr. Kniper hath one w-ch may be called the mother of coaches, lying or standing unsold, they being here now all for new-fashioned & light coaches.

I find myself obliged to give you many thanks for your kindness to Capt. Gordon, & I beleieve there is ano-r of the same name⁴⁴⁰ gone your way, if he getts the length, for I hear he is falne sick 30 *werst* from Novogrod, w-ch will make him (though he recover) loss his passage this yeare. Capt. Gordon tells me that you gott a shipp with wines. I am sorry I knew not sooner, because Mr. Hartman there hath order from Mr. Kenkell to provide 10 hogsheads of Hooghlandish wine⁴⁴¹ for me, {150}⁴⁴² yet I have spoke with Mr. Kenkel that 5 only be sent for my acco-t, so you may be pleased to send the other 5, 2 whereof I

⁴⁴⁰ Meaning Captain Harie Gordon, newly arrived in Russia, and his clansman William of the same rank, who has just left the country.

⁴⁴¹ Evidently what the Britons called Hock, originally white wine from the district of Hochheim, then a general term for Rhine wine.

⁴⁴² The divergence in MS pagination (which is not Gordon's) has to do with the fact that the fair copy of the unsent letter to the laird of Rothiemay was filed within the letter to Mr. Loftus (see below, fols. 148–9 v).

would have to be sack if there, because it passeth at the Toll for French wine. I get it passed [through] Novogrodt in the name of the Boyar Lew Kirilovits, a letter being to be sent to let it pass for his provisions, which shall be addressed to Mr. Meyer. The money you may ether draw on me by bill, or I shall gett it remitted by Mr. Kenkells meanes. As for any other things, I know not what may be ther at cheaper rates as here, nor would I willingly trouble you with any thing w-ch may be out of your way.

Mr. Meverell writeth to me from London that he hath delivered a packet of letters to Sr Ben. Aylofffe {150v} for me to be sent for Narva, whereof I hear nothing. If it can be found there, pray let it be sent hither with the first sure occasion. This being all at present, I take leave & remaine

Yo-r affectionat ffriend & ser-t

PG

P.S. You may speake with Mr. Hartman that the 10 hogsheads of wine be sent of together with the first sledge way.

Pray tell Mr. More that by the next post I hope to give him a finall acco-t of his busines. Mine of the 18th 7bris will have answered his of the 24 Aug.

{148} Mosco, 8 Aug. 1691.

[To the Laird of Rothiemay]

Sir,

By this occasion of your brother I could not omitt to salute you. He hath been alwayes tender and sickly here, I pray God his geniall aire may recover him. He hath a project of putting his patrimony in Scots pearles, which according to the common opinion would render considerable advantage.

He & I have made up our acco-ts, so that he remaineth only owing to me 300 merks with 8 yeares interest, and 200 merks Scottish as cation for Charles Gordon, which I desire to be delivered to my cousin W-m Gordon in Aberdeen, who is son to Patrick Gordon of Cults, and his note or bond to be given to John Gordon of Nethermuir.

I have a project of getting the lands of Achluichries holden of the King. If it be found feasible there, I doubt not but you will give your assistance in perswadeing the Earle of Erroll to sell the superiority of them. The manner of the holding of them you will be pleased to learne from your brother in law Nethermuir. As to what concernes this {148v} place, give me leave to referr all to the relation of your brother. So, takeing leave, I remaine,

Sir,

Your most affectionate
ffriend & servant
P.Gordon

Mosco, 8 *Augusti* 1691.⁴⁴³

{149v}

For
The Laird of Rothemay
at his house⁴⁴⁴

{151} Mosco, 12 *Dec-ris* 1691

[To James Gordon and John Gordon of Nethermuir]

Much Honoured Uncle & Cousin,

I have received your joint letter dated at Nethermuir the 3d of July past but 5 dayes ago, to the which this serves for ans-r. The miscaryage of our letters must be betwixt you & London, for never any miscaryes betwixt this [city] & London. My son writts me to have payed postage from Mosko to that place for a packet, dated the 16th of Febr. last. That packet was sent by a ffriend, Mr. Brest, to Amsterdam & recommended to the care of James Gordon merch-t in Roterdam, who gave me notice that he had carefully forwarded it, but whether by post or ffriend, he gave me no notice.

⁴⁴³ A blank page follows in MS (149).

⁴⁴⁴ This page has traces of folding and remains of seal in red wax. The impeccably clean text and Patrick Gordon's full signature prove it to be the original letter, which for some reason was not sent. The general dispatched another version to Rothiemay with Captain Gordon, dated 5 September 1691 and published by Paul Dukes (*Scottish Slavonic Review*, No 10 (1988), p. 36). Textual differences between them are insignificant.

So that, if by post, then was due at the most but from Rotterdam, so it may be enquired where the abuse lyeth.

I have not received any one letter from thence since that by my son James, & one sent to Dantzick by shipping is not come to my hands, so that it may be enquired to whom it was delivered in Dantzick, Patrick Forbes there my correspondent being a very carefull man. So that you see I want {151v} the full & particular acco-t of my effaires there. But to what I have now befor me.

The redemption of my brother in law⁴⁴⁵ his wedsett I leave to the ordinary course & your advice. In the busines wt Watertowne I admire to heare of a back bond now given by my brother John to our father. It was great injustice in him in concealing it when I was there, & now malice in detaining it, seing it cannot availe him. My causing deliver up his bond of 400 merks gratis might have removed all rancour & caused him be cordiall & reall, but *transeat cum ceteris erroribus*⁴⁴⁶. You will be pleased to follow the ordinary course in this also.

As to the businesse of Rothemay, at his brothers going from hence wee made up our acco-ts, so that he remaines only due to me 300 merks with 8 yeares interest, and 200 merks with 5 yeares interest, which in my last by Capt. W-m Gordon I desired to be given to some ffriend in Ab[er]-d[een] upon interest, & the bond to be delivered to you, & that for diverse reasons too long here to recite.

Now to the last. I am in a great perplexity what to do, fearing by denu-deing my self of my interest there, it may make my son more careles & undutifull (*vestigia terrent*⁴⁴⁷). {152} However, I shall follow your advice, and send the desired blanks & paper subscribed & ordered befor witnesses, as you have prescribed; which being too expensive to send by post, I shall send by ffriends going over land, who in 2 or 3 weeks are to go from hence. Yet me-thinks it will be necessary to take a back bond from my son, as is usuall

⁴⁴⁵ The late husband of Gordon's sister Elizabeth, William Hay of Ardenrit.

⁴⁴⁶ "Let it pass with other errors" (Latin). The author of this adage is unknown to me. In the 1660s it was used by the Franco-Dutch Protestant divine Samuel Maresius (1599–1673) (*Menasseh Ben Israel and His World* (Leiden, New York etc., 1989), p. 177). Scottish writers seem to have been fond of it, including John Arbuthnot (1667–1735) in his famous "History of John Bull" (1712), and Sir Walter Scott, although they were hardly aware of Gordon's Diary.

⁴⁴⁷ "The footprints frighten me" (Latin)—Horace, *Epistles*, I, 1, 69–75.

in such cases, at least for a provision for one of my sons who may perhaps come & settle there, which however is a great doubt whether ever any of them come thither or no, & I do only upon this acco-t, that if it please God to prosper them with any estate, they may have by this meanes encouragement to looke thither. Yet I shall put nothing of this in the commission for fear of delays & scruples, but leave all to your discretion & advice.

I am (as I did writt befor) very well satisfied with the person my son intends to marry, and shall contribute all I can to their welfare, out of the love I have to my native countrey & to leave a memory of my self there. Having nothing to add but my due respects with my wyfe & family theirs to you both & yours, I remaine

Yo-r dutifull nevoy &
loveing cousin & ser-t
PGor.

P.S. Dear Cousin, I wish you much joy with your son & daughter.

This & the next in a *coverto* to Mr. Frazer in Riga to be forwarded by him.

{152v} Mosco, 12 *Dec-ris* 1691.

Mr. Sam. Meverell

Worthy ffriend,

I have delayed to ans-r diverse of yours, untill I should receive the packet from my son John, which I did by the last ordinary. Be pleased then to know that I have received yours of the 11th of July, of the 7 & 14 of August, of the 3d of October & now last yours of the 22 of July.

I am sorry for the great loss wee have by the takeing of your ships, but patience is the best remedy. I hope you have received my last of the 11th of 7ber p[e]r post. I dare hardly hazard to writt for any thing so long as this warr lasteth. However, provide for me 6 brazen table candles[t]icks & 6 wall, not massive but of the thickest plates, all ordinary for dayly use. I am engaged by shee-ffriends to cause bring the following bookes: *The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia*, *Don Quixot*, *Montelion Knight of the Oracle*, *Parismus* &

Parismenos, *Hidubras* [sic], J. Clevelands *Poems*, & *The Romance of Romances*⁴⁴⁸, a booke lately set out, the other are old bookes. I shall have occasion for other things, whereof you shall have tymely notice.

In my former I gave you notice of Mr. Slaters death. How it is with his business I know not well, yet these who have taken care of his business offer to pay what is disbursed. Your son⁴⁴⁹ is here in good health, whom I did see yesterday, liveth next door to me. I shall be glad to do him all the kindnes I can. The things not yet received from Narva, yet [but] expects them by the first occasion. This being all at present, being to writt shortly p[e]r ffriend, I take leave & remaine

Yo-r affectionate br. & ser-t
PG

P.S. The enclosed pray carefully forward, because of great concernment.

{153} Mosco, 18th 10ris 1691.

To Mr. Loftus

Sir,

My last was the 23d past, since which I have 3 of yours, in one whereof

⁴⁴⁸ These books were the favourite reading of 17th-century Britons. Of special note is Gordon's mention of *Don Quixote*, apparently the earliest in Russia; the first English translation of this masterpiece by Cervantes was produced by Thomas Shelton (1612, 1620). *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, a novel by Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586), was named in honour of his sister and saw many editions. *Montelion* (1633, probably published earlier) and *Parismus, the renowned Prince of Bohemia* with its sequel *Parismenos* (1598–9), knightly novels by Emanuel Ford, now forgotten but highly popular then. *Hudibras*, a satirical anti-Puritan poem in three parts (1662, 1664, 1678, 1st full edition 1684) by Samuel Butler (1612–1680). John Cleveland (1613–1658), English poet, whose works appeared in 1656. The last one in the list is Samuel Holland's chivalrous parody: *Romancio-matrix: or, A romance on romances, in which the prodigious vanities of a great part of them are (as in a mirror) most lively represented, and so naturally personated, that the ingenious reader, observing their deformities, may delightfully be instructed and invited to the pursuing of more honourable and profitable studies* (London), 1660. Significantly, Butler, Cleveland and Holland were all fervent supporters of the Stuart monarchy, just like Patrick Gordon and his circle, which demonstrates the general's influence on the literary choice of his "she-friends".

⁴⁴⁹ Samuel Meverell's son Otto, also a merchant active in Russia.

a packet from Mr. Meverell & therein the letters from my son in Scotland whereof he advised me long ago. I know not if this may come in tyme to advise any thing concerning the wines, but if it do, then may you in place of sack send any other strong wines. For my part, I have not studied acquaintance with the names of them. I have gott my self provided of some things from our sea port⁴⁵⁰ for this yeare, not knowing of such conveniencyes there, but may hereafter be troublesome.

I am even very sorry that your coach cannot be put of, [I] shall my self and gett ffriends use their utmost to gett it bartered or sold. Haveing nothing else, I take leave & remaine

Yo-r affectionate ffriend at command⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵⁰ Archangel.

⁴⁵¹ A blank page follows (153 v.).

Ja-ry 1, Frid. God give us all a good new yeare!

Writt to Coll. Bartholomeus Roonaer in Koslow.

In Preobrasinsko at the installing of the Patriarch.⁴⁵²

A list of the regiment for this yeares pay: 4 serjeants, 36 furiers & foriers, 56 corporalls, 46 pipers, 689 sojors whereof 2 *verstany*, in all 867, 6 *emeriti*, 82 widdowes, 44 orphans, in all 999.

2. My son in law weaker & weaker, and no hopes of recovery. He received the sacrament of extreme unction and blessed his children.

3. His Ma-tie in Ismailow.

My son in law wearing away, very faintish & weake.

{154v} Ja-ry 4, Moonday. About 3 houres befor day wee began to remarke my son in law to approach neer his end, his speech failing, yet he continued by good understanding when the priest read befor him for 3 houres, and gave signes. Thereafter for 2 houres he lay breathing with difficulty, and about 9 aclock in the morning departed this lyfe most devoutly & Christianly. *Requiescat in pace!*⁴⁵³ I gave his Ma-tie notice, who ordered 300 rubles to the widdow.

5. Wee were busy makeing preparations for the buriall, and the inviters invited in the towne.

6. Bought in most things. The inviters invited in the Slabod.

{155} Ja-ry 7. All things being ready by day light, the people conveened about 9 aclock.

His M. with the regiment came about 12 aclock.

{155v} Ja-ry 8, Frid.

9. [Writt] to John Ignatius Kurtius, late envoy from the R[oman] Emp[eror] to their Tz[arian] M[a]jesties] in Mosko.

{156} Ja-ry 11, Moonday. Because the usuall *Officium defunc[torum]*⁴⁵⁴ at the buriall of the dead could not be completely said, this day was consecrated⁴⁵⁵ all with the *Officium Defunctorum*, and I tooke all these who were

⁴⁵² See above, fol. 110.

⁴⁵³ May he rest in peace (Latin).

⁴⁵⁴ Memorial service for the deceased (Latin).

⁴⁵⁵ Written instead of *celebrated*.

present⁴⁵⁶ at the Masse to dinner.

12. Writt to the Duke of Gordon in a *coverto* to James Gordon in Rotterdam, & to Mr. More & Mr. Loftus in Narva, the last 2 by Soldan, and the o[the]r & these to Scotland by Mr. Pendek.

11. To the Earle of Aberdeen, unkle, son, Nethermuir with a disposition of my lands of Achluichries to my eldest son John; to Pater Schmidt, Patrick Forbes in Dantzick, & in his to Ro-t Gordon in Chmielnick, & in his to Tho. Gordon in Lvova.

To Ro-t Jolly in Hamburgh, *to James Gordon in Rot[terdam]*⁴⁵⁷, all by⁴⁵⁸ the last by Peter Baldus⁴⁵⁹, going over land.

Given 4 rubles for a grave-stone, and a ruble to be given to Pachom Antipuf when set up.

Mr. James Pendek.

{156v} Ja-ry 12. Rec-d a letter.

13. Order given to Mr. Baldus to receive from James Gordon in Rotterdam or order 5 libs. sterling *en daer voor te koopen*⁴⁶⁰: sowed lace 3 finger-broad 6 ells, 10 *paar* of red womens stockens, *Fam[iani] Stradae Decas 2da*⁴⁶¹, laces to kravats *en [sic]* houshold use for the rest of the money.

14. Mr. James Pendek & Mr. Peter Baldus went from hence.

{157} Ja-ry 15. In towne, gott my *wipisky* compleetly ordered & underwritten for receiving 400 rubles yearely besides my ordinary pay for my paines by the regiment, and to begin this yeare.

16. In towne, the *wipisky* given of. It was written as to the order by Vasily Gregor. Semenuf⁴⁶² after the following manner:

“In this 7200 yeare the 7th of Januar Their Ma-ties (*pl[enus] Tit[ulus]*⁴⁶³), having heard the extracted writeing, have graced the Generall Patr[icius]

⁴⁵⁶ *accompanied* crossed out.

⁴⁵⁷ Marked words crossed out.

⁴⁵⁸ Perhaps a slip for “but”.

⁴⁵⁹ Possibly the Peter “Baltes” who was “crystal-” and “figure-master” of the Tsars’ glass factory in Izmaylovo, a Roman Catholic.

⁴⁶⁰ “And there for the purchase” (Dutch).

⁴⁶¹ Historical work by the Roman Jesuit Famiano Strada (1572–1649), “Second Decade on the Belgian War” (*De Bello Belgico Decas Secunda* (Romae, 1648)). It describes the conflict between the rebellious Netherlands and Spain in 1578–90 from a pro-Catholic and pro-Spanish point of view.

⁴⁶² V.G. Semionov († 1693), from 1676 *dummy dyak* of Razriad Office.

⁴⁶³ Full title (Latin).

Johannides Gordon for his many services, for the Czegrins beleaguering, for his many wounds and for his conduct of the army, and that he from the 196th year haveing the command of the Moskoes Selected Regiments liveth in Mosko alwayes and hath no lands nor *panres* here, {157v} have ordered to augment his pay and give to him yearly, above the ordinary third pt. of his former pay, 400 rubles yearly, and to give him the s[ai]d 400 rubles for this year also, and in the yeares to come out of the Great Treasury”.

Ja-ry 16, Sat. It being ordered by their Ma-ties to extract out of the office bookes the names of all officers, in what quality they came into the countrey, how and for what service they have been preferred and at what tyme, the following was extracted concerning me.

“P.I. Gordon, by birth a Scottishman, came in the quality of maior to Mosko in the year 7169th, and was sent out of the Ambassy into the Stranger Office; and in the year 7171 in September was preferred for his coming into the countrey to be Lt.colonell; and was in the year 7172 & 3 at his Ma-ties service {158} in Smollensko; and in the year 7173 the 11th of February⁴⁶⁴ he was preferred for his services to be colonell.

In the year 7174 he was sent in his Ma-ties effaires to England. In the year 7176 he was at service in Trubshefsky, Branskoy and other Ukrainish townes. In the year 7179 he was at Novoskol against the rebellious Cosakes; and from that yeare to the 7185th yeare he was at service in Shewsky; and from Shewsky in the 7182, 7183, 7184 yeares he was at service at Kaniow, Pereaslaw and at Czegrin at the takeing of Doroshenko⁴⁶⁵; and in the 7185th yeare at the siege of Czegrin; and in the 7186th yeare he was in Czehrin in the siege or beleaguering y-rof, in which yeare the 20th of August for his service in Czegrin he was preferred to be maior general, {158v} and was at the marching of from Czehrin untill the army was dismissed the 11th of September.

⁴⁶⁴ Gordon himself gives the date of his promotion to colonel as 13 February 1665 (*Diary*, II, p. 214).

⁴⁶⁵ Piotr Dorofeyevich Doroshenko (1627–1698), Hetman of Right-Bank Ukraine in 1665–1676. Backed by the Turks and Crimean Tatars, he tried to annex the left bank of the Dnieper, but in September 1676 was besieged in Chigirin by Russian forces, including Gordon, swore allegiance to the Tsar and settled in Russia. In 1679–82 he served as *vojevoda* in Viatka.

In the [year] 7187 & from this yeare to the 7191 he was at service in Kyow, in which yeare he was for his service preferred to be lt.generall; and was thereafter in Kyow to the 7195 yeare, in which yeare he received the command of the Moskovish Selected Regiments of Sojors, and the same yeare was at service in the Crimish expedition. In the 7196th yeare the 11th of September he was for his services preferred to be generall. In the 7197th yeare he was at service in the Crimish expedition, and in the 7198th yeare in the expedition to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity of Serge”.

{159} Ja-ry 17, Sund. Coll. Baltazar de Lauzier married to Coll. Bolemans eldest daughter.

18. At the wedding againe. I breakfast with his M. & T. Nik. Stresny by me.

19. In towne, gott & gave of the order into the Treasury for the 400 rubles.

Received a letter from M. Mary Crawford, relict of the deceased M. G-ll Daniell Crawford⁴⁶⁶, dated the 20th of December 1691.

Rec-d a letter from Mr. Loftus, dated Narva 2d Jan., & from Mr. Meyer, dated Novogrodt 12th.

{159v} Ja-ry 20, Wed. I did writt out of a memoriall sent from Polland to my son in law deceased the following.

His grandfather was called Lilow Strasburg, and his grandmother also by the fathers syde was called Elizabetha Fittingzs, or Fittingzanka as expressed in Polnish. This Lilow Strasburg had a sister called Mechildis, married to Gerhard Henicken.

He had sons: Jersy or Georg Strasburg, a maior; 2. Jochim, a *ruitm-r*; 3. Otto, a cornet, who are all dead 20 and more yeares ago; 4. John Strasburg, who went to Mosko, being my son in law his father.

Lilow Strasburg had daughters: 1. Anna, married to Mr. Berk; 2. Barbara, married to Colonell Pistolkorstem in the Palatinate of Trocky; 3. Elizabeth, married to *Ruitm-r* Rekenberk, liveing now by Reval in Liefland; 4. Helena, married to Lt.Colonell Burchhusen & liveth in Finland.

⁴⁶⁶ The Scot Daniel Crawford († 1674), from the 1650s colonel of the Tsar's army, from 1663 major general. He played a crucial role in Gordon's transfer to Russia and his subsequent fate.

{160} The hereditary place or lands are called Rokill and is inhabited by the widdow of *Ruim-r* Joachim Strasburg, who is now married to *Ruim-r* Branof. None of all Lilow Strasburg his sons hath children except John, father to my son in law now deceased.

The above⁴⁶⁷ notice given by Capitain Mathew Francis Wemink from Smily in the Woywodship or Palatinate of Trocky, he being grandchild to Mechild Strasburg by a daughter.

{160v} Ja-ry 21. Writt to the Hetman John Masepa.

22. Writt to Mr. Meverell in one to Mr. Pendek, & his enclosed to Mr. Frazer with another to Madam Crawfuird by post; and to my son John in that to Mr. Meverell.

23. Received a letter from Capt. W-m Gordon, dated Revall 10 *Dec-ris*.

Received a letter from Coll. Roonaer, dated Koslow 10 Ja-ry.

Rec-d a letter from the Hetman with a pipe of brandy & a boare by Roman Visotsky.

24. The wedding of Sr Howtman.

Received a letter from Mr. Loftus, dated Narva the 11 of Jan. wt the acco-t of my wyne, being for all 204 r. 69 cop.

{161} Ja-ry 25. Writt to Coll. Roonaer.

Received a letter from Mr. Meverell, dated London 11 *Dec-ris* 1691, and thereby a bill of exchange for 125 rubles on Jacob Jochims from Ro-t Sclater; and also an acco-t of my money there, he Mr. Meverell remaining yet due to me 55 libs. ster. and 11 shil. 6 pence.

Had notice of my French wine gone from Novogrodt the 18th instant.

26. Writt to the Hetman, thanking him for the *kuFFE*⁴⁶⁸ of brandy & the wild boare he sent me.

*Given to Mr. Kenkel a 100 rubels upon the acco-t of wyne sent by Gothard Hartman, & given him the bill upon Jacob Jochimson for the 125 rubels; Mr. Hartmans bill for the wines amounting to 199 r. 8 [kop.] with the to[ll] for 5 r.*⁴⁶⁹

{161v} Ja-ry 26, Tuesd. A list of the regiment given in for the next month, being:

⁴⁶⁷ *mentioned* crossed out.

⁴⁶⁸ *Kuffe* (German), tun or barrel measuring 30 quarts.

⁴⁶⁹ This entry is crossed out in MS.

40 serjeants, 36 furiers & foriers, 56 corporalls, 46 pipers, 690 sojourns whereof 2 *verstany*, in all 868; 6 *emeriti* who have yong male children, 69 widdowes who have yong male children, 46 orphans who have neither fathers nor mothers—in all 999 persons.

Gott 200 rubles out of the Treasury, whereof 100 given to Mr. Kenkel, 30 to Al. Yur[yev], 12 to Ivan Telepin, 15 to Jac[ob] Gavr[ilov] and the rest in smalls.

27. His M. breakfast & supped by me.

28. In towne.

Assigned to Mr. Kenkell 125 rubels made over to me by bill of exchange from London by Ro-t Sclater on Jacob Yochimson, which duly payed.

{162} Ja-ry 29. In towne, by diverse boyars.

To Capt. W-m Gordon in answer to his, dated Reval 10 *Dec-ris* 1691.

30. In towne, the order renewed to gett a 4th pt. in sables of my augmented pay.

31. My wine brought, being from Mr. Loftus, as followeth w[i]t[h] the acco-t:

		R[ub.]	[kop.]
No. 1	1 hogshead Canary sack	38	-
	1 pipe of Spanish wine	48	-
No. 2	1 <i>boht</i> of <i>Perniak</i> wine	32	-
No. 3,4	2 butts white Highlands wine		
	wherein 136 quarters, & reckoning		
	25 quar. to a hogshead & the hhd at		
	16 rubles, amounteth to	85	33
	Matts, ropes, hay, packing <i>portigal</i>	1	<u>36</u>
		204	69

{162v} From Mr. Hartman as followeth:

No. 1	2 pipes <i>Peter Simints</i> at 44 r. pipe	88	-
	1 <i>boht Hochl[and]</i> at 15 r. hhd, 2 4/5	42	-
No. 2	1 <i>boht Hochl. Lagouns</i> , 2 1/5 hhd at 15 r.	32	50

1 <i>boht Lagouns</i> , 2 1/15 hhd at 15 rub.	31	-
On <i>kosten</i> ⁴⁷⁰	=	<u>50</u>
In all	194	-

Feb. 1, Moonday. In towne, his M. in Presne.

The note to my daughter Kat[herine] dated [...] for 315 r.

2. In towne, at devotion. Put the wine into the cellar. Gott out the other 200 rubles in money, whereof payed 50 to my daughter, w-ch I had taken from her & payed to Commiss. Kniper upon the acco-t of Mr. Loftus; 30 to Doctor Carbonari in p-t of 100 owing to him; & 12 to my daughter Mary, being annuall rent for her 200 rubles; 29 & 10 *altins* to Mr. Hartman & sons in law.

{163} Feb. 3, Wed. At the fire-works at Presne, and came home in a great storme about midnight.

4. At home.

5. Writt to Lt.G-ll Grahame; to Mr. Loftus in ans-r to his of the 2d & 14th of Jan.; to Mr. Meyer in Novogrodt in ans-r to his of the 12 & 18th *passat*; to Coll. von Mengden in ans-r to his of the 23d *passat*.

Mr. Greg. Roonaer his bed-fellow delivered of a son.

{163v} Feb-ry 6, Sat. The wedding of the painter by Le Fort.

7. At home.

8. His M. went for Pereslaw.

Mr. Roonaer his son christened and called Jacob by P. Alex-r Juenge; I, Coll. Ham[ilton] & Coll. Christ. Rigeman & Maior von Saalen godfathers; godmothers, her grandm-r and [...]

About 10 aclock Lt.Coll. Crawfuird his bed-fellow delivered of a daughter.

Wee convoyed his M. to Rostokin.

Received a letter from Mr. Loftus, dated Narva 27 Ja-ry 1692, desiring a 100 rubles to be payed to the order of Mr. W-m Kettlewall⁴⁷¹ and the rest due to him, being 54 r. & 69 *w*.⁴⁷², to Mr. Gabriell Dowker.

{164} Feb-ry 9, Tuesday. Fasten even.

⁴⁷⁰ Expenses (German).

⁴⁷¹ William Kettlewell, prominent English merchant, from 1670 active in Narva, where he became burgher and had monopoly on tobacco.

⁴⁷² Abbreviation does not correspond to Russian monetary units.

A post from the Hetman informed that 12,000 Tartars were come to Nemirov and had leaguered themselves in the suburbs, which they burn't, as also all the villages, milnes, & other houses in the woods, takeing away all the people, whom they brought to Ladishin, & then dismissed with a convoy to their countrey; and then, choosing out the best-horsed & mounted, were resolved to make incursions into the Volhinia⁴⁷³ & Podolia. At the same tyme about 4,000 passing the Boristhenes⁴⁷⁴, did take away many people about Zlotonosz & Domutow⁴⁷⁵ & other places by the Dneper or Bor., but hearing from the prisoners that the Hetman with the army was not farr of, they retired over the Dneper, after whom were sent in persuit about 10,000 horsmen.

{164v} Feb-ry 10, Wed. At devotion, being Ash Wednesday.

11. In towne.

12. To Capt. W-m Gordon at Revall.

13. Writt to Andrew Artemoni[vich Matveyev] at Archangel.

14. At devotion. Fiodor Ivanuf went away.

Received letters of the 21–25 & on w[i]t[h]out date from Mr. Loftus in Narva; one of the 4th Feb. from Mr. More & one of the [...] Feb. from Mr. Frazer from Capt. Gordon, dated Revall 3d Ja-ry.

{165} Feb-ry 15, Moon. In towne, by Tichon Nik. [Streshnev].

Had notice of 15,000 Tartars being come over the Dneper, but that after some litle ravage done, hearing of the Cosakish Hetman with the army being at Pereaslaw, they retired.

16. Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin] & *Kniaz* Boris Alex. [Golitsyn] went to Pereaslaw to perswade his M. to returne, to receive the Persian ambasadour, who being come to Wolodimir⁴⁷⁶ was ordered to wait here.

17. At home.

Stood godfather to Lt. Gregory Evertson his son called Theodorus.

{165v} Feb-ry 18, Thurs. In the Butirky.

Received upon the acco-t of Coll. Barth. Roonaer 160 rubles 8 *alt.* 2 *d.*, & 2 more from Maior Ridder.

19. Writt to Mr. Loftus in answer to his of the 21-25-27 & one date-

⁴⁷³ Volyn', historical region of north-western Ukraine, which then belonged to Poland.

⁴⁷⁴ Ancient name for the Dnieper.

⁴⁷⁵ Zolotonosha and Domontov.

⁴⁷⁶ Vladimir.

less; to Mr. More in ans-r to his, dated Narva 4 Feb-ry; to Capt. Gordon in ans-r to his, dated Reval 3d Ja-ry.

20. Writt to the Hetman by Lt.G-ll Zeugh his son.

21. In towne. Gave the note for 200 rubles of my sister in law her money by Mr. Munter to Mr. Philip Wulffe in part of payment.

23.⁴⁷⁷ Writt to Andre Artemonovits [Matveyev], to my L-d Graham and Coll. Roonaer.

{166} Feb-ry 23, Tuesday. Given in a list of the regiment for new coats for the meeting of the Persian ambassadour as followeth:

40 serjeants, 36 foriers & furiers, 56 corporalls, 46 pipers, 2 *verstany* and 689 not *verstany* sojourns—in all 869.

24. *Shalt-tage* or leape day.

At devotion, being St. Matthias day.

25. In towne.

At the buriall of Coll. von Badens son.

26. At the buriall of Roomswinkels⁴⁷⁸ child.

His M. returned.

27. At devotion.

28. Went with his M. & L.K. [Naryshkin] to see the Persian ambassadour⁴⁷⁹, where wee see a lyon & a lyonesse, which were brought as presents. He entertained us also after their manner with musick, confects & drinks.

{166v} *Martii* 1, Tuesday. The Persian ambassador received into Mosko.

2. At a treatment by Elizare Isbrandt.

Payed to Doctor van der Hulst 123 rubles upon the acco-t of Maior Roonaer his house, and to Mr. Soldan 54 rubles 69 [kop.] by order of Mr. Tho. Loftus in Narva.

{167} *Martii* 3, Thurs. Signed a list of the regiment for their pay for

⁴⁷⁷ Corrected from 22.

⁴⁷⁸ Possibly, Nicolaas Roomswinkel, Dutch merchant active in Russia in the 1680s–90s.

⁴⁷⁹ Russian sources call him “Yuzbasha Usein-Khan-Bek”. Young Tsar Peter boldly spurned Russian traditions: this was the first ever, formerly unthinkable, visit by any Tsar to a foreign ambassador, even prior to his official arrival and audience in Moscow.

the month of March, being 40 serjeants, 36 furiers & foriers, 56 corporalls, 47 pipers, 690 sojors whereof 2 *verstany*—in all 869; carceered 6, 79 widowes, 46 orphans—in all 1,000.

I received an order for Capitaine Ivan Vlasuf son Dedenkow to be maior, another for Ensignie Samuell Nikon son Levashow to be lievtennant.

His M. went againe to Pereslaw.

4. Writt to Coll. Roonaer & dispatched his servant Jacob.

Payed to the maltman Simon for 28 tunne of malt 20 rubles 10 *altins*, & for 100 pund of hopes 2 1/2 rubles.

An order for Artemon Semen. Czaykofsky to be ensignie in one of my reg.

{167v} *Martii* 5, Sat. Payed of the smiths, given them 11 *alt.* 4 *d.*; to Daniel Ivan[ov] 4 rubles 23 *alt.* for 7 tunne of malt.

6. At devotion.

7. In towne, by L.K. [Naryshkin] & G.G.⁴⁸⁰, dined by S.K.

8. Gave of the t[unne?] of w[ine?] to L.K.

Coll. Balk his eldest da-r dyed.

10 ells of red velvet brought to me upon the acco-t of Pr[ince] Alex-r his birth; I gave to the writers w-ch brought it 2 crownes.

9. At home. The Greeks Doctor Jacob Pilary tooke his leave, being to go the next day.

The buriall of Mr. Brest his child.

All the bookes written in the booke entituled *Letters written by a spy from Paris*⁴⁸¹, except the Nos. 1, 2, 3, 11, 14, 15.

{168} *Martii* 10, Thursday. Payed to Alexey the fisher 3 rubles & 4 *grivnees*.

The *denshiks*⁴⁸² changed.

11. An order for Esay Ivanuf son Tolkatshow to be ensignie in one of my regiments.

⁴⁸⁰ Possibly, Gavriil Golovkin. The next initials are undeciphered.

⁴⁸¹ See below, fols. 228, 233 v.—234. *Letters written by a spy from Paris* were a hoax written by the Genoese Giovanni Paolo Marana (1642–1693); volume one was published in Italian, and French and English translations followed in 1684–7. Seven more volumes were printed in English in 1691–4. Their success was such that a sequel was produced by Daniel Defoe (1718).

⁴⁸² *Denscbike* (Russian), orderly.

12. His M. returned.

At the buriall of Coll. Livingston his son.

13. At devotion. In the evening by his M.

14. In towne.

{168v} March 15, Tuesday. At a feast by Sr Munter.

16. At a feast by *K[niaz]* Iv[an] Bor. Troykuruf.⁴⁸³

Received from Ivan Spiridonuf 240 rubles, in all now from him 300 r., whereof 157 & a halfe given to Christian Egler apo[thecary].

17. The Persian ambassador had audience.

{169} March 18, Thursday. At a feast by Sr Howtman.

My petition underwritten not to take the 200 rubles, which was given me upon the acco-t of my allowance.

Payed to the maltman Simon for 7 tuns of malt 5 rub. 3 *al.* 4 *d.* & 16 *al.* 4 *d.* for 25 pund of hopes.

19. At home, not well.

Given to Ivan Beresin 6 rubels.

20. In church, being Palme Sunday. L[e] F[ort] gott the Sh[epelev] Reg[iment].⁴⁸⁴

{169v} March 21. In towne.

22. New writtings made with Ivan Spiridonuf the *istopnik*⁴⁸⁵, dated the 11 *ditto*, 1 for 100 r., 2 for 200 r.

Payed to my daughter Katherine 25 rubles.

23. Payed Jacob Gavrieluf 18 rubles for wine & other things.

Payed to Maxim for renewing 2 pairs of *slees*⁴⁸⁶ or horse furniture for a coach & 2 bridles—1 r. 20 *altins*, & for a long line to governe the horses 11 *altins*.

{170} March 24, Thursday. At devotion, and tooke the Blessed Sacrament.

Lt.Coll. Crawfuird came, by whom I rec-d letters from Mr. Meverel of the 28 *No-ris* with the mathematicall instruments, & from Madam

⁴⁸³ Prince I.B. Troyekurov (1633–1703), *voyevoda*, from 1677 boyar, head of several Offices, including, from 1689, that of the *Streltsy*. Brother-in-law to Tsar Peter (his wife was Anastasia Fiodorovna Lopukhina).

⁴⁸⁴ First Moscow regiment of Selected Soldiers, formerly commanded by General A.A. Shepelev.

⁴⁸⁵ Russian for stoker, but here apparently a merchant selling firewood.

⁴⁸⁶ *Shleya* (Russian), breast band for a horse.

Crawfuird of the 23d Feb. & from Meyer dat. 15 *Martii*.

25. At devotion, being Good Fridday.

26. At devotion.

27. At devotion. His M. came by me.⁴⁸⁷

{170v} March 28, Moonday. At devotion. The P[olish] res[ident] dined by me.

29. At devotion. Gott a fitt of the colick in the evening, w-ch continued 8 houres.

30. Did not rise, being very unwell. My regiment with others congratulated the gene[ral(s)?]. Coll. von Mengden installed.⁴⁸⁸ His M. came to visitt me in the evening.

31. The officers at their M. hand.

By the favour, grace & help of God Almighty I ended the 57th yeare of my age, this haveing been a very unfortunate yeare to me.

{171} Aprill 1, Frid.

2. Writt to Mr. Meverell in ans-r to his of the 28 *No-ris* & 11 *Dec-ris* by post, to Capt. W-m Gordon in Reval, to W-m Gordon in Aberdeen, to Mr. Jacob Meyer in ans-r to his of the 15th of March, to Mr. Tho. More in ans-r to his of the 1st of March.

{171v} April 3, Sund. At devotion.

4. His M. by L[e] F[ort].

5. His M. went for Pereslaw.

I received 200 rubles, 70 whereof to our Doctor Carbonary, 62 to Mr. Wulffe and [...] to Mr. Guasconi.

I dealt out the companies in Butirky and dined there.

6. In towne.

7. In Butirky, exercized the regiment.

{172} Aprill 8, Frid. In towne.

9. At home. Payed the smiths 10 *alt.* 4 *d.*

10. About six aclock in the morning my grandson Daniel Crawfuird deceased, haveing been a weake & sickly child from his birth.

⁴⁸⁷ It was Easter Sunday. Another instance of Tsar Peter's special respect for Gordon.

⁴⁸⁸ Apparently, on Gordon's recommendation von Mengden was appointed first commander of the newly formed Preobrazhensky regiment, Tsar Peter's own.

11. Makeing preparations for the buriall.

{172v} April 12, Tuesd. In the afternoone my grandson Daniel was buried, the ceremony done by our Pater the Dominican Ludovicus Koblitius.

The inscription on the grave stone:

Vix ortus, cum mortuus.

Vix venit, cum evanuit.

*Tzar. Majestat. Legionarii Vigiliarum Magistri Danielis Hugonidis Crawfordii
Filius Posthumus Daniel.*

Natus 9 Julii An. D-ni 1691

*Denatus 12 Aprilis 1692.*⁴⁸⁹

13. At home.

{173} April 14, Thursd. In towne & Butirky, where dined.

15. At home.

16. At home. Sold my daughters house for 350 rubles.

17. At devotion.

Received a letter from Joh. Ignatius Kurtz, the late *internuntius*, and from Pater Schmidt, dated Ressel the 28th Feb. 1692.

{173v} April 18, Moond. In towne. Received letters from Mr. Loftus, dated Narva 30 *Martii* '92, from Mr. More & Mr. Meux, dat. the same, giving me notice of the death of Capt. W-m Gordon at Revall.

19. In towne. Georg Reid graced lt.

Payed to Mr. Baltus 10 rubl. 16 *al.* 4 *d.*

20. At home.

21. In towne.

{174} April 22. Writt to Mr. Loftus in answer to his of the 30th past, & to Mr. More in ans-r to his w[i]t[h] com[mission?] of the same date.

To Pater Schmidt in ans-r to his of the 28th of Febr., & to Mr. Frazer in ans-r to his of the 4th Feb-ry.

I went afternoone into the towne & tooke my leave of Tich[on] Nikit.

⁴⁸⁹ "No sooner born than dead. No sooner arrived than vanished. Daniel, posthumous son of Major Daniel son of Hugh Crawford, of His Tsarian Majesty's army. Born 9 July AD 1691, deceased 12 [day of burial] April 1692" (Latin). The epitaph was probably composed by General Gordon himself.

[Streshnev], Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] & *Kniaz* Feod[or] Semen. [Urusov].

23. I did writt to Coll. Bartholomeus Roonaer in ans-r to his of the 6th & 10th *ditto*.

I went towards Pereslaw & rested⁴⁹⁰ in Mitisha⁴⁹¹, 25 *verst*, & lodged in Bratowshina, 15 *verst*.

{174v} Aprill 24, Sunday. I rested at Isbisinka⁴⁹², 20 *verst*, & againe at [...], 20 *verst*, & lodged in Karella⁴⁹³, 20 *verst*.

25. I rested at Chlebova⁴⁹⁴, 20 *verst*, & came to Pereslaw a litle after midday, 10 *verst*.

I kissed his M. hand, & he was pleased to show me all the ships, & came to me at night.

26. I went by water to the issue of the sea⁴⁹⁵, & had a storme in our returne.

{175} April 27, Wednes. I gott an order to receive money for my sables & dispatched Maior Charles Snivins therewith, who was then made maior.

28. I rode to Pereslaw & viewed the towne.

29.

30. I bought the house from Jehan the carpenter & gave him 55 rubles for it.

{175v} May 1, Sunday. A ship lanchd out from the stocks, and wee merry in it.

2. I kissing his Ma-ties hand was dismissed, and about midday went to horse, & lodged in Ribrikowa⁴⁹⁶, 40 *verst*.

3. I rested at Isvishinska, 38 *verst*, and againe at Klesma⁴⁹⁷, 30, and came to the Slabod about 10 aclock at night, haveing ride this day 80 *verst*.

4. I rested, being weary & indisposed.

⁴⁹⁰ *lodged* crossed out.

⁴⁹¹ Mytishchi.

⁴⁹² Below also *Isvishinska*, Vozdvizhenskoye. Such a strong distortion of a place-name is unusual for Gordon, but he must have recorded it from hearsay.

⁴⁹³ Karely.

⁴⁹⁴ Now called Glebovskoye.

⁴⁹⁵ I.e. lake Pleshcheyevo.

⁴⁹⁶ Now called Redrikovy Gory.

⁴⁹⁷ Kliaz'ma.

{176} May 5, Thursday. Gave in a list of the regiment for their pay for this month, viz. 40 serjeants, 36 furiers & foriers, 56 corporals, 47 pipers, 689 sojourns whereof 2 *verstany*, in all 868; 6 *emeriti*, 76 widdowes, 47 orphans, in all 1,000 persons.

Given in a writeing with 4 sojourns to be carceered because of drinking, playing & other debauchery.

6.

7. In towne.

Writt to Lt.G-ll Graham.

{176v} May 8, Sund. At devotion.

Received a letter from Johan Ignatius Kurtz, who had been *internuntius* from the R[oman] Emp. hither, dated Vienna 3 *Aprilis* 1692.

9. Coll. Leviston his lady deceased.

His Ma-tie came from Pereslaw, and came to me & stayed about an howre.

10. His M. by Le F[ort] & in Preobrasinsko at exercize.

Caused invite to the wedding.

11. Making preparations to the wedding.

{177} May 12, Thurs. My daughter Mary maryed to Maior Carolus Snivins by Pater Ludovicus, in presence of his M. & many other noblemen & officers.

13. The wedding againe, where of alive fish: 10 *quabes*⁴⁹⁸ in broth & pies for 5 places, 10 sterlets to rost & boyle 4 whereof great, 20 sterlets to broth, 10 *brasums*⁴⁹⁹ to rost & boyle 4 whereof great, 10 pikes & 10 *sudakes*⁵⁰⁰ to rost & boyle 4 of each great, 20 parches to boyle, 4 *carouses*⁵⁰¹ to rost, 30 pikes for *telnia*⁵⁰², 300 greenlings⁵⁰³, 200 *kulbarses*⁵⁰⁴, 250 crawfish, 15 sterlets in pyes—for all which I payed 30 rubles, the great fish being near a ell long.

{177v} May 14, Saturnd. Befor day the Prince Alex-r deceased.

At the buriall of Coll. Leviston his lady.

Received money for my sables, being 281 rubles.

⁴⁹⁸ *Quappe* (German), burbot.

⁴⁹⁹ *Brassen* (German), bream.

⁵⁰⁰ *Sudak* (Russian), zander.

⁵⁰¹ *Karas'* (Russian), crucian.

⁵⁰² *Tel'noye* (Russian), fish cakes.

⁵⁰³ *Gründling* (German), gudgeon.

⁵⁰⁴ *Kaulbarsch* (German), ruff.

15. At devotion, being Whitsunday.
16. At the buriall of Coll-s Rigemans their mother.
Received a letter from Lt.G-ll *Graffe* Graham without date.
17. I payed to the fisher Alexey 30 rubles, and to Kusma 20 rubles
21 *altins* and 4 *dengees*, 9 whereof & 12 *altins* & 4 *dengees* upon Gregory
Roonaer his acco-t.
Went to the wedding of Coll. van Werden in the evening.
18. Againe at the wedding.
Agreed with the *plotnikes*⁵⁰⁵ Ivan & Affonasse to set over the roomes &
3 new ones for 13 rubles.
{178} May 19, Thursday. In the Butirky, exercized the regiment.
Received a letter from Coll. Roonaer, dated Koslow 2 May 1692.
The *plotnikes* began to worke.
20. Received a letter from Mr. Loftus, dated 16 *Martii* 1692, with 2
walking-swords w-ch cost 2 1/2 r. doller.
21. At the buriall of Capt. Fabian von der Nizin where his M., who
came by me afterwards & stayed till midnight.
22. The wedding of Capt. Meyer.
{178v} May 23, Moonday. Received a letter from Mr. Tho. More &
Mr. Tho. Meux, dated Narva 18 *Aprilis* 1692; hereby an acco-t of the
goods left by Capt. W-m Gordon, who dyed in Revall.
24. All in the woods.
Received a letter from Coll. Roonaer⁵⁰⁶, dated Koslow 18th May.
25. In the towne.
26. Writt to M.Gen. Gulitz & Coll. Scott in Shewsky.
Corpus Christy, solemnity, dined by M.G. Menezes.
27. Writt to Mr. Loftus in answer to his of the 16th *Martii*, & to Mr.
More in ans-r to his & com[mission?], dated 18th *Aprilis*.
{179} May 28, Satur. Given to the *plotnikes* 3 rubles.
Dined with his Ma-tie by M.Gen. Menezes, who agreed w[i]t[h] Sr
Boetenant and quitted him 5,000 rubles, wherein the other was condemned.
29. At devotion, the first of the *Jubileus*.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁵ *Plotnik* (Russian), carpenter.

⁵⁰⁶ Instead of the crossed-out: *Lt.G-ll Graffe Graham*.

⁵⁰⁷ Birthday of the late King Charles II of Great Britain and anniversary of his
Restoration in 1660. Gordon always celebrated this date, being confident of

30. At Preobrasinsko to gratulate his Ma-tie Tzar Peter Al., it being his birth day, he being now 20 yeares compleet.

31. Writt to Coll. Roonaer in Koslow.

At dinner by Mr. Rynvelt.⁵⁰⁸

His M. went from Preobrasinsko and lodged in Marfina.

{179v} *Junii* 1, Wedn. Being sent for, I went to his M. at Marfina.

17 Valachians sent to be sojourns in my regiment.

2. At home & in Butirky.

3. At home.

Gave in a roll of the regiment in order to their pay for June, as: 40 serjeants, 36 furiers & foriers, 56 corporalls, 47 pipers, 701 sojourns whereof 2 *verstany*—in all 872; 5 *emeriti*, 78 widdows who have small male children, 47 orphans—in all 1,010 persons.

{180} *Junii* 4. Newes being come from the Ukrayna that the Tartars were gone out with a great force, 500 *streltsees* of the *Stremiany* & 100 of each of the other regiments, in all 1,200, were ordered to make hast to service.

5. At church.

6. In towne, dyned by Sr Boetenant.

7. At home.

{180v} *Junii* 8, Wed. At the buriall of Karsten Brandt⁵⁰⁹.

9. In Butirk[i], caused the souldiers shoot at a marke.

10. At home.

11. Agreed Lt.G-ll Gulits with the Pastors Vegetius & Minck, who with others dyned by me.

Gave to the *plotnikes* 2 rubles, they haveing gott befor 8.

{181} *Junii* 12, Sunday. I communicated.

Payed to Fiodor the smith for the coach 10 *altins* & for shoohing the coach horses 3 & for a axe mending 2 *altins*.

13. In towne.

14. At Ismaylow, dined by Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin].

another return of the Stuarts to their throne.

⁵⁰⁸ Probably, one of the two brothers, Johan or Isaac Rynvelt, both Dutch merchants.

⁵⁰⁹ Karsten Brandt († 1692), Dutch shipwright long settled in Muscovy, Tsar Peter's first instructor in sailing.

The *Dummies* Yem[elyan] Ukr[aintsev] & Achte[mon] Ivan[ov] came by me.

15. In towne, by Yem. Ukr[aintsev].

16. In Butirky, excercized the regiment and caused them shoot at a marke.

{181v} *Junii* 17, Frid. At home.

Agreed to make 2 new ovens, set up ane old, with a compleet kitchin, 2 or 3 chimneyes for 4 1/2 rubles to Simon.

18. Gave to the *plotnikes* 1 ruble.

The *stolnikes*, *strepshies*, *dworanie*s & *siltsees*⁵¹⁰ ordered to service.

19. At devotion, and at the wedding of Le Ditte his stepson.

20. At a feast by Achtemon Michael.⁵¹¹, where Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] & Tichon Nikit. [Streshnev].

Given the acco-t of the dealing and reckoning to Coll. Lewenfelt.

21. Writt to Coll. Roonaer by his sojourns.

At devotion, fire-works.

{182} *Junii* 22, Wed. In Ismaylow.

Receaved a letter from Mr. Peter Baldus acknowledging the reseat of 55 florens from James Gordon in Rotterdam.

23. At Pokrofska by Lew Kirilovits, it being his daughters⁵¹² name day, magnificently entertained, came home about midni-t.

24. Being St.John Baptists day, at devotion.

Gave to the *plotnikes* 1 1/2 rubles, they haveing gotten in all 12 1/2 rubles.

His Ma-tie came in the evening.

The Queen of Great Brittain delivered of a daughter⁵¹³ at 10 aclock at night.

⁵¹⁰ *Stol'niki*, *striapchiye*, *dworiane* & *zhil'tsy*, four successive ranks of Russian gentry of whom military service was required.

⁵¹¹ A.M. Golovin (1667–1720), chamber *stolnik*, then colonel and general, commander of Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky regiments and of a division in Azov campaigns. In 1700 he was captured by Swedes at Narva and only released in 1718.

⁵¹² Agrafena, eldest daughter of L.K. Naryshkin.

⁵¹³ Princess Louisa Maria Teresa Stuart (1692–1712), daughter of the exiled King James II (VII) and his queen Mary of Modena, was born at St.Germain-en-Laye, France. For Gordon and his fellow Jacobites they remained the rightful royal family of Britain.

25. At Ismailow, dined by Sr Hartman.

His Ma-tie came to the Slabod. I kissed his Ma-ties hand.

{182v} *Junii* 26, Sund. At devotion.

27. His M. phisicked.

Gave to the m[aste]r oven maker Simon 5 rubles.

28. His M. in Slabod.

29. Wee wished his M. all health & prosperity on this his name day, dined by L[ev] Kiril. [Naryshkin].

P. Baldus wyfe dyed & son christened.

30. In Preobrasinsko, dyned by M.G. Men[zies].

{183} July 1, Frid. Writt to Coll. Roonaer by his maior.

A list of the regiment for this months pay: 41 serjeants, 36 furiers & foriers, 56 corporalls, 47 pipers, 881 sojourns whereof 2 *verstany*, 5 carceered sojourns who have yong male children, 80 widdowes who have yong male children, 47 orphans—in all 1,011.

2. In Preobrasinsko.

3. At devotion, in the evening by his M. at M[arfino?].

4. At home.

{183v} July 5, Tues. At Butirky where exercized and shott out of mortar pieces; where at the elevation of 70 degrees a bombe of $1/2$ *pudē*⁵¹⁴ was throwne 400 paces, & within 6 paces of the mark; $1/2$ lib. powder in the chamber.

6. His M. came & supped by me.

7. At home.

8. Writt to Mr. Meverell p[e]r post.

The great holyday of *Casanska Bogaroditsa*. Their M. went in procession to the church of that dedication.

{184} July 9, Sat. In towne.

10. At devotion.

11. With his M. over the river.

12. At Preobrasinsko, dined with his M. by Mr. Boetenant.

13. At home.

{184v} July 14, Thurs. Given in a writeing into the *Prikase* with 12

⁵¹⁴ *Pud*, pood, old Russian unit of mass equal to 16.38 kilos.

rubles 23 *alt.* of pay leftover in severall month[s] from Febr. last yeare to June.

Signed pay bookes for the months of Sept-r & following to July present. In towne & afterwards in Preobrasinsko. His M. to Petrofsky.

15. In Preobrasinsko, & by his M. At L[e] F[ort] in the evening.

16. Tryed the mortar pieces here, and dynd with others by Alexey.

{185} July 17, Sunday. At devotion. After vespers by Mr. Guascony.

18. Writt to the Nisins Colonell Stephan Petrovits Zabiela, to Coll. Treiden there & to Colonell Jacob Michael. Evanitsky in Kyow, & to *Kniaz* Luka Fiodorovits Dolgorukoy the *woynod*⁵¹⁵ in Kyow.

Given to Simon for *kachles*⁵¹⁶, in all now 7 1/2 rub.

At the wedding of Capt. Gembel[?] ⁵¹⁷ w[i]t[h] Isbrands sister.

19. Againe at the wedding.

20. At devotion, his Ma-tie by M[enezes?].

21. In Butirky exercized, & thereafter in Preobrasinsko.

22. His Ma-tie with all the court went from hence towards Pereaslaw, and at parting ordered to give me 100 rubles to furnish out my son Theodor on his jorney.

{185v} July 23, Sat. Writt to Pater Schmidt in Brawnsberg, Mr. Forbes in Dantzick, Mr. W-m Gray in Konigsberg, Madam Crawfuird in Rothmanshoffe, Mr. Frazer in Riga, Mr. Vaget in Pleskow, Mr. Meyer in Novogrodt, Mr. More in Narva with the extract of the sentence betwixt him and Shilitsow⁵¹⁸, to the *woynods* of Plesko & Novogrodt—all by my son Theodorus, & to the Chancellour Minia Grobuf.

24. At devotion.

25. At devotion, shott bombes after midday.

{186} July 26. At devotion, shott bombes after midday.

Begun to set up the *sabors* at 5 *altins* a *sabor*.

27. Payed to the potter, now in all 9 r. 10 *altins* for 560 *kachles*, whereof 60 reckoned for double.

⁵¹⁵ *Voyeroda* (Russian), governor or army commander. Prince L.F. Dolgoruky (Dolgorukov) († 1710), from 1671 *stolnik*, then *voyeroda*, from 1697 commander of Sevska *razriad* (army corps).

⁵¹⁶ *Kakbli* (Old Russian), tiles used to decorate a stove.

⁵¹⁷ Name indistinctly corrected in MS.

⁵¹⁸ Possibly, Zhiltsov.

28. I convoyed my son Theodorus Ignatius to the Butirky and lodged there with him. Gave him on the way 30 ducats, and 5 rubles small money.

29. Writt to Pater Ernestus Sturme in Mittaw⁵¹⁹ & convoyed my son to Nikolska.

Signed a roll of 47 sojourns sons & brothers to be enrolled for full pay. {186v} July 30, Sat. At the buriall of Anna the Cath[olic] girle.

31. Agreed with Fiodor the window maker for 8 windowes at 4 *grivnees* p[e]r window.

{187} Aug. 1, Moon. Signed a list of the regiment for this months pay, viz.: 41 serjeants, 36 foriers & furers, 56 corporalls, 47 pipers, 703 sojourns whereof 3 *verstany*—in all 883; 5 *emeriti* who have male children yong, widowes who have yong male children 80, 47 orphans—in all 1,015 persons.

At devotion.

2. Writt to my son Theodorus in a covert to Mr. Meyer in Novogrodt.

{187v} Aug. 3, Wed. Rode to Rosa[y]⁵²⁰, 30 *verst* from Mosko, and lodged by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. Romadanofsky.

4. Went out to hawking, had very good sport; dined, shott out of cannon, & returned to Mosko in the evening.

5. Writt to my son Theodor, to Mr. Frazer and Pater Schmidt p[e]r post.

6. At home.

{188} Aug. 7, Sunday. At devotion, the P[olish] Res[ident] dined by me.

8.

9. The Boyar Tichon Miki[t]its Stresnoy sent for me, and told me that my Moskoes Regiment is ordered to go to service, and that their Ma-ties not willing to let me go from them, had ordered a colonell to go with it.

10. I rode to Butirky and mustered the regiment, noteing downe all the old, impotent & sick men to stay in Mosko.

{188v} August 11, Thursd. I went from Mosko in order to my journey to Pereslaw, and supped & lodged in Kura by Alexey Semenovits Shein⁵²¹,

⁵¹⁹ Now Jelgava, Latvia (German: Mitau).

⁵²⁰ Rozhay.

⁵²¹ A.S. Shein (1662–1700), boyar, one of Russia's chief generals in Crimean and Azov campaigns. In 1696 he was appointed "*voeyvoda* of the great army", i.e.

30 *verst*.

12. Wee dined at Troitza, 35 *verst*, and lodged in Rogatshova, 12 *verst*.

13. Wee dined in Nova, 27 *verst*, and by order came to Pereslaw late,

20 *verst*.

14. Wee dined aboard the Admirall⁵²² with ceremony.

{189} Aug. 15, Moond. Being Assumption day, wee rested.

Writt to my wyfe by Commissary Boetenant.

16. Hary Gordon graced maior & Alex-r Gordon⁵²³ graced ensigne at my desire.

17. [Writt] to my wyfe, M.G-ll Menezes & Coll. Leviston.

Slept a shipboard.

18. About one aclock in the morning wee hoysed saile and went over the lake, and by day light anchored on the other syde.

{189v} Aug. 19. Wee lay still, the wind not favouring us.

Writt to my wyfe, and Mr. Lhoyd at Archangell.

20. Received letters from my son Theodorus of the 8 & 9 Aug.

21. About one aclock afternoone wee weighed anchor and with a favourable wind stood over to the other syde, and at 7 aclock cast anchor.

Received a letter from M.Gen-ll Menezes and in it a note of Mr. Krevets to the deceased Christian Marselis, which note the M. Gen-ll desired me to give to Mr. Krevet, takeing assurance from him that he should fetch from Archangell for him 2 hogsheds of claret, a tunne of *mum*⁵²⁴ and other small provisions.

commander-in-chief (Gordon calls him *Generalissimo*). Together with Gordon he quelled the *streltsy* mutiny of 1698.

⁵²² "Admiral" of the Pereslavl' flotilla was Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky.

⁵²³ Alexander Gordon, younger brother of Thomas Gordon, captain of the ship "Marr Maid" in Aberdeen (possibly identical with the future admiral of the Russian Navy). As a lad he came to Russia via Gdańsk, probably in summer of 1691. On 5 September 1691 he wrote from Moscow to his brother in Aberdeen: "Generall Gordon by uhom I live and to whos keindnes I am very much obliged keeps me at the schooll, wher I learne to reckne and to reade and ureat the Duch language, and uhen I shal be perfect in thes, he will give it me in my chois ether to be a merchant or souldier, and imploy his moyen to engage me in service accordengly" (*Scottish Slavonic Review*, No 10 (1988), pp. 39–40).

⁵²⁴ *Mumme*, a kind of barley and wheat beer brewed in Hannover and usually exported via Hamburg.

22. Nothing of consequence the whole day.

In the evening Mr. Krevet brought me a note to bring the provisions, & I gave him his bond.

{190} Aug. 23, Tuesd. I dined by the Boyar Yury Ivanovits Soltikow, and haveing occasion, invited his M. against Thursday.

24. Was on shipboard with his M.

25. His M. dined by me, L[e] F[ort] came.

Received letters from my son Theodorus, dated Pleskow 14th Aug., & from the *woynod* there also of the same date.

26. Being the Empress Dowager her name-day, wee congratulated her, and dined by Lew Kirilowits [Naryshkin].

{190v} Aug. 27, Sat. Wee made preparations to be gone. Entertained our skippers & boatsmen in the evening.

28. Wee marched from Pereslaw, dined by Nova, 15 *verst*, and quartered at Karil, 18 *verst*.

29. Wee marched and came to the Trinity Monastery, 27 *verst*.

30. Wee marched and quartered in Bratofczina, 30 *verst*.

{191} Aug. 31, Wed. Wee marched early and about 9 aclock came to Alexeyofsky, from whence in state to Preobrasinsko. And a fire happening in the timber market by the Moskoes river, wee all went thither, and with great danger & trouble gott it quenched, where my eyes were almost spoiled.

Received letters from my son Theodorus, Mr. Vaget & the student, dated Plesko 16 Aug., which day my son went from thence.

Sent into the *Prikase* 5 rubles for ten men which had not gotten the gift of halfe a ruble a man for the birth of the Prince Alexander, and 3 rubles 20 *altins* for 12 men to 10 *altins* a man for the birth of the Princess Katherine⁵²⁵ – these men being dead or sent in exile.

{191v} Sept-r 1, Thurs. Both Their Ma-ties at the ceremonie used this day.⁵²⁶

Coll. Charles Rigeman graced m[ajor] generall.

⁵²⁵ Tsarevna Ekaterina (1691–1733), daughter of Tsar Ivan Alexeyevich. She married Duke Karl Leopold of Mecklenburg-Schwerin; their daughter Anna was the mother of infant Russian Emperor Ivan Antonovich.

⁵²⁶ Russian Orthodox New Year.

2. His M. at L[e] F[ort], & I there.

Sent in to the *Prikase* of money left-over of August month of the sojourns pay 3 rubles 24 *altins*.

3. A feast by the new M. G-ll Ch. Rigeman.

The Empress came.

4. At devotion.

Received letters from my son Theodorus Ignatius & Mr. Frazer, dated Riga the 25 Aug., giving notice of my sons safe arrivall there.

{192} Sept-r 5, Moon. His M. by me, went to Columinska.

6. In Butirky exercizeing the regiment.

7. Subscribed a roll of the regiment for their pay for September & Oct-r: 41 serjeants, 37 foriers & furiers, 56 corporalls, 47 pipers, 751 sojourns whereof 2 *verstany*—in all 932; 5 carceered sojourns who have yong male children, 67 widdowes who have yong male children, 45 orphans—in all 1[,0]49 persons.

9. Writt to my son Theodorus Ign., to Mr. Frazer in Riga; to Mr. Vaget & the *woynod* in Plesko; to Mr. Meyer & the *woynodt* in Novogrodt; to Mr. Loftus in Narva p[e]r post.

{192v} Sept-r 10. Writt to Boris Michael. Protopopuf, Resident at the Polish Court.

- 11, Sun. At muster in Preobrasinsko.

Sent into the *Prikase* a runaway sojourn, and 3 others for thievery and roguery.

12. Received a letter from Col. de Lauzier.

Writt to Mr. More in Revall by Mr. Dowker.

Received an acquittance of my brother in law Roonaer⁵²⁷ of his pairt of the airship.

13. Writt to Coll. de Lauzier.

Exercized my regiment & company in the fields by Semenofsky, and entertained the officers & horsmen at a dinner.

And at night at the wedding of Colonell James Meine⁵²⁸.

Borrowed of Coll. Anthony Shmallenberg a 100 rubles for 3 months;

⁵²⁷ Major Gregory Ronaer.

⁵²⁸ James ("Yakov") Main, Russian officer of Scots descent. In the Chigirin campaign of 1678 he was Lt.colonel in Andrew Burnet's regiment of horse (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts. F. 210, op. 6, No 95, fol. 237 v.).

given a writting and a pawne: 4 row of pearle with a jewell, a gold chaine weighing 20 ducats, a great diamond ring & another lesser; which 100 rubles I gave to M. Gregory Roonaer.

{193} Sept-r 14, Wed. Being the Exaltation of the Holy Crosse, at devotion.

Borrowed of Sr Adolph Howtman 20 rubles.

15. Mr. Le Feber buried.

16. At Preobrasinsko, the old Empresse better. His M. by L[e] F[ort].

17.

18. At devotion. His M. by M[en]ziles.

{193v} Sept-r 19, Moon. At Preobrasinsko. His M. by me.

20. Received a letter from my son Theodorus in a *covert* from Mr. Frazer, both dated Riga 8th 7bris.

Exercized regiment & company in the fields.

21. At devotion, & in towne.

Received a letter from Mr. James Pindeeke, dated Archangell 9 7bris, a letter with its double from London from Mr. Meverell, dated 9 July, giving me notice of the things he had bought for me, and of the receipt of myne of the 22d Ja-ry & 2d *Aprilis*.

{194} Sept-r 22, Thurs. At Preobrasinsko.

23.

24. In Preobrasinsko, gott the petition for the place for my son & son in law⁵²⁹ subscribed & ordered.

25. At devotion. His M. by L[e] F[ort], & I there.

26. Writt to my son John, the Laird of Rothemay, Neithermuir in an enclosed to Mr. Meverell with on[e] from M.G. Menezes to Rothemay, all recomended to Mr. Frazer in Riga.

{194v} Sept-r 27, Tues. In Preobrasinsko, his M. supped by me.

28. At home, being unwell; yet in the afternoone by Alexey Simonovits Shein, wishing him good luck with his yong son.

29. Writt to Mr. James Pindeeke.

30. Writt to Mr. Frazer with an enclosed to Mr. Meverel in ans-r to his of the 9th of July from London, and to my son Theodorus in ans-r to his and Mr. Frazers, dated Riga 8 *dito*. Hereby sent these written the 26 and

⁵²⁹ Apparently, James Gordon and Karl Snivins.

recommended to the care of Mr. Frazer.

Exercized the company in the fields.

{195} Oct-r 1, Sat. At home.

2. At devotion.

3. The agreement betwixt M.G-ll Menezes and Mr. Boetenant von Rosenbush sealed and subscribed, I & L.G. Le Fort being witnesses.

Wee dined by M.G. Menezes.

Received a letter from Georg Frazer in Riga, dated 22 *7bris*, which day my son Theodorus went from Riga.

4. At a feast by M.G.⁵³⁰ Le Fort.

{195v} Oct-r 5, Wed. At a christening feast by Alexey Simonovitz Shein.

6. Againe by Le Fort.

7. In Preobrasinsko.

8. At home.

{196} Oct-r 9, Sund. At devotion, & at a feast by Mr. Gutebier⁵³¹.

Received a letter from Pater Schmidt, dated Brawnsberg 22 *7bris st. novo*, in a *coverto* from Mr. Frazer dated 29 *7bris*; the first giving me notice of the reseat of mine of the 5 Aug.

10. This day at the feast also.

11. At home, being indisposed.

12. In Preobrasinsko.

{196v} Oct-r 13, Thurs. At devotion. The Sk.⁵³² feast by Le Fort.

14. In towne by *Kniaz* Fiodor Simonovits [Urusov], who had a yong son *Kniaz* Andrew.

Drunk a health in remembrance of King James & the Royall family in the evening with so many countrey men as wee could gett together.

15.

16. Dined by M. Gen. Menezes, in the evening at the *sponsalia*⁵³³ of Coll. Leviston.

⁵³⁰ Author's slip: in September 1691 Lefort was promoted to lieutenant general, which rank Gordon himself records the day before.

⁵³¹ Probably Jan Gutebier, the apothecary.

⁵³² Undeciphered.

⁵³³ Engagement (Latin).

{197} Oct-r 17, Moon. At the christening feast by *Kniaz* Fiodor Semenovitz Urusuf.

Received a letter from Pater Ernestus Sturme, dated Mittaw 11 Oct. *st. novo*, giving me notice that my son Theodorus was passed that way in good health, and that he had received my letter of the 29th July.

18. At home, being somewhat feaverish.

19. The like.

20. In Preobrasinsko.

{197v} Oct-r 21, Frid. At devotion. *Kn[iaz]* Fiod[or] Yur. Romad[anovsky] by me.

22. Tooke phisick.

23. At devotion. L.G. J.G.⁵³⁴ his miss[ion?].

24. At a quadriduan revelling feast by J.F.⁵³⁵

Received l-rs from Narva, dated 27 *7bris*, from Mr. Loftus & Mr. More.

Rec-d a letter from Otto Antonius Bleyer⁵³⁶, dated Varschaw 29 *7bris*.

{198} Oct-r 26, Wed. The Princess Anna Michaelovna⁵³⁷, haveing been long sick, and at taken [*si*] on the habite of a nunne & entred the monastery called the New nunnery, dyed about ten aclock at night.

28. The Princess buried.

29. At home. Received a letter from Otto Antonius Bleyer, dated Smollensko.

30. At the feast of the great house⁵³⁸, where very d[runk].

{198v} Oct-r 31, Moond. Received letters from Mr. Geo. Frazer, dated Riga 20 *Oct-ris*; from Mr. W-m Gray, dated Konigsberg 22 *Oct-ris*; & from my son Theodorus of the same date & place *st. n.*; the last two giving me notice of my sons safe arrivall to Konigsberg the 8th *st. vet.*, & that

⁵³⁴ Possibly, Lt.General Johann Gulits.

⁵³⁵ The first initial should rather be *L.*, which gives Gordon's usual abbreviation for Lefort, chief organiser of lavish Petrine banquets.

⁵³⁶ Otto Anton Pleyer, diplomatic agent of the Holy Roman Empire in Russia, author of valuable dispatches to Emperor Leopold. He arrived in Moscow in 1692, ostensibly for merchant purposes, then became diplomatic secretary and in 1711–18 Imperial resident in Moscow.

⁵³⁷ Tsarevna Anna (1630–1692), daughter of Tsar Mikhail, favourite aunt of Tsar Peter. Shortly before her death, on 18 October, she took the vows, though not in Novodevichy ("New nunnery") but in the Kremlin's Ascension monastery.

⁵³⁸ Probably, the enlarged and richly decorated Lefort's house in the Foreign suburb, not yet the later palace of his, whose foundation was laid on 9 March 1696.

he was to go for Königsberg⁵³⁹ the next day.

In the evening Coll. Ridder dyed.

No-r 1. At devotion. The Polls lt. married.

Lochmanofsky brought a *pamet* for capt. lt.

Rec-d a letter from the Hetman.

Rec-d a letter from Coll. de Lauzier, dated Kursk 5 *Octobris*.

2. At Preobrasinsko, & devotion.

In the evening Coll. Calderwood⁵⁴⁰ dyed.

{199} No-r 3, Thursday. In Preobrasinsko.

Signed a list of the regiment for this months pay, to witt.: 41 serjeants, 37 furiers & foriers, 56 corporalls, 47 pipers, 4 *verstany* sojourns, 747 not *verstany* sojourns—in all 932; 5 carceered sojourns who have yong male children, 65 widdowes who have yong male children, 46 orphans—in all 1,048 persons.

Signed a paper for 228 bad musquets to be changed for good.

4. In Preobrasinsko. Received a letter from Mr. Henry Krevet, dated Archangell *Octobris* [...].

Rec-d letters from Lt.G-ll *Graffe* de Graham & Coll. Pfennigbeer, dated Belagrod.

{199v} *No-ris* 5, Sat. At the buryall of Coll. Ridder, having been in Preobrasinsko in the morning.

Writt to my L-d Graham, Coll-s Pfennigbeer, de Lauzier & to the Hetman.

6. At devotion.

7. Writt to Mr. Krevet.

In Preobrasinsko.

Received a letter from Pater Schmidt, dated Brunsberg 24 Oct.; from Mr. W-m Gray, dated 29 Oct.; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 27 Oct.; from Mr. Meverell, dated London 27 & 30 *7bris*.

⁵³⁹ A slip for Braunsberg (Braniewo), where Theodore Gordon was to study at the Jesuit College.

⁵⁴⁰ Andrew Calderwood († 1692), one of about 30 Scots officers who transferred from Swedish service to Russian in September 1661, after their agreement with Patrick Gordon in Riga; nearly all of them enrolled in Daniel Crawford's regiment. From 1674/75 he was major, then colonel.

8. In Preobrasinsko. At the buriall of Coll. Calderwood.

Gave up a petition for my son James.

{200} *No-ris* 9, Wed. In Preobrasinsko, & in towne by Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin], to whom gave a petition fo[r] my son in law.

10. By his M. At the wedding of Coll. Leviston in the evening.

By 2 posts sent to Archangel & Narva, in the first 9 libs. 9 sh. 8 p., in the other 14 libs. to Mr. Meverells credit; he being now owing to me 32 lib. 1 sh. 11 pence.

11. Writt to my son Theodorus & to Pater Schmidt in ans-r to his 2, 2 *7bris* & 24 Oct. *st. n.*; to Mr. W-m Gray in ans-r to his of the 22 & 29 Oct.; to Mr. Frazer in ans-r to 4 of his, viz. 22 & 29 *7bris*, the 20 & 27 Oct.; to Mr. Loftus in Narva in ans-r to one of his without date; to M-rs Tho. More & Meux in ans-r to theirs of the 27 *7bris*.

{200v} *No-ris* 12, Sat. In Preobrasinsko.

13. At devotion & at L[e] F[ort], where his M. & o[the]rs.

14. At home, being indisposed.

15. In Preobrasinsko. At devotion.

16. In Preobrasinsko.

Borrowed 100 rubles of my daughter Catherine.

{201} *No-ris* 17, Thurs. In Preobrasinsko.

The pater & other ffriends dyned by me.

Mr. Otto Bleyer with the *Patres*⁵⁴¹ arrived.

18. At Court, & afternoone visited the new come *Patres* & Mr. Bleyer, & thereafter by Mr. Boetenant where a name-dayes feast.

Received a letter from *Herr Curtio*⁵⁴².

19. In Preobrasinsko, and at a name-dayes feast by Mr. Hartman.

20. At devotion, and afternoone by L[e] F[ort].

21. In towne, by L[ev] Kiril. [Naryshkin] & gott my son in law his petition signed to be written.

{201v} *No-ris* 22, Tues. In the morning by his M., by Le Fort, his M. being indisposed.⁵⁴³

In Butirky, & by *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn].

23. His M. bed-sick. I in Preobrasinsko.

⁵⁴¹ They were Franciscan friars, Dean Franz Xaver Lefler and Paul Joseph Jaroš.

⁵⁴² Johann Ignaz Kurtz.

⁵⁴³ Tsar Peter fell ill with dysentery.

24. In Preobrasinsko. Received a letter from Mr. Tho. Dowker, dated Narva 13 *Oct-ris*, & from M-rs Tho. More & Meux, dated *ibid.* & 14 *ditto*.

25. In Preobrasinsko.

{202} *No-ris* 26, Sat. In Preobrasinsko. After I had been by Yemel[yan] Ig. [Ukraintsev] my son in law his business ordered, and Mr. Bleyer gave in his Imp. M. letter to the *Prikase*. I dined by L[ev] Kiril.

27. At devotion, the P[olish] Res[ident] & ffriends dined by me.

28. The *Patres* & Bleyer ordered to have liberty to go whither they please & stay.

Received letters from the P[ater] Rector of Brawnsberg called Gaspar Ridig, dated 29 *Octobris*; from Pater Schmidt, dated 26 *ditto* & ano-r dated 28 *ditto*; from my son Theodorus, dated *ibid.* 3 *No-ris*, addressed by Thomas Harvie, Konigsberg 19 *No-ris*, in one from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 17 *No-ris*.

29. In towne by Yemel. Ignat. [Ukraintsev], by our boyar⁵⁴⁴, *Patres* & Sr Kenkell.

The *Patres* came to the Slaboda.

Afternoone by his M.

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated Archangel 15th *No-ris* 1692.

{202v} No-r 30, Wed. At devotion. The *Patres* with other ffriends dined by me & supped also.

{203} *Dec-ris* 1, Thurs. At devotion early.

Signed a list of the regiment for this months pay, viz.: 41 serjeants, 37 foriers & furiers, 56 corporalls, 47 pipers, 4 *verstany* sojourns, 748 not *verstany*—in all 933; 5 *emeriti*, 65 widdowes, 46 orphans—in all 1,049.

2. Signed a list of the regiment to salt: 7 *verstanies* marryed, 820 not *verstany* marryed, 1 batchelour *verstany*, 105 not *verstany* unmarried—in all 933 sojourns; the *verstanyes* getting 4 *pud* being maryed & the not *verstanyes* 3 *pude*, & the unmarried the halfe so well the one as the other.

I did writt to Mr. Frazer, with an enclosed from Mr. Munter to him.

Sergey Abra[movich]⁵⁴⁵ dyned by me.

{203v} *Dec-ris* 3, Sat. At devotion early. In Preobrasinsko. His Ma-ties better.

⁵⁴⁴ Apparently, Boyar Prince F.S. Urusov, head of the Foreigners' Office.

⁵⁴⁵ Probably, S.A. Lopukhin († no later than 1711), "near" *stolnik*, from 1692 boyar. In 1697 he fell from favour and was sent away as *vojevoda* to Viaz'ma.

4. At devotion and confession, and tooke the Blessed Sacrament.
5. In towne by Leo Kirilovitz [Naryshkin].
6. In Preobrasinsko, his M. gott up.

In the gazetts wee had that the Frenches had taken from the English & Hollanders of late & in this warr first 180 & thereafter 297 ships, being in all 477 ships.

{204} *Dec-ris* 7, Wed. In Preobrasinsko.

8. In Preobrasinsko.

Dyned with the *Patres* by M.Gen. Menezes.

9. In towne in the *Possolsky* Office.

10. In Preobrasinsko, his M. not to be seene.

{204v} *Dec-ris* 11, Sund. At devotion.

12. His Ma-tie worse & swounded.

13. His M. very weake.

Writt to John Ignatius Kurtz.

14. In towne by our boyar.

His M. somewhat better.

15. In Preobrasinsko. His M. rested well, but weake.

Sent in with a writting into the *Prikase* 6 rubles 7 *alt.* 5 *dengees*.

{205} *Dec-ris* 16, Fridday. The Pater Ludovicus Koblitius went from hence, whom wee convoyed to the Twersky Yempsky⁵⁴⁶.

17. Writt to Coll. Roonaer in Koslow.

18. Received letters from Mr. Loftus, dated Narva 7 *Dec-ris*, & Mr. More, dated *ibid.* 2 *Dec-ris* an[no] *cur[rente]*⁵⁴⁷.

19. Writt to Lt.Gen. *Conte*⁵⁴⁸ de Graham with gazetts.

{205v} *Dec-ris* 20, Tues. In Preobrasinsko.

21. About one aclock after midnight his M. went for Mosco.

At devotion.

22. In towne.

23. Writt to Mr. Tho. Loftus in ans-r to his of the 7th inst-t; to Mr. More in ans-r to his of the 14 *8bris* & 2 instant; to Mr. Tho. Dowker in ans-r to his of the 13th Oct. in a *coverto* to M. Ja. Meyer in Novogrodt, to be expeded to Narva.

⁵⁴⁶ Tverskaya Yamskaya, a quarter and street in Moscow.

⁵⁴⁷ Of the current year (Latin).

⁵⁴⁸ Count (French & Italian).

{206} *Dec-ris* 24, Sat. At home. The sojourns gott pay for this month.
 25. In the church at midnight, about daylight and at noone, being Christmasse.

The [Polish] resident & others dyned by me.

26. In the citty by his M., who was better, and at church.

27. In the citty.

{206v} *Dec-ris* 28, Wed. At Court, and thereafter at devotion.

Yermolay⁵⁴⁹ came with his comorads singing, to whom I gave a ducate, & to the ser[van]ts with him 10 *altins*.

29. At Court.

Rec-d a letter from Coll. Roonaer.

Mosey Step[anov] Businin⁵⁵⁰ came with his litle cousin, to whome I gave 10 *altins*.

30. At Court.

Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin] his singers came, near twenty, to whom I gave two rubles, which was by one-halfe too much.

31. By his M. He commanded me to try a litle mortar piece to cast or throw hand-granadoes, out of which the same evening I tryed & found it practicable.

Betwixt 7 & 8 aclocke at night a fire breake out by Mr. Tabbort, whereby wee had been in danger if it had been later in the night, & that wee had not prevented its progress by speedy & usuall remedies.⁵⁵¹

{214} [To James Gordon]

Mosco, 11 Jan-ry 1692

Much honoured and loveing unkle,

In ans-r to yo[u]r & Nethermuirs joint letter of ye 3d July I did writt the 12 of Dec-r last to you & Nethermuir jointly by post, which I recommended to London to Mr. Meverell, and doubts not but you have received it long befor this. I did writt then what was needfull, and shall now add

⁵⁴⁹ Probably, Yermolay Danilovich Mishukov, Tsar Peter's dwarf.

⁵⁵⁰ Possibly, M.S. Buzheninov, sergeant of Preobrazhensky regiment, later "Proviantmeister", although his patronymic was Semionov.

⁵⁵¹ There follow 14 blank pages (207–213 v.).

that I send hereby the required blanks, and a paper apart containing the substance of that w-^{ch} is to be written in the blanks, both subscribed befor witnesses as prescribed.

Upon second thoughts I have reserved for me & my wyfe dureing our lyves 300 merks yearly *our lyferents of the 2 pleughs of Easter Achluichries*⁵⁵² and 3,000 merks Scottish for a portion for one of my sons, who may chance to come⁵⁵³ & setle himself; albeit I have small hopes that I or any of my other children shall ever trouble or see that countrey. However {214v} I have done this to move him⁵⁵⁴ to be more frugall & keep him in duty; as also to make another of my sons looke homewards.

I have been this year of my age very unfortunate, haveing both my daughters made widdowes, the yongest haveing been but marryed about 8 months, the other 10 yeares; the eldest haveing a son & 2 daughters, the yongest a posthumous sonne.

I entreat you, dear uncle, to ordaine & desire some one of our ffrriends who may with Nethermuir have inspection of my effaires, & to whom in case of mortality you may deliver such writeings as belong to me, viz.: the bond of the money to be gott from Rothemay or his brother, the bond of provision of 2,000 libs Scots for one of my sons, the assurances of myne & my wyfes lyferent of the 2 pleughs of Easter Achluichries, & what else you think fitt to be preserved. I think yong Cults⁵⁵⁵ may be the man, if you please.

{215} Mosco, Ja-ry 1692

Copy of the disposition given to my son John of my lands of Easter⁵⁵⁶ Achluichries in Scotland.

Be it knowne to all men by thir presents, that I, Patrick Gordon of Achluichries, Generall over the Selected Regiments of his Imperiall

⁵⁵² Marked words crossed out.

⁵⁵³ *there* crossed out, i.e. to Scotland.

⁵⁵⁴ Gordon's eldest son John, to whom the general was about to transfer the family estate of Auchleuchries.

⁵⁵⁵ Patrick Gordon of Cults, cousin of the general.

⁵⁵⁶ Word crossed out.

Majesty of all Russia, do hereby fully and freely dispose and give over the heritable right of⁵⁵⁷ all the lands of⁵⁵⁸ Achluichries lying within the Parish of Crowdan in the Shire of Aberdeen in Scotland to my eldest son John Gordon, reserving only *(in case I or my wyfe or both come to Scotland)*⁵⁵⁹ for me and my wyfe our lyferents of the two pleughs of Easter Achluichries, and that free from all publick dues and burthens or any the least other particular duty or acknowledgment to any person whatsoever; {215v} as also 2,000 punds Scottish as a portion for one of my sons who may come to Scotland and setle there & to whom it shall be assigned. Yet this summe of 2,000 libs Scottish to beare no annuall rent untill the first Whitsunday after he shall come to Scotland, and then the afors-d summe to be delivered to him or assignes, or to be left upon annuall rent as he pleaseth.

I will also that my said son John be countable to me for the yearly rents of the said 2 pleughs of Easter Achluichries, and that free of all publick dues and burthens⁵⁶⁰, and the said money to be given out to responsable persons upon bonds bearing annuall rent, and the said bonds written in my name and to be given in keeping to my unkle James Gordon of Westertowne & my cousin John Gordon of Nethermuir or to any other to whom they shall advise & agree to be given unto.

{216} And because in this countrey wee are ignorant of the formes and termes of law in Scotland, so have I subscribed 4 sheets of paper battered⁵⁶¹ together both on the margins at the glewing or battering and at the bottome befor the same witnesses that this is subscribed, to witt Maior Generall Pawl Menezes, Colonell Alex-r Leviston & Maior Hary Gordon; desireing that the said blank sheets be filled up conforme to the Scottish formes, with the contents hereof, being a full and free disposition of the heritable rights of all the lands of Achluichries to my eldest son John Gordon, reserving only for my and my wifes liferent the 2 pleughs of Easter Achluichries & 2,000 libs Scottish in manner as above; and that a bond of provision and such {216v} other instruments requisite and

⁵⁵⁷ *my* crossed out.

⁵⁵⁸ *Easter* crossed out.

⁵⁵⁹ Marked words crossed out.

⁵⁶⁰ Crossed out: *or any other private...*

⁵⁶¹ Instead of the crossed out: *glewed*.

usuall in law be made & taken, and delivered into the custody of my unkle James Gordon of Westertowne and John Gordon of Nethermuir or in any others hands in whose they with the Earle of Aberdeen shall advise & agree *all which I desire to be done by the advice of the Earles of Arroll & Aberdeen.*⁵⁶² So given at Mosco the [...] of January in the yeare of our *redemptio* 1692.

Constituting for my proctors: James Gordon of Westertowne, John Gordon of Nethermuir, Patrick Gordon of Cults, these or any two of them; and the bond of provision and the writeing for the 300 merks to be reg[ist]rate.

{217} Mosco, Ja-ry 11, 1692

[To John Gordon]

Loveing son,

My last to you was the 8th *Augusti* by Capt. W-m Gordon, since w-ch I have yours of the 3d of July, as also a joint letter from my unkle & Nethermuir, which I answered the next post after I received it viz. the 12th past, and gave notice of my resolution. But now to the particulars of yours.

You tell me of many letters you have written, but how addressed nothing, and if there be any miscarriage it is betwixt that & London or Dantzick, for Mr. Meverell in the first and Patrick Forbes in the last are very carefull, to whom you should writt and enclose that to me in theirs. You tell me of paying postage from Mosko to Aberdeen for a packet, dated the 16th of Feb-ry last, which is a great abuse, and I would gladly know where it lyeth, for I sent {217v} that packet by a ffriend, one Mr. Brest, to Amsterdam, enclosing it in a letter to Mr. James Gordon merch-t in Roterdam, who gave me notice that he had forwarded it, but whether by ffriend or post he gave me no notice, so that at the most you have but payed postage from Amsterdam to Aberdeen, after which you may enquire.

As to the business of the wedsett of the mains, you may use the ordinary course & diligence, as also in the busines with Watertowne. I wonder

⁵⁶² Marked words crossed out.

to hear of a backbond given by my brother John to my father concerning the Muirtake. It was great injustice in him to conceale it when I was there, and even malice now to detain it. If I had knowne any thing of it, I had not ordered his bond of 400 merks to be given to him befor he had restored that. How he hath dealt with me it is well knowne. It was great in {218} justice in him, if not worse (if worse can be), first to move my father to give him an heretable right to the Muirtake, which could not be either justly or lawfully done, my father haveing disposed the heretable right of the whole to me befor that; and then to take a bond of our father for 300 merks and hereupon to serve himself executor creditor, thereby to defraude me & the rest of the moveables and any thing left by our parents. But *transeat*⁵⁶³, I never see men using unjust wayes thrive. I think he may be summoned & constrained to deliver that bond.

The Earle of Aberdeen, to whom I entrusted the inspection of my business⁵⁶⁴, by whose advice, at lest consent, it was done, and who assuredly promised to me at my last being in Scotland that I should have {218v} my owne againe, should be sollicitied to gett his nephew⁵⁶⁵ to do me justice.

At Capt. Gordons going from hence he and I made up our acco-ts, and he remained owing to me only 300 merks with the annuall rent for 8 yeares, which amounteth to 96 libs Scottish, and 200 merks with the annuall rent for 5 yeares, which amounts to 40 libs Scottish,—in all 469 libs Scottish 6 s. 8 p.; which strive to recover and put it out upon bond-bearing annuall rent in my name to some responsible person, which bond must be given in custody to my unkle, Nethermuir or to any other whom they & the Earle of Aberdeen shall advise.

As for the things I did writt for, send them when you have a sure occasion to Dantzick or London. I left the note of the things left in Edinburgh with you, and sent it twice since, & now againe under my hand. See to recover them, but to make a {219} jorney to Edinburgh without haveing other business will be expensive.

I am sorry for the death of my bro-r James, but more for the poor condition he hath left his family in.

⁵⁶³ Let it pass (Latin).

⁵⁶⁴ *affaires* written above.

⁵⁶⁵ Thomas Forbes of Watertoun.

As for London James⁵⁶⁶, I hope at his displeasing you have recovered all is due from him, being very sorry for his inconstancy.

I have not received a letter from you since that by your brother James. Of *an[no]* D. 1690 letters of the 5th May, not received, were sent to Dantzick, so that your Ab[er]d[een]s merch-ts are negligent, it seemes. My letters writt last yeare are of the 2d Ja-ry & 16th Feb-ry, which you say you have received; the others are of the 5th of May per post to London & of the 8th of August by Capt. Gordon.

As to the last, but of greatest consequence, I have sent a disposition of the heretable right of the lands of Achluichries to you, reserving only for {219v} my and my wyfes lyfrent *the 2 pleughs of Easter Achluichries free of publick dues and burthens as it was in the tyme of Gaw[i]n Cruikshanks wedsett befor I redeemed it*⁵⁶⁷ dureing our lives the summe of 300 merks yearly, & my wyfe for security to be infeft in the 2 pleughs of Easter Achluichries; as also 2,000 pundis Scottish as a portion for one of my other sons, but not to beare annuall rent untill he come thither himself to settle.

I do this upon my unkles recommendation & advice, albeit I know that this Laird of Pitfodells his father⁵⁶⁸ marryed twice & gott considerable portions, without being infeft in a furr of land so long as his father lived, and diverse others too long here to mention.

Thus you see how punctually I have answered every particular of your letter, which you but litle observe in answering of myne, and leaves out the maine thing, which is the acco-ts of the rents of the lands and how disposed. And now, you haveing for your owne proper use so much {220} of the lands, I expect hereafter a more exact acco-t of what I have reserved

⁵⁶⁶ "London" James Gordon was the general's kinsman, perhaps nephew, who lived in Auchleuchries. In 1683 the "Papist" James Gordon, "late returned from London, was charged as delinquent with two women, but refused to submit to the discipline of the kirk". One Isobel Ferguson declared that the father of her child was "James Gordon in Auchleuchries, called London James, and the child baptized by... Irving, a popish priest" (T. Mair, *Narratives and Extracts from the Records of the Presbytery of Ellon* (Aberdeen, 1898), p. 182). While not doubting this account (General Gordon also disapproved of his kinsman), we should keep in mind that the Presbyterian majority in Scotland used every pretext to defame Roman Catholics.

⁵⁶⁷ Marked words crossed out.

⁵⁶⁸ The father of the Tsars' Major General Paul Menzies, Sir Gilbert Menzies of Pitfodells († 1669).

for my self, which may move me not to forgett you when I dy.

This yeare of my age hath been a sad & unfortunate yeare to me, haveing lost both my sons in law, the eldest whereof, Coll. Strasburg, was buried but 5 dayes ago, the other in May last—two the compleetest and best qualifed men in this countrey. Coll. Strasburg hath left a son & 2 daughters, & Maior Crawford a posthumous son.

{220v} Mosco, 11 Ja-ry 1692

[To John Gordon of Nethermuir]

Much honoured and loveing cousin,

My last of the 12th past was jointly to you & our uncle in answer to yours of the 3d July. Hereby I send the required blanks with a paper containing the matter which I would have inserted in them, all subscribed befor witnesses.

I have upon second thoughts reserved for my self & my wyfe *our lyferents of the 2 pleughs of Easter Achluichries, and 2,000 libs Scottish as a portion for one of my other sons. And this I do to keep my son in duty and make him frugall, haveing but small hopes that wee or any of my other children shall ever trouble that countrey*⁵⁶⁹ dureing our lives, 300 merks Scottish yearly, for the w-ch my wyfe Elizabeth to be infest in the 2 pleughs of Easter Achluichrie[s] & 2,000 libs Scot. And because mistakes may arise upon the takeing up of the rents of the Easter Achluichries, I think it fittest that assurance be taken from my son that he pay to me & my wyfe dureing our lyfes the summe of 200 libs Scottish {221} yearly, beginning at the terme of Whitsunday next; and this money to be duly payed, and given out to responsible people upon bonds in my name, & the bonds to be delivered to the keeping of the Earle of Aberdeen or any other whom my unkle & you shall think fitt with his advice & consent.

So, haveing written in my former what was necessary in my other effaires, and to my son at this tyme, I take leave & remaine

Yo-r most affectionate cousin & ser-t
PGordon

⁵⁶⁹ Marked words crossed out.

That on the other margin⁵⁷⁰ to be insert in the full power or disposition & other letters.

{221v} Mosco, 11 Ja-ry 1692

To Ro-t Gordon of Chmielnick in answer to his of the 13th of July, and showing him that I have desired Pat. Forbes in Dantzick to satisfy him so soone as he recovers my money from Tho. Gordon of Lvova.

To Patrick Forbes in Dantzick in answer to his of the 31 July, admiring to heare nothing from Tho. Gordon of Lvova; showing him that myne of the 22 of May answered his of the 14th.

To James Gordon in Rotterdam in answer to his of the 7th of August, desireing the 5 libs ster. sent by Mr. Meverell to him to be given to Mr. Peter Baldus.

{222} Ja-ry 9, 1692

[To Johann Ignaz Kurtz]

Perillustris et Magnifice D-ne,

Charissime compater, pro acceptissimis literis datis Smollenscii 13, Minscii 24 Octobris et Viennae 9 Xris maximas ago gratias, et quod non citius prioribus responderim rogo ut ignoscat. Gratulor D. V-rae felicem appulsum Viennae. Doleo q-d Gubernator Smollenscii adeo inurbanus fuit, q-d jam notum est Tzar. M. alius urbanior illuc missus, qui etiam in commissis habet ut quam primo Patres venient, dimittantur huc. Nescio quid debent secum afferre preter preceptorem pro instruenda juventutae, & qui musicae initia sciat, libros quorum hic non est copia, et-si aliquid novi ibi editum habeant, rogo ut nobis communicet.

Nudius tertius tumultatus est gener meus D. Strasburg, qui a medio Octobris quotidie debilior fiebat, donec die 4to hujus vitam valde pie et Cr-iane finivit. Et ita in uno anno duos generos {222v} amisi. Voluntas Omnipotentis fiat! De cetero tota familia mea in bona valetudine, qui omnes un cum [*sic*] Vestro [...] D. V-ram venerando salutant.

⁵⁷⁰ See the marked fragment above.

Deus Opt[imus] M[aximus] beat Cr[ist]iana arma, utinam et nos faciamus quod pro bono Cr[ist]ianae Reipublicae, et consentaneum votis V-ris fiat!

Comes de Graham sub discessu mihi dixit, quando ego illum monui de relinquenda hic pecunia pro Domina conjuge sua, q-d illa ibi non carebit pecunia, dummodo velit huc venire sicuti scripsit, nam amici ibi suppedi-abunt ei; et quando hic erit, tunc curabit ille ut nihil deficiat illae.

Interim et ego summo amore et benevolentia veneror D.V. Semper memor et percupidus iterum frui placidissima et omnibus acceptatissima conversatione V-ra. Quoad Patrem quem hic reliquit, optime se gerit, effi-ciemus ut cum satisfactione dimittatur, permanens

M.D. V-rae

Devotissimus comp[ate]r & servus⁵⁷¹

PG

⁵⁷¹ "Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord,

Dearest godfather*, for your most agreeable letters, dated Smolensk the 13th, Minsk 24 October and Vienna 9 December, I render my greatest gratitude and beg your forgiveness that I have not responded sooner to the former. I congratulate Your Lordship upon Your happy arrival in Vienna. I regret that the Governor of Smolensk has been so inurbane, whereof [His] Tsarian Majesty is already informed. Another one**, more urbane, has been sent there, who also has a commission, as soon as the Paters arrive, to admit them here. I know not what they should bring with them apart from a teacher to educate our youth, who would know the principles of music, [and] some books, which are not in abundance here, and if any new ones be published there, I beg You to inform us.

Two days ago my son-in-law Mr. Strasburg was buried, who from mid-October daily grew weaker, until he ended his life very devoutly as a Christian on the 4th. Thus, in one year I have lost two sons-in-law. The will of the Almighty be done! Otherwise my whole family is in good health, and they all [...] salute Your Lordship respectfully.

God Most Good Most Great bless our Christian arms! O, may we also do something for the well-being of the Christian Realm, and let it be according to Your desires!

Count de Graham at his departure told me, when I reminded him of leaving some money here for his lady consort***, that over there she would not lack money until she wishes to come here, as she has written, for her friends there would provide enough, and when she comes here, he would take care that she should want for nothing.

Meanwhile I salute Y.L. with great love and benevolence. I always remember, and greatly desire to enjoy, Your most pleasing and agreeable conversation again.

As for the Pater whom You have left here, he bore himself in the best manner. We shall obtain his satisfactory dismissal. I remain

Your Lordship's

most devoted friend and servant" (Latin).

{223} 1692, Ja-ry 11

To Mr. Tho. Gordon in Lvova

Expostulating with him for takeing it ill that I required my money, seing I did it not befor the tyme was expired; that he writt to me himself that he was to receive it, as also that he had not informed me at what rate he had sold the sables; desireing the money to be delivered to Ro-t Gordon of Chmielnick or Patrick Forbes in Dantzick.

To Mr. Ro-t Jolly in Hamburgh

Showing the reseat of his of the 12th *Oct-ris* and the humorousnes of M. K[enkel]; desireing him to propone the business & obtaine a certaine resolution, & give me notice by post.

{223v} 1692, 11 Ja-ry, Mosco

[To the Earl of Aberdeen]

May it please you[r] Lordship.

My last was the 8 of August by Rothemayes brother. By this I have sent a disposition of the heretable right to [of] the lands of Achluichries to my eldest son John, reserving 200 libs Scottish yearly for me & my wyfe dureing our lives, as also 2,000 libs Scottish, a portion for one of my other sons. For security of the first I desire that my wyfe be infeft in the 2 pleughs of Easter Achluichries, & for the other, a bond of provision to be made; which writeings *& a bond for the money to be gott from

* J.I. Kurtz stood godfather to Peter, General Gordon's youngest son (see fol. 81 v.).

** Probably, *Okolnichy* Ivan Ivanovich Golovin, who succeeded *Okolnichy* Ivan Alexeyevich Musin-Pushkin as *voyeroda* of Smolensk.

*** In 1676 in Bavaria Count David William Graham married a daughter of an Augsburg city councillor, Maria Teresa Leopold, by whom he had two children, but in 1678 he left for Scotland and then for Russia. His wife accused him of embezzling her fortune (15 000 gold pieces) and appealed to the Imperial authorities.

Rothemay & any other writeings, w-ch my uncle shal think fitt,^{*572} I desire to be given in custody to any whom your L-p shall advise. For it is dangerous tymes now, & the old proverb proveth but too oft true:

*Non pater a filio, non hospes ab hospite tutus,
Non socer a genero, fratrum quoq[ue] gratia rara est.*⁵⁷³

And to say the truth, I have reserved that rather to keep my son in duty & to make him frugall, as that I have any hopes of ever coming to that {224} countrey.

I entreat you to gett Watertowne to do me justice. I rely upon your L-ps word to me when I was last there, that I should have my owne againe. As in this, so in all my other concernes there I rely on your L-ps protection. I was moved to send the disposition upon the acco-t of my sons intending to marry. I have nothing else but the tender of humble and due respect from [...]

This above to the Earle of Aberdeen.

{224v} 1692, Ja-ry 12

To the Duke of Gordon

May it please your Grace.

My last was the 22 May last yeare, since which I have the honour of yo-r G. most acceptable of the 22d July, which made me grieved & in some measure contented. I am exceedingly grieved to heare of your G. great losses, and that you must live so farr & so long from your owne, and am thereby surprized to hear of the large measure of hard usage you had in such a tyme when loyall persons should have been cherished and courted by all who loved the King and Government. It seemes they

⁵⁷² Phrase inserted above the line and on margin.

⁵⁷³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 144–145: “They lived on plunder: friend was not safe with friend, relative with relative, kindness was rare between brothers”. Gordon altered the beginning: “Father [not safe] from his son...”

had forgott the maxime of King James the 6th in his *Basilicon Doron*⁵⁷⁴ that loyalty runneth in a race or lyne. Whom should they have trusted, or who was able to have maintained the kings authority and their interest if not your G.?

I remember K[ing] Charles the First by evill counsell, upon the acco-t of lessening the greatnes of your house, tooke away the Hereditary Sherifdomes of Aberdeen & Inverness from your predecessour⁵⁷⁵, as his great-grand-mo[the]r did the Earledomes of Marr & Murray.⁵⁷⁶ Which, albeit it did not make them recede from their loyalty, yet it mad them less capable of serving their Ma-ties in their need.

{225} I have seen your apologeticall relation, & have heard by Hary Gordon and others passages, which may justly eternize your memory for your loyalty & sufferings, and raise both joy & compassion in all loyall hearts.

As for my owne part, I am sorry that I had not the honour & happines to have been entertained in his Ma-ties service, and at such a tyme to have had occasion to have signalized my loyalty. I am very sensible of your G. favour and endeavors to that purpose, & you were even then but too true a prophet. I am infinitely obliged to yo-r G. for your gracious expressions & the esteeme you are pleased to have for my unworthines.

Wee live here in peace, nether can the perswasions & pressings of the allyes move us to enter upon any great action in hast. I am still in a cumbersome Court lyfe. In the meane tyme I am heartily rejoiced to heare that yo-r G. is in good health, and that you are, as all the world, satisfied with your owne behaviour and actions, and shall be exceeding glad to heare from tyme to tyme how your G. disposeth of your self, {225v} of whose welfare & prosperity none can be a greater well-wisher as

⁵⁷⁴ James VI (I) (1566–1625), King of Scotland from 1567 and Great Britain from 1603. *Basilicon Doron* (“Royal Gift”) is his treatise on government of the realm, written for his heir and first published in 1599.

⁵⁷⁵ George Gordon, 6th Earl and 1st Marquis of Huntly (1562–1636), was deprived of these hereditary sheriffdoms in 1630.

⁵⁷⁶ George Gordon, 4th Earl of Huntly (1514–1562) was Earl of Moray from 1549 to 1560, when he was stripped of this title by Mary of Guise (1515–1560), Regent of Scotland on behalf of her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots. The title of the Earls of Mar belonged to the Stuarts and Erskines, although Gordon lands occupied a substantial part of that earldom.

Yo-r G.
most devoted & humble ser-t
PG

{226} [1692, Ja-ry 11]⁵⁷⁷

The exact copy of the disposition sent to Scotland⁵⁷⁸

Be it knowne to all men by thir presents that I, Patrick Gordon of Achluichrie[s], Generall over the Selected Regiments of their Imperiall Majesties of all Russia, do hereby fully & freely dispone and give over to my eldest son John Gordon the hereditary right of all the lands of Achluichries lying within the parish of Crowdan in the Shire of Aberdeen in Scotland, reserving for me and my wife dureing our naturall lives the summe of 300 merks Scottish money yearly; and for the more security thereof my wyfe Elizabeth born Roonaer to be infest in the lands of the 2 pleughs of Easter Achluichries; which summe of 300 merks yearly is to be payed at the terme of White Sunday next & so yearly so long as I & my wyfe liveth, and to be punctually delivered to my uncle James Gordon of Westertowne, John Gordon of Nethermuir {226v} & Patrick Gordon of Cults, and they or any two of them their discharges to be sufficient acquittances, I haveing entrusted my effaires there to them.

Reserving also as a portion for one of my other sons, to whom I shall assigne it, the summe of 2,000 libs Scottish, which summe of 2,000 libs is not to beare annuall rent untill the first White Sunday after he to whom it shall be assigned shall come to Scotland, and produce the assignation or attested copy of my testament. And for the more security hereof a bond of provision to be made up and that, as well as the infiefment to be registrate according to our Scottish formes; and these bonds & writeings to be delivered to the custody of my above-mentioned ffrinds, whom also for this & other purposes I constitute my proctors.

And because in this remote place wee are ignorant of the Scottish

⁵⁷⁷ Date appears on next page.

⁵⁷⁸ There follows a version of the document given above (fols. 215–216 v.), with some significant differences.

formes of such {227} dispositions & other writeings, so have I subscribed foure sheets of paper battered together, subscribed on the margine at the battering or glewing⁵⁷⁹ and at the bottome, to be filled up according to the Scottish formes befor the same witnesses that this is subscribed, to witt M.G. Pawel Menezes, Coll. Alex-r Leviston & Maior Hary Gordon. So done at Mosko A.D. 1692 the 11th of Jan.

{227v} 1692, Mosco 21 Ja-ry

[To Hetman Mazepa]

Illustrissime & Excell-me D[omine],

Data occasione non potui omittere defferre humillima obsequia mea Exc. V-rae. Precor etiam prosperam expeditionem et felicem reditum, nos quidem feriamur hic, dum Exc. V-ra cum suis in via virtutis gloriam et honores vestigatis; de incolumi reditu Exc. V-rae audire perlaetus ero.

D. Colonellus Lewenfelt est mihi affinis factus nam duxit sororem uxoris meae; dicit se habere equos cum famulis suis ex gratia Exc. V-rae in villa, et timet ne molestiae fiat quod non misit pro illis adhuc, quod autem faciet post aliquot hebdomadas q[ua]ndo stabiliet hic res suas. Interim me Exc. V-rae favori commendo permanens

Ex. V.

humillimus servus⁵⁸⁰

PG

⁵⁷⁹ *together* crossed out.

⁵⁸⁰ “Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord,

On this occasion I could not fail to offer my most humble respect to Your Exc. I also pray for Your successful campaign and happy return. We are celebrating here, while Your Exc. with Your [army] are seeking glory and honours on the path of prowess. I shall be very glad to hear of Your Exc.’s unharmed return.

Mr. Colonel Löwenfeld became my kinsman, for he married my wife’s sister. He says that owing to Your Exc.’s favour he has some horses with his servants in a village; he is afraid lest there be trouble, for he has not sent for them yet, but he shall do that in several weeks, when he settles his affairs here. Meantime I commend myself to Your Exc.’s favour, remaining

Your Excellency’s

most humble servant” (Latin).

{228} 1692, 22 Ja-ry, Mosco

Mr. James Pendeck

Worthy ffriend,

I hope this shall find you a good way upon yo[u]r jorney, which I wish may be prosperous. I send you a note of the bookes I desire to have, being insert in a booke intituled *Letters writt by a Turkish Spy*⁵⁸¹, and sold by Henry Rhodes next door to the Swan Tavern near Bride-lane in Fleet street, being as followeth and numbred: 2. *Thesaurus Chirurgiae*.⁵⁸² 4. *The history of Monasticall conventions & Military institutions*.⁵⁸³ 5. *The strange and prodigious Religions, Cust[oms] etc. containing 4 treatises*.⁵⁸⁴ 6. *The present state of Hungary*.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸¹ See above, fol. 167 v.: [G.P. Marana,] *The First Volume of Letters writt by a Turkish Spy, who lived five and forty years, undiscovered, at Paris: giving an impartial account to the Divan at Constantinople, of the most remarkable transactions of Europe... from the year 1637, to the year 1682. Written originally in Arabick, first translated into Italian, afterwards into French, and now into English. 2nd edition. Printed for Henry Rhodes* (London, 1691). Volumes 2 and 3 were printed in London the same year.

⁵⁸² Probably, the treatise on surgery by the noted Franco-Dutch expert Paul Barbette (1620–1666?) and others: Paulus Barbette, *Thesaurus Chirurgiae: the Chirurgical and Anatomical Workes of P. Barbette... The fourth edition... to which is added The Surgeon's Chest [by Gulielmus Fabricius Hildanus]... and... a Treatise of diseases that... attend camps and fleets. Written in High-Dutch by Raymundus Minderius. For Henry Rhodes* (London, 1686); 2nd edn., 1687. But perhaps Gordon means an older work by the great Frenchman Ambroise Paré (ca.1510–1590) et al.: *Thesaurus Chirurgiae continens praestantissimorum autorum, utpote A. Parei,... J. Tagaultii, J. Hollerii, M. Sancti Barolitani, A. Bolognini, M.A. Blondi, A. Ferrii,... J. Dondi et G. Fabricii... opera chirurgica... ante hac... disjunctim edita, nunc vero in unum collecta,... repurgata per Petrum Uffenbachium* (Francofurti, 1610).

⁵⁸³ A work by one J.S.: *The History of Monastical Conventions and Military Institutions; with a survey of the Court of Rome. Or, a description of the religious and military orders in Europe, Asia, and Africa, for above twelve hundred years... the ceremonies... used in the creation of Cardinals; Election of the... Pope;... with many other things;... collected by J.S. For H. Rhodes* (London, 1686).

⁵⁸⁴ A collection by Nathaniel Crouch (1632?–1725?), whose pseudonym was Robert Burton: R.B., *The Strange and Prodigious Religions, Customs, and Manners of Sundry Nations... faithfully collected from ancient and modern authors; and adorned with divers pictures of several remarkable passages therein. Hen. Rhodes* (London, 1683).

⁵⁸⁵ *The present state of Hungary: or, a geographical and historical description of that kingdom... To which is added a short account of Transilvania, etc.* (London, 1687).

7. *Historicall Observ[ations]*.⁵⁸⁶ 8. *The Lyfe of Queen Elizabeth*.⁵⁸⁷ 9. *The Jockies guide*.⁵⁸⁸ 10. *Conversations on severall subjects*.⁵⁸⁹ 12. *The Schoole of recreation*.⁵⁹⁰ 13. *Coffee-house jests*.⁵⁹¹ 16. *The Serasquier Bassa*. 17. *The History of Cara Mustapha*.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁶ [Sir Robert Howard,] *Historical observations upon the reigns of Edward I, II, III, and Richard II. With remarks upon their faithful counsellors and false favourites. Written by a person of honour*. (London, 1689); 2nd edn., 1690.

⁵⁸⁷ Samuel Clarke, *The History of the Glorious Life, Reign, and Death of the illustrious Queen Elizabeth... Illustrated with pictures of some considerable matters, curiously engraven in copper plates*. Henry Rhodes (London, 1682); 2nd edn., 1683. The author was minister of St. Bennet Fink in London.

⁵⁸⁸ *The jockey's guide, and farrier's companion: containing the best directions for breeding, buying, and preservation of horses. Together with the true signs, symptoms, causes, and methods of curing all distempers incident to that useful creature; (never published before) with short, and safe instructions for the well ordering of both, for hunting, and racing*. By F.M. Gent. (London, printed for Henry Rhodes, next door to the Swan Tavern, near Bride-lane in Fleet-street, 1687).

⁵⁸⁹ Apparently, Madeleine de Scudéry, *Conversations upon several subjects... Done into English by Mr. F. Spence* (London, 1683). De Scudéry (1607–1701) was a very prolific and famous in her day French author of immense heroic novels on subjects of Classical Antiquity. She also excelled in conversations on various themes (*Les conversations sur divers sujets*, 1680; *Conversations nouvelles sur divers sujets*, 1684 etc.).

⁵⁹⁰ R[obert] H[owlett], *The School of Recreation: or, the Gentlemans Tutor to those ingenious exercises of hunting, racing, hawking,... tennis, ringing, billiards* (London, 1684). By 1736 this book went through 6 more editions.

⁵⁹¹ [William Hickes,] *Coffee-House Jestes. By the author of the Oxford Jestes* (Benj. Thrale, London, 1677). The 4th and 5th editions of this work by Captain Hickes appeared at the London printer and bookseller Rhodes' in 1686 and 1688.

⁵⁹² Apparently, adventure novels by the Frenchman Jean de Préchac (1647?–1720): 16. *Le Seraskier Bacha, nouvelle du temps, contenant ce qui s'est passé au siège de Bude* (Paris, 1685). Translation into German, which Gordon was fluent in: *Des Seraskier Bassa Krieger und Liebes-Geschichte. Worinnen zugleich die Belagerung und Entsatz Ofens enthalten...* (Hamburg, 1685). Perhaps there was an English translation, unknown to the present editor. 17. Idem, *The true History of Cara Mustapha, late Grand Visier... Written originally in French by a Person of Quality [Jean de Préchac] and now translated... by Francis Philon, Gent. for L. Curtiss & Hen. Rhodes* (London, 1685). Another English edition: *The Grand Vizier: or the History of the life of Cara Mustapha etc.* Henry Hills Jun. for John Whitlock (London, 1685). French original: *Cara Mustapha, grand vizir, histoire contenant son élévation, ses amours dans le serrail, ses divers emplois, le vrai sujet qui lui a fait entreprendre le siège de Vienne, et les particularitez de sa mort* (Paris, 1684). Gordon's interest for the Turkish theme is understandable: he took a prominent part in anti-Ottoman wars and in 1678 in Chigirin bravely resisted the Sultan's mighty army under Grand Vizier and Serasker (commander-in-chief) Kara Mustafa, who led the great siege of Vienna five years later.

18. *A New Voyage to the East-Indies*.⁵⁹³ 19. *Wits Cabinet 9 treat[ises]*.⁵⁹⁴ 20. *The Yong Secretaryes guide in 2 pts.*⁵⁹⁵ Ovids Epistles in verse, {228v} 2 litle bookes of S[i]r Georg Mackenzie ag[ains]t D[r.] Stillingfleet in defence of the Royall lyne.⁵⁹⁶ *Misaldus De secretis*.⁵⁹⁷ Horatius.

Besides these I desire, if it be not out of your way, to send me these bookes or papers whereof the reading cannot be well awowed there now.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹³ [W.] Glanvius, *A New Voyage to the East-Indies: containing An Account of several of those Rich Countries, and more particularly of the Kingdome of Bantam... and likewise a faithfull Narrative of the Kingdome of Siam, of the Isles of Japan and Madagascar, and of several other Parts, with such New Discoveries as were never yet made by any other Traveller* (London, Printed for H. Rhodes, 1682). Presumably, it is a translation from the Dutch, but the original is not discovered and nothing is known about its author or translator.

⁵⁹⁴ *Wit's Cabinet: A Companion for gentlemen and ladies: in which is contain'd I. The interpretation of dreams, according to Artemidorus, and other approved authors. II. The art of physiognomy and palmistry. III. The right preparation for cosmeticks... X. The art of drinking: or, The school of Bacchus... To which is added, A choice collection of the best Songs* (London [no later than 1691]). By 1737 it went through 16 editions.

⁵⁹⁵ John Hill, Gent., *The Young Secretary's Guide: or, a Speedy help to learning. In two parts. I. Containing the true method of writing letters upon any subject... II. Containing an exact collection of acquittances, bills, etc.* Printed for H. Rhodes (London, 1687). By 1764 it was reprinted 27 times.

⁵⁹⁶ Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh (1636/38–1691), eminent Scots lawyer and scholar, from 1677 Lord Advocate, author of numerous works, including those mentioned by Gordon: *A defence of the antiquity of the royal line of Scotland: with a true account when the Scots were govern'd by kings in the Isle of Britain, in answer to the bishop of St. Asaph* (Edinburgh, 1685); printed in London the same year. Idem. *Defensio antiquitatis regalis Scotorum prosapia, qua ostenditur, a quo primum tempore Scotia a regibus gubernata sit, libris Episcopi Asaphensis, & doctissimi Stillingfleeti, S.S. Th. Doctoris, opposita* (Trajecti ad Rhenum [Utrecht], 1689). These works were aimed against the claims of Anglican prelates, William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph (1627–1717), and Edward Stillingfleet (1635–1699), who denied the antiquity of the royal house of Scotland, and justified that kingdom's subjection to England. This matter became crucial after the deposition of the Stuarts in late 1688 and outbreak of Jacobite risings in Scotland and Ireland.

⁵⁹⁷ Antoine Mizauld (Mizaldus) (1510–1578), French astrologer, physician and botanist. Probably Gordon means the Latin treatise where he was one of the authors: *Job. Jacobi Weckeri,... de Secretis libri XVII ex variis auctoribus collecti, methodice digesti et Mizaldi, Alex. Pedemontani atque Portae secretis... locupletati...* (Basileae, 1642). Another option, given Gordon's interest in gardening, is Mizauld's treatise on that subject: *Secretorum agri enchiridion primum, hortorum curam, auxilia, secreta, & medica praesidia inventu prompta, ac paratu facilia, libris tribus pulcherrimis complectens* (Lutetiae, 1560).

⁵⁹⁸ Surely, the works by Jacobite authors, which were hardly tolerated in Britain by the

*If you be in company still with Mr. Baldus,^{*599} I should wish that any thing I am to have from thence might come in a Swedish vessell. Burn'd bairnes fyre dreads. So I hope you will not forgett what I told you concerning the great pacquet I gave you, that if Mr. Gordon would undertake the safe convoyance thereof, you should deliver it to him; if not, then to give it to Mr. Meverell, to whom pray deliver the enclosed.

So, wishing you & company a prosperous journey, I remaine

Yo-r affectionate ffriend at command

PG

P.S. Pray remember me to Mr. Baldus if he be in your company.

{229} 1692, 22 Ja-ry, Mosco

Writt to Mr. Meverel, renewing briefly the contents of my former.

To Madam Crawford in answer to hers of the 20 *Dec-ris*.

To Mr. Frazer, desireing the forwarding of the former.

Per post.

{229v} 1692, 13 Feb., Mosco

[To A.A. Matveyev]

Illustrissime & Magnificentis[sime] D[omi]ne,

Pro literis quibus dignata est Ill. D. V-ra me honorare humillimas ago gratias, hic et multis testimoniis securus gratiae et benevolentiae V-rae, quod autem dignatur mei recordare plus generositati V-rae q-m meritis meis tribuere justum est, sicut et agnoscere q-m arcto vinculo obligationis et devotionis me sibi devincere dignatur.

new Williamite regime.

⁵⁹⁹ Words crossed out in MS.

A prioribus meis placuit Deo Opt. M. familiam meam invisere amissione generi mei Colonelli Strasburg, qui decessit die 4to mensis proxime elapsi, sed beneplacito et voluntati Dei Omnip. nos submittere ut aequum sit et decet. Interim ut Deus Opt. M. Ill. D. V-ram cum tota familia sua ab omni malo et infortunio in prosperitate conservet, sunt quotidianae preces

Ill. D. V-rae

Humillimi clientis et servi

PG

Illustris. & Magnificentis. D-no D. Andreae Artemonidi, Tzar. M. Primario Dapifero et Palatino Portus et districtus S-ti Nicolai vel Archangeli etc.⁶⁰⁰

{230} 1692, Mosco, 22 Feb.

[To A.A. Matveyev]

Illustrissime & Magnificentis. D-ne,

Ante octiduum scripsi ad Ill. D. V-ram, et nunc mihi ansam prebet miserabilis casus caedis extranei et nostratis D. Jacobi Snyppii, dolendum est certe talia inter Christianos fieri, sed quid? Mundus pessimus et sem-

⁶⁰⁰ “Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord,

For the letter, wherewith Your Ill. Lordship digned to honour me, I render my gratitude most humbly, being now reassured by many testimonies of Your favour and benevolence. That you were pleased to remember me, should be justly attributed rather to Your generosity than to my merit, and I must also acknowledge how close are the ties of obligation and devotion wherewith you digned to bind me.

As for my kin, it pleased God Most Good Most Great to visit my family with the demise of my son-in-law, Colonel Strasburg, who died on the 4th of the month recently elapsed, but it is right and fitting for us to submit to the good judgement and will of God Almighty. Meanwhile, may God Most Good Most Great preserve Your Ill. L-p with your whole family from all evil and misfortune, in prosperity—these are the daily prayers of

Your Ill. Lordship’s

most humble client and servant”

“To the Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord Andrey Artamonovich, [Their] Tsarian Majesties’ First *Stolnik* and *Voyevoda* of the Port and District of St. Nicholas or Archangel etc.” (Latin).

per vergit in deterius. Omnes extranei hic una voce proclamant unum Hubertum hominem nequissimum noxium et caedis istius reum, et hoc ob claras circumstantias et magnas presumptiones, omnes rogamus Illustrissi. D. V-ram ut dignetur diligenter in hoc homicidium inquirere, quod a summa prudentia et iustitia V-ra speramus, credentes quod in talibus occasionebus sicuti in aliis regionibus serenis. accusator vel instigator esse solet. Ideo Ill. D. V-ra qui vices ser. ibi gerit speramus non tardare nec differre inquisitionem et iustitiam, ut terra a tanto clamante peccato liberetur. Quo faciendo non solum Deo gratum opus faciet, sed permagnam laudem apud omnes acquireret, nam {230v} semper et ubiq[ue] predicatur laudatissimum illud symbolum Imperator. Romani— fiat iustitia et pereat mundus.

Interim deniq[ue] obsecro ut meae tantae libertati ignoscat, et spero ex D. V-rae integritate et in me benevolentia quod haec non in malam partem accipiet, tandem ut om[n]ia D.V. prospera succedant, sunt vota

Ill. D.V.

Humillimi servi⁶⁰¹

PG

⁶⁰¹ “Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord,

Eight days ago I wrote to Your Ill. Lordship, and now I am provided with a reason by the unfortunate case of the murder of a local foreigner, Mr. Jacob Snypp. It is truly lamentable that such a thing occurs among Christians, but what of it? The world is very wicked and ever tends to deteriorate. All foreigners here unanimously declare as culprit of that crime and murder a certain Hubert, a most worthless man, and that according to clear circumstances and great suspicions. We all beg Your Ill. L. that You be pleased to make diligent inquiries into that homicide, which we hope for due to Your highest prudence and justice, believing that in such cases, as in other regions, there usually is a most serene accuser or plaintiff. Therefore we hope that Your Ill. L., who bears serious duties there, would not delay nor defer the investigation and justice, so that the earth might be freed from such a flagrant sin. In doing so You shall not only please God, but also gain the greatest praise from everyone, for always and everywhere that most laudable motto of the Roman Emperor is preached —“Justice be done, even if the world is to perish”.*

Meanwhile I implore You to forgive me such liberty, and I hope, from Your Lordship’s integrity and benevolence to me, that you would not take it in bad part. Lastly, may all prosperity attend Y.L.—these are the wishes of

Your Ill. Lordship’s

Most humble servant” (Latin).

* A favourite saying of Ferdinand I (1503–1564), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 1558. It apparently stems from Philipp Melanchthon’s *Loci Communes* (1521), and the ancient maxim *fiat iustitia, ruat caelum*.

{231} The copy of a letter written from the Elector of Brandenburg⁶⁰², dated at Postdam [*sic*]⁶⁰³ the 16 May 1679.

My Lord⁶⁰⁴,

It is impossible but that your Majesty, according to the great wisdom wherewith God hath endowed you, does easily perceive the moderation and justice of my pretensions; and it being so, that you must offer violence to that generosity and greatnes of soule which is naturall to your Majesty, in forcing me to conditions of peace that are not only injurious to me, but ignominious also. God who is just, seeing the righteousnes of my cause, hath prospered my armes with the conquest of all Pomerania, and your Majesty makes me give back the greatest part of it, which I put into your hands that I may preserve the rest, which is but a small matter in respect of what I have gained with the loss of my blood & the ruine of my subjects.

Is it not then just, my Lord, that since your Majesty obliges me to part from so great and fair cities, and so much of my enemies countrey, you should likewise oblige {231v} the Swedes to leave me the rest? And that your Majesty haveing so far concerned your self for the party that had no right to demand any thing, should concern your self also for him who had right to keep all, but yet yeelds the greatest part meerly in consideration of your Majesty?

I am informed that your ministers object to me the interest of your glory and honour, and know that that is a powerful motive to animate a great soul to undertakeings. But suffer me to put you in mynd, that justice is the source & rule of glory; and that I haveing that on my syde, it is far greater and more solid glory to support a just & moderate

⁶⁰² Friedrich Wilhelm Hohenzollern (1620–1688), Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia from 1640, known as the Great Elector. Why this document appears among Gordon's private correspondence is unclear, but he closely followed international politics of the period. Besides, in 1686 he travelled through Fehrbellin, site of Friedrich Wilhelm's famous victory over the Swedes in 1675 (*Diary*, IV, p. 121).

⁶⁰³ Potsdam.

⁶⁰⁴ The addressee is King Louis XIV of France. He was an ally of Sweden, with which Brandenburg was then at war, and obliged the Elector to restore to the Swedes their conquered territories in Northern Germany by the Peace of St. Germain on 29 (19) June 1679.

pretension, than to favour one that is nothingless. And certainly, could your Majesty but hear the discourse of all Europe, and weigh it with the reasons that interest suggests to you from my enemies, I am confident you would instantly decide in my favours, and so prevent the judgment of disinterested posterity.

Withall, my Lord, I am very sensible that the match is too unequall betwixt your Majesties forces {232} and myne, and that I am unable to resist a King who alone hath carried the burthen of a war against the greatest Powers of Europe, and hath with so much glory and success gone through with it. But can your Majesty find any advantage in the ruine of a prince who is so desirous to serve you, and who being preserved, may contribute more to your service than a bare willingness? Your Majesty will certainly be the first that will regret my ruine, since you cannot easily find in all the world besides one who is more really and with greater respect and zeal than my self,

Your Majesties etc.

{232v} 1692, 10 Martii, Moscuæ

Reverendi in Christo Patres,

Parcant mihi precor Paternitates V-rae quod ignotus R. V-ri curas et Christianos labores V-ros interpellare offero. Occasio quidem haec scribendi est quod lator hujus, magnif. D. Isbrandt Tzar. Majest. ad Imperatorem Chinae ablegatus, me rogavit ut ad P.V. in illius favorem scriberem *et rogarem*, ideo quia mihi amicus obsecro ut illi in negotiatione faveatis et opem feratis, quod ex singulari studio *Soc. V-rae pecu...* in rem Cr[ist]ianam Soc. V-rae peculiari fieri sibi promitto et spero. Nos quidem Ro. Catholici hic ex magna et singulari Tzar. Ma. gratia liberum jam habemus exercitium Religionis. *Denique me* Sed ne molestus fiam, precibus R.V. me recommendans, permaneo

R.V. devotus et ad obsequia paratus⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁵ "Reverend Fathers in Christ,

I beseech You, Fathers, to forgive me that I, being unknown to Your Reverences, offer to interrupt your duties and Christian labours. The reason for this letter is that the bearer hereof, the Noble Mr. Isbrandt, [Their] Tsarian Majesties' envoy to the Emperor of China, asked me to write to Y. R. in his

To the Jesuites in China by *H[err]* Isbrandt.

{233} 1692, 24 Martii, Moscuæ

[To Hetman Mazepa]

Illustrissime & Magnificentiss. D.

Literæ Illustriss. D. V-rae datae Baturini die 8 presentis gratissimæ mihi fuerunt. Gaudeo et gratulor felicem & incolumem ad domesticos lares reditum. D[eus] Opt[imus] M[aximus] concedat ut in futuro omnia vobis prospere succedant. Et certe apparet ex permagnis preparationibus quas communis Christianitatis hostis facit, quod bellum hoc anno multo majori vigore quam antea promovebitur, et campus heroibus patebit ad laurea & trophea capienda.

Ego autem hic desideo, et otiosæ vitæ me certe taedet, sed quid faciendum? Ut Illustrissima Dominatio V-ra me in pristino favore conservet, est votum

Ill. D. V-rae
Fidelissimi amici & servi⁶⁰⁶

PG

favour. Since he is my friend, I implore You to help him in negotiations and to render him assistance, which I promise myself and hope for due to Your Society's singular diligence in the Christian cause. And we here, out of [Their] Tsarian Majesties' great and singular favour, already enjoy the free exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion. But lest I become troublesome, recommending myself to Y. R.'s prayers, I remain

devoted to Y. R. and ready to oblige" (Latin).

The Russian mission headed by Isbrandt was sent to the Chinese Emperor Kangxi (1654–1722), who reigned from 1661. Marked words are crossed out in MS.

⁶⁰⁶ "Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord,

Your Illustrious Lordship's letter, dated in Baturin the 8th instant, was most agreeable to me. I rejoice and congratulate [You] with the happy and unharmed return to [Your] domestic hearths. God Most Good Most Great grant that in the future all things transpire successfully for You! From the great preparations made by the common enemy of Christendom it appears certain that this year war shall be pursued with much more vigour than before, and the battlefield shall present itself for heroes to win laurels and trophies.

But I am sitting here, and for sure idle living is tedious to me, but what am I to do? May Your Illustrious Lordship preserve me in pristine favour—that is the wish of

{233v} 1692, 2 April., Mosco

Mr. Sam. Meverell, by post

Worthy ffriend,

My last was the 22 of Jan. by Mr. Pendeck, since w-ch I have yours of the 28 *No-ris* & 11 *Dec-ris*. I deferred writeing to you untill I should receive the instruments, which I did last weeke, and are all to content. I am very much indebted to you for your kindnes & paines, & herein so much more in that you have procured a description of the use of them. I entreat you, if any new thing of such nature come out hereafter, you will procure it for me, for here wee are very barren of invention.

I understand by your letter to your son that you have received myne of the 12th of Dec-r. The things & bookes which I desired pray send me by your shipping or through the Baltick, if safer. I desire you likewise to send me 3 paire of white fine bed blankets. I desired Mr. Pendeck to provide some bookes for me, being in a list of books printed lately & insert at the end of the booke entituled *Letters written by a Turkish Spy from Paris*⁶⁰⁷, being of no great value, as appeares by the catalogue. So, I desire them all, except nos. 1, 2, 3, 11, 14 & 15. If he provide {234} them & call for the money, pray pay him; if he have no tyme, pray buy them & send them with the other things, as also the large map of Eng, Scot. & Ireland sold by Robert Morden⁶⁰⁸, and the new map of Scotland written in the advertisement at the end of the litl[e] booke of military discipline you sent me.

The bill of 50 pund sterling is payed. I did give a bill of credit to one Capt. W-m Gordon for 10 lib. st. If he come that way & call for it, pray give him 10 or 12 & take a bill of exchange upon his brother or himself to pay it to W-m Gordon merch-t in Aberdeen.

Your Ill. L.'s

Most faithful friend and servant" (Latin).

⁶⁰⁷ See above, fol. 167 v.

⁶⁰⁸ Robert Morden (ca.1650–1703), London printer and cartographer. Of his maps of Scotland Patrick Gordon probably means *A Mapp of Scotland made by R. Gordon, Author of Blaeu's Atlas of Scotland, corrected and improved by Rob. Morden. To which is added Alphabetical Tables for the ready finding out any place in the Mapp* (London, sold by... Rob. Morden [1687]).

When Mr. Pendeck arrives thither, pray let me have notice, & how he hath disposed of the great packet which I gave him to be sent to Scotland. I am glad to heare that you and family are well, I with myne desiring to be remembred to you all. I remaine

Yo-r most affectionate br. & ser-t
PG

{234v} 1692, 22 Aprilis, Mosco

[To Pater Johann Schmidt]

Reverende in Christo Pater,

Litterae Paternitatis V-rae datae Resselii 28 Febr. an. curr. mihi pergratae fuere, et summe gaudeo de incolumitate et bona valetudine Pat. V-rae. Quod ad nos, quoad sanitatem Dei gratia bene valemus, et in praeteritis casibus nullum melius remedium quam patientia. Theodorulus *hac vere* est valetudinarius. Gaudeo et gratulor de rectorali onere (procul dubio laudabiliter) finito, sed plurimum quidem gaudeo quod P.V. praefecturam scholarum Braunsbergae sit habiturus, nam resolutionem habeo, quampimum Theodor. meus reconvalescebit, cum prima bona occasione ad Pat. V-ram illum mittere. Tota nostra communitas, cum his quos nominavit resalutant Pat. V-ram, ut et ego cum tota mea familia veneramur Pat. V. et se praecibus R. V-rae commendamus.

Pat. V-rae
ad obsequia paratus⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁹ "Reverend Father in Christ,

Father, Your letter dated in Rössell 28 Feb. of the current year, was most agreeable to me, and I am very glad of Your safety and good health. As for us, regarding health, by God's grace we are feeling well, and in former cases there is no better remedy than patience. Little Theodore is valetudinarian. I rejoice and congratulate [You] with the end of the rectoral burden (laudable, no doubt), but I am even more glad that You, Father, shall have supervision over the School of Braunsberg, for I am resolved, as soon as my little Theodore recovers, to send him to You, Father, at the first good occasion. Our whole community, with those whom it appointed, salutes You again; and I with my whole family do esteem You, Father, and commend ourselves to Your Reverence's prayers.

Yours, Father,

ready to oblige" (Latin).

{235} 1692, 8 July, Mosco

Mr. Samuel Meverell

Worthy ffriend,

My last was the 2 *Aprilis* in answer to yours of the 28 *No-ris* & 11th *Dec-ris*, giveing you notice that I had received the instruments in good condition and that they are to content, with thanks for your paines & that you have procured a description of the use of them. I desired then also that to these things, which in my letter of the 12th *Dec-ris* I desired to be bought, you would send me 3 paire of fine white bed-blankets, more bookes in a note with Mr. Pendecock, the large mapp of Eng, Scot. & Ireland, and the new large mappe of Scotland, sold I think by Ro-t Morden. I gave you notice then also that the bill of 50 lib. st. is payed by S-r Jacob Jochimson.

This is to desire you further to send me another waywiser and callipers, for his M[ajesty] hath gott these from me. There is also another instrument usefull for shooting of bombes and great shott, which I desire with a semicircle & a quadrate, and a description {235v} of the way of shooting so many bombes in ane houre, as wee heare (out of the gazets) is invented & experimented there. And according to my former, if any new invention be, to communicate it to me. I should wish that you sent them by the East sea⁶¹⁰ rather as the North.

My yongest daughter Mary, who was a widdow, is married to Coll. Snivins his yongest son Charles. This is all, but due respects from me & myne to yourself & family. I remaine

Yo-r most affectionate
Br. & ser-t
PG

My packet & C[aptain] Gord[on]
By post.

{236} 1692, 23 July, Mosco

⁶¹⁰ Baltic Sea.

[To Pater Johann Schmidt]

Reverende in Christo Pater,

Scripsi ad Pat. V-ram die 22 Aprilis an. cur., respondens literis Pat. V-rae datis Resselii 28 Feb-rii. Nunc autem haec cum filiolo meo Theodoro mitto, quem vix a matre avellere potui. (Non opus est multis, illum totaliter in manus Pat. V-rae trado. Nescio certe quomodo ibi nunc agitur, si ad morem ut in Gallia ubi victum et amictum sicut et educationem habent in Collegio [Academia] apud Patres, vel educationem tantum in Collegio [Academia], et hospitium cum victu et amictu in urbe, sicuti alibi, si autem, uti placet, ut ut est, totaliter R. V-rae fido et dependeo).

Opto quidem ut liberalem habeat educationem. Si in Collegio [Academia] tunc ad primam mensam cum Patribus ubi possit non solum in literis eruditionem, sed eutrapeliam et bonos discere mores; si autem in civitate, non dubito quin R. V-ra curabit ut in honesta domo bonam habeat accommodationem. Solent esse inspectores qui pro parvo attendunt et erudiunt, sed quia totaliter Pat. V-rae fido, nihil prescribo. Quorum notitiam particularem, sicuti quantum constabit, {236v} expecto q[ua]mpimum fieri possit.

Rogavi Dominum Frazer Rigensem ut recommendet aliquem mercatorem Konigsbergae, per quem literae huc et inde possint transmitti, et promisi matri q[uo]d semel in mense ab illo habebimus literas, saltem per medium anni, postea et-si rarius. Accepturus est 30 aureos Hungaricos Rigae, quod reliquum erit quando ibi venerit, rogo ut accipiat ad se ad rationem. Curabo hyeme per mercatores qui hinc eunt terra ad Hamburgum vel Hollandiam mittere, quod ultra necesse fuerit *pro sustentatione illius*.

Si Polonus Stephanus Nerkeovits veniet cum illo illuc, et bene, prudenter et diligenter se in via gesserit, det R. V-ra illi 3 aureos pro viatico.

Communitas nostra in mediocri statu, templum vell domus n-ra ampliata et decenter decorata.

Habet catalogum rerum quas secum fert, rogo ut curet revisere num in salvo sint. Non opus est ut dicam quod sit valetudinarius, nam *non dubito quin* {237} scio quod ibi in meliore cura et diaeta erit quam hic. Ego quidem assidue in aulica vita versor, ut vix tempus habeo bene digere quod scribo.

Tota communitas et ego cum familia mea salutamus et veneramur R.

V-ram et precibus R. V. nos recommendamus. Denique permaneo

R. V-rae
obsequentissimus amicus
et servus⁶¹¹

R.P. Schmidt

⁶¹¹ "Reverend Father in Christ,

I wrote to You, Father, on 22 April of the current year, in answer to Your letter dated in Rössell 28 Feb. Now I send this with my little son Theodore, whom I could barely tear from his mother. (No need of many, I totally commend him into Your own fatherly hands. I know not for certain how it is done there now, whether after the custom of France, where they have subsistence and clothing as well as education in College* with the Patres; or, as elsewhere, it is just education in College, but the lodging with subsistence and clothing in town; if that is as you please, whatever the case, I totally trust and depend upon Your Reverence.)

I desire, however, that he receive a liberal education. If in College, then at the first desk with the Patres, where he shall be able to acquire not just erudition in letters, but also wit and good morals; if in town, I doubt not but Y.R. takes care that he has good accommodation in an honest house. There are usually overseers who for a small pay would attend and teach, but since I trust You entirely, Father, I prescribe nothing. Of all that I expect particular notice, such as how much it would cost, as soon as possible.

I asked Mr. Frazer of Riga to recommend some merchant in Königsberg, through whom letters could be sent to and fro, and I promised his mother that once a month we shall receive a letter from him, at least for half a year, even if less often afterwards. He shall get 30 Hungarian gold pieces to Riga; whatever is left when he arrives there, I beg you to accept for expenses. In winter I shall take care to send whatever else is needed for his subsistence with the merchants going from here by land to Hamburg or Holland.

If the Pole Stefan Nerkeovits arrives with him there, having kept himself well, prudently and diligently on the way, may Y.R. give him 3 gold pieces for travel expenses.

Our community is in a mediocre state; our temple or house is enlarged and decently decorated.

[Theodore] has a list of things which he carries with him; I ask that he take care to survey if these are intact. I need not say he is valetudinary, for I know that there he shall be in better care and diet than here. And I assiduously revolve in courtly life, barely having time to digest what I write.

Our whole community and I with my family salute and esteem Y.R. and recommend ourselves to Y.R.'s prayers. Finally, I remain

Your Reverence's
most obliging friend and servant" (Latin)

*Written here and below instead of the crossed-out: "Academy".

1692, 23 July, Mosco

[To George Frazer]

Sir,

It is so long since I have wrote to you, that I know not whether I am in your debt or you in myne. However, I seldome writt without putting you to some trouble, and by this you will be put to a great deale, for this is to accompany my son, whom I send to Braunsberg to study. I could not meet with any good occasion going the full length of that place, so that I am forced to trouble you, that he may stay there untill a sure occasion be found either by land or by sea to Dantzick or Konigsberg, but rather by land, if safe & in good company. If {237v} he must go by sea, then let the Poll who comes with him go; & if he hath behaved himself dilligently & carefull on the way, give him 2 ducats to help him forward. But if he hath a mind to go by sea, and that he hath behaved himself well, the voyage is not so dear, but that his attendance on the child may countervalue it. If he go by land, and that the Poll hath well behaved himself, then may he be sent with the child forward to Brawnsberg, where he is to receive somq-t for his paines.

Pray get us a correspondent in Konigsberg, through whom wee may gett letters sent hither once a month for the first halfe yeare at least, thereafter though seldomer. He hath 30 ducats along with him to defray his charges; what remaineth over must be given to the Pater Schmidt, to whom he is recommended. I should wish that there dwelt some Scotsman in that Brawnsberg, by whom I might understand how he taketh with that place, & how used.

I have written to Pat. Forbes in Dantzick desireing him that if he come that way he may forward him. You may add what you think convenient. I have no acquain {238}tance in Konigsberg but Mr. Gray, to q-m I have also written. The ordering any other accidences or particulars I referr & rely on you. Pray give me notice by the first of his arrivall and of his dispatch from thence, for which wee will long very much. Haveing nothing else but the tender of my sincere respects to yo-r self & fyre-syde, I remaine

Yo-r obliged ffriend & ser-t

PG

To Mr. Frazer, Riga

1692, 26 7bris, Mosco

Mr. Samuell Meverell

Worthy ffriend,

My last was the 8th July by post, since w-ch I have yours of the 9th *ejusd[e]m*⁶¹² with the duplicate, whereby I understand that you have provided & sent the things I wrote for, which are, as I am informed, come safe to Archangell. In my last I did write for some instruments, and to be informed of some things incident to our prefession [*sic*], which if not sent this yeare by the East sea, then patience till the next.

I have nothing to advise you now, but that I have sent {238v} my son Theodorus to study in Brawnsberg, he being now in his 12th yeare. All the rest of my family are as at my last writeing. So, redoubling my thanks to you for your care & paines, and desireing you to excuse the trouble, as also to be remembred to your fire-syde, I remaine

Yo-r most affectionate

Br. & ser-t

PG

P.S. The Capt. Gordon, to whom I gave the bill of credit for 10 libs. st., is decessed at Revall.

I entreat you to gett the enclosed safely convoyed to Aberdeen, my son liveing near that place, and being acquainted with the p[rinci]p[a]ll men there.

{239} 1692, 26 7bris, Mosco

To the Laird of Rothemay

Sir,

My last to you was of the 8th of August last year by your brother, who went from hence in Sept-r in indifferent good health, but on the way befor he got out of Russeland lay sick for some weeks; when recovering, he set forward for Revall in Liefland, where he embarked, but haveing been some

⁶¹² Of the same [month] (Latin).

dayes at sea, was forced by tempest to returne and stay in Revall the winter. From whence I had diverse letters from him that he was perfectly recovered, but since to our great grieffe my correspondents from Narva did writt to me that he was deceased, and that the Lutherans there, hearing that he was a Ro. Catholick, would not suffer him to be interred in their buriall place; whereupon he was in his coffin put in a vault, untill they should know from me, how I would have his corps disposed of, whither sent to Mosko or interred there.

So, having consulted with your unkle⁶¹³, wee found necessary (it being a thing not practicable here to bring corps from another countrey to this, and which would not be permitted) to send word to {239v} cause bury him there, and if it could not be permitted in their buriall place, then in the ruined Monastery of Saint Brigitt near that towne; and seing they had given me notice that he had litle money left by him, I gave orders to bury him decently, promising to pay any thing it might cost above the value of what was found by him. Whereof I have no acco-t as yet, neither have I received the letters & papers which he had by him, haveing ordered to send them hither.

As I am sorry for this disaster, so must I tell you that in the tyme of his being here I had advanced him some money in his great necessity. At his going from hence wee made up our acco-ts, and he remained due to me the summe of 469 punds Scots 6 sh. 4 p., 200 merks whereof wt 5 yeares interest is a debt of Charles Gordons, for which he was surety. To help him from hence and on the way, your unkle affoorded him money, which amounted to 600 libs. Scots, and formerly 150 libs. Scots, makeing in all {240} to him 750 libs., which he hath assigned to me for *moneyes he owes me⁶¹⁴ his use there, as you will see by his letter here enclosed; which makeing in all 1,219 libs. 6 sh. 4 p. Scots money, I desire you will be pleased to pay to yo-r brother in law Nethermuir and yong Cults, and their reseats shall be sufficient.

I hope, Sir, that you will do me the justice to beleeve that neither your unkle nor I have advanced him any moneyes upon the acco-t of advantage, but meer necessity, being unwilling to suffer such a person & ffriend to perish.

⁶¹³ Major General Paul Menzies of the Tsars' service, uncle to both the late Captain William Gordon and to the laird of Rothiemay.

⁶¹⁴ Marked words crossed out.

Wee are both sorry that it is his & our misfortune that he came not your length, to have given himself testimony of his usage here. And truly I am at a great loss by his deceass, for I had entrusted & relyed upon his conduct in diverse things there, with w-ch I dare not trouble any other.

{240v} 1692, 26 7bris, Mosco

[To John Gordon of Nethermuir]

Loveing Cousin,

Since your joint letter with our unkle of the 3d July 1691, which I answered the 12th *Dec-ris* last year, I did writt to you apart the 11th Ja-ry *an. cur.*⁶¹⁵ Not doubting but that these are come to your hands, I shall forbear to trouble you with any thing mentioned in them, only to desire you to take care of the contents of them. I have forborne so long to writt to you in hopes to have had an ans-r of the above mentioned, and so more matter, but being the last occasion by shipping, I could not delay any longer.

So this is to give you notice that your brother in law W-m is on his way to Scotland deceased in Revall, a towne of Liefeland. I had writt by him and entrusted him with diverse things, with which I am loth to trouble any other. He remaines owing me & his unkle M.G. Menezes some money, which wee jointly entreat you to recover {241} from his brot[her]; that due to me is 469 libs. 6 sh. 4 p. Scottish, and that to his unkle is 750 libs. Scottish, which he has assigned to me, and for which wee have his bills. I send you my letter to his brother open, which you may peruse and deliver to him.

As for that due to M.G-ll Menezes, he desires that you would enquire by his sister in law the Lady Pitfoddels concerning his bore brieffe, as they call it, and to gett the great seale to it, for it is long since ready to that. The superplus of the money besides the expences you may place to my acco-t, and if it should cost any more, pray cause disburse it out of my money, and send the bore-brieffe to me, and I shall be repayed.

⁶¹⁵ Of the current year (Latin).

{241v} 1692, 26 7bris, Mosco

[To John Gordon]

Loveing son,

My last was the 11th of Jan. bypast, which I recommended to James Gordon in Rotterdam, and have notice long ago that it is come safe to his hands and dispatched to you. With it was the desired disposition of the hereditary right of Achluichries, all which I doubt not but you have had long ago, so that I wonder you have not given me any notice of them.

I send you here enclosed a letter to Nethermuir and another to Rothemay open, which after perusall seale and deliver, or rather, gett Nethermuir to deliver it, because he is to receive the money and dispose of it.

This is only to tell you that I expect due & strict observance of what I prescribed in my last. Haveing in my many former & especially in my last above-mentioned told you my mynd at large in all particulars, I shall not need to repeat any thing, but requireing you write oftener to me.

Wee are all well as at my last, only your yongest {242} sister her post-humous son dead, and she married to a Maior Charles Snivins. Your brother Theodorus, being in his 12th yeare, sent to Brawnsberg to study. This being all, I remaine

Yo-r loveing father
PGo.

P.S. Present my duty to my unkle, & excuse me for not writeing at this tyme, this going a great way by post. My love likewise to all friends as if mentioned.

1692, 5 No-ris⁶¹⁶, Mosco

[To Hetman Mazepa]

Illustrissime & Excellentiss. D-ne,

De magno et bono successu Exc. V-rae contra hostes et rebellos, &

⁶¹⁶ Date on next page of MS. The addressee is known from the Diary entry on that day (above, fol. 199 v).

de pacata provincia magna affectus fui gaudio⁶¹⁷, et ex animo et-si sero sed serio gratulor; sicuti etiam de bona sanitate Exc. V. Optarem certe haec omnia ore-tenus proferre, quod brevi futurum vix spero. Prudentia et conductus Exc. V. in nupera tempestate et motivi multum ab omnibus laudatur. Et ut omnia in {242v} futuro Exc. V-rae prospera fiant, sunt sincera vota

Ex. V-rae
Humill. amici & servi⁶¹⁸

{243} 1692, 13 Dec-ris, Mosco

[To Johann Ignaz Kurtz]

Sal. Tit.

Charissime compater,

Literae M.D. V-rae, datae Wiennae 1-o 7bris an. cur. per privignum suum, pergratae mihi fuere. Adventus etiam R.P. Missionar. nos omnes magno affecit gaudio. Error Gubernatoris Smollensc. detinuit illos per duas hebdomadas ibi, et hic propter ceremonialem receptionem per aliquot dies. Jam hic stabiliuntur. Sunt quidem egregii, pii et docti viri *homines*, et credo illos se conformaturos rationi vivendi in iis locis, sed maxime dolendum est quod non sunt perfecti *experti* in lingua Germanica, nam cum magna difficultate concionantur. Expectavimus etiam preceptorem pro instruenda juventute et infant., sed juvenem tantum attulerunt Ungarum,

⁶¹⁷ *laetitia* written above the line.

⁶¹⁸ "Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord,

As for Your Exc.'s great and good success against our enemies and rebels, and the pacification of the province, I was filled with great joy, and congratulate [You] from my heart, although late, but in earnest*; I am also glad of Your Exc.'s good health. For sure, I would wish to know everything only from [Your] own lips, which I barely hope for in the near future. Your Exc.'s prudence and conduct during the recent tempest and [Your] motives are much praised by everyone. May every prosperity also attend Your Exc. in the future—these are sincere wishes of Your Exc.'s

most humble friend and servant" (Latin).

* "Late but in earnest" (*sero sed serio*), motto of the Scottish clan Ker(r) whose members settled in Russia since the early 17th century (as landed army officers named Kar). Gordon must have known the offspring of both branches; while in Scotland in 1669, he met one of the clan chiefs, the Earl of Roxburgh.

qui in musicis aliquarum, sed nec unum verbum Germanicum intelligit; tamen quia ab illis ad hoc vocatus et acceptus fuit, dedimus illi annuale considerabile salarium ad contentationem, donec Deus alium providebit, nam in in{243v}structione et educatione juventutis conservatio et propagatio Catholicae Religionis hic plerumque consistet. Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu.

R.P. Lud. Koblitius hic se optime et splendor gessit, cui ut docuit et debitum fuit dedimus amplum testimonium, et cum satisfactione a nobis dimissus est. Scripsimus etiam ad Augustissi. Majest., reddentes humillimas gratias pro tam ineffabili gratia, et orantes continuationem. Non ausi fuimus amplius emendicare ne molesti fieremus, presertim in tali tempore.

Non potuimus melius providere pro privigno M.D. V-rae de domo ubi maneret, quam ubi est; est quidem caro pretio, sed habet occasiones discendi linguam et mores hujus nationis melius quam alibi potuisset habere; non potuit, et omnino disvasimus ne maneret apud Res. Pol. De C[omite] Gra[ham.] Obsequia mea erunt {244} semper illi parata, neque deero illi consulere et opitulari in quo possum.

Restat, ut ego cum familia mea et tota communitate agamus M.D. V-rae gratias pro cura et laboribus in agendo res nostras et procurando hanc missionem; neque dubitamus quin M.D. V-ra ulterius curabit et promovebit continuationem gratiae Augustiss. Caesareae M. erga nos; quod swadebit laus et gloria Dei, honor et propagatio Ecclesiae Cathol. et utilitas animarum Catholicarum, quae omnia ex clementia et benignitate Aug. Caes. M. hic stabiliuntur & conservantur.

Plura scriberem, sed sufficientia latoris prohibet, quia plene scit et potest enarrare mentes et circumstantias nostras.

Denique ego cum familia mea, praesertim Petrus vester commendamus nos favori et benevolentiae M.D. V-rae, et ego peropto habere occasionem *videndi et* fruendi amicissima conversatione M.D. V-rae, ut possim habere occasionem demonstrandi quantopere sim, chariss. Comp-r,

M.D. V-rae

hu[m]illimus *& obsequientissimus* servus

{244v} P.S. De Comite de Graham nescio quid scribam; ego quidem scripsi ad illum aliquoties ut mittat pecunias pro adducenda uxore *con-

juge*, ille autem nihil satisfactorie rescribit. Ego sicut et M.D. V-ra novit, circumstantias et conditionem illius hic, ego autem ignorans statum uxoris ejus ibi, nihil possim *swadere vel* consulere, multo minus swadere quid faciat.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁹ "Sal[utation] titl[e]

Dearest Godfather,

Your Lordship's letter dated Vienna 1st September of the current year, through Your stepson*, was most agreeable to me. The arrival of Reverend Missionary Fathers has filled us all with great joy. An error by the Governor of Smolensk detained them there for two weeks, and here because of ceremonial reception [they had to wait] for several days. They have already settled here. Besides, they are eminent, pious and learned men, and I believe they shall conform themselves to the way of life in these parts, but it is most regrettable that they are not expert in the German language, for they preach with great difficulty. We also expected a teacher to instruct our youth and children, but they have brought only a young Hungarian who knows something about music, but not a word of German. However, since he had been invited and accepted by them for that purpose, we gave him a considerable annual salary to his contentment, until God provides another one, for it is in the instruction and education of youth that the preservation and propagation of Catholic Faith here mostly consists. A jar will long retain the odour of what it was dipped in when new.**

Reverend Father Ludovic Koblitius bore himself here very well and splendidly. Since he was teaching, and it was fitting thus, we gave him an ample testimonial, and dismissed him with satisfaction. We have also written to [His] Most August Majesty, rendering our most humble gratitude for such ineffable grace, and praying for its continuation; we did not dare ask for more so as not to be troublesome, especially at such a time.

We could not provide a better house for Y.L.'s stepson to stay, than the one he lives in; though the price is dear, he has better opportunities to study the language and customs of this nation than he could have had elsewhere. He could not, and we have totally dissuaded him from staying with the Polish Resident.*** I shall always be ready to oblige him, and shall not fail to advise and assist him wherever I can.

It remains for me with my family and the whole community to render gratitude to Y.L. for Your care and labours in resolving our matters and procuring that mission. We do not doubt but Y.L. shall take further care and promote the favour of [His] Most August Imperial Majesty toward us, whereto the praise and glory of God shall persuade, as well as the honour and propagation of the Catholic Church and the benefit of Catholic souls, all of which are established and preserved here by the clemency and benignity of [His] Most Aug. Imp. M.

I would have written more, but the sufficiency of the bearer [of this] prohibits it, for he well knows and is able to relate our thoughts and circumstances.

Lastly, I with my family, especially Your little Peter, commend ourselves to Y.L.'s favour and benevolence, and I much desire to have a chance to enjoy Y.L.'s friendly conversation, that I might have an occasion to demonstrate how much I

Ja-ry 1, Sun. God give us all a good new yeare.

In the morning by his M. and told him that I had tryed the mortar pieces to be shutt of-hand, that they were fitt for use.

The Dutch musicians came with their trumpets, to whom I gave 2 rubles.

2. Rec-d l-rs from Mr. Frazer.

3, [Tuesd.] I confessed and communicated.

Letters from London of the 9th *Dec-ris* informed that the Parliament had agreed to raise for the maintenance of their Navall Power for the year 1693 1,927,803 libs. sterling, & for their land-forces, which is to consist of about 70,000 men, 2,127,807 libs. sterl. They desired the removall of all strangers for the greatest charges {263v} in the army, and to place natives in their places. The merchants likewise gave in an adress or remonstrance, that through negligence of the Lords of the Admirallity in not secureing and giveing convoyes for their merchant-men they had lost in this warr 1,500 ships.

Given to the *storoses* of the *Inoshemsky prikase*⁶²⁰ 4 *altines*.

{264} Ja-ry 4, Wed. In towne, by his M. Held the anniversary of my son in law Coll. Strasburgh, had the P.P. and others at dinner.

am, dearest godfather,

Your Lordship's

most humble [& most obliging] servant

P.S. Of Count de Graham I know not what to write. I wrote to him several times that he send money to be transmitted to his wife, but he does not return any satisfactory answer. I, just like Y.L., know his circumstances and condition here, but being ignorant of his wife's state over there, I cannot advise anything, much less persuade what to do" (Latin).

* J.I. Kurtz's stepson Otto Pleyer.

** Horace, *Epistles*, I, 2, 69.

*** Written on margin: "Of C[ount] Gra[ham]" (see end of letter).

Blank pages follow in MS (fols. 245–262 v.).

⁶²⁰ *Storozh* (Russian), watchman. *Inozemsky prikaz*, Foreigners' Office.

A memorandum to Mr. W-m Lhoyd

*When you come to Riga, pray cause deliver the letter & small token to Mr. Frazer.

In Mittaw cause deliver the letter and small token to P. Sturme, a Jesuite there.*⁶²¹

In Konigsbergh pray cause enquire for Mr. W-m Gray, and deliver him my letter and token; and if you see him your self, pray thanke him for all his kindnesses, especially for his last to my litle son Theodorus. You may here at the best advantage change the ducats, & if any thing be due to him for postage of letters, pay him, but if he hath placed it to Mr. Frazer his acco-t in Riga, then must I be charged from thence.

{264v} When you come to Brawnsberg, pray call into the house to which Mr. Gray in Konigsbergh shall address you, or into the ordinary innes, and send to the Pater Schmidt, and cause tell him that you are come from Mosco and have commission from me to pay what is due for the maintenance of my son there. If you be desired to go into the Colledge by the Pater Rector, in going you will do them and me a courtesy, and I assure you that you need not fear any infection there.⁶²² I have written to the P. Rector, P. Schmidt, & to my son, the letters pray deliver with the small tokens according to the superscriptions.

The Pater Rector informed me that I am to pay for my sons dyet & chamber, fire and other conveniencies 150 florens a yeare good money (as they call it), to an inspector 5, 6 or 7 dollers, for washing 4 fl. It wants only what for the next year his clothing may cost (for he went so provided from hence, that this yeares provision that way may cost him litle), and ten ducats remained over the expences of his jorney.

I would not have you to be too particular, for they will tell you all of their owne accord, {265} but if you have the occasion to speake with my son apart, if he complaine of any thing, pray tell him that it is my absolute will that he continue there untill he have attained to such a degree of learning as I shall find convenient for removeing him from thence.

If any thing be due or required for postage of letters, pray pay it.

⁶²¹ Marked fragment crossed out in MS.

⁶²² Lloyd must have been a confirmed Protestant, and Gordon saw fit to reassure him in case of a visit to the Jesuit College.

When you come to Dantzick, pray cause deliver my letter to Mr. Forbes, and enquire for a booke called *Pyrobolia* by N. Furtenbach⁶²³, and a booke of the newest or latest edition of *Pyrotechnia* or fireworks⁶²⁴; these are in folio. These bookes pray deliver to Mr. Forbes to be sent to Riga to Mr. Frazer.

When you come to Hamburgh, pray remember me to all our friends & countrey men, whom you shall have occasion to see.

In Holland pray gett my letter to Mr. Gordon in Roterdam delivered, and if you have occasion to be in Roterdam & see him, {265v} pray learne of him how he directed my packet given him last yeare by Mr. Pendeck; and if he hath had any notice of the delivery thereof in Scotland, for I have no notice of the reseat thereof, and it was of great concernment to my effaires there.

In England pray cause deliver my letters to Mr. Meverell & remember me kindly to him & all ffriends there.

{266} Ja-ry 5. In the Butirky, mustered and ordered the regiment.

6. Being the Epiphany, I marched by the palace in view of his I[mperial] M[ajesty], and went afterwards by his M.

7. I was by his M., who ordered me to make a *pyrotechnia* or fire-worke for pleasure.

8. At devotion.

{266v} Ja-ry 9, Moon. By his M. Dyned by Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyow.

10. By his M. All the afternoon guests by me.

Writt to Coll. Roonaer.

11. At home the whole day.

⁶²³ German treatise on artillery and fireworks: Joseph Furtenbach, *Halinitro-Pyrobolia. Beschreibung einer neuen Büchsenmeisterey, nemlichen: Gründlicher Bericht wie der Salpeter, Schwefel, Kohlen und das Pulver zu praepariren, zu probieren, auch langwrig gut zu behalten; Das Feuerwerck zur Kurtzweil und ernst zu laboriren; Dann wie der Pöler, das grobe Geschütz, und der Petardo zu goberniren...* (Ulm, 1627).

⁶²⁴ Apparently: John Babington, *Pyrotechnia or a Discourse of artificiall Fire-works for Pleasure, in which the true Grounds of that Art are plainly and perspicuously laid downe, together with sundry such Motions, both straight and circular, performed by ye helpe of Fire, as are not to be found in any other Discourse of this kind, extant in any language, whereunto is annexed a sbort Treatise of Geometry, contayning certaine Definitions and Problemes for the Mensuration of Superficies and Sollids...* (London, printed by Thomas Harper for Ralph Mab, 1635). Dutch translation: Rotterdam, 1672.

12. In towne, by his M.

{267} Ja-ry 12

To the Laird of Rothemay

Sir,

My last to you was the 26 of 7ber past. I doubt not but that it is come to your hands, so hoping that you will have complied with my just desires, I shall not insist on any thing I did writt then, but only informe you that upon my letter to Revall concerning the buriall of yo-r brother W-m in the ruined monastery of St. Brigitt, seeing they would not bury him in their ordinary buryall place, they advised, and at last consented to let him be buried in the cloyster kirk where the p[rincip]p[a]ll cavaliers are buried. Which was done with all decency, and I am charged from thence with 5 or 6 Reich dollers more upon the acco-t of expences, which I doubt not but you will repay with the rest, which is in all to me 484 libs Scotts 6 sh. 4 pence Scottish; that due to your unkle and assigned to me for his use being 750 libs Scottish; which being delivered to yo-r brother in law Nethermuir, his acquittance shall be sufficient. Upon notice whereof the bonds & assignation shall be sent to London. The care to forward them to Scotland must be {267v} taken by you, because since the death of my cousin Mr. Tho. Gordon in Edinburgh I am destitute of a correspondent there.

To Nethermuir

Loveing Cousin,

My last was the 26th 7bris, wherein I advised you that I had written to you 12th Dec-ris '91 in answer to your joint letter with our unkle of the 3d of July; as also the 11th Ja-ry together with the desired disposition of my lands to my son. With my last was a letter to your brother in law the Laird of Rothemay, & so the contents of that etc.

To my son John

Loveing son,

My last was the 26 7bris, which with a former of the 11th Ja-ry I doubt

not but you have long ago received, & so the contents of the former etc.

{268} Ja-ry 12

To my unkle

Much honoured unkle,

I have not written of a long-tyme to you in expectation of an ans-r to myne of the 11 Ja-ry last year. I sent then the desired disposition of my lands to my son, & so the contents of the former etc.

To Mr. Meverell

Worthy ffriend,

My last was the 26 *7bris an[no] praet[erito]*⁶²⁵, giveing notice of the reseat of yours of the 9th July and the arrivall of the things bought for me to Archangell. Since I have yours of the 30 *7bris* with a copy of yours of the 27th *ejusd[e]m*⁶²⁶ informing me that you have provided the desired things & sent by the way of Narva. The things sent to Archangell I have received in good condition, and are to content, but wee hear nothing as yet of the arrivall of Michal Wiseman at Narva, so that wee begin to fear & apprehend some danger and misfortune.

For all your care & paines I give you hearty thanks. Pray gett the enclosed safely forwarded to my son, and oblige some Scots man there who corresponds with any in Aberdeen to procure me a retorne to it etc.

{268v} Ja-ry 12

To Mr. Ja. Gordon in Rotterdam

Sir,

My last was the 11th of Ja-r by a ffriend, Mr. Ja. Pendeck. He being returned, tells me that he delivered my packet for Scotland to your hands, which I doubt not but you forwarded the safest way. I have no retorne to

⁶²⁵ Of the previous year (Latin).

⁶²⁶ Of the same [month] (Latin).

it, so that I desire you to give me notice how it was addressed, and if you have any notice of the delivery of it. As also my son writes to me, that for the packet sent p[e]r ffriend 2 yeares ago he was forced to pay a great deale of postage; pray learne where the abuse is etc.

To Mr. Patrick Forbes in Dantzick

Sir,

For your kind letter of the 6th *Dec-ris* I give you hearty thanks. I am sorry from my heart and condoles the loss of your son. *Then to Tho. Gordon of Lvova & Ro-t Gordon of Chmielnick*⁶²⁷ as in former etc.

{269} Ja-ry 12. To my son Theodorus.

To the Pater Rector in Brunsberg in ans-r to his of the 29 *Octobris*, sent a squirrel furr cost 4 rubles.

To Pater Schmidt in ans-r to his of the 26 *Oct-ris* & another later, sent to him 4 Pers[jan] handkerchiefs.

To Pater Sturme in ans-r to his of the [...] *Oct-ris*, with a squirrell furr.

To Mr. Frazer with a furr of Siberia squirrells as the other.

To Mr. W-m Gray in Konigsberg with a small token of cavear & complements.

To Mr. Tho. Gordon of Lvova, expostulateing with him for not remitting the money for the sables, and desireing him to remitt it to Dantzick to Mr. Forbes, who will content Ro-t Gordon, so that he need not to delay the sending of it upon the acco-t of reckoning with him.

{269v} Ja-ry 13. At home.

14. Signed the bookes for December, being 41 serjeants—monthly pay 1 r. 21 *al.* 3 *d.*; 37 fur. & for. at a rub. 18 *alt.* 2 *de.*; 56 corporals & 47 pipers at 1 r. 16 *al.* 4 *d.*; 4 *verstany* sojourns at 1 rub. 11 *alt.* 1 *d.*; not *verstany* 747 at 1 rub. 6 *alt.*; 5 carceered who have male children yong at 4 *dengees* a day; 65 widdowes who have yong male children at 3 *dengees* a day; 46 orphans at 2 *dengees* a day.

And the list for Jan-ry, being 41 serjeants, 37 foriers & furiers, 56 corporals, 47 pipers, 5 *verstany* sojors, 753 not *verstany* sojors, in all 939; 5

⁶²⁷ Crossed out in MS.

carcered sojourns, 65 widdowes, 46 orphans, in all 1,055 persons.

{270} Ja-ry 14, Sat. In towne, by his M., and at night by Mr. Baldus.

15. At devotion, dined by the English merchants.

Received 400 rubles of my pay.

16. In towne, & afternoone also.

Mr. Lhoyd went from hence, by whom I sent my letters of the 12th & 13th, & gave him 40 ducates for paying the charges for a year for my son Theodor in Brunsberg.

17. At a feast by Le F[ort], where all the Russe colonels & Lt.colonells.

Payed to Coll. Smallenberg 100 rubles; to the malt-man 13 rub.⁶²⁸ 21 *al.* 4 *d.* for 21 tunne malt, at 21 *alt.* 4 *d.* the tunne; to the fisher 9 rubl.; to *pod[riadchiks?]* 15 rub.

{270v} Ja-ry 18, Wed. The English & others dynd by me and were merry.

Payed for 80 pund of hopes 2 rubl., at 5 *d.* the pund.

19. At home indisposed.

Payed to Mr. Dick for ear rings 45 rub.

Payed to Mr. Howtman 20 rubles.

20. In towne, by his M., & afternoone by L[ev] Kirilovitz [Naryshkin].

21. Made up my last acco-t with my bro-r in law Gregory Roonaer, & payed the last at his desire to Ivan Kartashuf the woodmonger, being 8 rubles 28 *alt.* 2 *dengees*.

Given to my son in law upon reckoning 34 rubles.

{271} Ja-ry 21, Sat.

To Andrew Artemonovitz [Matveyev]

Perillustris et Magnifice Domine,

Lator hujus gener meus Carolus Snivins, legionarius vigiliarum magister, ex mandato Serenissim. Tzar. Ma. et intercessionem benefactoris mei, D-ni Leonis Cirilliadis, ad Provinciam sub imperio Vestro missus, has offerre debito obsequio et veneratione mandatus est. Confidens autem in generositate Vestra et in me pristina benevolentia, humiliter illum tutelae

⁶²⁸ 7 *gr[ivnas]* crossed out.

et protectioni V-rae recommendo, et non dubito quin quod in illo deerit prudentia et clementia *Perillustri* D. V-rae innata cooperturus sit. Plura scriberem ni timerem curas et labores V-ras pro bono et emolumento Imperii interpellare. Itaque gratiae et benevolentiae in hunc pauperculum juvenem securus, permaneo

Perillustri D. V-rae
humillimus et obsequientis. servus⁶²⁹
PG

{271v} Ja-ry 22, Sunday. After devotion my son in law with my daughter went from hence, whom I convoyed to Rostokin, and from thence did writt to Vasily Alexeyovits Sukofnin.

23. Writt to Coll. Evanitsky & Capt. Herring.

By this post wee had the deserting of the sieges of Rhodefelt & Huy by the Frenches; that the English Parliament had consented to give 2,090,363 p. £ 19 sh. & 6 pence for the army, 210,793 p. £ for the extraordinary burthens of the ordinances, 1,245,712 p. for the dragounes & horse, 200,000 p. for the transport ships, 200,000 p. for the hospital ships & other necessaries, 21,793 for extraordinary burthens & 2,700 p. for the Danish generalls.

{272} Ja-ry 24, Tues. By the last post wee had the conditions upon which the Duke of Brawnswick Hannover was admitted to be an elector⁶³⁰:

1. That the Duke of Hannover & his successors shall give their votes

⁶²⁹ “Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord,

The bearer of this, my son-in-law Carl Snivins, army major, by order of [Their] Most Serene Tsarian Majesties and intercession of my benefactor, Mr. Lev Kirillovich [Naryshkin], having been sent to the Province under Your governance, has an order to present this with due obedience and respect. Being confident of Your generosity and pristine benevolence to me, I humbly recommend him to Your care and protection, and I doubt not that whatever is wanting in him shall be completed by Your innate prudence and mercy. I would have written more if I had not been afraid to interrupt Your concerns and labours for the well-being and benefit of the Empire. And thus, secure in [Your] grace and benevolence to this poor young man, I remain

Your Most Illustrious Lordship’s

most humble and obliging servant” (Latin).

⁶³⁰ Ernst August (1629–1698), from 1679 Duke of Braunschweig-Calenberg, from 1692 first Elector of Hannover. At the behest of Emperor Leopold I on 17 October 1692 in Regensburg Hannover was elevated to the status of an Electorate.

to no other but to the house of Austria.

2. To help that Bohemia shall have session & a vote in the Electorall Assembly.

3. When the King of Spaine⁶³¹ dyeth, to maintaine upon his owne charges 6,000 men in the Low Countreyes.

4. To keep on his owne charges 6,000 men two campagnies in Hungary.

5. If in such tyme no peace be made, then to hold 2,000 men in Hungary at the disposition of the Roman Emperour.

6. To grant free exercize of the Catholick Religion in his countreyes, yet by secular not regular priests.

7. The Roman Emperour giveth to the Duke 500,000 r.thallers the halfe whereof he hath received, and is in short tyme to receive the rest.

{272v} Ja-ry 24. Writt to Coll. Roonaer in Koslow.

25. At home, his Ma[jesty], inv[ited] to a wed[ding].

26. At the wedding of Gustavus Gole.

27. At the wedding againe.

{273} Ja-ry 28. At home.

29. At devotion.

Received letters from my son John, dated Achluichries the 18th *No-ris* 1693⁶³²; from my unkle, dated Westertowne 19 *No-ris* '92; from the Laird of Creichie, dated Creichie 18 *No-ris* '92; from W-m Gordon merch-t in Aberdeen—all in a *covert* of Mr. Meverells, dated London 23 *Dec-ris* '92, for which payed postage 3 r. 20 *alt*.

Received l-rs from my son Theodorus and Pater Schmidt, dated Brunsberg 20 *Dec-ris* '92, addressed by a *covert* of Mr. Frazers, dated Riga 19th Jan-ry '93.

By my Scots letters I had notice that my son John was married to Elizabeth, eldest daughter to W-m Grant, Laird of Creichie on the 20th of September last.

{273v} Ja-ry 30. In towne & by his M. Afternoone made visits.

31. At home.

⁶³¹ Carlos II (1661–1700), King of Spain from 1665. His death without issue led to the War of the Spanish Succession.

⁶³² Should be 1692.

{274} Feb-ry 1. In towne, his M. at Preobrasinsko & here.

2. In towne; at the wedding of Thomas Kredigh, ensigne.

Subscribed a writeing of a sojour runaway.

3. [To John Gordon]

Loveing son,

My last to you was the 12th of January by a ffriend to London, which with another, dated 26 7bris last year, hath or will come to your hand in due tyme.

I have by the last ordinary received yo[u]rs of the 18th *No-ris*, whereby I understand that you were maryed with {274v} the Laird of Creichie his eldest daughter, to which I wish you much joy & felicity, and prayes God to bless you both. Fear God, and be laborious & industrious, and God will give you his benediction. I am not only satisfyed but am glad that you have marryed there, for many reasons.

You regrait that the burthen is great which you are to pay out of that estate, being 300 merks to me, 200 of teind duty and a hundred of cess, with 12 pund Scots of fue⁶³³ duty, all which I conceive can be payed out of the meikill and litle maines and the milne & the vicarage with other casualities; so that you have both the pleughs of Easter Achluichries, and the mains whereon you live with the crofts free. You may have heard how my father had no more free but that syde of Westertowne which you possess, and kept thereon a very good house & rank.

You know I have straitened my self & family here in provideing the litle thing that is there, and I have three sons besydes yourself and may have more as yet, as also two daughters, who will each expect to have something, and I am still {275} in the circumstances of a troublesome expensive Court lyfe. No body can blame you to live according to the estate you have, albeit you were the greatest mans son in Scotland.

However, take care & be industrious, and I shall provide that the 300 merks, which you are to pay yearly to me, be at last no burthen to you; and looke upon it as if you spared so much and laid it up, for perhaps it may be all your owne at last. Do but writt to me often, especially at large by the shipping either to London in May & June and by the Dantzick ships. You know I am

⁶³³ Usually "feu".

desirous to know what you are doing there. Informe me what sort of a house you have built, of what extent your garden, and how plenished & thriving; how our ffriends and relations are, how they have disposed of themselves, all which particulars I desire to know, which will give me great satisfaction & content. Let these present my love to your bedfellow * & tell her that upon her bringing you a son I shall provide a God bairne gift for him.*⁶³⁴

My former above-mentioned will have informed you {275v} of the death of Capt. W-m Gordon at Revall, and what I must have from his brother there⁶³⁵. My wyfe with your brothers & sisters desires to be remembred to you & your bedfellow and wish you both much happines & prosperity. I remaine

Yo-r loveing father
PG

Show my unkle this letter, and respect him as me, and follow his advice in all things, for I respect him as my father, & his counsells as oracles, and I assure you that his recommendation of you & his advice hath contributed much to what I intend. Respect yo-r father in law also as me.

Feb-ry 3.

[To James Gordon]

Much honoured and dear unkle,

My last was the 12th *passat*. by a friend to London, so that this, being sent by post, may come to your hands befor that; since which by our last ordinary I have yours of the 19th *No-ris*, which rejoyced me very much. I am glad my son is marryed to that gentlewoman, and I doubt not but what you writt both of him & her is true.

You advise me to disengage him of the burthen I have tyed him to. Dear unkle, I am and shall be still very willing to follow your advice; neither, {276} as I did writt to you befor is it my intention to convert any thing of that to my owne use, but would have so much spared, that it might be the more welcome hereafter, and teach him to be saveing, and

⁶³⁴ Fragment crossed out.

⁶³⁵ In Scotland.

not to neglect, but to persever in his duty to me. In myne to him I have given him hopes, but with a (perhaps) [...] ⁶³⁶ I should be sorry if my restrictions should have prejudiced his getting a greater portion, but a wise and vertuous woman is a great treasure. So I desire you to speake to Nethermuir not to exact the 300 merks of him untill my further order, and even in this I rely upon your advice, whither you may let my son there know so much as I writt to you, or not.

I have nothing to add but that my wyfe and family are still in the same condition as at my last writeing, my yongest daughter gone with her husband to a petty government, where in a couple of yeares (w-ch is the tyme allowed him to stay) he may prosper 3 or 400 libs sterling. My eldest, having a son & 2 daughters, is still a widdow, their Ma-ties alowing her yearly dureing {276v} her widdowhood about 300 Reichs dollers, w-ch is more as ordinary in this place. All who are myne here present their humble duty to you and your bedfellow, as I, who shall remaine whilst I breath

Your most dutyfull nephew
PG

Feb-ry 3.

[To William Grant of Creichie]

Sir,

I find my self honoured with yours of the 18 *No-ris* '92. I am heartily glad of our so near allyance, and shall be most willing and ready to contribute all in my power for the welfare of our children.

I laid some burthen upon that small estate there for diverse reasons, the ppill whereof is to move my son to menage, save, & be a good husband. It neither was nor is my intention to convert any thing of that 300 merks I reserved for me & wyfe to the use of any here, only that it may be the welcomer to them hereafter. You know children are apt {277} to forgett or neglect their parents when they have nothing to expect of them more. I have given my son some hopes of remitting it, and has desired my unkle to tell Nethermuir that he do not exact it of him till my further order.

⁶³⁶ There is no gap in MS, but the phrase is incomplete.

I doubt nothing but you will use him as your child, & I hope he shall prove dutifull to you *as I have commanded him.*⁶³⁷ And truly, to know that he hath such a guardian is great satisfaction to me. The business with Watertowne, I hope, you will bring to a good effect. I wonder much he is so litigious in such an unjust cause. I beleevd the Earle of Aberdeen would have moved him to reason, haveing promised me so much at parting.

Myne of the 26 7bris '92 & 12 Ja-ry *an. cur.* to your brother in law Rothemay will have informed of the deceass and circumstances of his bro-r W-m. He remaines due to me 484 libs Scotts 6 sh. 4 pennies, for which I have his bond, except only for some small thing bestowed on his buryall, wherewith I have been charged since. 750 libs Scottish is due to Maior Generall Menezes, which he has assigned to me and I to Nethermuir for buying out his bore-brieffe, which is he sayes ready by his brothers relict the Lady Pitfoddels. I hope Rothemay will {277v} comply with our just desires, it being all lent money in his great necessity.

This travelling all the way by post, I shall not enlarge, but recommend our children and their effaires to your protection & direction; hoping when your more serious businesses will permitt your leasure, to heare from you at large; & if it be not troublesome, give me a more particular account of my concernments.

Lastly, seeing our children are tyed with the neerest bond on earth, so let us assume the next which wee can, and call ane another brother; *so let these present*⁶³⁸ haveing nothing els at this tyme but the tender of due respects to your lady & family from him who is sincerely

Yo-r most affectionate
brother & ser-t

{278} Feb-ry 3.

Mr. Samuel Meverell

Worthy ffriend,

My last was the 12th *passat.* with an enclosed to my son in Scotland,

⁶³⁷ Crossed out.

⁶³⁸ Crossed out.

by Mr. Lhoyd. Since by o[u]r last ordinary I have yo[u]rs of the 23d *Dec-
ris* with the inclosed from my son, which was very welcome, haveing
had nothing from him in 15 months; this giving me notice of his being
maryed to a gentlewoman, by which he hath gott great ffriends & a good
portion; and the best of all, a wife vertuous woman, as my unkle informes
me. The enclosed to your son I delivered, who is here & well. The *Angell
Michael* winters at Copenhagen, as wee are informed. I told your son of
the streights ship [*sic*].

I entreat you to cause provide a dozen of strong silver spoons of the
newest fashion and a salt-fatt, weighing in all 3 pund or thereabout; cause
grave my armes upon them, being 3 boares heads erased with a very small
crescent in the midle (being a difference), & above a pearle crowne; which
by a sure occasion gett sent to my son John.

My family all well, as at my last writeing, and with me being glad to
heare of the welfare of you & yours, desire to be remembred to you all.
I remaine

Yo-r most affectionate brother & ser-t
PG

P.S. I pay no postage from Riga to this place, so please to address your
letters in a *coverto* to Mr. Geo. Frazer merch-t ther.

{278v} Feb-ry 3, Frid.

To Mr. Samuell Meverell

Pray cause provide gainst yo-r shipping go, 2 suits of cloaths, one for a
girle of 10 or 12 yeares of age, the other of a less syze, of any new fash-
ioned stuffe with trimming conforme; as also two paire of bodies apart
for the same. They are for my daughters children.

To Mr. Georg Frazer, acknowledging the reseat of his of the 19th
past, & giving him notice of my son John his marriage, and recom-
mending the above-written, being enclosed, to be forwarded by the first
post.

{279} Feb-ry 4. Writt to my son in law and daughter Mary at Archangell.

5. At devotion.

Received letters from Pater Schmitt, dated Brunsberg 26 Jan., & from my son Theodorus.

6. In towne. Received a letter from my son in law, dated Vologda 31 Ja-ry.

7. Writt to my son in law.

{279v} Feb-ry 8, Wed. Received a letter from Ro-t Gordon, dated Breslaw⁶³⁹ 3 *No-ris* '92.

9. In towne.

Coll. Roonaer his lady came & brought his dead corps along.

10. At a wedding feast by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. Romadanofsky.

Lent to Coll. Roonaer his lady 30 rubles, & 2 befor to her daughter.

11. At home.

{280} Feb-ry 12. Received letters from Ro-t Gordon, dated Varso 18 *10ris* '92; from Mr. Forbes, dated Dantzick 12 Ja-ry, & from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 2 Feb-ry.

At the wedding of Eleazar Hudson.

13. At the wedding againe.

Lent to Coll. Ronaer his lady 10 rubles.

14. In towne, dyned by Mr. Guasconi. In the evening at the infer feast of Fiodor Abramovitz Lupochin.

Received a letter from the Hetman, dated Baturin 27 Jan-ry.

{280v} Feb-ry 15, Wed.

16. At the buryall of Coll. Bartholomeus Roonaer.

17 [Frid.] To Ro-t Gordon of Chmielnick

Loveing Cousin,

Yo[u]rs of the 3 *9bris* from Breslaw & 18 *10bris an. pret.* from Varso I have received, and am rejoiced to hear of your good health. I am exceeding sorry that you have lyen so long out of yo-r money. If I had knowne that sables had not been as good as ready money there, or that there the market

⁶³⁹ Polish Wroclaw.

is so bad for them, I would have been loth to have left you to such an uncertainty. However, I beg your excuse, and shalbe glad to hear that you have recovered {281} the last from Tho. Gordon, to whom I have written lately. And because I was informed that he delayed the payment of that money upon the acco-t of reckoning with you, I desired him to remitt it all to Mr. Forbes & that he would content you. But seeing he has desired you to draw a bill on him for the 180 f[llorens], which is resting, I hope you have done it, and that he will remitt what is over to Mr. Forbes. My son sayes he had nothing from him but a horse, w-ch cost him, he said, 15 dollers, & an old saddle. The sables were of the same timmer that thes sent to you were, as John Gordon knowes, who did me no good office in adviseing me to send such wares thither. I am sorry that he⁶⁴⁰ is so unconstant. If he had been here at this tyme, wee had gott him into some charge with the small pay. As it is, I am glad you have a so well qualified yong man by you.

Our countrey men here are all almost dead. I have gott Hary Gordon to be maior, and he is gone to Belagrod & is in the regiment of {281v} Lt.G-ll Graham. He behaves himself well enough.

In yours from Breslaw you give an hint that you would gladly spend a quarter of a year to see this countrey. I should be exceeding glad to see you, but to come directly from that countrey⁶⁴¹ hither is dangerous because of the jealousies dayly encreasing⁶⁴² betwixt these nations. Who would come hither without suspicion, must come as from Germany in Dutch habit, & have a travelling passe from some prince, generall person or governour for an officer or gentleman, and pretend to come to visitt a ffriend.

My family here is in the same condition as at my last writeing, only my yongest daughter Mary married againe to a yong-man called Charles Snivins, who is major to one of my regiments, and is lately gone to a place where in 2 yeares (which is the tyme allowed him to stay there) he can prosper a 1,000 dollers or more. {282} My eldest daughter still a widdow and hath 300 dollers yearly allowed her. My son James (who shalbe shortly colonel) still unmarried, neither intends to marry here, there being no fortune to be had with any woman here; and he being in expectation of something in Scotland, would faine have something to

⁶⁴⁰ *John Gor[don]* crossed out.

⁶⁴¹ Poland.

⁶⁴² *growing worse* crossed out.

augment it and make up a livelyhood there. I beleeeve you might do him such a good office when you come to Dantzick, from whence I expect to heare from you. My eldest son John is marryed to the Laird of Creichy Grant his daughter, and I have given him a disposition of the heretable right of my lands there. You will do me a great kindnes to see my son in Brunsberg. I am still in the circumstances of a troublesome expensive court lyfe.

This being all, but due respects from all whom I call myne to your self & our true ffriends there. I remaine

Yo-r most affectionate
cousin at command
PG

{282v} Feb-ry 17.

To Mr. Pat. Forbes

Sir,

My last to you was the 12th Ja-ry with an enclosed to Tho. Gordon of Lvova. Since I have yours of the same date with an enclosed from Ro-t Gordon of Chmielnick. He writes to me that Tho. G. desires him to draw by bill on him for 180 fl., which is resting to him, whereof I am glad. I hope he will at length remitt the rest to you. My son sayes he had but a horse, w-ch cost him 15 dollers, & an old saddle from him, so that if the sables be sold but at the price which the other 6 paire were sold (they being of on[e] timmer), there will remaine about 300 fl.⁶⁴³

I am exceeding sorry for the loss of your son. God omnipotent comfort you! When the *Patres* in Brunsberg will permitt, my son there shall give you a visitt. My letters from Scotland of the 18 *No-ris* '92 informe me that my eldest son John was marryed the 20th 7bris bypast to the Laird of Creichy his daughter. He hath gott a good portion and ffriends, and the best of all, a wife {283} and vertuous woman, as my unkle writes. I have dispoined to him the heretable right of my lands there. My next care is for my son James, who shalbe shortly colonell. He has no mind to marry

⁶⁴³ a considerable, to witt 310 f. crossed out.

here, because here is no fortune to be had with any woman, & he having something in Scotland, would faine have something to augment it and make it a livelyhood.

I recomend the enclosed to your care, and desires to be remembred to Mr. Browne, Mr. Wast, Mr. Adie & all our kind ffriends there, not forgetting your owne fyre-syde, I being

Yo-r most affectionat
ffriend & ser-t

{283v} Feb-ry 17.

[To Hetman Mazepa]

Illustrissime et Excell. Domine,

Pro literis Excellentiae V-rae humillimas ago gratias. Gratulor ex corde felicem expeditionem et saluum reditum. *Deus Opt. Max. conservet ipsum Exc. V-ra, et faveat rebus Vestris*⁶⁴⁴ Notae sunt hic labores et fatigationes V-rae, et cum quot difficultatibus ibi certat. Deus Opt. Max. conservet Exc. V-ram, et faveat rebus Vestris. Gratias iterum atque iterum ago quod me oblivioni non dederit, et ex munificentia sua dignatus est mihi mittere kuffam cremati. Sed ne interpellam maiores curas et negotia V-rae, me favori et gratiae Excell. V-rae recommendans, permaneo

Exc. V-rae

humillimus servus⁶⁴⁵

To the Cosakish Hetman.

PG

⁶⁴⁴ Marked words crossed out.

⁶⁴⁵ "Most Illustrious and Excellent Lord,

For Your Excellency's letter I render my most humble gratitude. I congratulate [You] from my heart with [Your] happy campaign and safe return. Your labours and efforts, and the difficulties wherewith You struggle there, are well known here. May God Most Good Most Great preserve Your Exc. and favour Your affairs. I thank You again and again for not consigning me to oblivion, and that in Your munificence You were pleased to send me a cask of brandy. But not to interrupt Your major concerns and pursuits, I commend myself to Your Exc.'s favour and grace, and remain

Your Excellency's

most humble servant" (Latin).

{284} Feb-ry 17.

To Mr. Geo. Frazer

Sir,

Yours of the 26 Ja-ry & 2 Feb-ry with the encloseds received in due tyme, & disposed. I am glad such an unworthy present found such a kind acceptance with you. I wish I might know what might be further acceptable.

I entreat you to cause enquire there or in some other place for any history or booke treating of Hungary, especially of their families, geanologies [*sic*] & armes, here being a p[rinci]p[a]ll family come a long tyme ago from thence.⁶⁴⁶ If nothing of that nature can be had, pray gett notice and informe what armes the family of the Rakotsyes⁶⁴⁷ weare.

So, recomending the encloseds to your care, I remaine

Yo-r affectionate ffriend

& ser-t

PG

{284v} Feb-ry 17.

[To Pater Johann Schmidt]

Reverende in Christo Pater,

Literas Re. V-rae datas 20 Dec-ris et 26 Jan-rii Brunsbergae gratissimo accepi animo, gaudens valde de sanitate V-ra. Non dubito quin Dominus Wilhelmus Lhoyd satisfecit ibi R.P. Rectori et aliis. Rogo ut excusatum me habeant quod non citius misi, nam debui expectare hanc occasionem

⁶⁴⁶ The Buturlins (see next letter). Later another legend prevailed, that they trace their pedigree from one Radsha, who had allegedly moved from Germany to Novgorod in the late 12th century.

⁶⁴⁷ Rákóczi, the noble Hungarian family which produced several Princes of Transylvania. On 31 March 1657, at a muster of allied forces in Poland, Prince Gyorgy II Rákóczi “with great earnestnes” inspected the Scots Company of Swedish Field Marshal Count Douglas, whose ranks included young Patrick Gordon; the latter took pains to calculate the strength of the Prince’s army (*Diary*, I, pp. 204, 206–7).

certam. Non dubito quin R. V-ra adhibebit curam in educando filiolo Theodorulo, pro quo Deus Opt. M. retribuet mercedem. Expecto nunc brevi notitiam a Domino Lhoyd et a R. V-ra etiam. Quod plenaria satisfactio pro uno anno facta sit, in posterum curabo citius si possibile sit transmittere.

Rogo ut det mihi notitiam quae sint arma gentilitia familiae Ragotziarum in Transilvania⁶⁴⁸, si possit ibi invenire, parcat mihi in hoc, nam Domini Buterlini (magna familia hic) dicunt se venisse ex Hungaria et credunt a Ragotziis.

{285} Rogo etiam ut debita officia mea deferat R.P. Rectori, R.P. Superiori Regiomontano et D. Hanman et gratias ex mea parte agat pro humanitate et beneficiis, quorum data occasione memorero. Tota communitas hic venerabundi salutant R. V-ram, sicut et ego cum familia. Precibus R. V-rae nos recommendantes, permaneo

R. V-rae
Addictissimus amicus
et servus⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁸ *Hungaria* written above.

⁶⁴⁹ "Reverend Father in Christ,

Your Reverence's letters dated 20 December and 26 January in Braunsberg I have received with a most gratifying feeling, being very glad [to hear] of Your health. I doubt not but Mr. William Lloyd has satisfied Rev. Father Rector and others there. I beg them to forgive me for not sending it sooner, as I had to wait for that sure occasion. I doubt not but Y.R. would take care to educate [my] little son Theodore, wherefore God Most Good Most Great would grant a reward. Now I expect a brief notice from Mr. Lloyd as also from Y.R. Whatever be the full redemption for one year, in the future I shall take care, if possible, to transmit it sooner.

I beg to give me notice what are the ancestral arms of the Rákóczi family in Transylvania (Hungary), if it can be found there; forgive me for this, as the Lords Buturlin (a noble family here) are saying that they have come from Hungary, and are believed to stem from the Rákóczi.

I also beg to offer my due respect to Rev. Father Rector, to R.F. Superior of Königsberg and to Mr. Hanman, and to thank them on my behalf for their kindness and benefactions; I shall remember them when occasion arises. Our whole community here respectfully salutes Y.R., as do I with my family. Commending ourselves to Y.R.'s prayers, I remain

Your Reverence's
most faithful friend and servant" (Latin).

To Pater Schmidt.

Feb-ry 17.

[To Theodore Gordon]

Loveing son,

Wir hebben deine beyde brieffen wohl empfangen, en erfrewen onse deine gesontheit, es is onse seer liebe zu hören das du fleissighe lernest, undt dir im alles loblich haltest. Continuiret in solches loblich vornehmen, undt sey gehorsame aen die Herren Patres. Wir sollen sorgen das dir nichts manquiret.

{285v} Dein eltest broeder Jan is geheurathet in Shotland mitt een vornehme Dame. Dein Mutter, Bruders en Schwesters grussen dir, wie auch Anusha, Olinka undt Fiodor. Onser Heer Gott gebe dir syn segen, begrusse alle die jenighe die dir gutes thun, von mir, wie auch dein klein Comaraten.⁶⁵⁰

I remaine

Yo-r loveing father

PG

Vergesse dein Russe sprache nicht.⁶⁵¹

Feb-ry 17. In towne, breakfast with his Ma-tie, who gave me a great boate.

Received a letter from my son in law, dated Yaroslaw[l] 27 Jan-ry '93.

⁶⁵⁰ "We have received both your letters, and rejoice in your health. We are very glad to hear that you are studying diligently and bear yourself laudably in all things. Continue in such laudable intention, and be obedient to Messrs. Patres. We shall take care that you want for nothing.

Your eldest brother John got married in Scotland to a noble lady. Your mother, brothers and sisters send regards to you, as also Anusha, Olinka and Fiodor.* Our Lord God grant you His blessing. Remember me to all those who are good to you, as also to your little comrades" (Low German).

* Anne Catherine, Elizabeth ("Olinka") and Theodore (born 1688), Patrick Gordon's grandchildren, children of his eldest daughter Catherine and the late Colonel Strasburg. The use of Russian names in this Scots-German family is remarkable.

⁶⁵¹ "Do not forget your Russian language" (German).

{286} Feb-ry 18, Sat. In towne.

The Hetman sent the Cosake Paley⁶⁵², with many Cosakes to the number of 10,000, over the Dneper to attack the Belagrod Tartars in Budziak.

19. At devotion. The fyre-works carryed out.

Dyned by Coll. von Bockhoven.

Received l-rs from Mrs. More & Meux, dated Narva⁶⁵³ 18 Ja-ry, & from Mr. Loftus, dated then & there, by Mr. Ludolf.

20. At Presne, but because a slity day the fyre-workes not fyred.

21. At Presne. The fyreworks fyred, which had pretty good effect, these being his M. & the strangers. Supped with his M. and came home at 3 aclock in the morning.

{286v} Feb-ry 22, Wed. The Russe fire-works fired, which had also good effect.

23. At Chwily or Nova Pokrofska, where dined with his M. and others by Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin]. To the gilding of the church turrets or globes thereon, there went 475 ducats. Were merry and came home about 11 aclock at night.

A wedding of Sharpe w[i]t[h] Coll. Bolemans daughter.

24. At devotion, being St. Matthias day.

Invited to the wedding, but being indisposed went not.

M.Gen. Menezes brought me 45 dollers & a 4t for 25 rubles which he was owing me.

{287} Feb-ry 25, Sat. At home, being indisposed.

26. At his M. valette feast by L.G. Le Fort. Came home at 5 aclock in the morning next day.

27. His M. went for Pereslave an houre befor day.

Writt to my daughter and son in law at Archangell by a taylor.

28. Received a letter from Major Gordon, dated Belagrod 18th Ja-ry '93.

⁶⁵² Semion Paley (Paliy) (ca.1645–1710), Ukrainian Cossack colonel, originally in Polish service in Fastov. “A clear knight”, according to his future enemy, Hetman Mazepa, he won fame with his brave raids against the Tatars and Turks. In 1702–4 he led an anti-Polish rising in Right-Bank Ukraine, but was seized by Mazepa and exiled to Siberia. After Mazepa’s treason he lived in Moscow.

⁶⁵³ Instead of the crossed-out *Revall*.

{287v} March 1, Wed. At devotion. Writt to Lt.G-ll *Graffe* de Graham in ans-r to 2 former of his; to Maior Harry Gordon in ans-r to 3 of his.

2. Signed the pay bookes for Jan-ry & Feb-ry, and money remained of the first 1 ruble 23 *al.* 3 *d.*, of the other 28 *altins*.

The translator Hutner buried.

3. Writt to Mr. Loftus in ans-r to his, dated Narva 18 Ja-ry, to Mrs. More & Meux in ans-r to theirs, dated 1 *Dec-ris* '93⁶⁵⁴ & 18 Ja-ry; to Mr. Tho. Dowker in ans-r to his, dated *ibid.* 9th Ja-ry, in a *coverto* to Mr. Ja. Meyer in Novogrod.

In the Butirky and examined many businesses.

{288} March 4, Sat. At home.

5, Sun. At devotion. The Pols Res[ident] dined by me, & ffriends were in the evening.

6. In towne, see Ga[vriil] Gol[ovkin], Tichon Nikit. [Streshnev], our boyar & others.

Received a letter from Maior Harry Gordon, dated Belagrod 19 Feb. '93, giving notice that they had marched out of Belagrod the 29th Jan-ry to Achterk, and after the Tartars were repulsed at Pultava, they returned to Belagrod the 13th Feb-ry; and that Lt.Coll. Hamilton⁶⁵⁵ dyed the 18 Feb-ry & was to be buried the 20th.

{288v} March 7, Tues. In towne. At night by Mr. Guasconi.

8. Signed the roll of the regiment for their pay for the month of March, viz. 41 serjeants, 36 foriers & fuirers, 56 corporalls, 47 pipers, 5 *verstany* sojourns, 750 not *verstany*—in all 935; 5 *emeriti*, 66 widdowes, 46 orphans—in all 1,052.

9. Agreed with the *plotniks* to build a roome, translate the *senik*⁶⁵⁶ & cover of the howses for 7 rubles, & they began to worke.

10. Le Fort went for Pereslaw.

{289} March 11, Sat. Given to the *plotniks* 2 rubles.

12. At devotion.

⁶⁵⁴ Should be '92.

⁶⁵⁵ Probably identical with Major Hamilton with whom Gordon corresponded in 1685. He had sons, John and Patrick, and a daughter, Mary; from 20 September 1694 the sons were brought up as Catholics in Gordon's house in Moscow.

⁶⁵⁶ *Sennik* (Russian), hay barn.

Received a letter from Pater Schmidt, dated Brunsberg 2 *Martii s.n.*; from my son Theodorus, dated *ibid.*; from Mr. Gray, dated Konigsberg 7 *Martii*; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 2 *Martii st. vet.* 1693.

The Tartars, notwithstanding the forts builded and garrisoned about Camienets, with a strong party convoyed provisions into Camieniets.

13. Writt to my Lord Graham & Maior Gordon.

14. Writt to my son in law & daughter at Archangell by Mr. Meverell. {289v} March 15, Wed. Writt to the Hetman in answer to his dated Baturin 28 Feb. 1693.

Received letters from my son in law & da-r, dated Archangell 24 Feb. 1693.

In towne, by Tichon Nikititz [Streshnev] & Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin].

16. Received a letter from my Lord Graham, dated Belagrod 19 Feb-ry.

Rode out and mett his M. at Rostokin. He was pleased when he came about 2 aclock to come in & dine with us.

17. At devotion.

Being the Prince his name day⁶⁵⁷, wee expected a procession to the Alexeyowsky monastery upon the acco-t of the anniversary of the Emperours father⁶⁵⁸, but it was not upon the acco-t of the Empress Dowager her sicknes. Wee were in towne & returned in the evening, when I had fireworkes. The officers haveing complemented me in the morning, I caused entertaine them all at dinner.

{290} March 18. His Ma. being by Le F[ort], came afterwards by me, and being very melancholy went to Mosko & supp'd by *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn].

Agreed with *plotnikes* to make an addition to my after roome for 3 1/3 rubles.

19. His M. againe in the Slabod, went afterwards to Mosko, and then in the evening towards Pereslaw.

Given to the *plotnikes* halfe a ruble.

Wee had notice that Paley had been under Kasa-Kermin and battered

⁶⁵⁷ Tsarevich Alexey Petrovich. With Roman Catholics 17 March is St. Patrick's Day, so that Gordon's fireworks and banquet were clearly given to celebrate his own name-day.

⁶⁵⁸ Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich, who died in 1676.

their walls with 6 field pieces, burn't the suburbs, killed many & taken some prisoners.

20. The Boyar Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] desireing to speake with me, I went to him. He shew me a paper, wherein was ordered that he should speake to me, to let Doctor von der Hulst have the house & place where wee had the exercize of our religion, either for money or for another place or house, because he being to build, his place was too litle, & this lying next to him, would be very commodious for him. I answered him, that I nor any of us could not sell that house, because it was none of ours, being bought for the Roman Emperours money to be a house of devotion for those of the Ro. Catholick religion; {290v} and that the place was sanctified, and so, according to their religion & ours, no other building could be erected thereon without great sinne.

March 21. In towne by Yemelian Ukr[aintsev], *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn] & Tichon Nikitovits [Streshnev] about the yesternights busines.

Writt to Mikita Mos. [Zotov] about the business of the house.

22. In towne by Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin] & Tichon Nikititz, to whom I delivered my letter closed with the copy of it. At night by Coll. Kro.

23. Tichon Nikititz desireing to speak with me, I went & spoke with him in the evening. He desired me to change some things in the letter to Mikita Mos. Isotuf⁶⁵⁹.

{291} March 24, Frid. Haveing changed some things in the letter, I brought it to the Boyar Tichon Nikititz, who tooke it & promised to writt himself.

At the buryall of Coll. Litlejohn, when a sermon in the Hollands church, & dined there.

25. At devotion. Dined by M. Gen-ll Menezes with other ffriends.

26. At devotion. Ffriends⁶⁶⁰ by me in the evening.

{291v} March 27, Moond. At home.

28. At the buryall of Coll. Erick von Werden his child.

29. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] & *Kniaz* Fiod[or] Sem. [Urusov].

⁶⁵⁹ Zotov.

⁶⁶⁰ *dyned* crossed out.

30.⁶⁶¹ At the buriall of Mr. Munson, a preaching in the Luthers church, and wee dyned in the mourning-house.

Writt to Lt.G-ll Graham & Maior Gordon at Belagrod; to my son in law & daughter Mary at Archangell.

31. L. smal. b.⁶⁶²

This day I ended my 58 yeare of my troublesome lyfe. Blessed be the great God, who hath given me such a long & large tyme of repentance!

{292} Aprill 1, Sat. Invited to be godfather⁶⁶³ to P. Bockhovens son. The *plotniks* received in all 4 1/2 rubl.

2. At devotion. The *Patres* & Mr. Ludolph dined by me. Sent my son with 2 ducats to the christening in my place. The English & ffriends by me in the evening.

Agreed with *plotniks* for the *senik* for 4 rubl.

Agreed for putting-in both the cellars for 3 rubles.

3. Received letters from Pat[er] Sturme, dated Mittaw 23 *Martii*; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 23 *Martii*; from Mr. Tho. Loftus & Mr. Tho. Dowker, dated Narva 20 *Martii* the last, & the first the 17 *Martii*.

Payed Mr. Pendek 2 rubl. 4 *grivnees*.

4. In Butirsky, caused punish the watches who had been in the *Granat[ny] hoff*⁶⁶⁴.

Received a letter from Maior Gordon, dated Belagrod.

{292v} April 5, Wed. Agreed for setting-up a bathstove with the stove & forehouse with a *shardak*⁶⁶⁵ for 6 1/2 rubles. They began to worke at the cellar.

6. At home.

7. Rode to the village beyond Rostokin and did meet his M. He was pleased to come in and eat & drink & stay ane howre.

Received letters from my son in law & daughter, dated Archangell 22 *Martii* 1693.

8. Dined with his M. by Le F[ort].

⁶⁶¹ *In towne* crossed out.

⁶⁶² Undeciphered. Perhaps a burial is recorded (*b[uried]*).

⁶⁶³ Instead of the crossed out: *christen*.

⁶⁶⁴ *Granatny dvor*, factory for artillery shells in Moscow.

⁶⁶⁵ *Cherdak* (Russian), attic.

{293} April 9, Sund. In towne, by Mr. Kniper, and in the evening at the [...]

10. At home & devotion. Agreed with people to digg the cellar by the other ice cellar for 9 *grivnees*, & they began to worke.

Received a letter from Mr. Pat. Forbes in Dantzick, dated there the 14 March '93, and from Mr. Geo. Frazer, dated Riga the 30 March; the first being an answer to myne of the 12th Jan-ry by Mr. Lhoyd.

11. At home.

12. At the buriall of Ivan Akema⁶⁶⁶, where his M.

{293v} April 13, Thur. At confession & received the B-d Sacrament.

14. At devotion.

15. At devotion.

16. At devotion, and see his M. in the evening.⁶⁶⁷

17. At devotion.

Received l-rs fr[om] Pater Schmidt, dated Brunsberg 27 *Martii*, & from Theodorus of the same date; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 6 *Aprilis*; from my son in law, dated Archangell 6 Apr., & ans-d by Dimitre Philatuf; writt in a post[s]cript to my former to my son in law; from Mr. Meverell, dated London 14 *Martii*; from Mrs. Tho. More & Meux, dated Narva.

{294} April 18, Tues. In towne. Marched with the regiment to the *Potesbny Hoffe*.

19. In towne, see the B.⁶⁶⁸ His M. to Columinsko.

Dyned by Mr. Munter.

20. In towne, receiving egges.

21 [Frid.] Writt to Pater Schmidt.

Reverende in Cr-o Pater,

Distuli respondere ad literas R. V-rae datas 2 Martii donec audirem a D-no Lhoyd ex Gedano vel Hamburgo, sed quia adhuc nihil audivi, credo illum scripsisse cum libris quos D-nus Forbes transmisit Rigam, quos nondum vidi.

{294v} Doleo quod pelles R.P. Ridig non traditae sunt, et miror quo

⁶⁶⁶ Johan Akema († 1693), Dutch merchant in Russia from the 1680s.

⁶⁶⁷ Easter Sunday.

⁶⁶⁸ Either *Boyar* or *Bombardier*, i.e. Tsar Peter. Cf. below, fol. 302.

errore in via manserint. Cum notitiam habebō, si non recuperandae alias curabo mittendas, fuerunt tales quales ad R. V-ram transmissi.

Preterita posta attulit litteras R.V. gratissimas, dat. 27 Martii. Gavisus sumus audire de sanitate R. V-rae et Theodoruli n-ri. D. Op. M. retribuet mercedem pro cura et laboribus V-ris. Q-q-d R. V-ra exponet vel expendet pro illo, vel illius causa ego approbo, et bene contentus sum.

Hic omnes, Deo gratias, bene valemus. D. Coll. Turnier praevaricatus est nam spe lucri Grecam accepit religionem. Vice-Coll. Hamilton mortuus Belogrodiae, filia virgo apud D-num Guasconi et filioli duo apud nos, omnes educantur in Catholica religione. R. Patres pie et prudenter se gerunt et in concionando Germanice meliore sciunt, qui sicut et tota communitas officia sua R. V-rae deferunt, et ego cum familia nos precibus R. V-rae commendamus, permanens

R.V.

devinctus amicus & servus⁶⁶⁹

PG

⁶⁶⁹ "Reverend Father in Christ,

I delayed the answer to Your Reverence's letter dated 2 March until I hear from Mr. Lloyd from Danzig or Hamburg, but since up to now I have heard nothing, I believe he has written with the books which Mr. Forbes dispatched to Riga and which I have not seen yet.

I regret that the furs were not delivered to Rev. Father Ridig, and I wonder by what mistake they were detained on the way. When I get notice [of this], if they are not recovered, I shall take care to send others. They were like those I have sent to Y.R.

The previous post brought Y.R.'s most agreeable letter dat. 27 March. We were glad to hear of Y.R.'s health, and [the same] of our little Theodore. God Most Good Most Great shall grant a reward for Your care and labours. Whatever Y.R. proposes or spends for his sake or his affairs, I approve, and I am well content.

We all here, thank God, are in good health. Colonel Turnier is perfidious, because in hope of gain he embraced the Greek religion. Lt.Colonel Hamilton died in Belgorod, [his] young daughter* is with Mr. Guasconi, and two small sons are with us; they all are educated in the Catholic faith. Rev. Paters bear themselves piously and prudently and, while preaching, understand German better. They and our whole community offer Y.R. their respect, and I with my family, commending ourselves to Y.R.'s prayers, remain

Y.R.'s

obliged friend and servant" (Latin).

* Mary Hamilton, possibly identical with Maria Danilovna (or Vilimovna) Hamilton († 1719), ill-fated lady-in-waiting of Tsaritsa Catherine I. She became a lover of Tsar Peter's aide I.M. Orlov and, probably, of the Tsar himself, and was

To my son Theodorus also there.

{295} Aprill 21.

Mr. Sam. Meverell

Worthy ffriend,

Yo[u]rs of the 14 March received by the last ordinary, the enclosed I dispatched the same day to your son, of whose safe arrival at Archangel I have notice. As to the suits of cloaths for my grand-children, my daughter hath considered not to have them made there now. Only shee desires two paire of bodyes for them, albeit they be bigger; tis no matter, for they are growing. The spoons & salt-fatt when ready pray send with a sure occasion, & the enclosed by the first. Wee ar, God be praised, all well as at my last, and desire heartyly to be remembred to you & yours. Being in hast, I remaine

Yo-r affectionat br. & ser-t

[For my son John]⁶⁷⁰

Loveing son,

My last was the 3d Feb., of the dispatch whereof from London I have notice. I forgott in my last to informe you that I ordered a dozen of silver spoons & a salt-fatt to be made at London & sent to you by a sure occasion, for your house keeping. Haveing written all particulars in my former, I have litle now to add. Only wee hear by the gazets that our Chieffe⁶⁷¹ is returned. Learne as much as you can of his circumstances and writt to me as much thereof as you can safely.

Remember {295v} me to yo-r father in law & family (from whom I expect to hear at large according to his promise), to my unkle, brother & sister⁶⁷² & families with all other ffriends. Do not faile to writt to me at

beheaded in St.Petersburg for murdering her infant children. Her fate is strangely echoed in the old Scots ballad *The Queen's Marie*, as pointed out by Sir Walter Scott.

⁶⁷⁰ Addressee on next page.

⁶⁷¹ George, Duke of Gordon, Chief of his Clan.

⁶⁷² John Gordon of Westertoun (ca.1637–after 1698), Patrick's only surviving brother, and their sister Elizabeth (1644–after 1698), widow of William Hay of Ardenrit.

large and of all particulars. I shall writt to you at large this summer & tell you what I would have done. Wee are all well, praised be God, as at my last. So, praying God to bless you and your bedfellow, I remaine

Yo-r loveing father
PG

April 21, Frid.

For Mr. Geo. Frazer at Riga

Sir,

I have diverse of yours befor me, to which this serves for answer; the encloseds were safe delivered. If any stormes appear, I shall advertise you in tyme enough. As yet I may safely say that here are no thoughts of any such thing by those whom it concernes most.⁶⁷³ I should wish that my bookes from Dantzick were here, and that I had with them some booke of Hungary, which you promised to procure me as to geanologies [*sic*] & armes, if to be had. If any Scots ling and haddocks can be had there this summer, pray provide & send me some, and also 4 or 5 bundles {296} of your butts, all which place to my acco-t. Pray forward the encloseds by the first. I am uncertaine whither I stay here this summer or not, but where ever I shall be, be assured that I shall remaine,

Yo-r constant ffriend & ser-t
PG

Aprill 22. At dinner with his M. by Yuri Ivan. Soltikow.

23. Went with his M. by water, dyned by the Simonofsky monastery, & supped at Samara by Alexey Petr. Soltikow, & lodged in the fort by Columinsko.

24. Breakfast by the *Prikaschik* Andre [...] *Novogrodets*⁶⁷⁴, & then went to Dubrovitz, where supped & lodged by *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovitz Golitzin.

{296v} April 25, Tues. Dyned & supped merrily with the same host.

26. After dinner wee tooke jorney and crossed the R[iver] Pachry at

⁶⁷³ Possibly implying some threats to Russo-Swedish peaceful relations.

⁶⁷⁴ I.e. "of Novgorod", probably steward of the Tsars' estate of Kolomenskoye.

the Sherpichows⁶⁷⁵ way, and came to Rosay, where supped and lodged by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuri. Romadanofsky.

27. Dined, supped & lodged in the same place.

28. After dinner wee tooke jorney towards the Cashiers⁶⁷⁶ way, and crossing the R. Pachry by a float as befor, wee came to Mosko about 6 aclock at night.

{297} Aprill 29, Sat. I stayed at home the whole day, being indisposed.

30. Heard devotion, and went to towne afterwards, and dined with his M. with all our company by Mr. Termond, where excessive dr[inking].

{297v} May 1, Moonday. Being very sick, I gott leave to come home and was very ill disposed the whole day.

Received l-rs from Pater Schmidt, P. Ridig and my son Theodorus, dated Brunsberg the 22 *Aprilis st. novo*.

2. Stayed at home, being indisposed.

3. At home. His M. by Le Fort.

Received a letter from Harry Gordon, dated Belagrod 21 *Aprilis*, showing the great danger the *Graffe* de Graham was in by reason of his violent sicknes.

4. His M. dined by B.P. Seremetuf⁶⁷⁷ & from thence went to Pereslaw.

{298} May 5, Frid. At home, advised about takeing phisick.

6. Tooke phisick, which had good operation.

7. Received my halfe-yeares pay in money for the sables, being 281 rubles 13 *alt. 2 dengees*. Gave to Gregory Sikuf⁶⁷⁸ a ruble, to Abraham a halfe & to the *storose* a *grivnee*.

Mr. Termond & other ffriends dined by me.

8. Payed to Mikita the brewer for 7 tunne of malt, at 21 *alt. 2 dengees* p[e]r tunne, 4 r. 16 *alt.*; & for 25 pund of hopes, at 5 *dengees*, 20 *alt. 4 d.*

{298v} May 9, Tues. Writt to my son in law M. Snivins by Pimon Konradiow Dorohove, & sent *krupitsne*⁶⁷⁹ meale.

⁶⁷⁵ R. Pakhra and the town of Serpukhov, south of Moscow.

⁶⁷⁶ Kashira.

⁶⁷⁷ Boris Petrovich Sheremetev (1652–1719), eminent commander and diplomat; *voyeroda*, from 1682 boyar, from 1701 field marshal, from 1706 Count.

⁶⁷⁸ G.T. Zykov, “old” (senior) *podtyachy* of the Foreigners’ Office.

⁶⁷⁹ Adjective for *krupa* (Russian), groats.

The anniversary of Coll. Leviston his wyfe, and wee dyned by him, I being very indisposed with a faintness, heat & feaver.

10. I did writt to the doctor for his advice & phisick, which he sent me in the evening.

11. I tooke a digestive & antifebrician powder.

12. At devotion. The doctor dyned by me. Tooke another powder.

Gave of Ge[n]-ll L. Le Fort the *daans* & *kupshies*⁶⁸⁰ of my daughters house.

{299} May 13, Sat. At home indisposed.

Writt to Coll. Matfe Fliwerk by Capt. Belevin.

Given to Ivan Kartashuf 25 rubles and befor 10 rubles *ad rationem*.⁶⁸¹

14. In church, came home sick, haveing taken a powder.

15. Tooke another powder, but no better.

16. Tooke pills, which operated ordinarily, but litle availed.

17. Continued in the same condition.

{299v} May 18, Thurs. About midnight I found my self in a great distemper, with an outward heat & inward cold, which had continued 2 howres and thereafter till one a'clock, when the outward heat was abated & I gott a great inward heat, which continued about 3 howres, when I send for the doctors. I remained as it were slumbring with a vehement paroxisme & suggestion of idle fancyes, w-ch continued about 3 howres, haveing both inward & outward heat. Doctor Carbonary comeing, & thereafter Lt.G. Le Fort & his lady, about 7 a'clock without any medicine I began to sweat on a suddaine, which continued about 2 howres. Hereafter I found my self a great deale better, & tooke a powder in the evening prescribed by Dr. Carbonari.

19. I found my self very weake and tooke another cordiall powder.

{300} May 20, Sat. A feaverish heat continued with me still, and I kept bed.

Received letters from Maior Gordon, showing that Lt.Gen-ll *Graffe* de Graham deceased on the 12th.

21. I perceived some amendement, but continued still very weake.

*His Ma-tie came from P...*⁶⁸²

⁶⁸⁰ *Darstvennye & kupchiye* (Russian), deeds of gift and purchase.

⁶⁸¹ Either "according to the bill" or "for supplies" (Latin).

⁶⁸² Entry crossed out.

22. His Ma-tie returned from Pereaslaw.

23. Mr. Styles⁶⁸³ & Mr. Pendeck went from hence, by whom I did writt to my daughter & son in law at Archangell.

His Ma-tie gave me a gracious visitt in the morning, & some noblemen thereafter.

{300v} May 24. I continued in one condition without any great appearance of bettering.

25. Many ffrriends, as the former dayes, came to visitt me.

The Polls resident had audience.

26. The obsequies of Lt.Gen-ll Graham solemnized.

Received l-rs from my son in law & daughter, dated Archangel the 15th May.

27. His M. went from hence towards Zwinogrod⁶⁸⁴.

{301} May 28, Sun. Rose up. Many ffrriends by me in the afternoone. Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 18 May.

29. Received a letter from Coll. Scott, dated Shewsky the 2 May.

30. I tooke phisick, which had no operation.

31. Tooke a view of the deceased Lt.Coll. Hamilton his goods.

Writt to my son in law & daughter by a post from Mr. Timmerman.

In the night very indisposed with a great heat, which ended in a great sweating towards daylight.

Received a letter from Major Brzysky, dated Pereaslaw 12th May.

{301v} June 1, Thurs. Writt to Major Gordon, Coll-s Koke & Benning concerning the goods & debts of the deceased Lt.Coll. Hamilton, & to Coll. Pfennigbeer; to the *woynod* of Koslow by Coll. von Baten.

His M. returned in the night.

2. His M. at Preobrasinsko.

3. Went abroad in the afternoone.

4. His M. at Ismailow & returned.

{302} June 5, Moon. Being a litle better & invited, I went to dinner

⁶⁸³ Henry (Andrey) Stiles († 1712), prominent English merchant who enjoyed Tsar Peter's special favour. Mentioned in Russia since 1684, he entertained the Tsar in London in 1698. In the 1700s he founded a powder factory in Obukhovo on the Kliaz'ma, which for a while became the largest in Russia.

⁶⁸⁴ Zvenigorod.

to the Boyar Boris Petr. Seremetuf, where the B.⁶⁸⁵

Received a letter from Rand. Knipe⁶⁸⁶, dated Narva 10 May, and another with the copy of the former dated there 19 May w[i]t[h] an enclosed from Mr. Meverell, dated London 27 *Septembris* last year.

6. A great fyre at the *Pagana prude*⁶⁸⁷, yet by tymely and earnest help quenched, about 20 houses being burned.

7. At the wedding of Affonassy Philip. Protaseuf, where in place of father, & the B. as brother. Wee stayed all night, I lodging by the B.

8. At the wedding againe, came home late.

9. Received a letter from Harry Gordon, dated Belagrod 16 May, informing that the Lord Graham was buryed the day befor.

Received a letter from Coll. Mat. Fleewark, dated Smollensko 28th May. Lent to Ivan Kartasuf 10 rubles.

{302v} June 10, Sat. At a feast by L[e] F[ort] with the G.

11. At devotion & Major Treidens wedding.

Rec-d a letter from Mr. W-m Lhoyd, dated London 28 *Aprilis*, wherein he giveth me an acco-t of haveing disbursed upon my sons acco-t in Brunsberg 25 ducats, haveing exchanged the ducats at 7 fl. 6 gr., 13 fl. remaining over by Pater Schmidt, & 6 ducats for bookes, so that 9 remaineth by him.

Rec-d a letter from my son in law, dated the 30th May.

12. The *G[osudar']?* by me.

13. At home, being not well.

14. At the buryall of the deceased Lt.Coll. Menezes his yongest son.

{303} June 14, Wed.

[To A.A. Matveyev]

Illustrissime et Magnifice Domine,

Quod non dudum ad Ill. D. V-ram scripserim, in causa fuit infirmitas

⁶⁸⁵ The B. here and below is written over *his M[ajesty]*, i.e. Tsar Peter. In the war games of this period he was styled "Bombardier Piotr Alexeyev".

⁶⁸⁶ Randolph Knipe, member of the British "Russia Company", later knighted.

⁶⁸⁷ *Pogany prud*, "Filthy" pond in central Moscow, which in 1703 was cleaned and became *Chisty* (Clean).

mea, nec-non et allii defectus, nam debui si licuisset citius gratias egisse pro favore et gratia V-ra in generum meum Carolum Snivins; uti nunc ago, obsecrans ut ulterius continuet favorem, protectionem et gratiam suam in illum, quo obligabit et devinciet me ad prestanda omnia obsequia Ill. D. V-rae et familiae suae. Nondum plene convalui, ideo largius scribere nequeo, neque congruum duco prolixis literis Ill. D. V-ram inquietare, permaneo

Ill. D. V-rae

humillimus servus⁶⁸⁸

Writt to my son in law.

{303v} June 15, Thur. At devotion.

Writt to Harry Gordon.

16. Writt to Pat. Ridig, Schmidt & my son Theodorus in ans-r to theirs of the 22 *Aprilis*, Brunsberg; to Pat. Sturme in answer to his, dated in Mittaw 23 *Martii*; to Mr. Forbes in Dantzick in ans-r to his of the 14 *Martii*; to Mr. Gray in Konigsberg in ans-r to his, dated there the 7th of March—all in a covert to Mr. Frazer in Riga & in ans-r to his of the 18th of May; to Mr. Loftus in ans-r to his of the 17 *Martii*; to Mr. Dowker in ans-r to his of the 20 March; to Mrs. More & Meux in ans-r to theirs w[i]t[h]out date; to Mr. Rando. Knipe in ans-r to his of the 10 & 19th May, ordering the paying to him by Mrs. More & Meux of 3 r.d[ollars] 14 w. for the charges he disbursed upon my instruments.

{304} June 17, Sat. I rode to Chwily or Pokrofska, after I had seen the regiment mustered & exercized, and dined there with the *G[osudar]'*?. Came home at sunsett.

⁶⁸⁸ “Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord,

That I have not written to Your Ill. Lordship at once, the reason thereof was my illness as well as other defects. For I had to, if possible, render my gratitude sooner for Your favour and grace toward my son-in-law Carl Snivins, which I am doing now, and I implore that Your favour, protection and grace to him may still continue. This shall oblige and convince me to offer every service to Your Ill. L. and Your family. I have not yet fully recovered, so that I cannot write at more length, nor do I deem it fitting to disturb Your Ill. L. with prolix letters. I remain
Your Ill. L.’s

most humble servant” (Latin).

18. Received letters from Pater Schmidt, dated 27 May *st. n.* at Brunsberg, & from my son Theodorus, dated the 1st *Junii*.

The *G[osudar'?)* here.

19. At home.

20. Rode to the towne, see our boyar & Boris Petr. Seremetuf.

{304v} June 21, Wed. At devotion, ffriends by me.

22. Rode to Pokrofsky & dined there.

23. Writt to Pater Schmidt in answer to his of the 27 May, ordering my son to go to Dantzick in the tyme of the vacancy or market; and to Mr. Frazer, desireing him to writt to Mr. Gray to send 5 ducats to Pater Schmidt and good English cloth for a suit for Theodorus, the ducats being to buy necessaryes & bear his expences to & from Dantzick; to Mr. Forbess, desireing him to have a care of my son whilst he should be in Dantzick, & that he cause him salute my other ffriends there; to my son also—all per post.

At Chwily, it being the daughter of the boyar her name-day.

{305} June 24. At devotion.

The *G[osudar'?)* came late.

25. At devotion.

The *G[osudar'?)* at Roomswinkell. Lewenfelts misfortune.

Received letters fr[om] Tho. Gordon from Lvova, shewing that the sables sent by John Gordon were sold by him for 1,000 florens Polls money, with the acco-t thereof as followeth:

346 fl. for 49 r[eichs]d[ollers] & 7 sh. to my son James.

350 to Ro-t Gordon for 180 good money.

303 remitted to Mr. Forbes—in all 1,000.

His letter dated Leopolis⁶⁸⁹ 13 *Aprilis*.

From Ro-t Gordon, dated Dantzick 10 *Junii*.

From Patrick Forbes, dated Dantzick [...] *Junii*, with his acco-t as followeth:

⁶⁸⁹ Latin name for Lviv.

G[eneral] Gordon

Debet

A[nn]o 1690, 15 <i>Junii</i>	to James	f. 200
7 Aug.	To him	143
1691, 27 July	bookes	30
1693, 17 <i>Martii</i>	2 artil[lery] bookes	10
	port of letters	<u>5. 6</u>
		388

Credet

[16]90	from John Gordon	f. 40
	from M. Frid. Smidt	300
'92	from Tho. Gordon	113 1/4
'93	from Tho. Gordon	<u>155. 18</u>
		495. 18 ⁶⁹⁰

Due to me 107. 6.

{305v} June 26, Moond. The *G[osuda]r* by me at dinner.

27. Writt to my son in law by Mr. Wulffe and sent the former letter to the governour⁶⁹¹ by him.

28. At Preobrasinsko.

29. At Preobrasinsko, being his M. name-day. Congratulated his M. & rec-d a cup of wine from his M. I dined by Lew Kirilowits [Naryshkin].

*Coll. Lewenfelt his *skasky* given him.*⁶⁹²

30. Writt to Mr. Tho. Dowker in Narva.

The wedding of the *bildhower*⁶⁹³.

⁶⁹⁰ This sum adds up without the third item.

⁶⁹¹ To *Voyevoda* A.A. Matveyev in Archangel. See above, fol. 303.

⁶⁹² Entry crossed out.

⁶⁹³ *Bildbauer* (German), sculptor.

{306} July 1, Sat. Againe at the wedding.

2. At devotion.

3. At the valette feast.⁶⁹⁴

4. By day light his M. went from hence.

I to Preobrasinsko, & in towne.

C[olonel] Lewenfelt brought to the *Inoshemsky prykasé*⁶⁹⁵.

At 7 aclock afternoone I sent to the Court and writt to *Kniaz* Bor[is] Al. [Golitsyn], Gavr[il] Ivan. [Golovkin], Fiod[or] Mat.⁶⁹⁶ & G-ll Le Fort for to have the sentence against Coll. Lewenfelt mitigated.

{306v} July 5, Wed. Greg. Roonaer returned, haveing not found his M. at Troitza, returned [*sic*].

6. In towne.

The *Denshik* Marko returned, and brought only this mitigation that Coll. Lewenfelts wyfe might, if she pleased, stay here and live in the howse. I at Preobrasinsko & in towne againe.

7. I in Preobrasinsko.

The sentence against Lewenfelt pronounced.

8. I in Preobrasinsko, obtained respite in sending C. Lewenfelt away till Tuesday.

{307} July 9, Sund. At devotion.

Received a letter from Pater Schmidt, dated Vilna⁶⁹⁷ 2 July *st. n.*

10. Lewenfelt sent away.

I in Preobrasinsko.

11. Went to Rostokin & tooke my leave of L[ewenfelt].

12. At home.

13. In towne & Butirky. Afternoone the *Dummy* Yemelian Ignat. [Ukraintsev] by me.

{307v} July 14, Frid. In Preobrasinsko. The P[olish] R[esident] by me afternoone.

⁶⁹⁴ Farewell feast at Lefort's before Tsar Peter's departure with a great retinue to Archangel.

⁶⁹⁵ Foreigners' Office.

⁶⁹⁶ F.M. Apraksin (1661–1728), brother of Tsaritsa Marfa, second wife of Tsar Fiodor. “Near” *stolnik*, *voeyevoda*, from 1700 head of Admiralty Office, from 1708 “General Admiral”, from 1710 Count, from 1717 senator and president of Admiralty College.

⁶⁹⁷ Vilnius (Lithuanian), Wilno (Polish).

Received letters from my son in law, dated 30 *Junii* & 4 July at Archangell; from Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyow, dated Vologda 12 July.

15. Writt to Generall Le Fort & Fiod. Fiod.

16. At devotion.

Received a letter from Mr. Loftus, dated Narva 27 *Junii*.

17. I went to Preobrasinsko, when Tichon Nikitovitz [Streshnev] told me that he had ordered my *wipisky* for the Crims expedition to be signed, whereby I am to have what was then promised.⁶⁹⁸

18. In the fields in the Marina bush⁶⁹⁹ with friends & merry.

{308} July 19. Writt to G-ll Le Fort & my son in law.

20. Being Elias day, I stayed at home.

Writt to Fiod[or] Matf. Opraxin & Andr. Andreovitz Vinius⁷⁰⁰ p[e]r post.

21.

22. The doctor by me.

{308v} July 23, Sund. At devotion.

24. In Preobrasinsko.

25. At devotion. Afternoone by Mr. Howtman.

Signed a list of the regiment to *saffians* for the birth of the Princess Anna Johan[ovna]⁷⁰¹ the 28 Ja-ry as followeth: 41 serjeants, 37 furiers & foriers, 56 corporalls, 47 pipers, 5 *verstany* sojors, others 753—in all 939, of w-ch number one serjeant preferred to reg. qua[r]term-r, one sojor runaway, 2 corporals & 15 sojors dead.

26. At devotion.

27. At dinner by Alexey Zotuf. Went in the evening & visited the

⁶⁹⁸ The 'Tsars' ukase on rewards for the Second Crimean campaign, dated 27 July 1689, runs: "To you, General... Piotr Gordon a cup, a *portishche* of *bayberek* [length of silk], and forty sables each,.. and to you, Piotr, to the *prikaz* a month's pay in money" (*Sobraniye gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, pt. IV (Moscow, 1828), no. 199, pp. 601, 610).

⁶⁹⁹ Maryina Roshcha, then a suburban grove popular with Western immigrants, now part of Moscow.

⁷⁰⁰ Andrey Vinius (1641–1717), *dumny dyak*, son of a Dutchman. He served in the Embassy Office, and later headed the Siberian and Artillery Offices, contributing to the development of mining and metal production in Russia, and translating Western military and technological treatises.

⁷⁰¹ Anna (1693–1740), second daughter of Tsar Ivan, from 1710 Duchess of Courland, from 1730 Empress of Russia.

Boyar Boris Petrovitz Seremetuf, who was in his tents by Semenofsky Monastery. He made me very welcome.

{309} July 28, Frid.

Dear Madam,

I was not a litle perplexed to hear of your L[adyshi]ps takinge so long & dangerous a voyage, but am now glad to heare of your safe returne, w-ch I congratulate, and wishes you much joy and comfort with your son in law. I understand by your letter to your son that you desire the advice of ffriends concerning your comeing into this countrey. I assure you, Madam, there is not any mentioned in your letter but wisheth you well, & I among the rest, but neither I nor any else can give you any certaine assurance that you shall gett widdowes meanes. Yet I and others have grounds to hope that it may be gott done, for his y[oung] Majesty is very gracious.

I have writt to you at large in my former my advice, which is my opinion still—no place nor person on earth is without straits & difficulties, and I am very sensible of your condition there. I shall end with assuring you that what assistance I or any upon my acco-t can afford you shall not be wanting. I have told your son more as I have at this tyme leasure to writt. So, takinge leave, I remaine,

Dear Madam,

Yo-r most loveing bro-r & humble ser-t

To Madam Crawfuird.

{309v} July 28, Frid. Received a letter from Gen-ll Le Fort, dated Ustuga⁷⁰² 21 pres.

Writt to him per post & to my son in law; writt to Mr. Frazer w[i]t[h] that to M. Crafuird enclosed; writt to Coll. Evanitsky p[e]r Peter Korsakuf.

29. In Preobrasinsko & Butirky.

Writt to M.G. Gulits, Coll-s Scott & Zimmerman.

30. Writt to Maior Gordon & M. Brysky.

⁷⁰² Veliky Ustiug.

Received a letter from Madam Crawford, dated Pottendorff 25 July *st. n.*, & from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 20 July *st. vet.*; from Lewenfelt, dat. Vologda 24 July.

31. In Preobrasinsko.

{310} Aug. 1, Tuesd. This being a holy day on which they sanctify the water⁷⁰³, processions were to that purpose, and the regiments of the Selected and *Potesny* sojourns gave once fire befor their respective *rahthouses*⁷⁰⁴.

Writt to my son in law & daughter at Archangell.

Subscribed a list for brandy to 181 under officers & pipers & 758 sojourns, in all 939 persons.

2. In towne, by the Boyars Urusuf and Repenin⁷⁰⁵.

3. In Preobrasinsko, by the Boyar Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev].

Writt to G-ll Le Fort & my son in law.

{310v} Aug. 4, Frid. Received a letter from Mr. Meverell, dated London 2d *Junii*, giving me an acco-t of the reseat of myne of the 12th Ja-ry & 21 Aprill & the dispatch of the enclosed for Scotland.

Received a letter from my son in law, dated Archangell the 13th July.

5. In Preobrasinsko, by the Boyars Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin] & Tichon Nikititz.

Payed for the mending of the litle coach for nailes, leather & other necessaryes 2 rub. 23 *al.* 2 *d.* and for the worke 20 *altins*.

Writt to G. Le Fort & my son in law by Serj. Chlebofsky.

6. At devotion. Mr. Ludolph & Kinkell dynd by me. Afternoone at the buryall of Capt. Schmitts child, and thereafter by Mr. Guascony.

Received [...]

{311} Aug. 7, Moon. In towne, gave of the *pamets* to *Kniaz* Ivan Borisovits Repenin & to *Kniaz* Peter Ivanovitz Prosarofsky⁷⁰⁶.

Received a letter from Mr. Thomas Dowker and thereunder subscribed

⁷⁰³ Orthodox Holy Cross Day.

⁷⁰⁴ *Rathaus* (German), town hall, here meaning regimental offices (*izby*).

⁷⁰⁵ Prince Ivan Borisovich Repnin (1617–1697), “near” boyar, head of Siberian Office. Gordon mentions him already in 1661, when the Scot first came to Muscovy via Novgorod, where Repnin was *voevoda* (*Diary*, II, p. 136).

⁷⁰⁶ Prince P.I. Prozorovsky, boyar, former tutor of Tsarevich Ivan Alexeyevich; from 1689 head of the Great Treasury Office.

by Robert Maister and Gabriell Dowker, dated Narva 12th July.

8. Mr. Guasconi with others went from hence to Archangel. I gave Mr. Guasconi *in commissis*⁷⁰⁷ to provide a hoggehead of red wyne, if good to be had, 2 or 3 paire of pistolls & *oculos cancri*⁷⁰⁸.

At the same tyme, but dated the 5th, to Mr. Krevet to buy for me a Colmogrodish trunk long 2 *arshines*⁷⁰⁹, a seahorse skin wrought, some *oculos cancri*.

I was in Preobrasinsko by Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin].

9. In towne, by *Kniaz* Fiod[or] Sem. [Urusov] and *Kniaz* Peter Ivan. [Prozorovsky].

Received a letter from Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyow, dated Archangell 1 Aug. {311v} Aug. 10, Thur. Writt to my son in law & Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyow. At devotion, being St. Lawrence day.

Lt. Leviston⁷¹⁰ shott a *strelets*.

11. In towne, did nothing.

12. In towne, spoke with *Kniaz* Ivan Bor. Repenin, *Kniaz* Peter Ivan. Pros[orovsky] & Tichon Nikit. Stresny.

The Polls Envoy Ledinsky at audience.

Desired Mr. Munter to cause bring the following bookes from Revel: Coll. Werthmuller his *Commandant-spiegell*, his *Apologiam Fortificatoriam*, *The Touchstone of the Ingenieur*.⁷¹¹

13. At devotion.

{312} Aug. 14, Moon. In Preobrasinsko.

⁷⁰⁷ Commission (Latin).

⁷⁰⁸ "Crayfish eyes" (Latin), calcareous grains found in the stomach ("head") of crayfish. Powder made of these was regarded as a remedy for pleurisy, asthma and colic (R. Bradley, *A Course of Lectures upon the Materia Medica, Antient and Modern* (London, 1730), p. 152).

⁷⁰⁹ *Arshin*, old Russian unit of length, which varied until standardised by Peter the Great in early 18th century to equal 28 English inches (71.1 cm).

⁷¹⁰ Son of Alexander Livingston, Scottish colonel in Russian employ.

⁷¹¹ German treatises on fortification: Johann Jacob Werthmüller [& Antoine de Ville], *Commandanten-Spiegel, oder gründliche Unterrichtung, wie ein Commandant seinen Platz fortificiren, verbessern und in gutem Stand erhalten sole* (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1685); *Apologia Fortificatoria, oder Schütz-Rede vor die Holländische Fortification, Wider die vielfältige ungegründete und falsche Auflagen* (Franckfurt, 1691); *Der Probier-Stein der Ingeniuren, oder Wolmeinende Gedancken Über die so lang gesuchte, aber noch niemahl gefundene Fortifications Verbesserung: In dreyen Discoursen, und einer neuen Manier von Fortifications-Wercken* (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1685).

15. In Preobrasinsko & thereafter at devotion.

16. In Preobrasinsko by Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] & Tichon Nik. [Streshnev].

17. In Preobrasinsko, and thereafter in the afternoone in the ffields.

The post came from Archangell, whereby wee had notice of his M. safe returne from his voyage at sea, havinge been 6 dayes at sea.

18. In towne.

Writt to M-rs Robert Maister & Gabriel Dowker in ans-r to theirs & Tho. Dowker his, dated Narva 12 July with a post[s]cript to Mr. Loftus in ans-r to his, dated *ibid.* 27 *Junii*.

{312v} Aug. 19, Sat. In towne, by *Kniaz* Ivan Borisovitz [Repnin] and *Kniaz* Peter Ivan. [Prozorovsky].

Received a letter from my son in law, dated Archangell 13th *Augusti*. Writt immediately to him in answer.

20. At devotion, where the Polls envoy.

Received a letter from Mr. Meverell, dated London July 14 with a copy of a former, dated the 5th, wherein he makes me debtor 14 £ 9 sh. 10 p. for things provided for my son in Scotland, and sent to Archangell for my use.

Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 10 Aug, showing that he had payed 47 gr. postage for that from Mr. Mev[e]rell, and that my bookes were sent by Makar Kulpatsnikow⁷¹².

Dined by M.G. Rigeman.

21. At home. Writt to my son in law, Mr. Wulffe & Crs⁷¹³ Fiod. Mat. Opraxin & Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyow.

22. In Preobrasinsko.

{313} August 23, Wed. Received a letter from G-ll Le Fort, dated at Archangel 16th Aug.

Writt to G-ll Le Fort, but the post gone ere the letter came.

In towne & Preobrasinsko.

Mr. Howtman by me.

24. In towne, at devotion.

⁷¹² Apparently, Kulpachnikov.

⁷¹³ Possibly "Chamberlains", although Gordon often gives Russian ranks. At this time Apraksin was a "near" *stolnik*, and Pleshcheyev a *spalnik* (gentleman of the bedchamber).

The business betwixt Coll. Livingston & the *streltsees* made, they getting 20 rubles and giveing him a writing.

25. Writt to Mr. Frazer in answer to his of the 20 July & 10 Aug., & to Madam Crawford in ans-r to hers of the 25 July *st. n.*; to my son in law; to Gen-ll Le Fort with that of the 23d.

26. In Preobrasinsko, and wished good luck to the Empress Dowager, being her name- or birth day.

Afternoone at the buriall of Lawrence Popp, a child.

{313v} Aug. 27, Sund. At devotion, and at a feast by Le Forts.

28. At home. Ivan Ievlovitz Golochwastuf⁷¹⁴ in the evening by me.

Agreed with Affonasy *plotnik* & comorads to set over the 2 old stables, & set up the new for 7 rubles & if a watch-house 9.

29. In towne, wished the eldest Emperour good luck, it being his name-day. Dyned by Sr Kenkell.

30. In towne, gott out my sables for 60 rubles.

The *Graffe*⁷¹⁵ his horses brought to me, 15 of them.

31. In towne. Writt to my son in law and Mr. Wulffe.

At the buriall of Coll. von Hove.

Borrowed 200 rubles from Mr. Howtman for the use of my sister in law, and given him a note in my name to be payed the last of No[vembe]r with halfe p[e]r cent interest; which money given to her.

{314} Sept-r 1, Frid. Received 2 letters from G. Le Fort, one dated the 25 the other 26 Aug.; from my son in law 2, dated the 24 & 25 Aug.; from Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyow, dated 25 Aug.

Writt an answer to G. Le Fort his.

In Preobrasinsko & in Mosko at the wishing his M. a happy new yeare.

Payed to Yagosinsky⁷¹⁶ 66 rubles for the pawnd by him.

2. In Preobrasinsko. Dined by M.G. Meneses.

The *Archimandrit* of Jerusalem⁷¹⁷ came in the evening by me.

⁷¹⁴ I.I. Golokhvastov († 1700), *stolnik* who was to fall in battle against the Swedes at Narva.

⁷¹⁵ The late Count Graham.

⁷¹⁶ Possibly Ivan Yaguzhinsky, a Lithuanian, organist of the Lutheran church in the Foreign Suburb.

⁷¹⁷ Either of New Jerusalem (Resurrection) monastery near Moscow, or some Orthodox religious house of Jerusalem proper.

Writt to Fiodor Matfeovitz Opraxin & to Fiodor Fiodorovitz Plesheyow.

3. Writt to G-ll Le Fort & my son in law.

Received letters from Pater Schmidt & my son Theodorus, dated Brunsberg 17 Aug., & from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 24 Aug. 1693.

Major G-ll Menezes, Coll. Leviston, the Commissaries Boetenant & Kniper with Mr. Bleyer dined by me.

In the evening at the *sponsalia*⁷¹⁸ of Mr. Le Feber w[i]t[h] Coll. Calderwood his daughter Aletta.

{314v} Sept-r 4, Moon. In Preobrasinsko.

5. In towne, did nothing. In the afternoone ffrriends by me.

6. In Preobrasinsko w[i]t[h] S-r Boetenant & others.

Received a letter from my son in law, dated 31 *passat.*, giving notice that 6 ships were come. Returned answer immediately.

Writt to Makar Kulpatchnikow to send my bookes, which he brought from Riga.

{315} Sept-r 7, Thurs.

[To Pater Johann Schmidt]

Reverende in Christo Pater,

Litterae R. V-rae datae Vilnae 2 Julii traditae mihi sunt ab Illustrissimo D-no Residente Pol[oniae] 9 Julii st. vet., quibus non respondi donec audirem de reditu R. V-rae Brunsbergam; quod ex literis R. V. datis 17 Aug. intelligens, gratulor. Rogo ut cum habebit occasionem rescribendi ad R. P. Tichawsky meo nomine resalutare dignetur & gratias agat pro illius gratia in consanguineum meum; etsi quidem non novi illum, nam sunt multae domus Gordoniorum in Scotia, et tamen una quasi familia.

Quod Theodorus noster convaluit, et in pietate, bonis moribus, et studiis proficit, gaudium nobis est permagnum, quae omnia curae et laboribus R. V. tribuenda sunt, pro quibus Deus retribuat mercedem multiplicem. Gaudeo quod promotus est ad syntaxin. Rogo etiam ut in arithmetica aliquod discat. Ego retuli Serenissimo quod etiam Ruthenicam linguam discit scribere et legere, quod non solum laudavit sed mandavit ut procedat, ideo hoc

⁷¹⁸ Engagement (Latin).

R. V-rae magnopere recomendo. *Bene facit quod non*...

R. P. missionarii et tota communitas resalutant R. V-ram, et mea familia, cum omnibus recommendamus nos precibus R. V-rae, permaneo

R. V-rae

obligatus amicus et servus

P.S. Illo monacho qui conversatur cum Theodorulo et docet illum gratus ero. Spero, cupio et opto continuationem R. V-rae in praefectura.⁷¹⁹

{315v} Sept-r 8, Frid. Writt to Mr. Frazer in ans-r to his of the 24 *passat.*, & to my son Theodorus p[e]r post.

9. In Preobrasinsko.

10. About one aclock after mi[dn]ght my wyfe was delivered of a son.

Writt to Gen-ll Le Fort & my son in law p[e]r post; writt to Maior Gordon by Coll. De Duthe.

⁷¹⁹ "Reverend Father in Christ,

Your Reverence's letter dated in Wilno 2 July was delivered to me by the Most Illustrious Lord Resident of Poland on 9 July O.St. I have not responded to it until I hear of Y.R.'s return to Braunsberg, wherewith, having learned of it from Y.R.'s letter dated 17 Aug., I congratulate You. When occasion offers to write back to Rev. Father Tihavsky*, I beg You be pleased to salute him again on my behalf and thank him for his kindness to my kinsman, even if I knew him not, for many belong to the house of Gordon in Scotland, and yet [we] are as if one family.

That our little Theodore has recovered, and succeeds in piety, good morals and studies, is a great joy for us. All this should be attributed to Y.R.'s care and efforts, for which God recompense You with multiple rewards. I am glad that he has advanced to syntax. I also ask that he learn something in arithmetic. I told the Most Serene [Tsar] that [Theodore] is also learning to write and read in Russian, which he not only praised, but ordered to proceed, wherefore I urgently recommend it to Y.R.**

Rev. Missionary Paters and our whole community salute Y.R. again, and my family with everyone else commend ourselves to Y.R.'s prayers. I remain

Y.R.'s

obliged friend and servant

P.S. I shall be grateful to that monk who stays with Theodore and teaches him. I hope, desire and implore that Y.R. might continue in [Your] presidency" (Latin).

*Tobiaš Tihavsky, Czech Jesuit who officiated in Moscow and was dismissed in late 1689 at the behest of Patriarch Ioakim.

** Crossed out: "He does well not to..."

Received a letter from my son in law, dated Archangell the 4th instant.

Having been at devotion, & after the vespers at the contracting of Capt. Rickeman with Lt.Coll. Menezes his widdow, came home late.

{316} Sept-r 11, Moon. In Preobrasinsko by Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin] & Tichon Nikititz [Streshnev]. Afternoone by Madam Le Fort & M.G. Menezes.

12. At dinner by Achtemon Michaelovitz [Golovin], being the feast of his name-day.

Received a letter from G-ll Le Fort, dated Archangell 6 instant.

13. At home. In the 2d howre of the night a fyre in Mosco at the Arbat.

14. In Preobrasinsko. Afternoone, being sent for by Coll. Galbreth his widdow, I saw the writeings exchanged, & the new *daan* of the house left by me.

15. In towne, spoke with *Kniaz* Peter Ivanovits [Prozorovsky] & Tichon Nikitits about my business, see our sick boyar, and exercized the regiment in Butirky.

Received l-rs from G. Le Fort & my son in law, dated Archangell 8 instant.

{316v} Sept-r 16, Sat. In towne.

Received a letter from Mr. Georg Frazer, dated Riga 5 May, with 8 bookes of artillery & fireworks.

Sent & invited gossips to my child's christening.

17.⁷²⁰ At devotion. My son christened in the church by Pater Pawl Jaross, godfathers Coll. John von Bockhoven & Doctor Gregory Carbonary; godmother Mrs. Ludovina Guasconi in place of my Lady Perth⁷²¹. He is named Georgius Hilarius.

Received l-rs from the M-rs Robert Maistre and Gabriell Dowker, another from M-rs Tho. More & Meaux, dated both Narva 23 Aug. Received a letter from Mr. Frazer date[d] Riga 7 *Sept-ris*, with ane enclosed to Mr. Munter.

Had the Pols resident, the Paters and all my former & present gossips to dinner.

⁷²⁰ *Sun[day]* crossed out.

⁷²¹ Lady Mary Perth (1646–1726), daughter of Lewis Gordon, 3rd Marquis of Huntly, third wife of James Drummond, 1st Duke of Perth (1648–1716), who followed King James II (VII) into French exile.

18. In Preobrasinsko, see Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin] and Tichon Nikititz [Streshnev].

About midnight received a letter from my son in law, dated Archang[el] 12, giving me notice that his M. was to go from thence the 18.

{317} Sept-r 19, Tues. In towne, see Lew Kiril., *Kniaz* Peter Sem. [Prozorovsky] and *Kniaz* Fiod. Semen. [Urusov]. Afterwards in Butirsky, mustered the widdowes & orphans & exercized the regiment.

Received a letter from Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyow, dated Archangell 8 7bris.

20. In towne, see Tichon Nikitits. Received letters from my son in law with tokens by Peter de Lorie.

Writt to Gen-ll Le Fort & in his to my son in law.

21. At devotion, being St. Mathewes day.

Received a letter from my son in law, dated Archangel 14 7bris.

The *postavets*⁷²² to the joyner cost 2 r. 19 *al.* 4 *d.*

22. In Preobrasinsko.

23. In Preobrasinsko & in towne.

Tried the mortier pieces.

{317v} Sept-r 24, Sun. In Preobrasinsko. At devotion.

25. At home, in the morning the *Patres* by me.

Afternoone by M.G. Menezes, Coll-s Leviston, Hamilton & Mr. Howtman.

26. Received a letter from G-ll Le Fort, dated Archangell 18 instant.

27.

28. In towne. At devotion. In the evening at the contract of Le Ditte his son with Koret his daughter.⁷²³

My son Peter very sick.

29. In Preobrasinsko. At devotion.

Writt to Mr. Patrick Forbess in Dantzick in ans-r to his of the [...]; to Mr. Georg Frazer in Riga in ans-r to his of the [...]

{318} Sept-r 30. In Preobrasinsko. Fiod[or] Veretin, Mat[vey] Bes., Vas[ily] Poshnikuf & Ivan Samson[ov] by me.

Rec-d a letter from Col. de Lauzier, dated Wohlina 8 7bris '93.

Signed a list of the regiment for Sept-r and Octobers pay: 41 serjeants,

⁷²² Table or cupboard (Old Russian).

⁷²³ Instead of the crossed-out: *Le Fiebre with the deceased Coll. Calderwood his daug[hter]*.

37 foriers & furiers, 54 corporalls, 47 pipers, 10 *verstany* sojourns, 775 not *verstany*—in all 964; 5 carceered, 64 widdowes who have small male children, 44 orphans—in all 1,077; being more money required for the 2 months as formerly 52 rubles.

Oct-r 1, Sund. At devotion.

About 8 aclock at night his M. came to Preobrasinsko.

2. I went to Preobrasinsko, kissed his Ma-ties hand. Sent ane *anker*⁷²⁴ of French brandy to Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin], for which Christophor Semenovitz would have 14 rubles.

His M. came to me in the afternoone, and supped afterwards with company by me and was merry.

{318v} Oct-r 3, Tues. At the wedding of Mr. Jacob Le Feber, whither his M. came.

4. In Preobrasinsko, gave his M. the gunners quadrant & the granate-bagge. Breakfast afterwards with his M., and in the evening at the wedding.

5. Received a letter from Colonell van Baten, dated 16 *7bris*.

At a feast by the *Generalissimus* Ivan Ivanovitz Buterlin⁷²⁵. Came home late.

6. Writt to Coll. von Baten. G-ll Le Fort came, by him w[i]t[h] his M.

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated the 26 *7bris* at Archangell. Received a letter from Löwenfeldt with an acquittance of his wyfes portion and heirship.

{319} Oct-r [7, Sat.]⁷²⁶

[To Johann Ignaz Kurtz]

Perillustris et Magnifice D-ne,

Amicissime Compter,

Citius respondiſsem literis Mag. V-rae datis 5 Julii et Augusti, si non

⁷²⁴ *Anker*, old Dutch measure of volume, or small cask holding around 45 bottles, or approx. 38.75 l.

⁷²⁵ I.I. Buturlin (1661–1738), “near” *stolnik*, first major of Preobrazhensky regiment, from 1693 “Generalissimus” of mock troops, from 1721 general-in-chief.

⁷²⁶ Date on next page.

in mora fuisset spes componendi differentias inter Gen. D. Privignum V-rum et Ill. D. Resid. et R. Patres, sed (q[uo]d doleo) labores mei adhuc infructuosae fuere, neque pro certo possum scribere quis est in culpa, nam ex utraq[ue] parte sunt quaedam quae non approbo. Ad particularia non descendam, quia aliunde Gen. V-rae nota erunt. Ego certe laboravi quantum potui, sed novae irritationes et exasperationes semper interveniunt, quae conamina nostra irrita reddunt. Interim non sum sine spe ut omnia brevi sopita erunt.

Quoad conversationem D. Player, nihil plane video in illo *corrigi* culpabile, nam quiete et decenter vivit, et in discenda lingua Slavonica et Ruthenica magnam adhibet operam et assidue laborat, et optime proficit. Quoad R. Patres, decenter vivunt, et etiam in concionando Germanice proficiunt, sed moleste ferunt rationem vivendi hic, et quod annualis pensio vel salarium illis nondum venit, interim ego illis suppeditavi pecunias et curabo ne aliquid illis deficiat. Ludimagistro bono quidem valde indigemus.

Gratias ago pro novis. Rogavit me hic unus nobilis amicus meus, ut curarem afferre librum talem in quo arma vel insignia gentilitia nobilium R[egni] Hungariae precipue Pri. Transilvaniae scribantur. {319v} Si autem talis impressus haberi nequit, tunc rogo ut exscribantur arma gentilitia precipua et huc per bonam occasionem mittantur. Obsecro ut mihi ignoscat pro tanta molestia.

Restat ut non solum meo sed nomine totius communitatis gratias agam M. V-rae pro cura et laboribus pro bono Ecclesiae—Deus retribuat mercedem multiplicem—et rogamus ut continuet gratiam suam pro nobis tota communitas praes[er]tim familia mea, quae jam altero filiolo aucta, cum parvulo Petro salutant Ill. D. V-ram. Permaneo

Perill. D. V-rae
amicus & obligatus servus

Illustri et Generoso D. D. Johanni Ignatio Kurtz, Haereditario D-no in Dernberg, Sacrae Caesareae M. in Regno Hungariae Consiliario, pateant Neostadii vel Viennae.⁷²⁷

⁷²⁷ “Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord,
Dearest Godfather,

I would have sooner answered Your Lordship’s letters dated 5 July and [...]

Oct-r 7, Sat. Writt to Mr. Krevet & my son in law Snivins.

8. Dined with his M. by M. G-ll Rigeman.

9. In towne, by Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] & *K[niaz]* Fiod. Semen. [Urusov] & Yemel[yan Ukraintsev], where I gott my petition for the ground after my house ordered to be exscribed.

His M. by me in my absence, ordering the meeting of the *generallissimus*.⁷²⁸

{320} Oct-r 10, Tues. Wee rode out early to Alexeyofsky, where the *generallissimus* had stayed all night, and were admitted [...] The 4 regiments being in the Semenofsky fields, betwixt whom he passed. After he was passed, the cannon of all the regiments fired one after another, then the regiments each apart. The regiments afterwards marched through the

August, if the hope had not been delayed to compose the differences between Your noble stepson and the Ill. Lord Resident and Rev. Paters, but (which I regret) my efforts so far have been fruitless, nor can I truly write who is to blame, for on both sides there are things I do not approve of. I shall not enter into particulars, as these shall be known to Y.L. from others. I certainly strove as much as I could, but new irritations and exasperations always intervene, which make our efforts useless. However, I am not without hope that all these would soon be calmed.

As for Mr. Pleyer's conduct, I do not see anything culpable therein, for he lives quietly and decently, applies great efforts in studying Slavonic and Russian languages, works assiduously and makes the best possible progress. As for Rev. Paters, they live decently [too], and besides, improve their preaching in German, but they lead a grievous way of life here, and their annual pension or salary has not come yet. Meanwhile I have fully supplied them with money, and shall take care that they want not for anything. We very much require a good schoolteacher.

I thank You for the news. A noble friend of mine here asked me to try to obtain a book which describes the ancestral arms or insignia of the nobility of the Hungarian Kingdom, especially Princes of Transylvania. But if such an edition cannot be had, I beg You to cause extract the principal family arms and send them here with a good occasion. I implore to forgive me for such trouble.

It remains not only in my name, but from our whole community, to render our gratitude to Y.L. for Your care and labours for the well-being of the Church. God recompense You with multiple rewards. We beseech You to continue Your favour to us. Our whole community, especially my family, which has grown with another infant son, as well as little Peter, salute Y.L. I remain

Your Most Ill. Lordship's
friend and obliging servant"

"To the Illustrious and Noble Lord Johann Ignaz Kurtz, Hereditary Lord in Dernberg, [His] Sacred Imperial Majesty's Counsellor in the Kingdom of Hungary. To be opened in Neustadt or Vienna" (Latin).

⁷²⁸ Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky followed Tsar Peter from Archangel to Moscow.

Dworets or *Hoffe*⁷²⁹, & being drawne up befor the *prikase* or *sesye isby*⁷³⁰, were dismissed.

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated Archangel 25 7bris, and from my son in law, dated 26.

Dispatched the letter of the 7 to Mr. Krevet.

11. His M. by me in the morning, and dined by Le Fort.

I went in the afternoone by his M. and stayed late.

Signed a note for brandy for their being in the fields: under officers 179, soldiers 785, in all 964.

12. In the morning by his M., who went about 10 aclock to Chwily or Pokrofska.

{320v} Oct-r 13. I went to Pokrofska or Chwili and there dined.

14. At home the whole day. In the 3d howre of the night his M. gave me notice that he would come the next day & dine with me.

15. About 9 aclock his M. came and first breakfasted, and the company being conveyened, about midday he dined and all were afterwards very merry.

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated the 3 & 4 Oct-ris.

16. At home the whole day.

{321} Oct-r 17, Tues. At home, being indisposed.

18. Went to Chwily and dined with his M.

The *plotniks* began to worke at the *ambar*⁷³¹ above the ice sellar.

19. At devotion.

20. At home, being indisposed of a cold & cattahrr.

21. At home. Coll. von Batensh [wife] delivered of a da[uhte]r.

22. By Coll. Rigeman at a feast, where his M.

{321v} Oct-r 23, Moon. His M. by me in the morning, then in Preobrasinsko, then to Chwili.

Received a letter from Pater Schmidt & my son Theod[ore] Ign., dated Brunsberg 12 Oct. *st. n.*, in a *coverto* p[e]r order of Mr. Frazer, Riga, 12 Oct.

24. Writt to Mr. Krevet by Mr. Vinius his post. Writt to the Coll-s Boleman & de Lauzier.

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Archangell 9 Oct-

⁷²⁹ Russian and German for court or palace.

⁷³⁰ Office (Russian).

⁷³¹ Barn or storehouse (Russian).

ris, by his *strelets* Ivan Antrusin; another from Mr. Krevet, dated Arch. 3 Oct-ris.

Payed for 3 *yufits*⁷³² or 6 barked-skins 3 r. & 20 *altins*, for 3 papers of yellow starr nailes 30 *altins*, for black nailes 5 *altins*.

25. A letter from Lewenfeld of the 13th.

26. I rode to Chwily, dyned & supped w[i]t[h] his M.

27. At home, the B[ombardier?]⁷³³ came.

28. The B[ombardier?] by [...]

29. At the christening & feast of Alex-r Pet. Protasiuf⁷³⁴ his child, wher the B[ombardier?] & many others.

Coll. Levistons da-r dyed about midnight.

30. Writt to my son in law by Ivan Antrusin, and to Harry Krevett.

{322} No-r 1, Wed. At devotion, being All Saints day.

Received a letter from Snivins, dated Arch[angel] 29 Sep., by Mr. Timmerman, & from James Bruce⁷³⁵ 28 Sep.

2. At devotion. Afternoone at the buryall of Coll. Livingstons daughter.

Signed a list of the regiment for Novembers pay: 41 serjeants, 37 furiers & foriers, 54 corporalls, 47 pipers, 10 *verstany* sojourns, 775 *ne verstany*—in [all] 964; 5 carceered, 65 widdowes, 44 orphans—in all 1,078.

3. At home, indisposed of a catarr.

Received large letters from Lewenfeldt, dated Vologda 18–27 & 28 Oct-ris.

4. Sent for hay. Confirmation of Charleroy taken by the French, who in the tyme of the siege of [...] dayes discharged at it 70,860 cannon shott & 36,000 great bombes.⁷³⁶

⁷³² *Yufi'* (Russian), leather, originally treated with tar.

⁷³³ Cf. above, fol. 302.

⁷³⁴ A.P. Protasyev, *okolnichy*, head of Vladimir Judicial Office, from 1696 was in charge of galley-building in Voronezh and other places.

⁷³⁵ Apparently, not the (soon to be) famous general, statesman and scholar James Daniel (Yakov Vilimovich) Bruce, but his Scottish namesake, probably a merchant, who stayed in Archangel and died near Azov on 21 July 1695 (below, fols. 501 v.–502).

⁷³⁶ Charleroi in Spanish Netherlands was besieged by the French army in early September and taken on 12 October N.St. 1693.

5. At a feast by G-ll Le Fort, where all. Came home at 6 aclock in the morning.

{322v} *No-ris* 6, Moon. At the feast againe.

Received a letter from Pater Schmidt & my son Theodorus, dated Brunsberg 26 *Oct-ris st. n.*, and from Mr. Frazer a letter, dated Riga 26 *Oct-ris st. vet.*

His M. graced me with the place below the other house to the Yausa River.

7. At the wedding of Leopold Friderick Mass with Major Pawl Shults his daughter, where I was bridegrooms father.

8. I went in the morning to L[e] F[ort], where his M. He was pleased to come afterwards to me, and tooke three bookes of artillery along with him.

9. At home. The order for our pay sent into the Treasury.

Payed of Maxim for beating about the shease⁷³⁷, giving him for his worke 8 *grivnees*, the leather, cloth, nailes & other necessaryes thereto besides the painting cost about 10 rubles.

{323} No-r 10, Frid. Writt to Pater Schmidt in answer to his of the 12 & 26 *Oct-ris*, approving of takeing my son out of the Seminary and giving him by a burger to dyet & lodge; to my son Theodorus; to Mr. Frazer in answer to his of the 19 and 26 *passat*.

11. To Mr. Evouts, Howtman & Bush & L[euwenfelt] at Vologda.

12. At a child christening by Ivan Rodivonovitz Stresny, where his M. Came home at 12 aclock in the night. His M. to Chwily.

13. Received a letter from Madam Crawford, dated Konigsberg 4 *No-ris*, giving me notice of her having sold her lands, and resolution of coming into Russia; from Coll. Yunger & Harry Gordon, dat. Bel[gorod] 22 Oct.

Writt to Coll-s Yunger, Crow, Gast, Pfenigbeer, von Verden & Harry Gordon.

{323v} No-r 14, Tues. Received a letter from M.G-ll Gulits, dated Shefsky 29 *Oct-ris*; from my son in law Snivins, dated Archangell 8 Oct., by the *laretsky*⁷³⁸.

Writt to my son in law Snivins & to the Governour Fiodor Matfeovitz

⁷³⁷ Chaise.

⁷³⁸ Either an officer collecting duties on sale of liquor and salt, or a kind of steward in a boyar's house (Old Russian).

Opraxin⁷³⁹ by the *strelets*es.

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Archangell the 1 *No-ris*.

15. At devotion, being St. Leopolds day.

Received a letter from Mr. Robert Maister & Gabriell Dowker, dated Narva 3d Oct-r, with a full power dated *ib.* 29 7bris.

16. Rode to Chwili and from thence w[i]t[h] L[ev] K. [Naryshkin] and his bro-r to the hunting, and had good sport, and lodged there all night.

A note of what my shease cost

	R.	<i>Alt.</i>	<i>D.</i>
Timber worke			
Iron worke			
Wheeles			
6 barked hydes	3	20	-
5 paper[s] yell[ow] nailes, 1,000	1	16	4
Black nailes	-	5	-
2 <i>voylocks</i> ⁷⁴⁰	-	2	4
Leather to hulst.	-	2	-
Iron worke	-	9	-
2 1/2 <i>ars[hin]</i> blew cloth	2	-	-
15 <i>arsb.</i> yell. lace ⁷⁴¹	-	8	4
A skinne	-	10	-
Rings & buckles	-	3	2
Thongs & leather to hinges	1	6	4
& staves			
Girthing	-	3	-
<i>Morsory</i> leather to <i>remes</i> ⁷⁴²			
Worke to Maxim	-	26	4

⁷³⁹ On 22 August 1693 F.M. Apraksin succeeded A.A. Matveyev as *voyeroda* in Archangel.

⁷⁴⁰ *Voylok* (Russian), felt.

⁷⁴¹ As usual for Gordon, his carriages etc. were decorated with his clan's colours, blue and gold or yellow (azure and or).

⁷⁴² Walrus leather to straps (Russian).

17. Returned.

18. At home.

{324} No-r 19, Sund. At devotion. At dinner with his M. & others by the *Archimandritt* of the Czudofsky monastery, and at night by Le F[ort].

20. At home indisposed.

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Archangell 8 *No-ris*; from Mr. Krevet, dated *ib.* 7 *No-ris*.

21. Writt to Mr. Krevet & my son in law by Mr. Vinius his post.

At a ballet feast by Peter P. Marselis.

22. Remained at the feast still.

23. Being my daughter Katherine her birthday, I dined with her, she being this day 28 yeares.

Received a letter from M[adam] Crawfuird, dated 4 *No-ris* from Konigsberg.

My son James graced colonell, & to go to Tambow.

{324v} No-r 24, Frid. Writt to Madam Crawfuird and Mr. Frazer in ans-r to hers of the 4 & his of the 2d *No-ris*.

25. At devotion, dined with the *Patres* by my daughter.

26. At a christening by Kirila Alex. [Naryshkin], where all. Came home lat[e].

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated the 14th instant.

27. At home indisposed.

The order underwritten to have our full meanes now, & hereafter every yeare in September.

28. Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 16 *No-ris*, wherein he maketh me his debtor 15 R.dol. & 54 gr.

Writt to Mr. Krevet in ans-r to his of the 14th.

{325} No-r 29, Wed. At home, being indisposed.

30. At devotion, being St. Andrewes day. In the evening by Sr. Howteman.

Dec-r 1, Frid. At home.

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated Archangel 21 *No-ris*.

2. In Preobrasinsko, by his M. Caused receive 300 heades of pikes—not pleasing, did not take them.

Signed a list of the regiment for Decembers pay, viz.: 41 serjeants, 37 furiers & foriers, 54 corporalls, 47 pipers, 10 *verstany* sojourns, 773 not *verstany*—in all 962; carceered sojourns who have yong male children 5, 65 widdowes who have yong male children, 44 orphans—in all 1,076 persons.

{325v} Dec-r 3, Sund. At devotion. Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga the 23 *No-ris*, with enclosed to others. Rec-d a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Archangell 26 *Oct-ris*.

4. At devotion, being St. Barbaraes day. His M. by me a short while.

5. Writt to my son in law in ans-r to his of the 26 *Oct-ris*, & to Mr. Krevet in ans-r to his of the 21 *No-ris* by post.

In towne & Butirky, at the Sweds *Hoffe*⁷⁴³, by Mr. Kenkell & *Kniaz* Vasily Fiod. Sirovov Zashekin⁷⁴⁴.

Mr. Kenkell pawned his howse to the *istopnik* Andrean Yeftifeuf & his brother Andrew for 1,300 rubles, to be payed the next year A.D. 1694 the 6th of December, and in case of non payment the house to be theirs.

{326} Dec-r 6. At home.

Received a letter from the Governour of Archangell Fiodor Matf. Opraxin, dated Archangell 21 *No-ris*, & from my son in law, dated there the 22 past.

7. At home. Received pay for this yeare from the 1st of September 480 rubles the 3d part; for 120 measures of rey and as much oates at 20 *alt.* 4 *deng.* the brace, 74 rubles 13 *altins* 2 *dengees*; and 400 rubles being added to my ordinary yearly pay, and so in all 954 rub. 13 *alt.* 2 *dengees*.

Mr. Howtman & son by me about Mr. Dowkers busines.

Received a letter from Cosmus de Bosch, dated Vologda 1 *Dec-ris*.

8. Writt to the governour of Archangell & my son in law in answer to theirs above, by the convoyance of Frantz Timmerman.

Dined with his M. & others in the Simonofsky monastery, came home late.

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated Archangell 28 *No-ris*.

Payed to the widdow von Dellens upon the acco-t of Lewenfelt for house hyre 13 rubles.

⁷⁴³ Probably, at the Swedish Resident's.

⁷⁴⁴ Prince V.F. Zhirvovogo-Zasekin, *voyevoda* and *okolnichy* with whom Gordon served in Kiev in 1685.

{326v} Dec-r 9, Sat. My house tooke fyre from the oven, but was by speedy help quenched.

Received letters from Coll. Evanitsky, dated Kyow 26 *Oct-ris*, and two from Maior Brzysky, dated Pereaslaw 1 *Octobris* & [...] of No-r.

Given to the writer⁷⁴⁵ Greg. Sikuf 5 rubl. & to the other writers 2 rubles, & to the *stroses* 2 *grivnees*.

Payed to the regiment which I borrowed, 30 rubles.

Sent 10 rubles to Dmitre Gorbunow to buy oates.

10, Sunday. At devotion. The Court to Mosko.

11. Received a letter from my son in law, dated Archangell 26 *No-ris*.

Payed to Mr. Beurman upon the acco-t of Lewenfelt 8 rubl. 23 *alt.* 4 *dengees*.

Lent to M. van Batens 2 rubles, in all now 5, & 5 befor to him.

Given to Christophorovna for her paines 5 rubl.; payed for the beer brewer to the maltman Stephan 2 rubles 8 *grivnees*; to the maltman for 14 tunnes of malt at 18 *alt.*, 7 rub. 18 *al.* 4 *d.*; for 50 pund of hopes at 1 *alt.*, 1 r. 16 *al.* 4 *d.*

Agreed to build 2 new round ovens for 3 *dengees* a *kachle*, and for the making a *poluska*⁷⁴⁶ for each *kachle* or brick, & gave a ruble in hand.

{327} Dec-r 12, Tues. At home.

Received a letter from M. Snivins, dated Ar[changel] 28 *No-ris*.

A fire & Simon Griboyedufs⁷⁴⁷ house burnt & no more.

13. In towne, invited to the wedding.

Subscribed the *smete*⁷⁴⁸ or list for salt for the regiment: of maryed persons 11 *verstany* at 4 *pud* each, 864 not *verstany* at 3 *pude* each; batchelours 4 *verstany* at 2 *pude* each, 85 not *verstany* at 1 1/2 *pude* each—in all 964 persons.

Payed to Christoffer Simonis for Lewenfelt 2 r. 7 *gr.*

14. At the wedding of Capt. Rickeman with the widdow of my deceased Lt.Colonell John Menezes, where stayed all night.

⁷⁴⁵ Gordon's usual term for *podyachy*.

⁷⁴⁶ *Polushka*, Russian coin equal to 1/4 kopek.

⁷⁴⁷ Apparently, Semion Fiodorovich Griboyedov, *stolnik* and colonel of *streltsy*, who took part in Chigirin campaigns and suffered for his abuses during the Moscow riot of 1682.

⁷⁴⁸ *Smeta* (Russian), estimate or list.

15. Writt to the M-rs Robert Maister & Gabriell Dowcker in ans-r to theirs of the 3d *Oct-ris*, and sent them the writeings desired by S-r Howteman and another by Mr. Andrewes.

I lent to M.G-ll Menezes 20 rubles.

16. Haveing gott a paine & swelling in my throat, with a paine in my head & heat over all my body, I was forced to keep bed the whole day.

Being invited to come to *Kniaz* Boris Alexeiovits [Golitsyn] to a feast in his village, wher his M. was to be, I excused myself by reason of my sicknesse.

{327v} Dec-r 17, Sun. Kept bed, being troubled with a defluxion, a paine in my throat & not free of a feaver.

Received letters from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 7 *Dec-ris*; from Pater Schmidt & my son Theodorus, dated Brunsberg 27 *No-ris*, and hereby an acco-t of expences given out upon my son Theodorus, viz.: 63 fl. besides cloth to a coat & 40 fl. taken from Mr. Gray, remaining by him 10 fl. 2 gross. *(some ducats exch. at 7 fl. 8 g. & o[u]rs at 7 fl. and 10 gross.)*⁷⁴⁹

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated Archangell [...] *Dec-ris*.

Signed a list of the regiment for January and February's pay: 41 serjeants, 37 furiers & foriers, 53 corporalls, 47 pipers, 10 *verstany* sojourns, 774 not *verstany*—in all 962 sol.; 5 carceered, 65 widdowes, 44 orphans.

18. Found my self a litle better, praised be God!

The Boyar Fiod[or] Pet. Seremetuf⁷⁵⁰ by me.

19. The swelling of my throat being gone I had great ease, haveing slept well, yet the inward heat continued.

Pat[er] Schmidt exch[anged] 6 ducats in Konigsberg at 7 fl. 8 gross., w-ch makes 43 fl. 18 gross., & 4 at 7 fl. 10 gross., w-ch makes 29 fl. 10 gross.

{328} Dec-r 20. Given 5 rubles more to the oven maker, the rest to be payed when the ovens are well tryed with heating; in both the ovens with the double 514 *kachles*, in the one 220 & in the other 294.

Given to the church 20 rubles, to Ignatius 3 rubles, & payed of my acco-ts with Kusma, giveing him for sugar & spices 13 rubles 1 *gr.*, & 2 rubles for blew cloth.

⁷⁴⁹ Written on margin.

⁷⁵⁰ F.P. Sheremetev, boyar and *voyevoda*, with whom Gordon was in close touch when they both served in Kiev in 1684–5.

Payed to Alexey the fisher for alive fish 25 rub.

21. Invited to the Boyar Peter Vasil. Seremetuf to a feast, it being his name-day & his M. to be there, but could not go by reason of my indisposition.

22. At mattins.

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated at Archangell 12 *Dec-ris*, by Christoffer Brandt.

{328v} Dec-r 23, Sat. Writt to Mr. Krevet & my son in law by Mr. Timmermans convoyance.

24. At devotion.

25. Wee went to church at midnight, heard devotion & confessed, came home at 4 aclock; went againe at six, heard 2 masses, came home at 7; went againe at 10, heard masse & tooke the Blessed Sacrament.

At vespers late. His M. in Slaboda.

26. At devotion. The English came to me.

27. In towne, dined with his M. by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky]. In the evening by Mr. Guasconi, from whom I had 2 paire of pistols, w-ch cost 20 rub.

Received 2 paire of English pistols & Quarles *Emblems*⁷⁵¹ from Mr. Pendek, w-ch cost 30 rubles.

{329} Dec-r 28, Thur. At devotion. His M. came by me. The English presented a gold watch & a case w[i]t[h] instruments to his M.; the watch cost 65 p. st. & the case 35 p. st. His M. graced them each with a great *pokal*⁷⁵² of wine.

Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] his singers came by me, to whom I gave 2 R[eichs] doll[ers].

In the evening by M.G. Menezes & Coll. von Mengden.

Writt to Mr. Robert Maister & Gabriell Dowker concerning their business with Howtman and Alexey Poluninuf.

29. In towne, by *Kniaz* Fiodor Seme[novich] Urusov]. By Mr. Hartman & Mr. Baltus.

⁷⁵¹ The best-known work by the English author Francis Quarles (1592–1644), first published in 1635 and often reprinted (*Emblemes. Printed by I.D. [John Dawson] for Francis Eglesfeild.* (London, 1639), and other edns.). It is a collection of spiritual poems based on the Bible, with allegorical plates.

⁷⁵² Cup or goblet (German).

In the evening the great s[ingers?]⁷⁵³ by me, to whom I gave 2 rubles.

30. At devotion. Afternoone in towne by L[ev] Kir., Gavr[iil] Iv. [Golovkin], K[*nias*] M[ikhail?] Gr[igoryevich?]⁷⁵⁴, Yem[elyan] Uk[raintsev].

{329v} Dec-r 31, Sun. At devotion. Dined w[i]t[h] the P[atres] by M.Gen-ll Menezes.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵³ Or *slavilshchiki*, Russian choirs that sang praises during Christmastide.

⁷⁵⁴ Possibly, Prince M.G. Romodanovsky, boyar and *voyevoda*, whom Gordon knew well at least since the Chigirin campaigns of 1677–8.

⁷⁵⁵ Blank pages follow in MS (fols. 330–345 v.).

Ja-ry 1, Moon. God give us a good new yeare!

At devotion.

2. At the wedding of Maior Adam Witte⁷⁵⁶ with Jan Gutebier the apothecaries daughter.

3. At the wedding againe.

4. At the buryall of Mr. Hartmans yongest daughter Catharina, who had been married 2 yeares ago to her sisters husbands brother.

{346v} Jan-ry 5, Frid. Writt to Mr. Frazer in answer to his of the 16 & 23 *No-ris* & 7 *Decembris*, Riga; to Madam Crawfuird with an enclosed to her from her sone Tho.; to Mr. Joachim Vaget with ane Emperours letter to the Governour P.M. Op[raksin], to let Madam Crawfuird with her children, servants & baggage pass unmolested and to give her 8 *podvodes*.

Received a note from the regiment writer, givinge ane acco-t of the money left over the pay of the sojourns for the 4 last months viz. of September & October 34 rubles 15 *alt.* 4 *deng.*; of No-r month 2 r. 3 *al.* 2 *deng.*; of Dec-r month 3 rubles 20 *alt.*—in all 40 rub. 2 *alt.* 4 *dengees*.

Coll. Rosworme his corps brought to Mosko.

6. At the ceremony in the towne, kissed his M. hands befor the procession.⁷⁵⁷

7. At devotion. D.K. & Pr.⁷⁵⁸ dyned by me.

Received a letter from Madam Crawfuird, dated Konigsberg 26 *Dec-ris*; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 28 *Dec-ris*.

{347} Jan-ry 8, Moon. At home.

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated Vologda 2 Jan-ry.

9. In towne, see his M. by *K[niaz]* Fiod. Sem. [Urusov]. Thereafter gott orders about the money for my place. In the evening with M.Gen. Menezes by Mr. Wulffe.

10. At home. Received from Mr.Gen-ll Menezes 36 rubles for the church for 4 yeares, this included, & the 20 rubles I had lent him.

⁷⁵⁶ Apparently, Adam Weide (see fol. 488 v.).

⁷⁵⁷ Feast of the Theophany (Baptism of Christ).

⁷⁵⁸ Possibly, Doctor Kellerman and the Paters.

11. In towne by Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin]. Dined with the PP[*Patres*] & others by Mr. Gwasconi.

Writt to my son in law Snivins & his wyfe by Fiodor & the *streltsees*, & sent them things.

Received a letter from my son in law, dated Archangell 3 Jan-ry.

12. Writt to M. Crawfuird & Mr. Vaget in Plesko & to the governour there. Writt to Fiodor Matfeovits [Apraksin].

{347v} Jan-ry 12, Wed.

[To John Gordon]

Son,

That this wants the ordinary epithete, you have no body to blame but your self. Your great neglect in not answering myne of the 26 *7bris* '92, of the 12th of Jan-ry, the 3d of Feb-ry & 21 *Aprilis* '93 doth trouble me not a litle. I am sure *they are all come to*⁷⁵⁹ you have received them all *because I have notice of their dispatch from London.*⁷⁶⁰ I would have thought that my great goodnes (as you terme it) to you should have obliged you to the meanest degree of gratitude, at least an acknowledgment. When you did write to London for the plate which I ordained for you, & acknowledged to Mr. Meverell the reseat of my 3 last pacquets, you might have very well bestowed a quarter of a sheet of paper and as much of an howres tyme on me, as an acknowledgment if not thankses for that which neither in reason nor justice you could exspect.

I had intended to have written at large to you, but where I receive no returnes, I think my labour lost. I have in my many former resented, and striven to make you sensible of such neglect. I am {348} sensible indeed now of my too much forwardnes to comply with your and my ffrriends desires there. If I had kept you still in expectation, you might have been perhaps more dilligent & carefull to have kept your self in my good opinion. But what is past cannot be helped, & I am now forced to play an aftergame so well as I can.

⁷⁵⁹ Crossed out.

⁷⁶⁰ Crossed out.

In myne of the 3d of Febr. last yeare I gave you & my ffriends some hopes of remitting you the 300 merks, which I had reserved for my self & wyfe dureing our lyves to be payed yearely, but God Almighty out of his gracious goodnes encreasing my family, as lately the 10th of Sept-r last, by a son called Georg, and the circumstances of my being still at Court obliging me to spend more as I gett, I am constrained by justice to provide a livelyhood for another son there, which I have no wayes to do but by adhering to my former resolutions, to {348v} w-ch purpose I have sent a factory to my cousins Nethermuir & Cults, to have a care of my conernes there, and expects exact performance from you of the conditions on which I sent you a disposition of the heretable right of these lands.

{349} Jan-ry 12.

To my unkle

My last was the 3d of Feb-ry last, since w-ch non from any there, giving him notice of the necessity of my adhering to my former resolutions concerning the 300 merks yearly to be payed by my son, dureing the lyves of me & my wyfe, and giving him notice of the circumstances of my family here etc.

To Nethermuir

My last was this day 12 month, since which non from you; so adviseing him of my resolutions concerning the 300 merks to be payed yearly by my son; of my sending a factory to him & Cults, and the deceased Capt. Gordons bonds etc.

To Cults

Desireing him to accept of the factory sent to him & Nethermuir; adviseing him of my adhering to my former resolutions concerning the 300 merks, & of my business with Rothemay etc.

{349v} Jan-ry 12.

To W-m Gordon in Aberdeen

Yo-rs dated in No-r '92 had been answered befor now, if I had had any matter or any occasion but by post. So acquainting him familiarly of my discontent for my sons not writeing to me, of the circumstances of sending a factory, my business with Rothemay, and the particulars of my family; desireing him to writt often & adviseing him how to address his letters etc.

To the Laird of Crichy

My last was of the 3d of Feb. last, since which non from any there; adviseing him of my adhering to my former resolutions for many reasons for exacting the payment of 300 merks yearly from my son; complaining of his neglect; acquainting him of my desire of getting Achl[euchries] holden of the King, & freed of the teind duties; desireing him to writt to me etc.

{350} [Jan-ry 12]⁷⁶¹

Memorandum for Mr. Henry Styles

When you come to Narva, shew our countrey men the state of their business here, & the difficulties, with my willingnes to serve them.

In Riga remember me to Mr. Frazer, Mr. Danyel & all our countrey men.

In Konigsberg to Mr. W-m Gray.

In Brunsberg call or turne into Mr. Fabritius his house, where my son Theodorus is lodged, and if he be in the Colledge, cause send for him, at first (if possible) without acquainting {350v} the Jesuits, and enquire of him how he findeth himself as to his health, how he is used, if better there as in the Colledge; and pray examine him what progress he hath made in his learning, as in the Latine, in arithmetick, & especially in not forgetting, if not profiteing, in the Russe language; in what habite he is & what he pretends to want. You may thereafter cause send for Pater Schmidt and

⁷⁶¹ Date on next page.

ask of him what is to be payed for my sons maintenance, which runs so.

He came thither about the midle of October, being to pay yearly for dyet, fyre and lodging 150 flor. good money *per annum*.⁷⁶² By P. Schmidts last reckoning to me the 27 *No-ris* he had in his hands 10 fl. 2 gross.; since is taken up from Mr. Gray 40 fl. upon the acco-t of his dyet & lodging for this year (for the last was payed by Mr. Lhoyd). So that you ar to pay for his maintenance till the midle of October 110 fl., for washing 4 fl., for his pedagogue, or *give the Russe fryer a duckat or 2 if he hath deserved it;*⁷⁶³ {351} inspector 5, 6 or 7 dollers. Yet not to be behind-hand with them, I would have his maintenance & the other casualities payed to the first of March or midle Aprill next. Then, to enquire how much they will have to maintaine him in cloths till that tyme & to give them what they ask, for they are just, and will give me an exact acco-t. Pater John Schmidt is the man I trust, pray learne how long he is to continue there.

Note that Pater Shmidt writeth to me that he hath taken but 30 florens, & Mr. Frazer hath charged me with 40 fl.

*He came thither about the midle of October, & his maintenance for dyet, fyre, lodging, washing & inspector for the yeare & to the first or midle of March next will amount to about 215 fl., which is about 30 ducats, reckoning the 30 or 40 fl. payed.*⁷⁶⁴

You may tell the Jesuits that his Ma-ties [*sic*] hath licensed to stay abroad but 3 yeare, he being to be here againe about the tyme he went from hence {351v} *An.* '95. So that it will be for their credit to make him profit as much as possible in that tyme. My designe is only to have him understand the Latine authors & speake the language, and that he be perfect in arithmetick and well mannered.

When you come to Dantzick, pray remember me to Mr. Forbes and such of our countrey men as you shall happen to see, & writt to me from thence.

As you travell through Holland or in England, pray enquire for a book treating of Ancient & Moderne Customes & Ceremonies, as of Coronations, reception of Ambassadors, Treatyes, Mariages & Funeralls etc., and buy it for me, & *Compendium Contro. Becani*⁷⁶⁵.

⁷⁶² Crossed out.

⁷⁶³ Added in smaller hand at bottom of page.

⁷⁶⁴ Fragment crossed out.

⁷⁶⁵ Martinus Becanus, *Compendium manualis controversiarum hujus temporis, De Fide, ac*

You shall find a letter by Mr. Frazer in Riga, wherein shall be notice of the things I desire to have from England.

If you come to Rotterdam, and that James or W-m Gordon undertake the sending of the packet of l-rs for Ab[er]d[een], pray give it of & recommend it to them, for it is of great concernment to me; if not, then give it to Mr. Meverell.

{352} Jan-ry 12.

Copy of the Factory sent to John Gordon of Nethermuir
& Pat. Gordon of Cults

Be it knowne to all men by these present l-rs, wee Gen-ll Patrick Gordon of Achluichries, forasmuch as I being engaged in the service of his Imp-ll M. of Russia, so that I cannot be present in Scotland to manage my effaires in my own person, and haveing certaine experience⁷⁶⁶ of the fidelity, ability & dilligence of⁷⁶⁷ John Gordon of Nethermuir and Patrick Gordon of Cults; witt yee me therefor, the said Gen-ll P. Gordon, to have made, constitute & ordained, and by the tenor hereof make, constitutes & ordaines the said John & Patrick Gordons my lawfull, undoubted and irrevocable pr[octo]rs, actors & factors, to the effect underwritten, giveing, granting & comitting to them (they acting alwayes in my effaires by the esp-c-ll advice of the Noble Georg, Earle of Aberdeen) my full power, commission & warrand to receive from my eldest son John in Scotland the summe of 200 libs. Scottish yearly dureing the naturall lives of me & my wyfe, beginning at the terme of Whitsunday next. To which effect in my prescriptions to the {352v} disposition of the heretable right of my lands of Achluichries, I have ordained my wyfe Elizabeth to be infeft in the lands of Easter Achluichries, as also to keep and dispose of the Bond of 3,000 merks Scottish according to my order in the said disposition, and

Religione. This work first appeared in Würzburg in 1623 and was often reprinted. The author, whose real name was Schellekens (1563–1624), a Flemish Jesuit and confessor of Emperor Ferdinand II, distinguished himself as one of the most famous divines of Counter-Reformation.

⁷⁶⁶ Instead of the crossed-out: *proofe*.

⁷⁶⁷ *my cousins* crossed out.

also receive any summes of money which I may remitt to Scotland, or are due to me there, especially the debt due to me by Jo[hn] Gor[don] the Laird of Rothemay upon his brother W-m his acco-t; and also to uptake, lift & recover the rents, profits and duties of any lands, summes of money and annuall rents, which may accrew to me hereafter; as also to satisfy and pay all debts due by me to whatsoever persons or person whither by personall or reall security, and to obtaine discharges and acquittances thereupon, or such other convoyances of the same as shall be thought most expedient for my behoofe; with lyke power to sue, call & persue all & every person whomsomever who are or may be due or indebted to me; to obtaine {353} sentences & decreets therein and put them in due execution; compone, transact & agree thereane[n]t, acquittance & discharges to give thereupon; and generally all and sundry other things requisite and necessary to do, use & exerce anent the haille premisses, and anent all my effaires, business & concernments within the Kingdom of Scotland that I might do my self if I were personally present; which I shall hold firme & valid without revocation.

Declaring hereby that my said factors shall be bond & obliged by the acceptance hereof to make just acco-t and reckoning & payment to me, my heires or assignes of all such summes of money and things whatsoever, which they sall uplift & receive by vertue of this p[rese]nt Factory, they haveing alwayes allowed to them such summes of money & debts as they shall satisfy for me, with such charges & expenses as they shall happen to disburse & give out anent the premisses. And I, the said Gen-ll P. Gordon bynd and obliges me, my aires, executors & successors {353v} to warrant the above-written Factory good, valid & effectuall at the hands of all deadly. Consenting thir presents to be registrate in the books of Counsell & Session within the said Kingdome of Scotland, Sheriffe or Commissary Court books of Aberdeen, therein to remaine *ad futuram rei memoriam*⁷⁶⁸, and constitutes [...] my lawfull pr-c-rs. In wittenesse whereof I have written & subscribed this with my owne hand befor these witnesses: M.G. P. Menezes & Coll. Alex-r Leviston.

So done in the Strangers suburb of Mosco A.D. 1694 the 12 of Jan-ry old stile.

⁷⁶⁸ "For future remembrance of this" (Latin).

{354} Jan-ry 13, Sat. In towne. At the buriall of Coll. Rosworme.

14. At devotion. A wedding by Ge[n]-ll M. Rigeman.

15. Writt to Pater Schmidt in ans-r to his of the 27 *No-ris*, showing that by Mr. Stiles I had sent money to pay for this year & the halfe of another yeare; that my son must stay but 3 yeares abroad; the want & need wee have of a schoolm-r; that I am satisfied with the catalogue of the things expended on my son.

To my son Theodorus.

To Mr. Forbes, showing that my last was the 29th of September last yeare; the circumstances of my son in Brunsberg; that he is to come in Aprill '95 to Dantzick to study & learne military exercizes, and desireing to be informed if there be any such who can informe him such things there.

{354v} Jan-ry 15, Moon. To Mr. W-m Gray in Konigsberg, giving him thanks for his care of my concernes, & advertiseing of haveing payed the cloth and money advanced for my sons use to Mr. Frazers order.

To Mr. Ro-t Gordon in ans-r to his of the 15 of June last yeare, giving him notice of the circumstances of myself & family, and wishing him well home to Scotland.

To Mr. Frazer in ans-r to his of the 28th past.

To Mr. Meverell in ans-r to his of the 27th 7bris '92 with the instruments, of the 2d *Junii*, 5 & 14th of July, giving notice of haveing received the things he sent me in good condition; of the circumstances of my family.

To Mr. James Gordon in Roterdam, desireing if convenience to forward my packet, and to informe me of the state of our countrey, of the Duke of Gordon & the Earle of Perth⁷⁶⁹.

{355} Jan-ry 16, Tues. At the wedding of Le Dittes her son.

Mr. Stiles went from hence, by whom I sent my letters, and gave him 55 rubles to exchange for 50 ducats for defraying the charges of my son in Brunsberg.

17. In towne, dined by *Kniaz* B[oris] Al. [Golitsyn].

Writt to Boris Petr. Seremetuf.

18. In towne, dined by Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin]. Afterwards by Fiod. And. Zikuf⁷⁷⁰ at beare baiting.

⁷⁶⁹ James Drummond, 4th Earl, later Duke of Perth (1648–1716), former Lord Chancellor of Scotland, one of the leading Jacobites.

⁷⁷⁰ F.A. Zykov, Duma nobleman who served with Gordon in Kiev in 1684–5.

19. In towne, by his M.

Writt to *Kniaz* Boris Ivan. Prosar[ovsky] & to Mr. Ja. Meyer.

20. In towne, by *K[niaz]* F[iodor] S. [Urusov], L[ev] Kir. & above by his M.

{355v} Jan-ry 21, Sun. At a feast by And. Artem. [Matveyev] with his M. & o[the]rs.

22. Written to my son in law Snivins by the Capt. Fiodor, & to the *voymod* there.

The old Empress Dowager sick.

23. Made up my acco-ts with Mr. Munter, and payed to him upon his and Mr. Frazers acco-t 9 rubles 98 *kop.*, which is the ballance of my acco-t with him, he being owing me for rent 18 rubles, and now cleared.

Above & breakfasted there.

24. In towne, above and by Ye[melyan Ukraintsev].

Writt to my son in law by *Ruitm-r* Zeughe and sent by him the note of the 3 *streltsees* who came with the Captaine Fiodor, to whom I had lend 1 1/2 ruble.

Signed the bookes for the pay of Jan-ry for the regiment viz.: 41 serjeants, 37 furiers & foriers, 53 corporalls, 47 *boyboyes* men⁷⁷¹, 10 *verstany* sojourns, 772 not *verstany*, 5 carceered, 66 widdowes, 44 orphans—in all [...]

{356} Jan-ry 25, Thur. His M. haveing promised to come to a valet supper with dancing⁷⁷², I went in to the Court 2 houres befor day, but found not his M., who upon the apparent danger of his mothers lyfe had taken his leave of her and retired to his house in Preobrasinsko; whither I hasted and found his M. exceeding melancholy & troubled. About 8 aclock wee had notice that the Empress Dowager was deceased in the 42 yeare of her age, haveing lyen but 5 dayes. His M. lamented her death exceedingly, as those of her kinred & ffriends did.

26. The Empress buried with the ordinary ceremonies & in the buri-all place and monastery where the Empresses & Princesses ly. After which

⁷⁷¹ At that period army musicians were often called “oboists”, although early military woodwind were usually fifes, not oboes. It is the only instance of this term in the Diary.

⁷⁷² Evidently, on the occasion of Colonel James Gordon’s departure for service in Tambov (see entry for 27 January).

in the evening came her brothers & kinred to condole with his M., which occasioned a new excess of grieffe.

{356v} Jan-ry 27. His M. went to the church publickely, and then to his mothers grave or where she was to be enterred.

My son James went from hence to Tambow.

I in the evening by Mr. Gwasconi & Mr. Pendek.

Received from Doctor Carbonary the hundred rubles which had been lent him.

28. At a feast by G. Le F[ort], where his M. and many others.

Received a letter from Mr. Robert Maister, dated Narva 15th Jan-ry, wherein he shoves that they cannot subscribe that paper of Mr. Howtman, being so prejudiciall.

Ordered to go to the sea for Rere-Admirall.

Mr. Maister adviseth me of haveing sent 2 *duts*⁷⁷³ of Canary to me.

29. His M. againe by G. Le F[ort].

Lent to Coll. B. Roonaers widdow 4 rubles.

In the evening M.G. Menezes, M.G. Rigeman & l[ady?] with Mr. Wulffe & Mr. Lloyd by me.

{357} Jan. 30, Tuesday. Writt to my son in law, givinge notice of my being ordered to go for Archangell, and ordering beer to be brewed & other things provided.

Gave in lend to the *Stolnick* Semen Nikitits Boborikin 342 rubles belonging to my daughter Katherine, and received in pawne 39 pund & [...] *zlotniks* of silver plate most gilt whereof about 10 of Polls silver & 2 paire of earrings; to be payed on the first of Aprill 1695, or then the pawne to be lost.

31. By his M. at Preobrasinsko.

{357v} Feb-ry 1, Thur. At devotion. His M. at the *panafide* of his mo[the]r.

2. Writt to my cousin W-m Gordon in Ab[er]d[een] with a note enclosed of the deceased Capt. W-m Gordon for 30 rubles to his unkle M.G. Menezes, and it in a *covert*o to Mr. Henry Stiles, which also in a *covert*o to Mr. Geo. Frazer in Riga.

⁷⁷³ *Dutzend* (German), dozen (bottles).

Writt to Mr. Jacob Meyer merch-t in Novogrod, to send forward the things to me sent from England for his Ma-tie.

I went to Troitza⁷⁷⁴ at day light, where his M. & others, being about 15 *verst* from Mosko.

3. Stayed in Troitza & were merry.

[4.] Returned. Received a letter from Mr. Vaget, dated Plesko 28 Jan-ry '94.

Gave a chalice to the church, which weighed 82 *zolotniks*, being most overgilt without, & w[i]t[h]in all.

{358} Feb-ry 5, Moon. Mustered these whom I intended to take to the sea with me.

Lent to my daughter 10 rubles, & 30 befor.

Payed for Harry Gordon to James Bruce 4 rubles.

At night by Coll. Leviston & Romswinkell.

6. At Preobrasinsko.

Lent to von Batens 10 rubles, so that they ow me now 20 rubles.

Writt to Coll. Fliwark in Smollensko to dispatch the positive⁷⁷⁵ to me.

In the evening at the wedding of Maior Georg Becker von Dellen with Margaret, daughter to Coll. Yochim Creke, where his M.

7. Lent to Ivanovna 3 rubles, payed.

At the wedding againe.

Polls resident went from hence.

8. At the wedding of Lt. John Sits with Katherine, daughter to Lt.Coll. John Rowland.⁷⁷⁶

Ro[ber]tson taken.⁷⁷⁷

{358v} Feb-ry 9. Writt to W-m Gordon in Aberdeen, giving notice of my former sent by Mr. Stiles, and desireing earnestly to heare from

⁷⁷⁴ Apparently, one of several villages called Troitskoye in the vicinity of Moscow.

⁷⁷⁵ A small moveable organ, usually one-manual. Gordon probably ordered the instrument for the Moscow Catholic church which he had founded, or even for playing at home. This must be one of the earliest mentions of the positive in Russia. The term baffled Russian translators of the Diary, and was rendered by some as "a positive answer".

⁷⁷⁶ There follows one line, which was thoroughly crossed out, apparently on someone's death (... *deceased*).

⁷⁷⁷ Apparently, the Scot John Robertson, a skilled artillery officer, who entered Russian service. He fell at Azov on 18 August 1695 (see fols. 512–13).

thence by the first English shipping. To Mr. Meverell, advising the sending a stout ship, a joviall captaine, and store of powder. To Mr. Frazer with the above enclosed, desiring the forwarding it by the first post.

At the valette feast of Ivan Affanasseovitz Matuskin, who was going governour to Viatka, where the *G[osudar?]* & others.

Received a letter from Jacob Yeffim. Meyer, dated 6 Feb. Novogrod, advising the reseat & forwarding the things sent by the English Company⁷⁷⁸ for to present to his M.

11. At devotion. In the evening at the flesh valette feast by L[e] F[ort] w[i]t[h] all.

12. At home, being indisposed.

Lent to my daughter Katherine 10 rubles.

13. Received a letter from my son James, dated Tambow 7 instant. {359} Feb-ry 13. In towne by o[u]r b[oyar] and in Butirky.

14. In Preobrasinsko, breakfast there. Afternoone by Mr. Guascony our *Patres* & Mr. Lloyd.

Received a letter from Mr. Meyer, dated Novogrod [...] Feb-ry with the things sent for his M. by the *fuirman*⁷⁷⁹ Fiodor Stepanuf. Payed to the *fuirman* 160 *kopikes fuir*, 7 *alt*. 2 *kop*. charges.

15. In Preobrasinsko. His M. by me, received the presents sent by the English Moscovia Company, being 6 polaxes such as the Gentlemen Pensioners in England carry; 12 partisans such as the Yeomen of the Guard; a excellent steele sword with a gold handle; a paire of curious pistols; a hatt with a faire white plume; a watch with a case with instruments, being delivered befor, as also many dozens of bottles with Canary, cider & other liquors.

{359v} Feb-ry 16, Frid. Brought the presents to Preobrasinsko, but did not find his M. there.

17, Sat. In Preobrasinsko. Dined by Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyow, & supped by Achtemon Michael. Golovin. Came home late. About midnight a fire in Pokrofska, whither I went.

18. At devotion.

⁷⁷⁸ The Muscovy (Russia) Company of British merchants founded in 1555. It held monopoly on Anglo-Russian trade until 1698. Gordon had many friends among its members, including its treasurer Samuel Meverell.

⁷⁷⁹ *Fuhrmann* (German), carter, waggoner.

Received a letter from Mr. Geo. Frazer, dated Riga 8 Feb-ry, giving notice that Madam Crawford was the day befor gone from thence towards Plesko.

Received a letter from Mr. Henry Stiles, dated Narva 3 Feb-ry, giving me notice that he had bought 52 ducates for the money I gave him, being at 107 *kopikes* for a ducate, & that haveing resolved to stay there till open water & then take shipping for Lubeck, he had given the 52 ducates to Mr. Barent & Humming to deliver to Mr. Gray in Konigsberg, and my other letters to ffrriends on this syde [of] Hamburg to them.

{360} Feb-ry 19, Moon. At devotion.

20. At devotion.

Writt to Mr. Henry Stiles in ans-r to his of the 3d Feb-ry. Writt to my son in law by Mr. Wulffes convoyance. Writt to Mr. Ja. Meyer in ans-r to his of the 3d & 6th Feb.

21. At devotion, being Ash Wednesday.

Writt to Fiodor Matfe. Apraxin & my son in law at Archangel by the gover[nor's] servant.

Hired *plotniks* to put up the 2 roomes at the gate forth the *senik* for 6 rubles.

Lent to M.G-ll Menezes 20 rubles.

22. Writt to Mr. Robert Maister in Narva in ans-r to his of the 15 Ja-ry, giving him notice of his business, & that the promised 2 *dutz* of Canary is not delivered.

Received a letter from my son, dated Tambow 9 Feb-ry.

{360v} Feb-ry 22, Thur. Received the 2 *dutz* bottels of Canary sent by Mr. Maister.

23. Writt to my son James in ans-r to his of the 7th & 9th instant & the former from Columna⁷⁸⁰ with large instructions.

Writt to Pater Schmidt, acquainting him of the money sent to Konigsberg for the maintenance of my son; desiring to know if my son learneth from the fryer to read & writt Russe; in other things referring to my former.

Writt to Mr. W-m Gray, acquainting him of Mr. Stiles letter, and ordering all to him in Brunsberg, as in my instructions to Mr. Stiles in that place.

⁷⁸⁰ Kolomna.

Writt to Mr. Frazer in ans-r to his of the 8th instant, and desiring, if my letter to Mr. Stiles be not dispatched, to send it to Revall, if he think it can come in tyme, or then to Hamburg to Mr. Cambridge or Mr. Coxe to wait for him there—all by post.

{361} Feb-ry 24, Sat. At devotion.

25. At devotion.

Received a letter from Mr. Geo. Frazer, dated Riga 15 Feb-ry, w[i]t[h] an enclosed to Mr. Munter.

26. Sent these who are to go with me into the towne to gett cloaths made for them.

Given to the *plotnikes* a ruble, to Ivan the brewer as much.

27. At Yem[elyan] Ukray[intsev] & in Butirky.

A fyre beyond the Pansky or Mieszczansky Sloboda, about 12 aclock, where a gentlemans countrey house burned. Wee were all there.

28. Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated 27 Jan-ry, with 4 silke neck cloaths for Theodorus.

At the buriall of Becker the surgeon.

{361v} *Mart.* 1, Thur. At devotion.

The buriall of Coll. Hollsts widdow.

Signed the list of the regiment for March month: 41 serjeants at 9 *dengies* a day; 37 furiers & foriers at 1 ruble 10 *alt.* the month; 52 corporalls, 47 pipers at 8 *dengies* a day; 10 *verstany* sojourns at 7 *dengees* a day; 770 not *verstany* sojourns at 6 *dengees* a day; 5 carceered sojourns haveing yong male children, upon which acco-t they have 4 *dengees* a day; 66 widdowes who have yong male children, upon w-ch acco-t they receive 3 *dengees* a day; 44 orphans, who have neither father nor mother, have 2 *dengees* a day. The sojourns in all 958, & w[i]t[h] all 1,073. This signed thereafter for the 6 months.

{362} *Martii* 1, Thur. The *G[osudar?]* went with 3 C[olonels?] to [...]
At devotion.

2. At home. Received a letter from my son James, dated Tambow 20 Feb-ry.

3. In towne by *K[niaz]* B[oris] Al. [Golitsyn], Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] & *Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky].

My son Georg Hilarius did of a fright fall sick.

4. Writt to my son in law Snivins by Frantz Zimmermans⁷⁸¹
convoynance.

Writt to my son James by Capt. Tobolefsky in ans-r to his of the 20th.
The child better.

5. In Preobrasinsko.

Vinant Luiden out of desperation shott himself dead.

The child gott a great heat with stitches or rather inward convulsions
in the left syde.

{362v} *Martii* 6, Tues. The child very ill with a great inward heat
and stitches, and no sleep since Moonday morning. All remedies applyed,
which caused no alteration.

7. The child haveing gott no rest in the night tyme, and the inward
convulsions very apparent, Mr. Termond ordained a clister and a powder,
and Doctor Carbonary with Persenofsky ordained *Ol. Amigd. dulc.* and in it
Pul. Marchionis, with 5 drops of *Sp. Cor. Cervi*⁷⁸² to be given in the evening.
Albeit he did not keep the clister, yet he gott a stoole as ordi[nary], yet all
like crudded milk yellow, and the same day two more.

Notwithstanding all, the great thirst continued & inward heat with
great convulsions. No alteration nor sleep, but all tending to the worst and
to the dissolution of this tender infant. All the night he continued without
sleep, perpetually crying & moaning, as he had done all along, the convul-
sions encreasing.

About midnight the extremityes of his body, as feet⁷⁸³ etc. began to
be cold, which cold encreasing upward continued about 2 houres. A litle
after 2 aclock {363} he gathered heat againe, and was warme over all his
body, & his head in a sweat, which were the last efforts, and so with vehe-
ment motions continued strugling, and departed this lyfe a quarter of ane
howre befor 4 aclock did strike, to our great grieffe.

Madam Crawfuird came in the evening, to whom I gave a visitt.

⁷⁸¹ Evidently, Timmerman.

⁷⁸² Sweet almond oil, Marquis powder, deer-horn potion (Latin). The Marquis or
Margrave powder (*pulvis Marchionis*) was a very expensive remedy recommended
for apoplexy, epilepsy, nightmares, "malign fevers", smallpox, chickenpox etc.
Its ingredients included peony and dittany root, oaken mistletoe, deer's or "uni-
corn's" (narwhal) horn, red and white coral, ivory, elk's hoof, pearls, oyster shells
and flakes of gold.

⁷⁸³ *hands* crossed out.

Martii 8. Made preparations for the buriall.

9. Writt to my son James.

Caused invite to the buryall.

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Feb. 28. Received letters from my son, dated Tambow the 22 Febr. Writt to him by the Serjeant Fiodor at large.

10. About 4 aclock afternoone, the ffriends being conveyened & the B[ombardier?] also, wee convoyed him to his resting place, where Pater Pawlus made a very ornate oration. The B. with other ffriends came and stayed about 2 howres with me.

Harry Gordon came, by whom I had letters from the Coll-s Boleman & de Lawzier, dated Kursk 3 *Martii*.

{363v} *Martii* 11, Sun. At devotion.

Writt to my son James by Peter Timofeuf, and sent by him the booke of Vaubans *Fortification*⁷⁸⁴.

Received a letter from Mr. W-m Gray, dated Konigsberg 3 *Martii*, & from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 1 *Martii*.

12. At devotion.

Kniaz Boris Al. Gol[itsyn] with Iv. Iv. But[urlin] by me.

13. Writt to my son in law Snivins by Mr. Carril.

At devotion.

14. At devotion. In the evening D[ector?] Stumphius⁷⁸⁵ w[i]t[h] Rinfelt & o[u]r countreyemen by me.

15. At a valette feast w[i]t[h] the B[ombardier?] by *Kniaz* Boris Fiod. Dolgorukoy⁷⁸⁶, who was going to Smollensko for governour.

16. At devotion.

{364} *Martii* 17, Sat. At home, being indisposed & feaverish.

18. At devotion.

Received letters from Pater Schmidt and my son Theodorus, dated Brunsberg 11 March *st. n.*, & from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 8 *Martii st. vet.*

⁷⁸⁴ Sébastien Le Prestre, Marquis de Vauban (1633–1707), celebrated French military engineer who reformed fortification. Gordon could mean an English edition: *The New Method of Fortification, as practised by Monsieur de Vauban... with an explication of all terms appertaining to that art: made English* (London, 1691).

⁷⁸⁵ Pastor of the Reformed church in the Foreign Suburb.

⁷⁸⁶ Prince B.F. Dolgoruky († before 1702), from 1675 *stolnik*, participant in Crimean campaigns, in 1694–6 *voyevoda* in Smolensk.

19. At home, being discomposed.

Received letters from my son James, dated Tambow the 5th and 8th of March.

20. At the buriall of Coll. Galbreths widdow.

21. The Englishman called Gamaliel Nightingale Esq-r⁷⁸⁷ dying by the way from Persia hither about 150 *verst* from hence, his corps was brought hither, his M. permitting the English to take care of his buriall.

A fire happening in the Simonofsky Monastery, wee rode all thither in great needlesse heat.

22. At devotion.

Received letters from my son Ja[mes], dated Tambow the 26 Feb. & 11 *Martii*, which his M. sent to me.

Writt to my son James by Alexey the rich *puskar*⁷⁸⁸, & to the *woynwod* Ivan Ivanovitz Leonteuf.

{364v} *Martii* 23, Frid. At devotion. Tooke a preparative powder to a purge.

24. Tooke phisick. Writt to my son James by 2 sojourns. The phisick had good operation.

25. At devotion.

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated 13 March, giving me notice that God had given him a son the 6th *Martii*, whom he had caused christen Georg.

26. At devotion.

27. At the buriall of Mr. Gamaliel Nightingale, whom the English caused bury with the ordinary ceremonyes very honourably.

{365} *Martii* 28, Tues. Writt to my son in law Snivins by Artemy; to Fiod. Fiod.⁷⁸⁹ Opraxin by the same.

Payed the following acco-t for the makeing-up of a shese upon 2 wheeles.

⁷⁸⁷ He must have belonged to Baronets Nightingale of Newport Pond in Essex, with whom that rare Christian name was hereditary. Sir Robert, 4th Bart. († 1722), was Director of the British East India Company.

⁷⁸⁸ *Pushkar* (Russian), cannoneer.

⁷⁸⁹ A slip. The patronymic should be Matveyevich.

	R.	<i>alt.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The timber			
The wheeles			
The iron worke	2	10	-
4 skinnse of <i>yuft</i>	2	13	2
2 red sheep skins	-	6	-
6 <i>arsb.</i> red sarge	2	13	2
2,300 small nailes	2	10	-
140 great nailes	-	23	2
1,200 black nailes	-	5	4
40 ells yell. lace	-	13	2
1/3 <i>arsb.</i> fringe	-	3	2
7 ells small fringe	-	9	2
Painting it	-	2	4
2 <i>voyloks</i>	-	2	4
<i>Morsory</i> leather			
For worke to Maxim	-	26	4

{365v} *Martii* 29. Being indisposed, I stayed at home all the day.

30. Payed to Alexey the fisher for 5 brewings of malt, being 35 tunne at 15 *altins*, and 125 pund of hopes at 5 *dengees* a pund, 18 rubles 29 *altins* 1 *deng.*; and for fish, in all 23 rubles.

Received 22 rubles due to me by M.Gen-Il Menezes.

31. At devotion. The B[ombardier?] returned from Chwily.

This day I ended the 59th yeare of my troublesome lyfe. Blessed be the Omnipotent God for all his gracious dispensations!

{366} April 1, Sund. At devotion.

Received a letter from M. W-m Gray, dated Konigsberg 24 *Martii st. n.*, wherein he adviseth me of haveing sent the 52 #[ducats] to Th. Hanman to be delivered to Pater Schmidt in Brunsberg for the maintenance of my son Theodorus, of whom also he giveth by report a good character; a letter also from Mr. Geo. Frazer.

2. At devotion.

3. At devotion. The apothecary Persenofsky, haveing payed all to the executors of widdow Galbreth, and received his bonds, I sent for the eldest son and gave him the writings of the house, w-ch he delivered to him.

4. A fire on the other syde of the Yausa.

At devotion.

5. I confessed & received the Blessed Sacrament.

{366v} April 6. At devotion.

Writt to Pater Schmidt in ans-r to his of the 11 *Martii*, showing my not caring for rumors, my confidence in him; that my son the next vacance be sent to Dantzick, & the tyme he stayes there learne to play with the collours or such like; and that he shall stay in Brunsberg till the beginning of the vacancy 1695 & then be sent hither; a note concerning Avril⁷⁹⁰, and M[ajor?] G[eneral?] M[enzies?'] children.

To Mr. W-m Gray in ans-r to his of the 3d & 24 *Martii*, approving his sending all the money to P. Schmidt; thanking him and the ffrriends in Brunsberg for their civilityes; remembrance from Madam Crawford & da[ughte]rs; desireing him to learne as much as he can of our ffrriends in Scotland & informe me; as also that I am to go to Arch[angel] about a month hence.

To Mr. Geo. Frazer in answer to his of the 15 Feb-ry, the 1, 8 & 22 *Martii*, the contents observed; remembrances & thanks from M. Crawford, da-rs & me; desireing to be informed what can be learned of Scotland, and to forward the enclosed to Mr. Gray.

7. At devotion. The res[ponsory] in the first howre of the night, which with the *Matutinum* & *Laudes* lasted till 11 at night.

8. At devotion. The first thunder. At a evening feast by L[e] F[ort], where his M. & many others.

Disbursed upon the repairing of the church 17 r. 9 *al.* 4 *d.*; received but 8 r. from the doctor, 5 from Coll. Livingston, & for the cloaks twice 1 r. 6 *alt.* 4 *deng.*; rests 3 rub. 3 *alt.*

{367} April 9. At devotion. Afternoone & in the night thunder, lightening & great raine.

10. The regiment at Preobrasinsko, & returned. In the evening by L[e] F[ort].

11. Marched with the regiment to Preobrasinsko. Saluted twice & the

⁷⁹⁰ Philippe Avril (1654–1698), French Jesuit who visited Russia twice, intending to proceed thence to China, but was ordered out of the country by the Tsars. He wrote *Voyage en divers états d'Europe et d'Asie entrepris pour découvrir un nouveau chemin à la Chine* (Paris, 1693).

3d for grace, gave one salve and marched about the *sesye dvor*⁷⁹¹ & placed the regiment on the right hand. Were entertained to excess.

12. Gave fyve rubels to the building of the upper stone church.

{367v} April 13. At the buriall of Lt.Coll. Jacob Litskin.

14. At a feast by Vasily Fiod. Stresny.⁷⁹²

15. At devotion.

16. Writt to my son in law Snivins by [...]

17. In Butirky exercizeing the regiment.

The wedding of Maior von Zaalen.

Writt to my son in law by a *strelets*.

{368} April 18. At devotion.

Maior Gen-ll Menezes underwritt for his lady for to give 100 rubels for the poor of our church.

19. At devotion.

20. Coll. Leviston sent to be kept: a litle trunke, a *podglovek*⁷⁹³, and 3 *flash fatters*⁷⁹⁴, but what in them I know not.

Harry Gordon payed the 4 rubles I disbursed for him.

21. The shooting over the Yausa, where Mr. Munter unwillingly gained the prize.

Coll. Leviston went from hence, whom I convoyed to the Donska without the Kolugaes Gate.

22. At Kuntzowa, from whence I retreated.

Sam. Westhoffes [house] burnt downe.

23. At devotion.

24. At devotion.

At the buriall of Coll. Galbreths son.

{368v} April 25. At devotion.

In Preobrasinsko, gott orders for *podwods*.

Writt to the Boyar Boris Petrovits [Sheremetev], to the Colonells Pfenigbeer & Yunger by Coll. Bane⁷⁹⁵.

⁷⁹¹ *Syezshy dvor* (Russian), court adjacent to *syezshaya izba* (office).

⁷⁹² V.F. Streshnev († 1702), *okolnichy* who lived beyond Prechistensky gate in Moscow.

⁷⁹³ *Podgolovok* (literally “headrest”), Russian slanted casket for valuables.

⁷⁹⁴ *Flesh fatts* (Scots), *Fleischbütte* (German), meat barrels.

⁷⁹⁵ James Bane (Bain), obviously a Scot, colonel of a Russian soldier regiment. In the first Azov campaign he belonged to Gordon’s division and was wounded.

Borrowed from M.Gen-ll Menezes 100 rubles, for w-ch I gave a note to be payed by me or heires in October next; the note dated the 20.

26. Writt to the Colonells Boleman, Lauzier & A.M. de Duithe.

The feast by Mr. Munter.

In the fields with ffriends.

27. At devotion. In the afternoone by M.Gen. Menezes with the Paters, Doctor Carbonari & Mr. Guasconi, where wee concluded to advance to the Paters 100 rubles, and so assigned to them the 100 rubles promised by M.Gen. Menezes his lady, I giving in the name of the community a reseat for it.

I tooke leave of ffriends.

{369} Aprill 28. I went to devotion.

I made ready and pak't up all the things w-ch I am to take along with me.

Invited to and was at a christening feast by Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin], his lady being delivered of a son, to whom his M. was godfather, being christened by the name of Alexander⁷⁹⁶. It cost me a ducat to the woman in the straw, and a doller to the midwife. Comeing home befor evening, I tooke the English merchants along with me, and wee played at bowles in the new alley and supped together.

29. Haveing heard mass in the morning and gott the benediction, I tooke my leave of the *Patres*, and dyned by G. Le Fort at the valett feast, where all those who are to go along and many others. Came home about 11 aclock at night, and because it rained, I could not go then, so lay downe & slept till day light.

30 [Moond.] Then made ready to be gone, and so bidding adiew to and blessing {369v} my family, I went from the Slaboda, dined in Bratofshina, 30 *verst*, and came to Troitza all night, it haveing rained all the morning.

Mosco lyeth in the 55 degree 34 min. of latitude.

May 1, Tuesd. About 4 aclock in the morning wee tooke jorney, dined in Kareila, 33 *verst*; came early to Pereslaw, 27 *verst*, and haveing

⁷⁹⁶ Aleksandr Lvovich Naryshkin (1694–1746), later Director of the Naval Academy, President of the Commerce College, actual privy councillor.

gott fresh horses and supped, wee set forward about sunsett and came to Lubilova befor sun riseing. I did writt from Pereslaw to my wyfe by a *Twersky yempshik*⁷⁹⁷.

2. Haveing breakfasted, wee marched and about 10 aclock came to Rostow, where a great lake in length 7 *verst* or more & in breadth 4 *verst*, out of which the river Ustia, which keeping one course with us, by reason of its great winding wee crossed it twice, the first 15 *verst* from Rostow, and the 2d tyme [...] *verst* from thence; it falleth in the Volga by Yaroslaw.

{370} May 2, Wed. Haveing gott fresh horses, I went without the towne & dined in the fields, and about 2 aclock set forward againe. Wee rode over the r. Ustia by a new made floating bridge and rested at the [...] Yame, which is from Rostow [...] *verst*; and then about midnight rested in the vil. [...] and

3. about 6 aclock in the morning came to Yaroslaw, which is 60 *verst* from Rostow and lyeth in the 57 degree & 44 min. of northerne latitude.

Haveing gott fresh horses, I ferryed over the river Volga and dined, leaving my pace-ganger, because he was galled & lame, by the *diasiatnik*⁷⁹⁸ Fiodor Prochoruf. About 11 aclock wee marched and befor evening rested & supped in the vill. [...], about 30 *verst*, and marching all the night tyme,

4. wee came early to the village Danielowa, where wee changed horses, the stages being about 60 *verst*. 7 *verst* further is the Afdorska Yam⁷⁹⁹, which passing, wee dined by the river [...], where his M. passed by us. Wee stayed not long, but hastening forwards by the [...] Yam, which was burnt of, and came to the Anorska Yam⁸⁰⁰, where getting fresh horses, wee rode 10 *verst* further and lodged in the *Dorp*⁸⁰¹ [...]

5. About 1 after midnight we made away, passing through Gresnevitza⁸⁰², 10 *verst*, and dined by the river Komiela, which comeing out of a lake from the west falleth in the Okolna Suchona and there loss-eth its name. This is 20 *verst* from Vologda.

⁷⁹⁷ *Yamshchik* (Russian), coachman. *Twersky*, from the city of 'Tver'.

⁷⁹⁸ *Desiatnik* (Russian), NCO in command of ten men in regiments of *streltsy* and "town Cossacks".

⁷⁹⁹ Obdorsky Yam.

⁸⁰⁰ Obnorsky Yam.

⁸⁰¹ *Dorf* (German), village.

⁸⁰² Later became known as Griazovets.

About one aclock afternoone wee came to Vologda and lodged in the house of Andrew Riemsneider⁸⁰³. The same evening, getting the boat or *destženik*⁸⁰⁴ wherein I should go to Archangell, and finding it not compleet, I set all hands a worke to make {370v} conveniencies for my self and provisions.

May 6, Sun. After devotion wee went and dined by the *Woywod* or Governour *Kniaz* Peter Gregoriovits Lvov⁸⁰⁵.

Afternoone I received letters from my wyfe, daughter and M. Gen. Menezes, dated the 3d May; from my son James, dated the [...] *Aprilis*.

I went and visited John Howtman and Mr. Bush, where I was made heartily welcome and entertained to excess. I was by Mr. Lloyd & Mr. Vouter Everts also.

Vologda is in the 59 deg. 5 min. of northerne latitude.

7. I did writt to my wyfe, daughter & son in a covert to M.Gen. Menezes.

Made all things ready on the boat, and brought all things & slept aboard.

8. About 8 aclock in the morning I removed to the reare of the fleet. About 10 aclock the fleet weighed anchor and in passing-by wee saluted the towne with all our cannon, & were resaluted, wee againe them with the halfe.

Wee passed by the vill. Karandayowa⁸⁰⁶ on the right hand, 5 *verst*, where setting up our matt sailes, all people almost who were aboard being drunk, wee were tossed hither & at last came to & passed by the mouth of the river Vecza or Vechta, which cometh out of {371} the lake called Krova ozera and falleth in the river Vologda 15 *verst* from the towne, from the left hand. A litle below, the river Okolna Suchona, which cometh from the Kubinsky lake and, crossing the river Vologda, runneth south and maketh a great compass, falling againe below in the r. Vologda. The r. Lezia, coming from the south, haveing received in it the r. Komieła, falleth in this Okolna Suchona. 5 *verst* from the r. Vechta the r. Vierchna Suchona falleth in the r. Vologda, which here losseth its name.

⁸⁰³ Apparently, Hendrik Riemsneider, Dutch merchant in Russia in the 1680s–90s.

⁸⁰⁴ *Doshchanik* (Old Russian), large flat-bottomed river boat with one mast.

⁸⁰⁵ Prince P.G. Lvov († after 1699), from 1679 *stolnik*, from 1692 *okolnichy*; *voyevoda* in Vologda and later in the conquered Azov.

⁸⁰⁶ Turundayevo.

In former tymes in the way to Archangell the boats went up the river Suchona against the streame 20 *verst*, but Tzaar Ivan Vasiliovitz⁸⁰⁷ caused a channell to be cut whereby the passage is now downe the river all the way.

In the evening wee stayed and supped altogether, where orders were distributed, what method & order to keep in our march, as: first, at dinner & supper tyme, when the admirall⁸⁰⁸ shooteth one piece, then all shall conveene; 2) when the admirall shooteth out of 2 pieces, then the p[rinci]p[a]ll officers of the fleet shall conveene to the admirall to counsell; 3) when any of the vessells shall in the night tyme be in any need, then that vessell shall hang up a lanthorne with lights on the mast and shoot of a piece; 4) when the admirall fyreth 3 pieces, then he is to stand, and so all shall stand according as the[y] went; 5) when {371v} the fleet is to remove, then the admirall shooteth of all his cannon, after him the vice-admirall, then the rere admirall, and the rest all in order.

In marching the following order to be observed: 1) the ammunition, *Kniaz* Fiodor Ivanovitz [Troyekurov]⁸⁰⁹; 2) the Vice Admirall Ivan Ivanovitz [Buturlin]; 3) Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin] his vessel; 4) *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovitz [Golitsyn] his; 5) Fiodor Fiodorovitz [Pleshcheyev]; 6) Osky Zwierova⁸¹⁰; 7) the singers; 8) & 9) the constables under Ivan Ivanovitz [Buturlin]; 10) Achtemon Michaelovitz [Golovin]; 11) the great Shipper [Tsar Peter]; 12) the Admirall *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuriiovitz [Romodanovsky]; 13) the table vessel; 14) the kitchin; 15) the chancellors; 16) the apotheck; 17) the bread vessell; 18) the other bread vessell; 19) the *Hoffe*⁸¹¹ servants; 20) the vessell with the provisions for the sea; 21) the vessell with provisions for the way to Archangell; 22) the Rere Admirall Peter Ivanovitz [Patrick Gordon].

After ane howres stay wee set forward, and in the night passed by Mikola Mokroy, 10 *verst* from the mouth of the r. Suchona on the right hand, to the *protok*⁸¹² of Ivaniska ozera, 5 *verst* l[eft].

⁸⁰⁷ Ivan IV the Terrible (1530–1584), from 1533 Grand Duke of Muscovy, from 1547 first Tsar of Russia.

⁸⁰⁸ Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky.

⁸⁰⁹ Prince F.I. Troyekurov (1667–1695), from 1682 *spalnik*, died of his wound at Azov.

⁸¹⁰ Osip Zverev, bombardier of Preobrazhensky regiment.

⁸¹¹ I.e. Court.

⁸¹² Channel (Russian).

May 9 [Wedn.]. By day light wee passed by the mouth of the r. Peelsma l[eft]; 7 *verst* further the river Poutska, coming out of a lake of the same name, falleth in the Suchona r. 7 *verst* further the r. Marshka, coming from the {372} left hand out of a lake, falleth in. 1 *verst* further the r. Avnega, coming from the right out of the Avnega district, falleth in. To Ibasba⁸¹³ r[ivule]t on the left, 1 1/2 *verst*; over against it the monastery Michael Archangel, 5 or 6 *verst* from the river. About a *verst* further the *dorp* Toropilo, l[eft]. To the vil. Narima by a river of the same name, l[eft]; over against, a litle lower, a few howses by a r[iver]⁸¹⁴ called Woisma; to the r. Lomovitza, r[ight], 5 *verst*. 5 *verst* to the Illand Chleb, where a small monastery of Boris & Chleb, two Russe princes (sons of the great Volodimir) murdered by their brother.⁸¹⁵

5 *verst* further to the r. Dwinitza, l[eft]. All the way on both sydes are litle houses where fishers live, and the *protoks* or outlets of the river Suchona (which runneth with a strong current and about 60 fathome broad), and the small rivers which fall in it are barricadoed-up for catching of *laxe*⁸¹⁶ & other fish. To Viselsa 3 & to Kamienka 2 *verst*, both r[ivule]ts on the left hand. Over against the last, a litle lower, the r. Sebechta on the right hand.

3 *verst* to the small towne Shustczia⁸¹⁷, which lyeth 90 *verst* from Vologda on both sydes of the river. Here wee had change of worke-men. This towne belongeth to the Metropolite of Rostow,⁸¹⁸ where there is a church and howse of the Metrop. on the right hand. Just below it on the same hand the r. Suia falleth in. Halfe a *verst* below it the r. Sosnofka, l[eft]. 7 *verst* below Shustczia from the left hand cometh the r. Shetshinga, and 5 *verst* further

⁸¹³ Gordon is usually precise in his geography, but since on this journey he recorded the names as pronounced by locals, and in great detail, down to small hamlets and rivulets, some of them are difficult to identify. Some of these place-names are absent even from the best 19th-century Russian maps (by I.A. Strelbitsky, 10 *verst* to an inch); perhaps not all of them survived until the period of exact cartography, let alone the present.

⁸¹⁴ *smaller brooke* crossed out.

⁸¹⁵ Princes Boris and Gleb, sons of Grand Duke Vladimir of Kiev, were slain in 1015 on behest of their elder brother Sviatopolk the Accursed. They became the first Russian saints canonised by the Orthodox Church.

⁸¹⁶ *Lachs* (German), salmon.

⁸¹⁷ Now Shuyskoye.

⁸¹⁸ *just below it* crossed out.

{372v} May 10. on the left hand the r. Peczinga, below which the Illand Bresmenik. To Muriza r[iver], l[eft], 7 *verst*; to Streliza r., l., 10 *verst*; to Golubitza r., l., 10 *v.*; to Molanga r[ivule]t, r[ight], 10 *verst*; to Turovitz r., l., 10 *verst*; to Turovitza r., l., 10 *verst*; to Kamlis r., l., 10 *verst*; to Tichlis r., l., 5 *verst*; to Tushma r. & vil[lage], r., 5 *verst*. On the other syde a vil. Stephana Archidiacona, and below it a vil. the Salutation. To Lisna r., l., 15 *ver.*; to Petshinska r[ivule]t, r., 5 *verst*; to Sareva r., l., 10 *verst*.

In the night tyme wee passed by the towne Totma, 10 *verst*, 140 *verst* from Sustia. Here wee gott change of workmen. A *verst* further Czernakova; 2 *verst* further the r[ivule]t Gidinga, all on the left.

11. To Old Totma 7 *verst*, by which a very clear river called Totma. On the left syde the church Vasily Vieliky, on the other Boris. Writt to my wyfe & da-r & Men[zies].

2 *verst* further the r. Noringa & halfe a *verst* further another Noringa r[ivule]t, both l[eft]. To Stephanova r-t, r[ight], 2 1/2 *verst*; to Rasshe⁸¹⁹ r-t, l., 2 *verst*; to Kamshuga r[iver &] *dorp*, 3 *verst*, r.; to Kaslifets r[iver], l., 3 *verst*; to Peelsma r., l., 2 *verst*; to Kotshinga r.⁸²⁰, 3 *verst*. To Sidiatina, a whirle in the r[iver], 3 *verst*, where the r. Shelminga, r[ight]; to Peczinga, 5 *verst*; to Kitzinga r., l[eft], 3 *verst*. To Kotzinga r. & vil., l., 2 *verst*; here the church was burnt downe the former weeke.

To Brusinets, a vil., befor this a towne, 23 *verst*. All this way & even from Mosco wee were pestered with beggars, most yong persons and children. At this Brusenets the r. Brushenka and a church with an old fort, all on the right {373} hand. This 53 *verst* from Totma. Above Brusinets on the right is a vil. called Goloy Pisda.

3 *verst* to Solinga r[iver], l[eft]; to Grimiatsa r., r[ight], 9 *verst*, where lime pits & kill[n]s. To Oustjuga river, l., 3 *verst*. In this river are taken very good salmon; below which is Slabotka, l., which is 17 *verst* from Brushinets. To Kutzuga r-t, l., 3 *verst*; to Nuczinicha r-t & *dorp* called Popadeika, l., 5 *verst*; to Grodishna r. & vil., 2 *verst*, r[ight]; to Oshinova r-t, r., 5 *verst*; to Libinga or Strosovitza r[iver], l., 5 *verst*.

To the vil. Dimitreova Navlock, l., 5 *v.*; to Selminga r. & vil., 5 *verst*; on both sides howses. To Poboishna vil., l., 5 *verst*; to Osiortza vil., l., 3 *v.*; to

⁸¹⁹ Possibly, Ravezh.

⁸²⁰ *vil.* crossed out.

Kobila r-t 7 *verst*, l., which is halfe-way from Totma to Ustjuga.

To Bobrofska Iame, r[ight], 5 *verst*, 130 *ver.* from Totma, where wee had our worke-men changed. To a shallow place Trasnika, 5 *verst*; to Yukorda r-t, r., 5 *verst*; to Sablotna d[orp], l., 2 *verst*.

May 12. To Borczovika vil., l., 3 *verst*; to Susinga r[iver] & monastery, l., 5 *verst*; the mon. below the river a *verst*. To Negra r-t, l., 3 *verst*; over against it Vipulsova vil.; 5 *verst* to Kopul d[orp], l., and 3 *verst* further on the same hand Iarmenga r[iver]; and 5 *verst* further to Toisma Vierchna r[iver] & vil., r[ight]; 5 *verst* to Solotna r-t & d[orp], r[ight]; 2 *verst* to Beresova d[orp], r.; 1 *verst* to Tseronkova⁸²¹ r. d.; 2 *verst* to Nisny Toisma r. & vil., l.; to Bela d. & r-t below it, l[eft], 5 *verst*. Over against it, a litle higher, is Babia d. 1 *verst* to Panderofka, l., where 2 small r[ivule]ts; 1 *verst* to Yerilova d., l., where also the d. Nikulina; 1 *verst* to Baraczicha vil., l.; 1 *verst* to Nikola Czud., l.; on the other syde the d. Telinova, below all a church, where a strong current over a {373v} shallow place.

A litle below the first crooked passage of the river, on the right hand, is the Strelenka river. Here are on both sides high bankes or ground of red & palish stony clay, which with the trees growing on them make a pleasant perspective.

To the vil. & r. Mutovisna, l., 5 *verst*; to Isadovi *volost*⁸²² d[orp], r[ight], 3 *verst*. 2 *verst* to Tzerminina d., l[eft]; to Kitshuga d. & r[ivule]t, r., 3 *verst*; to Petzirga d. & r-t, 1 *verst*. To the d. Konovitz, l., 2 *verst*, below which the river Vierchna Iorga, l.

Here the river, after some great windings, beginneth to runn streight againe. A litle further on the left hand are some howses, & below on the right the d. Koratina. Then 3 *verst* further is the r. Nisny Iorga, l., which from the Upper in all 5 *verst*. Here are 2 churches scituated very pleasantly with some scattered houses.

To Roufdina d[orp], r., 1 *verst*; 1 *verst* to Priluck d., l[eft]; 3 *verst* to Kalikina d., l.; 2 *verst* to Lusinga d., r[ight]; 3 *verst* to Mekaliza r-t, l. To Klimova d., r., 2 *verst*. To Fiodosova d., l., 2 *verst*; to Travino d., r., 1 *verst*. To Ponikarova, a *dorp* situated pleasantly on the syde of a declining hill on the right hand, 3 *verst*. 5 *verst* to the river Marsinga, l., below which the d. Mousina, l.,

⁸²¹ Evidently Cheriomukhovo.

⁸²² *Volost'* (Russian), rural district.

which is 15 *verst* from Ustjuga; over against Mousina is the *d.* Tzolareva. To Yestriblova r-t & *d.*, l., 5 *verst*; the grownd on both sydes here being lower as above at Baritsha. To Silinga, where howses on both sydes, 2 *verst*.

Wee arrived at Ustjuga about 8 aclock at night, haveing the day befor received by post letters from Mr. Joh. Ignatius {374} Kurtz, dated Wien 27 *Martii* '94; from Mr. Pat. Forbes, dated Dantzick 30 April; from Pater Schmidt & my son Theodorus, dated Brunsberg 26 April; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 26 April; from Mr. Vinus, dated Mosco 7 May.

Coming befor the towne, wee were welcomed with cannon & small shott from the wall, which wee answered every one in his turne as wee came neer. Wee supped by the *Woywod* or Governour Peter Andreovitz Tolstoy⁸²³.

May 13. And the next day after devotion breakfasted, amidst the noise of cannon & small shott, as wee had supped.

Ustjuga lyeth in 61 deg. & 15 min. of northerne latitude.

At ten aclock amidst the noise of the cannon thundring from the wall and our vessells wee set forward, haveing first written to my wyfe, daughter Kath., Mr. Vinus & M.Gen. Menezes p[e]r post.

Wee went downe the river to Old Ustjuga, which is a old fort on a hill on the right hand and some howses by it, below which, the river Juga comeing from the s[outh] & haveing 20 *verst* higher up received the r. Lusia, falleth in {374v} the r. Suchona, which from this place downe to Archangell is called by the name of Dwina.

Haveing turned round from the mouth of the river Juga, wee kept our way backward, as it were, & the wind serving, wee hoised saile and made good way by a vill. called Tzaar Constantin, l., w-ch is by water 12 *verst* from Ustjuga Veliky, or the New. And passing by, as it were, the towne againe to Samochza, 7 *verst* from the mouth of the river Juga. To Sinega, 5 *verst* from Tzaar Constantine; this is a vil. on the left hand with 2 churches & few houses, as all the vil. on this river have 2 churches, on[e] for summer & the other (which can be heated in) for winter.

⁸²³ P.A. Tolstoy (1645–1729), *voyevoda*, from 1672 *stolnik*, in 1701–14 Russian ambassador in Constantinople. In 1717 he arranged the return from the West of the fugitive Tsarevich Alexey, then headed the Secret Chancellery and Commerce College. From 1718 senator, from 1725 Count, from 1726 member of Supreme Privy Council. He died in exile in Solovetsky monastery.

From hence to the Savateisky Mon[astery] on the right hand, 5 *verst*; to Nikola Kulakof *d[orp]*, *r[ight]*, 1 *verst*. 5 *verst* to Iarokuria vil. & *volost* or district, *l[eft]*. In the night wee passed by the vil-s Onochova, l., Votlasmets⁸²⁴ vil., r., and others.

May 14. About 6 aclock in the morning wee passed by Nikola Komaritz, which is 50 *verst* from Ustjuga & from Iarokuria 22 *verst*. To Telega Mon[astery], l., 10 *verst*; to Yuriefska Navlock, l., 5 *verst*; to Yefda *d[orp]* & *r[ivule]t*, l., 3 *verst*; here Krasna Bor vil., 1/2 *verst*. Ousjefda Mon[astery], l. To Leubla vil. & *vol.*, l., 3 *verst*; to Sorokina vil., l., 5 *verst*; to Pomogory, l., 5 *verst*. Then the Illand Tzerekova & below it a vil. of the same name, 15 *verst* from Permogoria.

In the evening to Racolscoy vil. and *vol.*, l., 3 *verst*. In the night to Iama⁸²⁵ Iagris, 15 *verst* from Tzerekovia l., on the right hand a litle {375} lower, which they account 5 *verst* to Kivokuria, which is the last of the Ustjuga's district.

Here beginneth the district called Waga. To Jorga *r[iver]* & vil., *r[ight]*, 3 *verst*, over against which, a litle higher, is the vil. Zeikova & Abramofka. To Shorma Mon[astery], r., 2 *verst*. In the night-tyme, which is here very short & light, wee made no great progress.

May 15. Passing by Ousjorna & Ouswaga, both *r[ight]*, about 5 aclock wee came to the vil. Vierchna Toima, r., below which is a river of the same name. This is 150 *verst* from Ustjuga, being 15 changes as they call it, 15 *verst* to a change; for being to worke day & night, they take double workmen & change every 15 *verst* other. From hence also to Archangell they account it 300 *verst*; the *versts* are here longer as betwixt Vologda & Ustjuga.

From Vierchna Toima to Udenitza⁸²⁶, a vil. on the *r[ight]*, 13 *verst*; to Setra *d[orp]* & *r[ivule]t*, r., 3 *verst*; to the Sesistrinskoy Mon[astery], r., 4 *verst*. To Nisna Toima vil. & *r[iver]*, r., 10 *verst*; over against which the r. & *vol[ost']* Kodmia. To Selza vil. & *vol.*, 10 *verst*, l.; to Borku vil., r., 10 *verst*; to Gorodiza vil. by the r-t Proloy, r., 4 *verst*.

To Troitsa vil. & *vol.*, 5 *verst* from Gorodiza; on the other syde Torgas *r[iver]* & vil. To Topitska r. & *vol.*, *r[ight]*, 3 *verst*; to Kourgominia vil. & *vol[ost']*, r., 5 *verst*. Here as all this day wee had a favourable wind & made

⁸²⁴ Possibly, Kotlas.

⁸²⁵ *Yam* (Old Russian), post station.

⁸²⁶ Probably, Unzhitsa.

good way. His M. came aboard and gave to me the articles & signes in a booke, whereby wee were to rule our selves. He stayed about 2 houres aboard. To Konietsgorie *vol.*, 10 *verst*, r.

In the evening our least-boat⁸²⁷, being by the storme filled with water, break of & turned-over, I sent {375v} six men in a large boat after it. But by reason of the vehement tempest could not find it, and so wee were forced to low our sailes, and let the vessels drive the whole night to wait for them.

In the night wee passed by Rostofs[ky] *vol[ost']*, r[ight], 5 *verst*; to Nikola Silingskogo r[iver], mon[astery] & *vol.*, 13 *verst*, r.; to the r. Waga, 8 *verst*, l.

May 16. To Penda r[iver], l[eft], 7 *verst*, the r. Ouswanga being on the r[ight] syde below the r. Penda but 3 *verst*. To Slouda vil., r., 10 *verst*; this is the last village of the Wagaes district. To Repanova, r., 3 *verst*, where beginneth the Colmogrods⁸²⁸ district. Below Repanova, 5 *verst* on the left hand, the r[iver] Mors falleth in the Dwina; a litle above it is a monastery.

To Kalia *vol[ost']*, r[ight], 10 *verst*; from thence to Kavrogora, 20 *verst*, r., where the workmen were changed. Wee passed this day at our comeing from Kalia betwixt high banks on both sydes of alabaster, which continued from Kalia to Zwose on the left hand 5 *verst*, & on the right about 10 *verst*. Very [fine] perspective, and in some places as if artificial!

From Chavrogory to Pingis vil., 5 *verst*, r.; to Koukshinga r[ivule]t & *volost*, 8 *verst*. Some *verst* below on the other syde is the vil. Chorob[r]itza. From Chavrogory to Colmogrod is 80 *verst*, & from thence to Archangel 50.

To Scia⁸²⁹ vil. & *vol.*, l[eft], 20 *verst* from Chavrogory; to Brilin Volo vil., r[ight], 10 *verst*, & in the evening by Racola vil. & *vol.*, r., 10 *verst*; to Krivo⁸³⁰ vil., l., 10 *ver.*; to Kopatshow Iam, 5 *verst*, l.; over against it, a litle lower, the vil. Stowpina.

17. To Paniolova, 20 *verst* short of Colmogrod. Here the wind being high & {376} contrary, wee made litle progress. Here I went into the boat and rowed downe to the hill, from whence the passage goeth to the left to Colmogrod, which is 7 *verst* distant. But the governour being by orders

⁸²⁷ *Lastboot* (Dutch & German), cargo boat or barge.

⁸²⁸ Kholmogory.

⁸²⁹ Siya.

⁸³⁰ Probably, Krivetskaya.

gone to Archangel, wee kept our course direct forward, by a saw-milne on the right hand, and in the evening, as in the short & light night, wee passed by diverse villages on both sydes.

May 18. About 6 aclock wee passed by the vil. on the left, which is halfe way betwixt Colmo[gory] & Archangel. Then passing by the Levle Mon[astery], a litle place of great devotion, on the right hand, 10 *verst*; where the wind favouring us, wee hoised saile and passed by Owina⁸³¹ vil. & r[iver], r[ight], 8 *verst*.

Below this wee anchored about ane howre, waiting for the whole fleet; most whereof being come, wee sailed in very good order to the road befor the towne of Archangell at 12 aclock, 7 *verst*. At our comeing wee were welcomed with 9 pieces of cannon & small shott from a regiment of *streltsees* of about 600 men, commanded by my son in law Snivins. Wee answered their salvees with great & small shott; and so, after fireing againe, wee came to the bridge with all our vessels, went ashoare and tooke up our quarters; I lodging in Mr. Wulffe his howse, and being very well accommodated with all my officers & sojourns.

Afternoone I went & saw my daughter Mary, finding her & family, praised be God, in good health; I supping by her.

{376v} May 19. I did writt to Mosko to my wyfe & M.Gen-ll Menezes, and sent the packet dated the 17th from Colmogrod along, having then written to my wyfe, daughter, M.Gen. Menezes, Mr. Vinus, Mr. Lloyd & Mr. Guasconi with the letter from Mr. Kurtz inclosed to him. Writt also this day to Mr. Wulffe.

I dined at home, went to the bathstove. His M. came by me. I went afterwards to the yacht & expected his M. till night, to have let the new ship of the stocks into the river, but he came not.

20. About 10 aclock I went to the illand, where the new ship was built, and about 12 aclock she was let of from the stocks, which went all very well. Wee dined aboard of her & were merry and came home late.

The latitude at Archangel is 64 deg. 30 min.

21. Wee were at a counsell by the admirall concerning the number of the people & quantity of provisions, which wee were to have aboard on our voyage, and concluded to take provisions for 10 weeks.

⁸³¹ Probably, Uyma.

{377} May 22, Tues. I dined by Fiodor Alexeyovits Golovin with good company.

23. Received letters from Mosko from my wyfe, daughter & sister in law, dated Mosco 13 May; from M.Gen. Menezes, dated *ib.* 14 May.

24. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, M.Gen. Menezes, Mr. Vinius & Capt. Brasch.

25. At home all the day.

26. Sent the last-mentioned letters away, haveing changed the date to this day.

The G[reat] Sh[ipper] with all dined by my son in law.

{377v} May 27. Being Whitsunday, wee dined all by the governour.

28. I was aboard the yacht. His M. & o[u]r L[or]ds by me.

29. Dined with his M. by [...]

Received letters from my cousin Nethermuir, dat. 28 Feb.; from Pater Schmidt & my son, dated Brunsberg 8 & 9 May; from my son James, dated 25 May by mistake; from M.Gen. Men[zies], dated the 21; from Mr. Krevet, 21; Lt.Coll. Crawford, 20; Maior Bresky, 19; my wyfe & daughter, 21 May; Mikita Solochin, 20 May—all per post.

30. Betwixt 3 & 4 aclock in the morning his M. weighed anchor, with a slow wind gott out of sight of the towne, & then lay at anchor till near evening; and then with a favourable but calme wind sailed away.

Writt to my wyfe, daughter & M.G. Menezes.

This day is his M. Tz[ar] P[eter] his birthday. I went with my children over the river & sup't.

31. Had notice that his M. was lying at anchor at the mouth of the river.

{378} June 1, Frid. In the morning the corps of Doctor von der Hulst was brought on shoare, he haveing dyed the evening very suddainly of a interiour epilepsy or suffocation.

2. [To John Gordon of Nethermuir]

Most loveing Cousin,

For yours of the 28th Feb-ry last I give you many thanks, you haveing obliged me very much thereby; but had more, if upon the makeing

that contract or mariage you had advised me of⁸³² that clause, that the estate of Achluichries should descend to the aires whatsoever of that mariage. Which surprizeth me very much, I never haveing so much as dreamed of any such thing, and I wonder why the other party could be so unreasonable as to desire it⁸³³, {378v} and my son so besotted as to consent to it.

If it had not been for my unkles and your advice and perswasion, I had never been so easy as to have disposed the heretable right of that land to him, untill I had had better proofs of his dutyfull behaviour, as I had seen. For I alwayes mistrusted & suspected that how soone he had gott in his hands all, respect & duty would be laid aside. I am sensible enough now how bad an aftergame I have of it, and begs your advice herein as soone as possible.

In the meane-tyme, according to my last in January bypast to you & our cousin Cults, and the factory sent then to you, pray be diligent to exact the 300 merks yearly from him; as also, cause registrate the bond of the 3,000 merks. For I have no wayes discharged him neither of the one nor the other, only in a letter to our unkle desired him to tell you not to press or urge the payment of the 300 merks yearly till my further orders. And in this my unkles advice and perswasion prevailed with me, so that also⁸³⁴ I gave some hopes in a letter to Creichy, that it might possibly be all his⁸³⁵ owne; all which I have by later orders recalled.

I am ignorant of the lawes there, and so referrs all to your management, not doubting but the Earle of Ab[er]d[ee]n will give his assistance and advise what is fittest. If it had not been for the affection I cary to my Native Countrey & ffriends, {379} which I could not manifest after no better way as by leaving a memory of my self there among them, I had never straitened my self so much nor taken 2 such expensive jorneyes to settle that fortune there, and had striven to go further, if I had found suitable returnes.

I shall not trouble you further, only earnestly desire you to informe me as soone as possible, what further remedyes can be applyed to that business

⁸³² *the unreasonablenes of* crossed out.

⁸³³ *such a thing* crossed out.

⁸³⁴ *indeed* crossed out.

⁸³⁵ John Gordon's, as Patrick's eldest son and heir.

and wherein I can contribute to it. Yet cannot I leave without acquainting you with the inexpressible grieffe which I have for my sons misbehaviour to my dear uncle, whom I have alwayes esteemed as another father, having in all my letters strictly enjoyned him to reverence & respect him, as he would and should do me. I shall by the shipping from hence writt againe to you and other ffriends there. I remaine

Your most obliged cousin & ser-t
Archangel.

{379v} June 2. [To Pater Johann Schmidt]

Archangell

Reverende in Christo Pater,

Litterae R. V-rae datae Brunsbergae 26 Aprilis et 8 May, mihi acceptissimae, ante octiduum hic traditae sunt. Gaudeo summopere de bona valetudine R. V-rae et Theodoruli.

Die 18 praeteriti mensis huc ventum est, et per hebdomadas octo vel decem hic mansuri. De pecuniis transmissis nihil dubito quin optime impendentur, et de cura R. V-rae in filiolum securus. Natus est A.D. 1681 die 14 Feb-ry st. vet. Kyoviae.

Scripsit ad me D-nus Forbes ex Gedano, quod libenter videret Theodorulum, et quod ibi sunt optimi professores exercitiorum artium bellicarum, sed quia nollem ut multum temporis in hoc impendat, faciat sicut conveniens erit. Quod aliq-d vini vel cremati pro doloribus stomachi illi dare curat, bene facit, modo ne nimium. De D-no Joanne Konigsfeldt, nullam possum habere notitiam, si talis huc venit, alio forsane nomine se dicit. Ceterum me praecibus R. V-rae commendans, remaneo

R. V-rae

obligatus amicus & servus⁸³⁶

⁸³⁶ "Reverend Father in Christ,

Your Reverence's letters dated in Braunsberg 26 April and 8 May, most agreeable to me, were delivered here eight days ago. I am exceedingly glad [to hear] of Y.R.'s and little Theodore's good health. [The Tsar] came here on the 18th of last month, and we are to remain here for eight or ten weeks.

As for the money remitted, I doubt not but it shall be used the best way, and I am assured of Y.R.'s care for [my] little son. He was born AD 1681, on 14 February O.St., in Kiev.

Writt to my son Theodorus; to Mr. Forbes in Dantzick in ans-r to his of the 30 April; to Mr. Frazer in ans-r to his, dated 26 *Aprilis* in Riga, with the above enclosed. To my wyfe, daughter, son James in ans-r to his of the 26 May in Tambow by mistake; to Mr. Vinus; to M.Gen. Menezes; to Lt.C. Crawfuird; to Maior Brzysky; to Nikita Solochin; Mr. Krevet.

{380} June 3, Sun. Dined at home. Afternoone by my daughter. The person whom wee had sent to gett intelligence of his Ma-tie returned with notice that his M. on Fridday morning weighed anchor from the mouth of the river and was gone towards the monastery.⁸³⁷ Wee had also notice of a Hamburgs ship being come.

4. The Doctor Arnoldus von der Hulst was buried.

In the afternoone a Bremers ship came and anchored in the road, who had been 6 weekes from Bremen on the way; the Hamburger having been 6 weeks & 2 dayes. The Bremers was called "The White Swan", & the Hamburgers the [...]

Mr. Cole came and brought me 50 rubles from my wyfe & a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated the 16. Mr. Lloyd came.

5. At a Hollands preaching, being a day of prayer for his M. happy voyage.

Received letters from M[adam] Crawfuird, dated Slaboda 21 May; from Capt. Gast, dated Slaboda [...]

Capt. Tourlaville sent in the evening to his Ma-tie.

{380v} June 6, Wed. By Mr. Lloyd, C. Sh. B.⁸³⁸, Mr. Cole. In the evening by the Boyar Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin].

7. Writt to my wyfe & sent her 7 oranges & 4 lemmons, Mr. Grim having brought me 3 lemons & 3 oranges.

Mr. Forbes wrote to me from Danzig that he would gladly see little Theodore, and that there are the best instructors in the exercise of military arts, but since I do not wish him to spend much time on that, do as convenient. That You care to give him some wine or brandy against stomach ache, it is well done, if only not too much. As for Mr. Johann Königsfeld, I cannot get any notice if such a man came here; perhaps he calls himself by another name. However, commending myself to Y.R.'s prayers, I remain

Y.R.'s

obliging friend & servant" (Latin).

⁸³⁷ Solovetsky monastery.

⁸³⁸ Possibly, C[aptain of the] sh[ip from] B[remen].

In the afternoon on the river, took a view of the places below the towne, which I found not agreeable with the cart.

8.

9. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Madam Crawford, M.G. Menezes, Mr. Vinus, Mr. Krevet by post; and the same day againe to M.G. Menezes & Mr. Vinus.

Two English ships arrived in the morning, haveing been about 7 weeks on the way.

10. The English shippers came, whom I entertained.

{381} June 11, Moon. I was by Mr. Cole.

12. Received letters from my wyfe of the 28 May & 4 *Junii*; from my daughter Katherine of the 4th *Junii*; from my son James, dated Tambow the 13, 19 & 21 of May; from Mr. Vinus, dated the 4th *Junii*; from Yem[elyan] Ignat. [Ukrainsev], dated 4 *Junii*; from Coll. Yurenuf, dated 27 May & 3 Jun.; from Lt.Gen-ll Zeugh, dated 4 *Junii*; from Capt. Kochintzuf & Nikita Zolochin, 27 May.

I was afternoon aboard of the English ship, Capt. Blais, who kindly entertained me and those with me; the capt. of the other ship, called Shrowd, being with us, his ship lying by the other. At every health they fired about 20 piece of cannon, which they did 6 tymes, & after I went from the ship, being a litle of at the drinking my good health. I gave drink money to the ship men & constables, 10 r. dollers for both ships, and a doller to the boy.

Wee had notice of his M. haveing come to the monastery the 7, and intending from thence the 10, wind & weather serving, and befor evening that his M. was within the river.

{381v} June 13. Writt to Coll. Livingston, my son James.

In the evening his M. arrived in good health, praised be God! I supped with his M. by G. L[e] F[ort].

14. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinus, Coll. Yurenuf, L.G-ll Zeugh, Mr. Krevet.⁸³⁹

Afternoone with his M. to the English ships, where wee were kindly entertained by both captains, who spared neither liquor nor powder. I gave them at parting 30 r. dollers drink money for the seamen. Came home late.

⁸³⁹ son James crossed out.

15. The post for Mosko was but this day dispatcht.

16. Being the Boyar Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] his name-day, wee dined all upon his account in Jan Grims and were merry.

Afternoone I went and received the yacht from his Ma-tie⁸⁴⁰, where wee made merry, & afterwards by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuriovitz [Romodanovsky] till 2 aclock in the morning.

{382} June 17, Sun. Wee were all at a great feast by the governour, where great entertainment. Came home in tyme.

18. Great north wind & storme.

19. Received letters from my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinus, Lt.Coll. Crawfurd, Capt. Brasche, Coll. von Mengden, Coll. Yurenuf, Mikita Solochin, dated Mosko 10 & 11 instant; from Maior Brzizky.

20. Writt to *Kniaz* Peter Ivanovitz [Prozorovsky], Yemelian Ignatiovitz [Ukraintsev], M.Gen. Menezes, to my wyfe, daughter & others above in ans-r to theirs by post.

21. The post went from hence early in the morning.

Dined by the Minister Shrader.

My daughter Mary very sick.

{382v} June 22, Frid. A Bremer ship such as they call a *Creyer*⁸⁴¹ came, haveing been from Bremen 3 weekes & 5 dayes on the way. I went aboard of him with L[ev] Kiril. [Naryshkin] & others and gave a reichs doller to the boy for climbing up to the top of the mast.

23. In the evening the Sh[ipper]⁸⁴² came ashoare.

24. His M. ashoare; in the evening by my son in law.

25. About 10 aclock the post came & brought me letters from my wyfe, daughter, grand-child Anna, M. Crawfurd, L.Coll. Crawfurd, Coll. Yurenuf, Capt. Kochintzuf, Andre Petruf, Nikita Solochin & Mr. Vinus, dated Mosko 18 *Junii*; 2 from Mr. Krevet, both dated *ditto*; from Col. Livingston, dated Kyow 27 May.

In the evening Mr. Wulffe came and brought me a letter from my daughter Katherine, dated 6 *Junii*; from my grand-daughter Anna Catarina Strasburg; from *Kniaz* Ivan Borisovitz Troikuruf.

⁸⁴⁰ "St. Peter", the yacht given to Gordon as rear admiral of the Russian fleet.

⁸⁴¹ *Kreyer*, *Kraier* (German), a type of merchant or transport sailing ships of Northern Germany and Scandinavia, usually three-masted without topmasts.

⁸⁴² Tsar Peter.

{383} June 26. Mr. Wulffe with the English captaines and the other English dyned by me & were merry.

I went aboard of the new ship.

Doctor Carbonary came & brought me letters from my wyfe, dated 11 *Junii*; from Mr. Guasconi, dated 10 *Junii*.

27. Mr. Lloyd & Mr. Pendeck came and brought me a letter from my wyfe, dated 6 *Junii*.

Writt to my wyfe, daughter & grand-daughter, to Mr. Vinus, Guascony & Mr. Krevet, to *Kniaz* Ivan Borisovitz Troykuruf, to Coll. Alempsey Yurenuf, Lt.Coll. Crawfuird & Madam Crawfuird; to Mr. Frazer with ane enclosed from one Alex-r Gordon in Scotland to his wyfe in Dantzick, being in Polish; to Capt. Kochintsuf, Q[uar]t[e]rm[aste]r Kartasuf & Nikita Solochin; to my ser-t Ivan Beresin.

A litle galliot came and anchored in the road, being loaden with wyne. Haveing a Swedish flagge up, he had about 400 hogsheds of French; came from Bordeaux in 9 weekes, sailing round⁸⁴³ Great Brittain & Ireland. The first sight of land which he had was the Illand Fero⁸⁴⁴, & next the coast of Norway by the wirble.

{383v} June 28. The post went early.

The new ship brought to the road.

29. Went aboard the new ship, where stayed untill his M. returning from the church came aboard, where wee felicitated him.⁸⁴⁵ And haveing received a cup of brandy & another of sack from the hands of both the *generalis[simus]* or admiral & vice-admiral, wee went ashore and dined in John Grimmes, where wee were entertained to excess.

30. His M. dined by the captaine, & I desired his M. with all to dine by me the next day, and was busy in makeing all things ready.

{384} July 1, Sunday. His M. with all the compaignie was pleased to dine by me; were merry, staying late.

2. Received letters from my wyfe, daughter, M.Gen. Menezes, Mr. Vinus, Mr. Krevet, Coll. Yurenuf, Maior Brzysky, Capt. Kochintsuf & our *Patres*, dated the 24 & 25 of June; from my son from Tambow, dated 7 *Junii*.

⁸⁴³ *Scotland* crossed out.

⁸⁴⁴ Either the Faeroes, or the Norwegian island of Værø.

⁸⁴⁵ It was Tsar Peter's name-day.

3. Gave 5 rubels for the building of a stone church for the *streltsees* here.

4. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, M.Gen. Menezes, Mr. Vinius, Mr. Krevet, our *Patres*, my son James, Coll. Leviston, Coll. Yurenuf & Gregory Kochintzuf, and to Mr. Guasconi & Coll. von Mengden.

{384v} July 5, Thurs. The post went not early from hence.

In the afternoone by his Ma-tie on the ship, agreed for Robert Cowpers wages & for Arch[ibald] Carmichael. Passed the tyme over the river with the Englishes at bowles.

Ro-t Cowpers wages for a year 50 ruble[s] & Arch. Carm[ichael] 25, halfe in hand.

6. The Hamburger ship stop't. 40 *pud* powder gifted by his Ma. to the English captains.

Mirth by the governour. I over the river againe.

7. At home, having gott a cold defluxion in my shoulder.

8. Adolph Yeffim. Ebenhagen⁸⁴⁶ rebaptized and called Antonius Boris., having embraced the Greeks faith or religion.

9. The governour with other noblemen dined by me.

In the evening the post came, and brought letters to me from my wyfe, daughter, M.Gen. Meneses; Mons-r Kurtz, dated 7 *Junii* in Buda; from Yem[elyan] Ignat. [Ukraintsev], Mr. Vinius, Lt.Coll. Crawfuird, Coll. Yurenuf, Capt-s Brasche, Kochintzuf, Kardashuf; Nikita Solochin, Coll. von Mengden, Lt.Gen-ll Zeugh; Lewenfelt, dated Tobolska [...] *Aprilis*; my son Theodorus, Pater Schmidt, dated Brunsberg 14 *Junii*; Mr. Gray, dated Konigsberg 19 *Junii*; Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 21 *Junii*; the other dated in Mosco the 2 & 3d July; Mr. Krevet, dat. *ibid.*; Mary Yakuflovna [Ronaer?], *Kniaz* Ivan Fiod. Romadanofsky⁸⁴⁷.

{385} July 10, Tuesday.

11. [To Johann Ignaz Kurtz]

Perillustris et Magnifice D-ne,

⁸⁴⁶ Tsar's physician, a "foreigner of Luther's heresy".

⁸⁴⁷ Prince I.F. Romodanovsky (late 1670s–1730), son of Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky, "near" *stolnik*, later Governor General of Moscow and senator. He was the last male heir of his line.

Amice et Compater,

Mihi plurimum observande literae M. V-rae datae Viennae 27 Martii et Budae 7 Junii mihi hic ad manus venerunt, pro quibus maximas reddo gratias. Gaudeo etiam de sanitate M. V-rae, et de promotione ex animo gratulor. De felicibus progressibus armorum Augustissimi libentissime audimus, Deum Opt. M. unanimi[er] precantes pro ulterioribus et plurimis laureis et triumphis, et tandem pro honorificentissima et pro bono totius Cri[sti]anitatis pace.

Nos hic vivimus multis quasi septi hostibus, quorum impetus et conatus hactenus, Deo favente, gratia divina et Serenissimi n-ri, feliciter et fortiter evicimus et vicimus.

Nec quidq-m deest preter pecunias, ut non possimus edificare lapideam domum pro communitate sicut alii Doleo autem magnopere quod R. PP nostri non ita sicut convenit procedunt in sollicitando pro pensione sua, et quod ideo et per discordiam cum privigno V-ro offenderint M. V-ram; alio-quin egregii viri et bene et circumspecte se gerunt. Molestum est ipsis quod tamdiu differtur illorum pensio, nos tamen non patimur {385v} illos habere aliquam necessitatem, et hinc scripsi ad illos, ut non sint nimis solliciti vel maesti ob pensionem non transmissam, quia et nos etsi pauci *nullo* non adeo ratione et discretione destituti sumus, ut permittamus illos necessitatem pati.

Nos post octiduum ituri in naves versus septentriones per aliquot centenas verstas, quod nos hebdomadas 2 vel 3 tenebit. Postea, Deo dante, redibimus Moscoviam. Ego ex benignitate Dei Opt. M. cum familia bene valeo. *Filius meus natu maximus Johannes ante duos fere annos accepit uxorem neptem Comitis de Lesly, qui ibi apud vos non ita pridem mortuus est, ut audivimus ex avisis. Filius Jacobus colonellus hic militat, Theodorus studet Brunsbergae apud R. Patrem Schmidt, qui curam ipsius habet, et Vester Padt Petrus bene valet, sed Georgius Hilarius ante aliquot menses mortuus. Filia natu maior adhuc vidua, habens pensionem 150 rublonum annuam a Tzarea M. Altera filia maritata hic habitat cum marito, qui legionem sclopetariorum habet.* Et Padt Vester bene valens, pro aetate crescit. Itaque me favori M. V-rae recomendo, permanens,

Perillustris D-ne et compater,

D-onis V-rae

obsequientissimus servus

P.S. D. Carbonari, de cujus honore et promotione gaudeo, jam ad aulam nobiscum, in locum quidem defuncti medici von der Hulst.

D-nus privignus Vester hic etiam bene valet, et bene se gerit. Valde cupit et rogat ut tempus manendi hic illi continuatur, et pensio illi augeatur, quod utrumque credo esse necessarium, et consulens swadeo.⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴⁸ "Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord,

My Friend and Godfather,

Your Lordship's much regarded letters, dated in Vienna 27 March and Buda 7 June, have come into my hands here, for which I render my highest gratitude. I am also happy [to hear] of Y.L.'s health, and congratulate You from my heart with Your promotion. We are most glad to hear of the happy progress of the Most August [Emperor's] arms, unanimously praying to God Most Good Most Great for further and greater laurels and triumphs and, at last, for a most honourable peace and well-being of the entire Christendom.

We live here as if encircled by many enemies, whose onslaught and encroachment we have thus far happily and strongly overcome and vanquished by God's protection, divine grace and our Most Serene [Tsar's efforts].

Nor is anything deficient but money that we might build a stone edifice for our community, as the others have. But I greatly regret that our Rev. Paters are not succeeding as they should in soliciting for their pension, and for that reason and due to their discord with Your stepson they offend Y.L. Nonetheless they are men of excellence and bear themselves well and circumspectly. It is grievous for them that their pension is delayed for so long, though we do not suffer them to be in any need. I wrote to them from here that they should not worry or grieve too much at the undelivered pension, because we, even if few in number, are not so destitute of reason and discretion to permit them to suffer want.

In eight days we are to sail our ships towards the North for several hundred *verst*s, which would take 2 or 3 weeks. Then, God willing, we shall return to Moscow. I am with my family, by the benignity of God Most Good Most Great, in good health. *My eldest son John almost two years ago married a granddaughter of Count de Lesly, who died where You are not so long ago, as we heard from the news. My son James, a colonel, serves in the army here. Theodore is studying in Braunsberg with Rev. Pater Schmidt, who takes care of him, and Your godson Peter is in good health, but George Hilarius died some months ago. My eldest daughter is still a widow, receiving an annual pension of 150 rubles from [His] Tsarian M. The other daughter is married and lives here with her husband, who has a regiment of *streltsy*.* Your godson is in good health, growing according to his age. And thus I commend myself to Y.L.'s favour, remaining,

Most Illustrious Lord and godfather,

Your Lordship's
most obliging servant

P.S. Dr. Carbonari, of whose honour and promotion I am glad, is already at court with us, instead of the deceased medic, one von der Hulst.

Your stepson here is also in good health and bears himself well. He is very desirous and begs that the time of his stay here be prolonged, and his pension

{386} July 11, Wed. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, M.Gen. Menezes, Mons-r Kurtz, Lt.Coll. Crawfuird, Capt. Brasche, Mr. Vinius, Lt.Gen-ll Zeugh, Coll-s von Mengden & Yurenuf, Capt. Kochintzuf, & Solochin, *Kniaz* Peter Ivan. [Prozorovsky], Yem[elyan] Ignat. [Ukraintsev]].

About 9 aclock in the evening my daughter Mary her child dyed, haveing been 8 dayes sick of a loosenes & a vomiting. His name was Georg, borne the sixth day of the precedent March.

The new ship delivered over to the Vice-Admirall Ivan Ivanovitz Buterlin.

12. The post kept up.

Ivan Antrushin came and brought me letters from my wyfe & daughter, dated 27 *Junii*, & from Lewenfelt, dated Tobolska 22 *Aprilis*.

13. About 5 aclock in the evening my grandson Georg was buried out of my lodging with the ordinary Lutheran ceremonies.

14. In the morning by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], & *K[niaz]* Boris Alex. [Golitsyn].

In the evening by Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin].

Ro-t Cowper came.

{386v} July 15, Sun.

16. In the evening the post came and brought me letters from my wyfe, daughter, son Peter, M.Gen-ll Menezes, Lt.Coll. Crawfuird, Mr. Guasconi, Lt.Gen-ll Zeugh, Coll. Yurenuf, Kapt. Kochintsuf, Andrew Kartasuf, the regliment], Nikita Solo[chin], Mr. Krevet, Ivan Berezin, Andrew Vinius—all dated Mosko 9 July; from Coll. de Duithe, dated Belagrod 16 *Junii*; from Mr. Ludolph, dated Stockholme 9 *Junii*.

17. Went along the river about 12 *verst* to a place where some Samojeds⁸⁴⁹ had pitched their tents.

{387} July 18, Wed. Writt to my wyfe, daughter Kate, son Peter, Lt.Gen-ll Zeughe, M.Gen-ll Menezes, Lt.Coll. Crawfuird, Mr. Krevet & Mr. Vinius by post.

augmented. I believe it is necessary to do both and, seeking advice, support [it]" (Latin).

Marked fragments crossed out in MS. Count Lesly is the Scot James Leslie of Tullos († 1692), Count of the Holy Roman Empire, with whom Gordon was acquainted (*Diary*, I, pp. 230–1, 275).

⁸⁴⁹ The Nenets people.

19. His M. ship⁸⁵⁰ with 2 English came to the barr, wee being at sport over the river, and hearing the shooting. His M. in the evening went over the river to the church.

20. In the morning Mr. Otto Meverel came and brought me a letter from his father⁸⁵¹, dated London 6th *Junii* 1694.

Afternoon over the river in the illand Perspective⁸⁵², with the Capt-s Sam. Bloys & John Shrowde and the English merch-ts.

21. About 4 aclock in the afternoone his M. ship, haveing been from Holland 5 weeks & 4 dayes, came and cast anchor by Salnabal⁸⁵³, the illand where the heavy loaden ships use to anchor.

{387v} July 22, Sund. Writt to my wyfe & Mr. Vinus, and twice more to him with Mr. Pendek & Mr. Carrills letters, being but covertoes, this post going extraordinary with notice of the ships arrival.

In the morning, about 3 aclock, the English ship called the Perry & Lane, Captaine [...] Roddes, came to anchor by Salnabal.

I dined by the *Goist*⁸⁵⁴ Elias Fiodorovitz Nesteruf. Afterwards to his M. ship and thereafter to the English ship the Perry & Lane, which is a very neat ship with 26 gunnes & 4 blind ones.

23. Came home early.

24. Received letters from my wyfe, daughter, M.Gen-ll Menezes, *Kniaz* Ivan Boris. Troykuruf, Coll. Yurenuf, Mr. Krevet—all dated Mosco 16 July.

At a birth or names day feast by *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovits [Golitsyn], where wee were all well wet.

{388} July 25, Wed. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, M.Gen. Menezes, Mr. Vinus, Lt.Coll. Crawfuird, Capt. Brasche, Coll. Yurenuf, Achtemon Ivan., *Kniaz* Ivan Boris. Troykuruf.

26. My skipper carceered.

The *stuirman*⁸⁵⁵ came.

27. Wee began to load in our provisions.

⁸⁵⁰ "Holy Prophecy", 44-gun frigate commissioned by Tsar Peter in Holland.

⁸⁵¹ Samuel Meverell.

⁸⁵² See fol. 390.

⁸⁵³ Solombala island, part of Archangel.

⁸⁵⁴ *Gost'* (Old Russian), privileged merchant.

⁸⁵⁵ *Steuermann* (German), navigator.

28. His M. ashoare by the Englishes.

{388v} July 29, Sunday. At ane entertainment aboard of the English ship, where his M. and many others.

30. Over the river at bowles with the English.

Received letters from my wyfe, daughter, M.Gen. Menezes, Coll-s von Mengden & Yurenuf, Lt.Coll. Crawford, Mr. Guasconi & Krevet—all dated Mosco 22 & 23d July.

31. Dined at home with ffriends.

His M. by me in the evening and gave me the articles or signes to be observed at sea in Russe, desireing me to translate them into English, and make 4 copies of them, to be given to the English capt-s; which I did ere I sleep't, one of them, & gave it to Mr. Wulffe to be transcribed and 4 copies of it to be writt & given to me.

{389} Aug. 1, Wed. Having been very sick of a colick in the night tyme, I tooke phisick, w-ch had good operation.

In the evening I went aboard the yacht "St. Peter", whither in the evening also came my son in law, daughter Mary & other ffriends.

2. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, M.Gen. Menezes, Coll. von Mengden, Lt.Coll. Crawford, Mr. Krevet and my son James.

3. About one aclock in the morning his M. came aboard and ordered, seing the wind was faire, to sack downe to the other ships, which wee did immediately. And the wind calming, with much ado wee towed downe and at 3 aclock anchored, haveing saluted the admirall with all our 12 pieces of ordinance, and was resaluted by him & others.

I went aboard the admirall and received orders how to saile, to witt: the vice admirall, then the 4 Dutch⁸⁵⁶ ships, then the admirall, then the 4 English shipps, and then I with the yacht. I went ashoare and gave the orders to the English capt-s, and ordered other thing[s] relateing to our march.

{389v} Aug. 4. Writt to my cousin Nethermuir, Cults and W-m Gordon in Aberdeen & to Mr. Meverell in ans-r to his of the 6th Junii. Writt to my unkle by shipping.

⁸⁵⁶ *Dutch* usually means "German" in the Diary, i.e. apparently the above-mentioned merchantmen of Bremen and Hamburg.

5. Over the river at bowles with his M. and others, and gave the illand the name of Capt. Bloys, obligeing him to give a treatment upon that acco-t.

6. Wee went againe to the illand and played.

Capt. Blois gave the promised treat, which being not so [...] obliged the Englishes to ane invitation the next day.

7. I went early to the Blois illand to my son in law, who with his family & others had lodged there all night.

About 4 aclock the Englishes came with a large magazine of wine, and because of their late comeing wee stayed all night.

{390} Aug. 8, Wed. Wee stayed this day & night upon the illand, and were merry.

9. By sunriseing, the wind comeing about to the east, wee went aboard.

I did writt to my wyfe, daughter, M.Gen. Menezes, Lt.Coll. Crawfuird, Capt. Brasche, Mr. Vinus and Mr. Krevet by post.

Notwithstanding the appearance of a fair wind, it became very calme, & the litle wind contrary, so that wee did not weigh anchors.

10. About 6 aclock, the wind comeing about, though but calme, wee weighed anchor and sailed downe the river about 3 *verst* and anchored below the branch or arme of the river called Maimoxa, which is pretty deep and where the ships usually winter, being safe. It falleth in the greatest arme of the r. Dwina about 13 *verst* lower downe. On the left hand wee passed by 2 small illands, on the further syde of the uppermost, Blois illand, the lower end whereof wee called the Perspective illand, because from it wee could see the towne as also a great way downe the river to a illand called the Crosse illand.

{390v} Aug.

A memoire of what is to be prepared and done in reference to the future exercize resolved on to be near Columensko.

50 iron spades & as many shuffles after the Dutch or military fashion.

10 *kirkeyes*⁸⁵⁷ & as many mattoks with on[e] end broad and sharpe for mineing.

Other instruments, as earth bores and other bores, chissells & hackes necessary for mineing.

To exercize the regiment to draw up and fight in bataille array.

To exercize them to gaine a passe, & draw up and entrench on the other syde, as also to march along a river syde guarded on 3 sides with their pikes.

To teach them to make a line of circumvallation.

To teach them to make approaches, both open & syled, with redoubts and batteryes for cannon & mortar pieces.

To teach them to make a mine with the entry & gallery to it in my after yard.

To prepare floats or boats to gett over the river in, to which 4 balkes 4 fath., 4 of 5 fath.

Towres or gabions.⁸⁵⁸

10 *pude* of iron. Powder for exercizeing the regiment.

Balkes and boords for mineing, 100 of 2 fath. balks, 90 boords 3 fath., 100 boords 3 fath., 20 balkes 3 fath., 3 balkes of 5 fath.

Powder for the mines.

Lunt, 300 *arsh[in]*s linnen.

*Spanish ryters*⁸⁵⁹ 600.

Towes. Stakes for gabions. A rule for mineing & another for approaches. Bellows for approaches. Kards or hempe.

{391} Aug.

To make 2 or 3 such engines for breaking battalions of foot and disordering them, albeit guarded with *Spanish Ritters*, as followeth.

Provide 2 oaken trees of 2 1/2 fathom length, smooth and streight and the thicknes of a good axetree, as also 4 good wheeles, the bigger

⁸⁵⁷ *Kirki* (Russian), picks.

⁸⁵⁸ Gabions, baskets or boxes made from wickerwork, filled with rocks, sand, soil etc, and used for cover in fortifications. During the defence of Chigirin in 1678 Gordon used his own design of gabions (*Diary*, III, pp. 48–50).

⁸⁵⁹ *Spanischer Reiter* (German), *chevaux de frise* (French), defensive anti-cavalry obstacles consisting of a portable wooden frame covered with long spikes.

the axetree holes the better. The axetree of the formost must be made a way & a halfe broad and the last 2 wayes broad; the ends of the fors-d oake axetrees not to be cut of, these must be made up for drawing along after the manner of a waggon with a teme, but so that you may lengthen and shorten it at your pleasure. Then on the extremityes of the axetrees 2 long-trees must be laid, so that 2 of the ends joine befor on the teme, and so like a wedge be as broad as the last axtree will beare, the superfluties of the first to be cut of; this being fixed to the axetrees and tame, there must be placed and fixed on the ends befor a post so high as a man may reach to the top thereof almost with his hand, and along the same trees 2 or 3 on each syde of the same hight, which with cross trees must be fixed together at the top.

Then must the sydes be beat with thin or ordinary strong-boards, and in a business of earnest the formost part or all beat with plates of iron musquet-prooffe. This upon occasion must be covered to keep {391v} out hand granadoes. The distance also betwixt the wheeles on the axetrees may be equall and more or less as you find convenient, for in this case you need not be tyed to exact and precize rules & measures. It may be also open behind, or so much of it covered as you please. Men within it must drive and hale it forward on both sydes of the tree which is between, and may be guided by a rope or stake on each syde of the forked tree, w-ch is fastened to the formost axetree. And in this case the two balkes upon the ends of the 2 hindmost axetrees must have roome to worke in at the turning. Befor within may be placed 2 small pieces of cannon, and musket-holes all along on the sydes.

To make this engine portable, or that it may be drawne forward, a teme may be made fast to it under the point of the engine. The axetrees also may be made so that the wheeles may be brought neerer together. The point of the engine may be made so as to open and close at pleasure, being made fast together with strong clasps. The axetrees also may be made so as they may be disjoined, and brought to an ordinary length, and joyned againe, and made sure with strong iron rings.

Both sydes also of the engine may be made to fold together with bands, and being set up to be made steady with iron bolts; and the cover may be made also to joyne & disjoyne, but the best way is to have it of 2 pieces, these on the formost wheeles apart and the other apart.

{392} Aug. 11, Sat. The wind proveing contrary, wee lay still.

Being called by the ordinary signe aboard the admirall to a counsell, wee concluded, if it should prove calme the next morning, to *buxire*⁸⁶⁰ downe the river, that is to say, to be haled downe by boats.

Wee went ashore in the afternoone and played at bowles with Gen-ll Le Fort & the Englishes, haveing so much liquor along as made us pretty merry.

12. The wind proveing faire, though litle & misty, wee about 4 aclock weighed anchor, and by the help of our boats sacked downe the river. About 10 aclock wee came to Markuf illand, which is 15 *verst* from the towne. Here is a guard of *streltsees* with a captaine, who examines the passes of the ships going out & in. Here wee turned a litle to the east, and to the north againe, and passed by another litle illand called Crosse illand, because of the many crosses in it, which have been set up upon the graves of people buryed here. Then, keeping our course northward, haveing these litle illands on our left hand, wee passed by the mouth of the arme of the river Maimaxa, which falleth here in againe, into which the arme which goeth on the other syde of Salnobal hath fallen higher up.

{392v} Aug. 12, Sund. About 1 aclock afternoone wee passed by the Murava or hay illand on our right hand, and at 2 aclock comeing neer the barr, being low water, wee cast anchor, haveing on the right hand Mudisko⁸⁶¹ illand, on which a woodden tower wherein the pilots are lodged, and sojourns also in the tyme when the ships arrive. All along on our right hand was a shallow ground, whereon bacons or buyes were set. On our left hand was the ness Golets. Here the river is very broad, but shallow on both sydes.

His M. came aboard of me and gave me an order to translate & send to the English.

I writt to my wyfe, M.Gen. Menezes and Mr. Vinus.

The channel or passage from above Murava or hay illand to the barr is most west.

My son in law lodged with me all night.

13. The wind being contrary and a good gale, wee lay still.

⁸⁶⁰ *Bugsieren* (German), to tow, tug.

⁸⁶¹ Mudyugsky.

The English ships, who because of the litle water at the ebbe had anchored a litle below Crosse illand, set saile essaying to come up to us, but could not gett above halfe-way, and so anchored againe; the Dutch ships haveing the evening befor anchored by us.

{393} Aug. 13. Writt to my cousin W-m Gordon in Aberdeen, per post in Mr. Wulffes convertio to London & to be furthered from thence by his brother.

Received letters from my wyfe, daughter; Coll. Yurenuf, Lt.Coll. Crawfuird; son James, dated Tambow 18 & 24 July; *Kniaz* Ivan Borisovitz Troykuruf & Mr. Vinius; from my regiment writer, Capt. Kochintzuf & son, all dated 6 Aug. To all whom returned answer the same night.

14. About 4 aclock in the morning, the wind being fair, wee weighed anchor, being short of the barr about 4 or 5 *verts*, and keeping our course west-north-west. By 6 aclock wee gott with a fair gale without the barr, and then turning north-east and *lavireing*⁸⁶² or sailing hither and againe, wee waited for the English ships, haveing dismissed our pilots.

About 9 aclock the signe was given by the admiral to draw up every on in their stations, which about an howre thereafter was done, & so after mutuall salutations in passing by, according to the manner at sea, wee sailed in very good order *haveing the promontory {393v} called the Gray hooke on our right hand.*⁸⁶³

About midday wee bore & kep't our course north, haveing all along highland on our right hand in sight. Towards evening wee came to the ness or promontory called the Blew or Gray hooke, and haveing gott up to it, wee changed our course and kept north-east. This Blew or Gray hooke is from the mouth of the river Dwina or new channell about 12 miles. In the evening after sunsett it was calme till midnight, so that wee made but litle progress. At midnight, a gale ariseing, wee kept our course.

Aug. 15. About 9 aclock in the morning a mist ariseing, with shooting, drums beating and trumpets sounds wee made signes to keep together.

About 2 aclock in the afternoone, ere wee were aware, and when wee thought to be a great way from it, wee were just upon it. The stierman tooke it to [be] the Cruis⁸⁶⁴ illand, & cryed out that the compasses were not

⁸⁶² *Lavieren* (German), to tack.

⁸⁶³ Marked words crossed out.

⁸⁶⁴ I.e. Cross.

right. So, turning to the east, wee had not sailed some minutes, wher wee had land just befor us, and being a thick mist, wee were within a stone-cast of it, a crosse which at first wee tooke to be a shipp discovering it self, so that wee were in anxiety, the wind driveing us on the land, and no possibility to gett the yacht turned. Which seeing, wee cutted the ropes wherewith the anchor was tyed and let it fall, and put out men in the boat, which was haled aft the ship. The anchor was tymely cast out, for the yacht was within a fathom of this rocky illand ere she was at a stand.

Wee stayed here a quarter of an howre ere wee could resolve what to do, {394} not being well assured in what place wee were in. Yet the stierman confirming it to be the Cross illand, which the Russes call Sosnovets, wee resolved with the boat to hale the yacht about, take up our anchor and *buxir* or hale with the boat westward so well as wee could, which succeed[ed] well. For, haveing gott of from the illand, and the mist clearing up a litle, wee had befor us againe the land which wee saw first, and then a sight of the south & west hooke or corners of the illand, which the wind being contrary wee could not well doubled [*sic*] unless by many tacks and in a great deale of tyme. So that the mist clearing up mor & more, wee resolved to passe betwixt the illand & the firme-land, which wee did and with the help of the Almighty God gott thorow, so that about 3 aclock wee were gott clear and out of danger, and halfe ane houre thereafter had a sight of some of our ships befor us, but a great way of, and the mist being quite dispelled by a fyne gale of wind, wee put up all sailes and followed.

So that Gods mercifull providence brought us out of this danger, for if there had been any rockes under water, or low neare the illand, and not a steep rocky cliffy shore, albeit both on the righ[t] and left hand of us there were rockes within very near the distance that wee discerned land, then the wind not being very strong, and wee casting anchor in the nick of tyme, next to Gods mercy saved us.

This illand is from the Blew or Gray hooke or ness 13 miles. Not[e] that that hooke is called by the Russes Catsnoes, which hooke lyeth in the 65 degree of northerne latitude.

Wee kept our course n. east, and because wee could not {394v} overtake the other shipp sailing befor the wind, they waited for us haveing taken in their great sailes & laid-by. And how soone wee gott neare, then all hoised sailes and went forward.

A litle after sunsett wee passed by the mouth of the river Panoy, which is 8 Dutch miles from the Crosse illand, so called because of the many crosses on it.

In the night wee passed by the 3 illands, 2 myles from Panoy,

[Aug. 16, Thurs.]⁸⁶⁵ and a litle after sunriseing by Orlogenes⁸⁶⁶, 2 miles. Then, holding our course more northward, wee glided along with a calme, makeing but very litle way and haveing the ships befor us at some distance, and all along the coast very near, which in many places in the valleyes and hollow places was filled with snow.

All this coast for about 500 *verst* betwixt P[i]alitsa in the White Sea and 20 *verst* beyond Swetenoes⁸⁶⁷ on the Lappish coast belongeth to a monastery in Mosko called Voscresczianskoy. It is not inhabited, only at Panoy, at Iockena⁸⁶⁸ and some other places. They have some people liveing in houses who fish for them, for upon all this coast & in the rivers, especially Panoy and Iockena, are taken abundance of salmond.

The inland countrey is not inhabited, because bare, barren and destitute of wood or fyreing for some miles, and where the woods are, they are the habitations of wild beasts, especially a great number of *yelenyes*⁸⁶⁹ or harts affoord to the Samojeds & Lapplanders both sport and profit. And [on] Panoy there is a yearly market on the 8th of September, where some hundreds of the Laplanders appeare with their wares, being most furs. The monks permitt no other body to {395} trade with these, but their owne people, and upon this account they make a sort of feast for them, placing them all some at tables and some on the ground, and entertaine them with bread, fish & flesh, but especially brandy, beer and to some of them mede. Then every one of them or by societyes, families or trybes present something to the monks chamberlaine, and then the next dayes they trade, receiving for their furies bread and such things as they stand in need of. These people, especially the Samojeds, live a very savage lyfe, eating raw flesh, yea, the guttes with filth & all; neither make they much difference betwixt these and the most delicate venison.

⁸⁶⁵ Date on next page.

⁸⁶⁶ Orlov nos.

⁸⁶⁷ Sviatoy nos.

⁸⁶⁸ Yokan'ga.

⁸⁶⁹ *Olen'* (Russian), deer.

Aug. 16, Thurs. By reason of the calme wee were a great way behind, so that the rest of the fleet tooke in their sailes, layd by and waited for us. In the afternoone a counsell was called, where it was resolved that in case of a contrary or strong wind wee with our shippes {395v} should returne and the merchant ships should hold their course; the signe to be 5 shott out of great gunns by the admirall, and if in the day-tyme, a flagge to be let fly from the mizan ree.

In the afternoone the English captaines came aboard of me, where with a hearty cup of good liquor wee tooke leave of other. I went thereafter aboard the admirall & sup't there.

In the night wee passed by Lombasho⁸⁷⁰ & the illands so called with a good gale of wind,

Aug. 17. and by day light were gott to the cape called Swetenoes. By this cape is the river Iockena, where plenty of salmond are taken. This cape is from the cape Orlogenes 17 miles.

About 7 aclock, the wind blowing hard and something contrary, wee heard the appointed signe of 5 shotts, whereat wee were much rejoiced. Then the fyreing began on all hand at our takeing leave of the other shippes, they answering againe and againe; and when the admirall and vice-admirall came up to me, I saluted them and they me. So wee returned with a strong gale befor the wind.

About 3 aclock afternoone wee passed by Panoy, and in the evening had a sight of Crosse illand, which wee passed in the night, keeping further of from it as wee had done in going out.

{396} Aug. 18, Sat. By day light wee had a sight of the land on the other syde, as also of our shippes who were gott a great way befor us. But the wind calming with us, yet carryed them in a short tyme out of our sight, and wee lay tossing up & downe, makeing no progress at all, and stayed so all the night.

19 [Sund.] About 7 aclock in the morning wee had a gale of wind from the south, with which wee *lavired* too & againe. But about noone, the tyde falling downe strong, wee perceived ourselves to loss [...] so that wee drew neer the shore and anchored at 7 fath. deep within a *verst* of the land; and then went ashore in the shallop, where wee found a great many

⁸⁷⁰ Lumbovsky.

cottages in the valleyes, but nobody in them. For along this coast, which is 12 *verst* of high-ground, about Annunciation day there come from all places about 1,500 persons & more, who lodge here. And the sea being frozen a great way out, and the sun comeing with warme-blinks, the seales or sea doggs come out and ly downe & sunne themselves upon the ice; the countrey-people lying in wait after bankes of ice, which they have made up, faile out and kill them with mells of wood, and so make a good livelihood by this trade, for some of them will gett 8 or 10 {396v} to their share, each whereof haveing or makeing about 1 1/2 *pude* or 60 pund of trane oyle, and their skins to boot.

Being ashore, wee found abundance of all sort of berryes: strawber-ryes, raspberryes, red and black riserberryes, *brusnitsees*, *castanitzees*,⁸⁷¹ many whereof were not ripe; abundance of fyne-herbs, as tansy, harts-tongue, great & small angelica etc. Wee stayed here untill the tyde began to turne, and then went aboard and to saile. The wind comeing a litle about, wee made some progress,

Aug. 20. and by day light gott a sight of our shipps, who had been becalmed as well as wee.

About 8 aclock wee passed by the village Kuia on our left hand, which is 12 *verst* from the mouth of the river. So, the wind being calme, wee advanced slowly by the help of the tyde.

About 1 aclock afternoone the admirall & vice-admirall gott within the barr and anchored, and by reason of the great calme and approaching ebbe wee were forced to come to anchor about 3 aclock, a *verst* & a halfe short of the entry in to the river.

{397} Aug. 21, Tuesd. By day light, the wind blowing from the west with a pretty gale, albeit somewhat contrary, wee weighed anchor & went N.W. to come above the entry into the river. Which after one howre & ane halfe wee did, and sailed in within the barr, where fyreing all our guns according to custome, wee advanced forward. The two other ships, weighing anchor, went befor and with a favourable wind went up the river. Yet at Cruis illand, where the guard stands, the vice-admirall was driven on the land, and a litle further I; yet in halfe ane howres tyme by winding gott of. And so came to anchor at Solnabal by the admirall. I went aboard the

⁸⁷¹ *Brusnika*, *kostianika* (Russian), lingonberry and stone bramble.

admirall, and the Great Skipper came aboard of the yacht and stayed ane howre. I went ashoare and lodged by my daughter.

22. In the morning I sent for the officers & sojourns with our baggage and lodged all in the vessells wherein wee should go up the river to Penda.

About midday the vice-admirall came and anchored befor the towne.

{397v} Aug. 23, Thursd. I waited upon his M. in the morning and restored him the bookes he lent me, and gave him of the 2 leading-staffes sent from England, which were very acceptable.

Wee were all at a feast by the governour & were joviall.

24. Being invited, I dined by the English Company and was heartly entertained.

About 2 aclock in the afternoone wee went to our boats, and having a favourable wind sailed up the river, makeing good way, & merry, haveing the English gentlemen aboard.

25. By day light wee were gott to the mouth of the river, which cometh from Colmogro. About 8 aclock wee were gott alike with Colmogro. A litle further up the English tooke their leave, as did my son in law & others who had lodged wt me all night.

A litle after midday wee gott alike with Pinega. This is a river, which comeing from the Province of Misene⁸⁷² with a long and navigable current for large boats, emptyeth itself here, being on our left hand. Here the river comeing from the west, wee were forced to lett fall our sailes and wind our selves about a illand, and then let our selves be drawne up the river by men. The wind being falne, albeit the river came from the south againe, yet could wee not make use of our sailes, only were towed forward.

{398} Aug. 26, Sunday. A litle befor day wee were gott to Stowpina, but the workemen drawing without relieffe, were so wearyed that they could not draw nor go any more. Wherefor I sent sojourns ashoare to seek up workmen, but they seeking all the village could find none, they being all runaway. So I caused take a dozen of horses, and yoking 6 of them to a stronger rope, wee made good way. I caused feed the workmen and give them brandy, which comforted & encouraged them.

About midday wee passed by the vil. Racola. At 3 aclock, getting a favourable wind, wee lett the horses go, haveing taken some fresh worke-

⁸⁷² Mezen'.

men out of the villages as wee passed by. Yet the wind did not continue long, so that the workemen went ashore and drewed againe.

27. In the night wee made but litle progress, so that in the morning wee passed by Solmochta⁸⁷³, and about midday by Pingis, where wee were aground, from which wee with difficulty gott of.

In the night-tyme wee put over to Chavrogory, where wee should have had change of workmen, but they were all fled. Here by a mistake of the pilot wee were gott in to ane arme of the river, through which wee could not go, so that wee were forced to go back againe, which detained us all the night. In which tyme I sent ashore and fetch'd another pilot and some fresh workemen. From hence I sent Maior Roonaer befor to Penda.

28. Wee wrought all the day almost along the Chavrogorsky illand and at evening came to the Opoka or alabaster rocks on the left hand.

In the night-tyme wee went slowly forward, and

{398v} Aug. 29, Wed. In the morning wee had passed by the halfe of the Opoka. I went ashore and walked as farr as Kalia, whither after a tedious waiting the boats came about midday, and went over to the other syde of the river, being stony and shallow ground, where wee run aground, and had worke for a couple of houres to gett of. From hence I sent two sojourns to Penda.

In the evening the Boyar Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] passed by in a *carbass*⁸⁷⁴. In the night wee passed by Repanowa and

30. in the morning wee passed by Mors river and Yam, & then Ouswanga⁸⁷⁵ on the left, and in the evening to the river Penda. Here wee entred, and I with some officers went with the lightest baggage on land and sent the rest of the officers, sojourns and heavyest goods by boats to Vologda.

In the evening with 6 sledges & 4 waggons, which were provided for me here, I tooke jorney, haveing 3 horses befor each sledge & 2 befor each waggon. About 8 or 10 *verst* wee gott the river Waga on our left-hand, and the way being heavy, the horses wearyed, wee baited by hay.

⁸⁷³ Chelmokhta.

⁸⁷⁴ *Karbas* was a kind of river- or sea-boat in northern Russia, usually with 2 square sails and 4 to 10 oars.

⁸⁷⁵ Ust'-Vayenga.

31. By day light wee were come about 20 *verst* from Penda, where the way being sandy was very heavy, so that I sent and tooke fresh horses.

About midday wee crossed the r. Waga at the village Kitsia⁸⁷⁶ by a float-bridge and dined. Here wee had our horses changed. This is 35 *verst* from Penda. Wee crossed the r. Vaga againe 20 *verst* from Kitzia at Czoczola. Wee had {399} change of horses at Zlotilova, 10 *verst* further, whither wee came about 9 aclock.

Sept-r 1. About day light wee had befor us toward the left hand Shenvovska⁸⁷⁷, a litle towne, the residence of the governour of the Waga, and on the other side of the river. Wee rode all along the river by divers well inhabited villages, as Kyanska vill. & *volost* & others. From Zlotilova to Shenvovska 20 *verst*; from thence to Kyanska 5 *verst*; to Sholovsa Yam 5 *v.*, where wee had horses changed. From thence to the river Uspakinga⁸⁷⁸, 10 *verst*, where wee mett with fresh horses come from the Kargapolsky *volost*, whereof wee tooke so many as needfull and lett the others go.

To the Ust-Puia r[iver] & Yam, 15 *verst*, where wee did not change horses, only refreshed these wee had, being good, and went forward in the night. Ust-Puia is from Ustjuga & Vologda alike distance, to witt 300 *verst*.

2. Wee came & crossed the r. Turig⁸⁷⁹, 23 *verst*, to the Slabodsky Yame about 7 aclock in the morning. To the Shudrinsky⁸⁸⁰ Yam in the afternoone, 25 *verst*, and came about 8 aclock at night to the Volsky Yam⁸⁸¹, about 30 *verst*. Here wee had our horses changed as in the former, and were everywhere, where the horses were changed, entertained by his M. people, plenty of all things being by order provided. From thence wee went about 10 aclock, and being very darke and untowardly way, were lighted for 12 *verst* to the bridge over the r. Kul[o]y.

{399v} Sept-r 3, Moonday. By day light wee crossed the river Waga againe by a floating-bridge, 13 *verst*, being narrow here, and refreshed the

⁸⁷⁶ Kitskaya.

⁸⁷⁷ Shenvovsk.

⁸⁷⁸ Ust'-Padenga.

⁸⁷⁹ Churga.

⁸⁸⁰ Probably, Sudromsky.

⁸⁸¹ Apparently, Vel'sk.

horses & breakfasted in the vill. here. And 10 *verst* further to the Viercho-Vasky Yam, which is a great village, where haveing dined and gott fresh horses, wee rode to Podvloshna, 15 *verst*, haveing crossed 2 r[ivule]ts; where wee crossed the r. Waga, and then up a hill through a wooddy countrey; & 10 *verst* wee crossed the r. Waga againe, and through a hilly countrey againe 4 long *verst* to Ustinia, a *yam*, in the night, w-ch wee found deserted, so that wee lodged in the fields and kept good watch, lest the *podvodsbiks*⁸⁸² should runnaway. This district is under no *woywoods* jurisdiction, but chuse their owne judges, and what they cannot decide is remitted to Mosko.

4. Haveing left the r. Waga on the left hand, befor day wee marched. I sent Maior Roonaer befor to Vologda, and so passeing over a hilly countrey well stored with villages and a litle r[ivule]t Koshuga, about 1 aclock afternoone wee came to the Yam Yachorusa⁸⁸³, where wee gott waggons, and crosseing under the vil. a river of the same name, which running west falleth in the r. Kubinska; this *yam* haveing been from the other, or Ustinio, about 30 *verst*. Wee rode all the night through a marish wood, bridged were the wayes, but by reason of the raines very dirty.

{400} Sept-r 5, Wed. About 7 aclock, being well wett, wee came to the *yam* & vill. Volchovska, 27 *verst* from Yachrusa, haveing a *verst* or 2 short of it crossed the river Sintshuma⁸⁸⁴, which falleth also in the river Kubinsky, and that in the lake of the same name.

From hence to the Yam Uskumitza, 25 *verst*, where dined and gott fresh horses as in all the other *yames*. 5 *verst* further wee crossed the r. Shuriga, 5 *verst*, and so crossing diverse rivers and by sundry villages.

6. In the morning wee came to the *yame*, being exceedingly wett, and haveing dryed and refreshed our selves, wee came to the Kodinsky monastery, where by great floats or *prumes*⁸⁸⁵ wee crossed the river Suchona, w-ch is from Vologda 25 *verst* and from the last *yam* 10 *verst*. 20 *verst* from hence the r. Suchona runneth out of the Kubinsky lake.

In the afternoone I came to Vologda, which is a large market towne consisting most of one street along the river Suchona⁸⁸⁶, which for great-

⁸⁸² *Podvodchiki* (Russian), carters.

⁸⁸³ Yakhrenga.

⁸⁸⁴ Siamzhena.

⁸⁸⁵ *Parom* (Russian), ferryboat.

⁸⁸⁶ A slip: Vologda lies on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Sukhona.

boats is here navigable, especially in the spring. On the west syde is a large well built monastery called the Prylutsky, and the east-end of the towne is best built, where the strangers have large & convenient howses.

The waggons being come in the evening, and haveing gott sufficient *podwodes*, about 11 aclock wee set forward, and rideing all {400v} night in rainy weather, which made bad way,

Sept-r 7, Frid. by day light wee were gott 30 *verst*. And passing by the Corneliofsky monastery, about midday wee came to the Obnorsky Yam, 30 *verst*, where getting fresh horses, wee rode all night and

8. by day light were gott near the Afdorska Yam, which is 60 *verst* from Obnorska. Here I tooke no horses but for such as were weary, and I went 7 *verst* further to the great village Danielefska. To this belongeth a large district of a countrey. Here I gott choice of good horses, and immediately set forward, and came to Reshotina, about 25 *verst*, and 5 *verst* further refreshed our selves & horses at the *yam*. And makeing againe what hast wee could, wee gott to Yaroslaw about midnight, and ferrying immediately over the river Volga, made a stay on the other syde of the towne, untill wee had our horses changed.

9. And so about a howre befor day wee set forward againe, and came to Chrabitz Gora⁸⁸⁷, where a stately church of stone and below a very fyne park, but not enclosed. And 4 *verst* further crossed the river Kotera⁸⁸⁸ and to the village Koromisla, 20 *verst*, where refreshed our selves and horses. 15 *verst* further wee crossed the r. Kotera a 3d tyme (the first being under Yaroslaw) by a very pleasant village belonging to the Stresnyes.

5 *verst* further wee came to Rostow and had our horses changed, and in the evening marched on to the vill. Czibala⁸⁸⁹, {401} 12 *verst*, crossing here the river Czybala, w-ch falleth into the Lake of Rostowa and causeth it for the most part. 8 *verst* further wee refreshed our selves, though some had rather rest as eat or drink. About midnight wee went from hence

Sept-r 10, Moonday. and about 7 aclock in the morning came to Pereslaw, 40 *verst*.

Being long befor wee could gett horses, it was midday & more befor wee could gett from hence. And note here by the by, that the river

⁸⁸⁷ Karabitova gora, later Karabikha.

⁸⁸⁸ Kotorost' or Kotorosl'.

⁸⁸⁹ Debola.

Trubes, which wee crossed here and hath its fountaine som few *verst*s from hence and maketh the Pereslavish lake, is not above one fathome deep, which a certaine author by a great mistake sayeth to be a 100 fathome deep.

Wee rode to Rudrichofsky village and supped there, and it being very darke and dirty,

11. wee scarce gott to Troitza by sunriseing. Haveing gott change of horses here, wee went to Bratofczin, 30 *verst*, and dined here. Many of my officers being come to meet me, I tooke horse and came to the Slaboda a litle befor sunsett.

{401v} Sept-r 12, Wed. Went to church and gave God thanks for his gracious providence.

In the evening G. Le Fort came to me from his M. and told me that I should levy 2[00] or 300 new men.

Haveing been advertised the evening befor to send some body to receive *struges* or *baydakes*⁸⁹⁰, I sent and received 4 for our transportation over the river.

13. I went and tooke a view of the *baydakes* and ordered them to be bridged. Went afterwards to Preobrasinsko and was welcomed by his M. and dined with him.

14. Sent a roll of things needfull into the *Prikase*.

I rode to the place where the boates were and ordered further what needfull, and afternoone visited M.Gen. Menezes, who was dangerously sick, and gave me a writeing under his hand & seale, recommending his 3 sonnes to me to be educated in the Roman Catholick Religion⁸⁹¹, pronouncing a curse upon these who should offer to divert any of them, or bespeake them to embrace any other opinion.

{402} Sept-r 15, Sat. I rode to the boats and returned without stay.

16. At devotion and then at a feast by G. Le Fort.

17. In Preobrasinsko, at a councill, where was only concluded how many *podvodes* each regiment should have, 4 being ordered for a corpo-

⁸⁹⁰ *Strug* (Russian), large river-boat propelled by sails and oars. *Baydaki*, Ukrainian term for large river-boats on the Dnieper, on whose banks Gordon lived for several years.

⁸⁹¹ Major General Menzies had four children: sons Magnus, John and Andrew, and daughter Catherine. Their mother was a zealous Protestant.

rallship and the officers, superior & subalterne conforme, I receiving for my self, officers, ammunition and sojourns 260. I rode the same day to the boates againe.

18. Sent for to Preobrasinsko againe, where only orders were given to be with the regiments in the Semenofsky fields on Sunday in the afternoon. 18 *yempsky podvods*⁸⁹² came for 6 cannon and three mortar pieces.

In the evening his M. was pleased to come by me and looked upon the engine, which I was makeing for breakeing battallions, albeit enclosed and secured with *Spanish ryters*, which pleased him very well, and ordered 3 such to be made.

{402v} Sept-r 19, Wed. Received 3 cannon from Preobrasinsko.

20. I rode to the boates and found them in great forwardnes.

I tooke the deceased Lt.Coll. Hamiltons two sonnes, John & Patrick, into my house.

21. My servant Ivan Serroe⁸⁹³ dyed.

Writt to Pater Schmidt, my son Theodorus and to Mr. Frazer in ans-r to theirs received at Archangell, dated from Brunsberg, [...] and Riga.

The *streltsees* marched through the Citty towards their *leagner*.

22. I rode to Butirky, exercized the regiment.

I received a letter from Mr. Philip Woolffe, dated Arch. 12th 7bris; whereupon I spoke with his M., who ordered me to writt to Mr. Woolffe that he should cause bring 15,000 *arsb-s* of good English cloth according to the patterns given, a 3d part thereof azure or darke blue, another 3d sea-green, and the last 3d rasberry collour.

{403} Sept-r 23, Sund. At devotion. Received the 260 *podvods* and distributed them.

24. Wee marched and encamped in the Semenofsky fields with the regiments and whole army.

25. Wee lay encamped and consulted of the methodes of marching and encamping with o[u]r *waggonburg*.

26. Wee marched through the Citty and Court in order & pompe⁸⁹⁴,

⁸⁹² *Yamskiye podvody* (Russian), post waggons.

⁸⁹³ Probably Serov or Sery.

⁸⁹⁴ Gordon at the head of his regiment was marching to take part in the general manoeuvres near the village of Kozhukhovo with the army under Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky, where Tsar Peter was actively involved.

and having crossed the Moskva river at the Danielefska bridge, wee made a halt, and then advanced in battell order according to the forme which I had given in; and encamped with our *waggonburg* upon the brink of the river Moskwa by the *dorp* Kosuchova⁸⁹⁵, without hinderance or molestation.

{403v} Sept-r 27, Thurs. Wee lay still and were first entertained by the *goists* or aldermen. Brought our boats downe the river neer our *leaguer*, resolved to gett over the river by day light.

28. By day light wee went to the river and boats without noise, having *Spanish ryters* along with us. I sent over a company of granadiers in small boats, and 2 companyes with their *Spanish ryters* on 2 boates bridged & coupled together, and on each of the 2 other boates a company. But the bridged 2 boates being carryed downe with the streame, and the other 2 advancing slowly, I went with my shallop among the granadiers & landed befor any of the other regiments were gott ashoare, and beat with our hand granadoes & small shott the trowpe⁸⁹⁶ of horse, which had the guard and made resistance. And 2 of the companyes being come, wee fenced our selves on the syde of the river, till more arrived. The *streltsees* in the meane tyme came thronging out of their *leaguer*, yet seeing our numbers and still encreasing, they ranged themselves befor their leaguer.

About midday wee began to entrench our selves, and by the prevalent wayes of a certaine person wee encamped {404} very throng. About one aclock some skirmishes were with litle advantage on any syde. All this tyme the horse had been at hott service. At last ours forced the other to give ground.

About 4 alock in the afternoone, our trenches being compleeted, wee retired into our *leaguer*, the waggons haveing been placed in their stations befor.

Sept-r 29, Sat. Wee lay still and hightened our trenchees.

30. Rested.

In the afternoone Turgenuf⁸⁹⁷ with his singers fought against such another with the writers, who were afoot.

⁸⁹⁵ Kozhukhovo, now part of Moscow.

⁸⁹⁶ Instead of the crossed-out *company*.

⁸⁹⁷ Yakov Fiodorovich Turgenev († 1695), the Tsar's jester who was styled a "famous old warrior and Colonel of Kiev". Soon his mock wedding was celebrated (see fol. 442 v.), which he did not survive.

{404v} Oct-r 1, Moon. Wee marched out with all the regiments, offering to fight, but the others did not stirr out of their *leaguer*. In the meane-tyme wee made 2 redoutes, myne being 12 fath. each syde.

2. Wee marched out, and made other 2 redowtes neerer. About 3 aclock, my regiment being on the right hand, the *streltsee* marched out of their *leaguer* very strong and advanced towards me, which made me turne my front to the right, haveing in front 5 companyes & a company of granadiers and 2 companyes for a reserve, the rest being in the *leaguer*. After halfe an howres dispute the *streltsees* began to give ground; and so wee fyred, they retireing and wee advancing about an howre till they were gott a great way of, to the great satisfaction of his M. And all this was done with litle harme on both sydes.

{405} Oct-r 3, Wed. Wee consulted about the meanes of takeing in the fortress.

4. Being St. Franciscus day, wee dyned all by the G-ll Le Fort, and resolved in the afternoone to attacque the fortress by firing the wall, filling the ditches, and storming it by *scalado*⁸⁹⁸.

About 3 aclock afternoone wee marched out and brought fascines & boards to fill and bridge the ditch, as also on 2 wheeles combustible matter, which being brought to the wall and fired, burned but litle effect. Yet after about 2 howres resistance wee tooke the utter workes by *scalado*, and followed them so closs that wee entred with them in to the fort (being a pentagon), and so forced them to fly into the *leaguer*, wee takeing all in possession.

The Semenofsky regiment received all and kept the guard this night.

{405v} Oct-r 5. Wee consulted what was best to be done, and finding his M. dissatisfyed for their deserting the fort, and willing that they should take possession of it againe, I assented, yet this day litle mention was made thereof.

I dined with his M. by *Kniaz* Boris Alexeiovits [Golitsyn].

Coll. von Mengden relieved the guards in the fort.

6. Received letters from my son in law and Mr. Woolffe, whereby I had notice that the things, w-ch I thought were lost, were delivered to my son in law.

⁸⁹⁸ Assault by use of ladders.

The Gen-ll Achtemon Michaelovitz [Golovin] relieved the guard.

7. I relieved the guards in the fort and all the outworks.

Writt to my son in law and Mr. Woolffe.

{406} Oct-r 8, Moon. The *streltsees* tooke possession of the pentagone and the outworkes towards the river and a part of their *leaguer*, and I retired and kept 5 companyes & the halffe of the company of the grana-diers in the halffe of the outworks, with the other 3 regiments.

Received letters from Pater Schmidt & my son Theodorus, dated Brunsberg 18 *7bris* in a covert from Mr. W-m Gray, dated Conigsberg 2 *Oct-ris*, and that in a *covert*o from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 27 *Sept-ris*, p[e]r post.

The same evening I began to make a gallery to a mine under the face of the bulwarke.

9. His M. began to make a sappe under the face of the other bulwarke, and wee advanced wt the gallery to the ditch by day light.

10. I tryed to gett under the ditch with the gallery, but found it very difficult by reason of the springs & exceeding wetness of the earth. Wee shott some bombes into the fort.

The besieged, perceiving us working in the ditch, powred abundance of water into the ditch, which hindred us for some tyme.

{406v} Oct-r 11, Thurs. In the morning the *streltsees* by countermining found the sappe, w-ch Coll. von Mengden by his M. orders had made, and threw abundance of water into it, which by makeing of pumpes was emptied againe. Notwithstanding their continuall powring water into the moat, I haveing covered the place wherein I intended to make the gallery, proceeded and brought the gallery under the wall.

I did writt to my son James in ans-r to his of the 3d of October.

12. This night as in the former wee laboured in filling the moat.

About 7 aclock in the morning the *streltsees* by continuall working found our gallery, and by powring abundance of water into it forced the labourers out of it. Yet I caused draine it, & about midday I caused stopp the gallery there where it was found, and advanced another way.

{407} Oct-r 13, Sat. I perceiving by the noise of their working that they had notice that I was working at the mine still, and that they were labouring to fynd it, as also seeing his M. would not have any powder put in it to blow up any part of the wall, I turned of from the course I kept,

and into the moat againe, so to enlarge, and draw out as much earth as possible, that by removeing the standarts in the gallery, the wall might sink.

In the night I caused fill so much as I could of the moat with earth, gabions & fassines.

14. Wee rested.

15. [Moon.] Having been early, by order with others by the *generallissimus*, all things being ready, it was concluded after breakfast to storne the fort. So the regiments being drawne out, wee advanced. The sappe being fyred, continued a long tyme burning ere the wall did sink, so that I had filled the ditch {407v} and bridged that part befor the port, and was ready to advance the ladders. But the other regiments not being ready, I had orders to desist, so I drew of, whereby the besieged on the quarter I had to attacque, who had spent all their granadoes, shott & water, had leisure to recruit themselves.

When all was ready on the other quarters, and entring almost, I gott orders to do my best, so I caused set up the ladders, and after much worke & strugling wee gott upon the walls. The besieged rendring themselves, the p[rinci]p[a]ll persons with the collours & drummes were brought out & presented to the *generallissimus*, who dismissed them into their *leaguer* againe.

The Preobrasinsko regiment tooke possession of the fort & outworks and for this night guarded it, beating out the *streltsees* who had kept possession of the outworks towards the river & *leaguer*.

{408} Oct-r 16, Tues. Wee rested and consulted about the takeing in of the *leaguer*.

I with my regiment relieved the others in the fort & outworks.

17. Being called, wee conveneend all by the *generallissimus*, and resolved after breakfast to attacque the *leaguer*.

About 9 aclock the cavalliery of both sydes marched out into the ffields, and faced one another. The infantry march out, and drew up befor the posts allotted them, I haveing the worst of all, which was to fall out at the sally-ports into the *leaguer*.

About 10 aclock a generall assault was made from all quarters, and after much strugling and dispute on both sydes, where many were wounded and one of my sojourns deadly, wee pressed into the *leaguer* from all places, and made the coll-s with their regiments submitt and render themselves prisoners.

{408v} Afterward the prisoner regiments were brought out into the fields and drawne up in one front with their colonells & officers befor them. On the other syde, our regiments, and the collours taken from the *streltsees* on the ground befor them. Then came the *generallissimus* with all his traine and 2 regiments of horse from the ffields betwixt the captive & our regiments. In passeing by wee used the ordinary salutation, & after he had passed each regiment, that gave a salve. After wee came into the *leaguer* againe & were entertained at the great tent or pavillion.

{409} Oct-r 18, Thurs. Wee were all entertained at a feast by the *generallissimus* at the expences of the *goists* and about 11 aclock were dismissed.

Haveing marched over the river, the regiments of horse & foot were drawne up on both sides of the way, the *generallissimus* as he passed by was saluted after the ordinary way, & with a salve; and so marched of every one to their respective quarters.

19. At devotion, and by M.G-ll Menezes.

20. This morning Anisim the sojour, who had been wounded with a bullet in the legg, and through the negligence of the surjeon, the cold-brand strikeing to it, dyed.

I rode to Preobrasinsko.

21. At devotion. The P.P.⁸⁹⁹ with other ffriends dyned by me.

{409v} Oct-r 22, Moon. In Preobrasinsko. All my officers dyned with me.

Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga the 11th Oct-ris.

23. At home. In the evening his M. came to my house, inviteing me to a *nova ceia*⁹⁰⁰ by the Gen-ll Achtemon Mich. [Golovin] in Preobrasinsko on Thursday next.

Writt to my son in law by his *strelets*.

24. At devotion.⁹⁰¹

25. At the *nova-sella* feast in Preobrasinsko, I gave a bajonett. Wee were all well F[ull], and came home at 11 aclock in the night.

26. Writt to Mr. Fraser in ans-r to his of the 11th Oct-ris.

At home, being indisposed.

In this gave my instructions to Mr. Fraser concerning my son

⁸⁹⁹ *Patres*—Franz Xaver Lefler and Paul Joseph Jaroš.

⁹⁰⁰ *Novoselye* (Russian), house-warming.

⁹⁰¹ Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga the 11th instant crossed out.

Theodorus & others my ffriends.

{410} Oct-r 27, Sat. Troubled with a head ach and paine in my breast.

Gregory Tim. Zykow brought me my pay for this yeare, being 880 rubles, without the money for the bread, which was not given now.

Payed to M.Gen-ll Menezes the 20 rubles w-ch my wyfe had in my absense borrowed from him.

28. At devotion.

29. At Maior Bordewick wedding with Colonell Bullarts daughter.

30. At home. Lent to the *Patres* 40 rubles, being now in all owing to me by them 120 rubles, whereof they gave me a note.

31. In the afternoone at a wedding⁹⁰², where his M., in Preobrasinsko.

Coll. Erick von Verden brought me the other halfe of the money, being 40 rubles, for the *Graffes*⁹⁰³ house, and tooke out his bond.

{410v} *No-ris* 1. At devotion.

Received a letter from Coll. Scott, dated Shewsky 14 *Oct-ris*, which I answered the same instant.

2. At devotion early.

Received letters from my son in law Snevins, dated Archangel 22 *Oct-ris*; from Mr. Henry Stiles, dated *ibid.* 23 *Oct-ris*; from Ja. Bruce, the same place & date.

Writt to my cousin W-m Gordon in Ab[er]d[een], to Mr. Patrick Forbes with an enclosed from the *Patres* to their Bishop in Olmuts⁹⁰⁴, all in a *coverto* to Mr. Fraser.

Given to each of my bought ser-ts 5 rubles.

3. At home.

Mustered the new sojourns and commanded 38 to be enrolled.

Payed the 100 rubles, which I was owing to M.Gen-ll Menezes, and received my bond from him.

{411} *No-ris* 4, Sun. At the wedding of Maior Sniter with Coll. Lima⁹⁰⁵ his stepdaughter; some l[or]ds lodged by me.

⁹⁰² Instead of the crossed-out *christening*.

⁹⁰³ Evidently, Count David William Graham.

⁹⁰⁴ Karl II von Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn (1623–1695), Prince-Bishop of Olmütz (Olomouc, Moravia) from 1664.

⁹⁰⁵ Giorgio (“Yury Stepanov”) Lima, “master miner” from Venice, who moved to

5. Againe at the wedding.

Writt to Mr. Stiles, Mr. Bruce and my son in law in ans-r to theirs received 3 dayes ago.

6. I rode to Chwily or Pokrofska and dined ther with his M. Gott orders for my son in law to stay the 3d year at Archangell.

7. [Wed.] Received a letter from my son John, dated Achluichries the 4th July '94, giving me notice among other things that his wyfe was delivered of a son the 17th of March bypast, whome he caused christen Patrick, the Earle of Aberdeen wt [...] being godfather; from the Laird of Crichy, dated 7 July '94, in ans-r to myne of the 3d Feb-ry '93, {411v} giving me a particular acco-t of all my effaires there, as also of the publick very impartially & truly; from my brother John, dated Asshallo the 20 of July '94, in ans-r to myne of the 12th Ja-ry '94; from my sons wyfe Elizabeth Grant, dated Achluichries 18 July 1694; from my unkle Westertowne, dated in Westertowne 18th July '94, in ans-r to myne dated Jan-ry 12, *an.* 1694; from my cousin W-m Gordon, dated Aberdeen the 3d of August '94, the former being in his *coverto*, in ans-r to myne dated Mosco 12 Ja-ry '94; from Mr. Meverell, dated London 5th of October '94, sending the former in his *coverto*, giving notice of the reseat of myn from Arch[angell], dated 4 Aug. '94. Payed postage for this 3 rub. 4 *griv.* 3 *deng.*, & for that sent me 20 July 4 *gr.* 2 *d.*

I went in the afternoon to Maior Gen-ll Menezes giving him a visit, he being sick.

{412} *No-ris* 8, Thur. In the afternoone at the contracting of Maior Harry Gordon with the 2d daughter of the deceased Coll. Roonaer.

Given to Christophorovna 3 rubles for her paines.

Lent in all to Coll. Roonaers widdow 7 1/2 rub.

Maior Roonaer payed me 5 r. 20 *altins*, & remained owing 2 rubles.

9. At devotion.

Writt to my son James.

10. The buryall of Coll. John Treydens lady, being daughter to Coll. W-m Bruce.⁹⁰⁶

Russia in 1678 and became colonel in Tsars' army, then vice admiral in the navy. He served under Gordon in Chigirin and Kiev.

⁹⁰⁶ Elizabeth née Bruce († 1694), sister of Tsar Peter's famous comrades-in-arms of Scots descent, Robert (Roman) (1668–1720) and Count James Daniel (Yakov)

Maior Goulon contracted to the deceased M.Gen-ll Craffords 2d daughter.

{412v} *No-ris* 11. At devotion.

At an inferr feast by *Kniaz* Fiodor Ivanovitz Troykuruf, where merry and came home at 10 aclock at night.

Received a letter from my son James, dated Tambow the 25 *Oct-ris*; from my son in law Snivins & Mr. Bruce, dated Arch[angel] 29 *Oct-ris*.

12. Answered the letters received yesterday, that to James by Andrew the sojour, the others by post.

13. At home, ffriends by me.

14. Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated 1^o *huius*⁹⁰⁷, Riga.

In the afternoone by the *Dummy* Achtemon Ivan[ov] in his countrey house by our Slaboda.

{413} *No-ris* 15. At devotion, being St. Leopolds day.

To my son John

The last post brought me yours of the 4th July. That you did not receive a letter from me in my last packet from hence nor in that from our sea port, you need not blame any but your self. For you may easily conceive what sentiments I could have of you, seeing you (to give the best construction of it) so negligent, as not⁹⁰⁸ give a returne of acknowledgment for the goodnes I did and intended you. But this not permitting me to enlarge, only I must tell you that by this speedy returne to yours you may see how mindfull I am of you, and willing to forgive & forgett your omisions, upon hopes of future amendement, albeit it be not the first tyme.

In the meane tyme I cannot conceale the contentment I have that your law businesses are at ane end, which I altogether attribute to the good conduct {413v} and indefatigable paines of your father in law, to whom I shall acknowledge my obligations by the next, and writt particularly to all ffriends. However, any mismanagement in that business by others I impute rather to mistake as designe.

(1669–1735) Bruce. Their father William (ca.1627–1680) entered Russian employ via Holland as ensign in 1647 and died in Russia as colonel.

⁹⁰⁷ Of this [month] (Latin).

⁹⁰⁸ *by a line* crossed out.

By your next I wish to have a mor particular relation of our ffriends, for even it is contentment to me to hear where & how they live, and how have disposed of themselves. The tyme and way of directing yo-r letters I have notified in my former.

I wish you & yo-r bedfellow much joy with your son & by the next shall wish the lyke to your bedfellow, to whom with her father⁹⁰⁹ present my respects, and excuse me for not writeing at this tyme. So, praying God to bless you & your family, I remaine [...]

No-ris 16. Writt to Mr. Fraser with that to my son enclosed in his. Writt to my son James by the Tambovish sojourns.

I was by the *Dummy* Achtemon Ivan[ov].

My daughters pension of 150 rubles brought her.

{414} *No-ris* 17. At home. Payed Ignatius 3 rubles for trimming for the yeare to come.

18. At devotion, and after vespers by M.G. Menezes, who still kept his bed being very weake.

19. I went to Preobrasinsky and see his Ma-tie, who gave me the lend of 2 bookes, which the last winter he had taken from Munter, I haveing written for them.

Writt to my son in law Snivins.

Received a letter from my son James, dated Tambow 8 *8bris*, by the S[ister?] abbess.

Lent to Madam Roonaer 20 rubles more, being in all 28 rubles.

Sent to Gregory Zykov 5 rubles & to the rest of the writers 3 rubles.

My daughter gave to Ivan Gorlo[v]⁹¹⁰ 1 ruble and to the writer Maxim a halfe.

{414v} *No-ris* 20, Tuesd. His M. came to me about 11 aclock and stayed about ane howre. Afterwards wee went towards the wedding. On the way, being walking the street by our church⁹¹¹, I spoke to his M. to give us leave to build our howse of stone, who graciously assented. Wee were at the wedding of Yury Ruts⁹¹² with Frankes widdow. His M. went away at 6 & I at 8 aclock.

⁹⁰⁹ *pray* crossed out.

⁹¹⁰ Ivan Gorlov, from 1677 *pod'yachy* of the Foreigners' Office.

⁹¹¹ Foreign Suburb's Roman Catholic church largely founded by Gordon in 1684.

⁹¹² Georg Rüttz, officer of Gordon's Butyrsky regiment, brother of Christoph Rüttz,

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Arch[angel] 6 *No-ris*.

21. At devotion.

I gave to the writer Fiodor Makaruf⁹¹³ 2 rubles & to the other with him 1/2 ruble for the letter for my son in law to stay the 3d yeare at Archangel.

22. Given for the seale to Snivins his letter 1 ruble and 4 kopikes to the writers.

Received a letter from my son James, dated Tambow 11 *No-ris*, & from Lt.Coll. Pawlofsky of the same date by the bishops ser[van]t.

{415} *No-ris* 23, Frid. G. Le Fort his nephew came.

Bought 2 squirrels party colloured furs for 3 r. 21 *al.* 4 *d.*

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Arch[angel] 13 *No-ris*.

24. The chancellours & writers by me.

Signed the regiment roll for December, Jan-ry & February months pay: 41 serjeants, 36 furiers & foriers, 52 corporalls, 47 pipers, 10 *verstany* sojourns, 840 sojourns not *verstany*—in all 1,000 men. 4 carceered sojourns who have small male children, 68 widdowes who have small male children, 40 orphans—in all 1,112 persons.

25. Being not well & troubled with a diarrhoea, I could not go to the church.

26. Writt to my son in law Snivins and sent the Emp. letter for him to the 3d year there. Writt to the *woywod* Fiod. Matf. [Apraksin] to be good to him, & to my son in law to send me 40 seal-skins & 80 ermins.

Tooke phisick, which had no operation.

His M. came in the evening to me and told me that he would come with all the next day & dine with me.

{415v} *No-ris* 27. In the first howre of the day his M. came with all, and after an howres passing tyme dined and was merry till 7 aclock at night.

28. At home in the morning & in the afternoone by M.Gen-ll Menezes.

Writt to my son James with the Emp-rs letter to him to come hither to Mosko.

a master joiner from Breslau.

⁹¹³ F. Makarov (Makaryev), from 1678 *pod'yachy* of the Novgorod Chetvert'.

29. A great feast by G-ll Le Fort. I dispatched the *Denshik* Ivan Kureva to Tambow in the evening with the Emp-rs letter, haveing gott 2 *podwods* for him, and paying for them to Koslova 37 *altins*.

Lent againe to Coll. Roonaers widdow 30 rubles, being in all now 58 rubles.

Writt to Pater Schmidt & my son Theodorus in answer to theirs, dated Brunsberg 18 *7bris* '94; to Mr. W-m Gray in answer to his of the 2d *8bris*, informing him that I intend that my son shal stay in Brunsberg till about the beginning of July, and then to be sent to Dantzick or Konigsb[erg] to learne some military exercizes, especially to play with collours & pike, and to be sent from thence hither about the middle of Aug.—in a covert to Mr. Fraser or commiss. in Riga.

{416} *No-ris* 30, Fridl. At devotion.

Sent the letters dated yesterday to the post.

In the evening by M.Gen. Menezes, who being very weake and no appearance of amendement, wee had litle hopes of his recovery.

Dec-r 1. At home, being indisposed.

2. At devotion. In the evening by Coll. von Mengden, whose lady decessed last night about midnight. Thereafter came his M. I went by M.Gen-ll Menezes with his M., of whose recovery wee had small hopes.

3. Rec-d letters from Pater Schmidt & my son Theodorus, dated Brunsberg 12 *No-ris*, in a *covert* from Joachim Klandt p[e]r order Georg Fraser, dated Riga 22 *No-ris*, giving notice of the reseat of myne of the 2d & that Mr. Fraser went from thence the 6th.

Lend to Jan Podwin 10 rubles upon a pawne of a becker of near 2 pund.

{416v} *Dec-ris* 3. Writt to my son in law Snivins.

4. At the *Rorate*⁹¹⁴.

5.

6. At the *Rorate*, and hereafter rode to Jerdinova, where dined and, having heard devotion, stayed all night.

7. Dined againe and came home at 7 aclock at night.

⁹¹⁴ *Rorate coeli*, part of Roman Catholic Mass, which begins with the words: “Drop down dew, ye heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain the just...” (Isaiah 45:8).

8. Visited M.Gen. Menezes, who was very weake.

At the buryall of Coll. von Mengdens lady, being mourner, dined there.

{417} *Dec-ris* 9. About 5 aclock in the morning M.Gen. Menezes sent for me. When I came, he knew me, but could speake litle. Haveing with great devotion a litle befor received the blessed Sacrament from the *Patres*, about a quarter past sixe he deceased very peacably.

I dined by Boris Pet. Seremetuf, and about 10 aclock at night a fire hapening, I went to it & came home at midnight.

10. I gott my wyne & stools from Vologda, paying for every *podvod* 30 *altins*, with a letter from Mr. Hen. Riemsnyders bedfellow, dated Vologda 22 *No-ris*.

I lent 100 rubles to Madam Menezes, for which she sent me a note that she should pay it as soone as possible.

11. In towne, dined by Kirila Alexeyovits Nariskin.

12. His M. came & heard devotion in our church and dined by me.

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Arch[angel] 27 *No-ris*.

{417v} *Dec-ris* 13, Thurs. I went to towne, see his M., L[ev] Kiril. [Naryshkin], Tichon Nikit. [Streshnev], Boris Petr. [Sheremetev], K[niaz] Peter Ivan. [Prozorovsky] & others. Gave up Coll. Levingstons sons petition. Afternoon by M[adam] Menezes.

Received a letter from my son James, dated Tambow 3 *Dec-ris*.

14. Payed for 15 tunne malt, at 42 kop., 6 rubles 10 *alt*; 50 pund hopes at 5 *deng*, 1 ruble 25 kop-s.

Mr. Guasconi came from Archangell, by whom a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated 30 *No-ris*. I visited Mr. Guasconi in the evening.

15. [Sat.] By day light 3 companyes of each of the sojourns regiments⁹¹⁵ conveened & drew up in the fields by the Slaboda. The persons also invited to the buriall began to conveene.

About 10 aclock the companyes in 4 squadrons drew up befor the doore of the deceased, haveing marched in the ordinary way. The flores for the collours, officers, serjeants & halbardiers were given out, and an *arsh[in]* cloth for each drumme; my regiment getting 21 flores & 6 *arsh*.

⁹¹⁵ Gordon's Butyrsky, Lefort's, Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky regiments. Major General Menzies' funeral was exceptionally grand: even at Lefort's and Gordon's own burial in 1699 the latter two units were not present.

cloth. The priest came immediately & began the *Officium Defunctorum* by the corps.

A fire happening in the Pokrofska⁹¹⁶, {418} to the which his M. and some officers and soldiers went, hindered us from going to the church till near 12 aclock. Then the regiment preceding beating a dead march, the collours mufled up, pikes trailed and musquets under the left arme with the but forward. The *Pater Decanus* havinge hasted befor, was come neare to the elevation befor wee gott into the church. After masse Pater Pawlus Yaross made a short elegant preaching in the Bohemian language, and after that a short office and sprinkling the corps with holy water, and going with the incense thrice round it. All which lasted an howre & ane halfe.

Then wee proceeded to the churchyard, the regiment formost, then the honours & ceremoniall pieces usuall carryed at buryalls. Haveing interred him with the ordinary ceremonyes, the *Pater Decan* made ane eloquent but too long exhortation. 3 salvees were given at the usuall tymes. All the mourners, leaders, carryers (who were colonells) and other officers with the boyars & p[rinci]p[a]ll persons went to the mourning-house & supped.

{418v} *Dec-ris* 15, Sat. About 6 aclock wee went from the mourning-house. *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovits [Golitsyn] and Boris Petrovitz [Sheremetev] came to my house and stayed about 2 howres by me.

16. At devotion. The *Patres* & Mr. Guasconi came to me in the evening.

Payed for the armes of M.Gen. Menezes⁹¹⁷ 2 rubles, she owing me now 102 rubles.

17. In the afternoone I went to see the widdow Menesius.

Wee had in the Holl. gazetts that the Porteguisse ambassadour had congratulated the Pope for the conversion of the Emperour of China to the Christian faith⁹¹⁸, dat. Amst[er]dam] & Leyden 26 & 29 *No-ris*.

⁹¹⁶ Apparently, Pokrovka, a street in central Moscow.

⁹¹⁷ The arms of Menzies of Pitfodels: ermine, a chief gules; crest: eagle's head. It is remarkable that the Scots, including Gordon and Menzies, widely used their arms in Muscovy when Russian heraldry as such was still in its infancy. There are striking proofs of direct Scots influence on its development, above all the adoption of the saltire as a Russian national symbol.

⁹¹⁸ Emperor Kangxi of China stopped the persecution of Christians and restored

18. In towne, see his M. Dyned by *Kniaz* Bor[is] Al. [Golitsyn].
 {419} *Dec-ris* 19. Afternoone by Coll. von Mengden about Capt. Volodimier, or rather David Gast his business, who put it of till Sunday. Thereafter by Gen-ll Le Fort, where his M.
 20. Writt to Andre Fiod. Nariskin.

21. Perillustri ac Praenobili Domino Johanni Ignatio Kurtz, Domino in Dernberg, Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis Hungaricae Camerae Administratori Budae.

Perillustris ac Praenobilis Domine,
 Compater Charissime,

Non dubitans quin literis D. V-rae datis Viennae 27 Martii et Budae 7 Junii responsum meum datum Archangeli 11 Julii an. cur. ad manus venerit, *ideo* nihil tunc scriptum repeto. Nunc vero occasio *ansam* scribendi haec dedit mors Illustris. D. Menesii, qui 9 hujus mensis decessit pie in Christo; sepultus 15 die cum omnibus Cathol. ceremon. et militari *funerali* pompa. Mihi et D-no Carbonario *scripto sub sigillo et manu propria* educationem filiorum in Catholica Fide recommendavit *quod etiam moribundus confirmavit.* Difficultates autem apprehendo a D-na Matre illorum, quae valde contrariam se ostendit; quae et etiam me rogavit ut {419v} ad Perillustr. D. V-ram scribam de filio natu maximo qui ibi est, ut rescribat nobis *de illius statu et si opus sit ut diutius ibi maneat, et percipit ut huc veniat per occasionem Patrum vel medic., et potius D. V-rae, si venturus sit huc, uti fama est; et utinam ut saltem in Catholica fide bene fundatus sit, tunc spes erit melior confirmandi fratres.*

Nescio si D-nus Carbonari scripsit pro medicis vel non, sed scio quod ante medium anni habuit mandatum ut scriberet, et audio etiam medicos aliunde accersiri *qui illi non solum aemuli set et nobis omnibus persecutores vel ad minimum hostes erunt.* Quare optarem ut citius veniant, set cum literis recommendatoriis Augustissimi.

his favour to the missionaries, who instructed him in mathematics, astronomy and music. Jesuits advised him on cannon founding, diplomacy and translations from European languages. In 1692 they obtained his permission to convert the Chinese, but Kangxi himself never consented to baptism.

Patres hic etiam de salario vel pensione sua valde solliciti et impatientes. Rogamus omnes, ut quam primum mittatur. Scripsi antea etiam de bono ludimagistro, libenter scirem certitudinem in ista re, nam secundum Patres nihil nobis tam necessarium.

Privignus Vester vivit hic quiete et bene se gerit, sed sollicitus valde, rogat per me ut possit habere literas creditivas pro certa summa ad aliquem, nam vix potest manere diutius apud viduam nunc, et ut pensio illi augmentatur obsecrat, nam de hoc non potest decenter vivere et proficere in studiis *discendo.*

Credo et spero quod aliq-d faciemus pro bono Christianitatis et communis foederis hac aestate.⁹¹⁹

⁹¹⁹ "To the Most Illustrious and Most Noble Lord Johann Ignaz Kurtz, Lord in Dernberg, [His] Sacred Imperial Majesty's Administrator of the Hungarian Chamber in Buda".

"Most Illustrious and Most Noble Lord,
Dearest Godfather,

I doubt not but my response, dated in Archangel 11 July of the current year, to Your Lordship's letters dated in Vienna 27 March and Buda 7 June has come into Your hands, *therefore* I do not repeat anything written then. Now the reason for writing this was the death of the Illustrious Mr. Menzies, who on the 9th instant piously passed away in Christ; he was interred on the 15th with all Catholic ceremonies and military splendour. To me and to Mr. Carbonari, *by a writ with his seal and signature*, he has entrusted the education of his sons in the Catholic Faith, *which he has also confirmed on his deathbed*. But I anticipate difficulties from their mother, who proves herself highly contrary. Besides, she asked me to write to Your Most Illustrious Lordship about [their] eldest son who stays there, that he might write us back *about his condition, and whether he needs to remain there longer; and she much desires that he come here along with the Patres or medics, and even better with Y.L., if You are to come here, as they say; at least, if he had been well founded in Catholic Faith, there would be better hope in confirming his brothers.*

I know not if Mr. Carbonari had written about the medics or not, but I do know that he had an order to write by the middle of the year. I also hear that medics are invited from elsewhere, and these would not just be rivals to him, but also persecutors or at least enemies to all of us. Therefore I would wish them to arrive sooner, but with letters of recommendation from the Most August [Emperor].

Besides, the Paters here are very solicitous and impatient about their salary or pension; we all implore that it be sent as soon as possible. I have also written before about a good schoolteacher; I would have fain learned of that matter with certainty, for, according to the Paters, nothing is more necessary for us.

Your stepson lives here quietly and bears himself well, but is very anxious. He inquires through me whether he could obtain letters of credit to anyone upon a certain sum, for now he can barely stay with the widow any longer, and implores

{420} *Dec-ris* 21, Frid. Writt to Mr. Pat. Forbes with the former enclosed, and one from Mr. Bleyer in an enclosed to Mr. Frazer.

Gave to Mr. Howtman the *daan* & *kuptshie*⁹²⁰ of the deceased Lt.Coll. Hamiltons howse to cause writt the *kuptshy* by it, haveing sold it to him for 190 rubles.

Kureva came from Tambowa.

At devotion, being St. Thomas day.

22. Bought 3 middle syzed beckers and a small one, being good silver, at 8 kop. the *zolotnik*, and a kan of Polish silver at 6 kop. the *zolotnik*. The kan weighed 165 *zolot.*, kost 9 rub. 30 *alt.*, w-ch Dr. Carbonari gott. The 2 biggest beckers, weighing 149 *zolot.*, kost 11 rubl. 30 *alt.* 4 *deng.*, my daughter tooke for her self & brother; the other & small on, weighing 71 *zolot.*, cost 5 r. 22 *alt.* 4 *deng.*, I tooke for my self.

23. About 2 aclock in the morning a fire at the Pokrofsky gate, to which I went and there see his Ma-tie.

I confessed and received the Blessed Sacrament.

{420v} *Dec-ris* 24, Moon. Writt to Coll. Levingston in answer to his of the 1 *No-ris* & other.

Writt to Affonasse Andreovits *voynvod* in Tambow⁹²¹, and from my wyfe to her cousin Katherine widdow von Batens.

At 11 aclock at night went to church

25. and againe at 7 & 9 aclock in the morning.

26. At devotion.

Writt to my son James by the Tambovish priest.

I was in the afternoone by Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin].

In the evening Yarmolay Dan. [Mishukov] came by me, to whom a

that his pension be augmented, because with what he has he cannot live decently and succeed in his studies.

I believe and hope that this summer we shall do something for the good of Christendom and our common alliance" (Latin).

Marked words and fragments are crossed out in MS. Magnus, eldest son of Major General Menzies, in 1691 was sent with Johann Kurtz to the "Imperial lands" in order to study, which he did for about a year and a half, and then served in the Emperor's army as ensign and lieutenant for some four years more.

⁹²⁰ See fol. 298 v.

⁹²¹ According to the *Diary*, the post of *voeyevoda* in Tambov then belonged to I.I. Leontyev (fol. 455), while A.A. Soymonov was *voeyevoda* in adjacent Kozlov (fol. 459).

ducat & these with him a reichs doller; Gavriel Minshikuf, Alexaska⁹²² & Ivan Petishuf were with him.

In the evening by the Hollands resident & *Crasad*⁹²³.

2 fires in the night, but soone quenched.

27. At devotion.

In Preobrasinsko.

Afternoon Mosey Busininuf⁹²⁴, Peter & [...] came *slavitsen*⁹²⁵, to whom 3 reichs dollers, being too much.

In the evening by Mr. Woolffe & M[adam] Menezes.

{421} *Dec-ris* 28, Frid. At devotion after I had been in towne by Mr. Baldus & Mr. Munter.

In the evening, as Mr. Woolffe was by me, a fire in the Mikitsky⁹²⁶; Metrofan Petruf his house burn't; I was there, & all the reg[iment]s except Le Forts.

29. At devotion in the morning early.

Lent to Gregory Roonaer 3 ruble, he being now owing 5 rubles & 4 *grivnees* to me.

30. At devotion.

After noone Mr. Guascony by me. Thereafter Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] his singers, more as 20 persons in all, whom I entertained and gave to them 3 reichs dollers. The *Patres* came afterwards by me and stayed ane howre.

31. At devotion.

After 12 aclock midday the *Gr.* singers⁹²⁷ came, above 100 persons,

⁹²² Gavriil Avdeyevich Menshikov (1672–1742), bombardier of Preobrazhensky regiment, later a noted shipbuilder. Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov (1673–1729), bombardier of the same regiment, later foremost favourite of Tsar Peter, Most Serene Prince and Generalissimo.

⁹²³ This abbreviation is a mystery. The *Diary*'s German translator M.C. Posselt says here that Gordon "went on a sleigh ride" (German: "war bei einer Schlittenfahrt"—*Tagebuch des Generals Patrick Gordon*, II (St.Petersburg, 1851), S. 500), but that is really far-fetched. Perhaps it is a surname.

⁹²⁴ M.S. Buzheninov, sergeant of Preobrazhensky regiment, later "proviantmeister".

⁹²⁵ *Slavit'* (Russian), to praise or glorify.

⁹²⁶ Probably Nikitskaya street in central Moscow.

⁹²⁷ Apparently, either "great" or "Gosudar's" (*Gosudarev*), i.e. the Sovereign's (Tsar's) singers. "At Yuletide a company of some 200... in several dozen sleighs would tour the city all night till morning "to sing the praises"; at the head of the procession was the mock Patriarch in his vestments with crozier and tin mitre,

whome I entertained and gave to them 3 rubles.

I sent Madam Menezes her note for the 100 rubles by Capt. Brasche to have it changed, and a fixed tyme put in it, when she would pay it; and she kept the note.⁹²⁸

followed at full gallop by sleighs crammed with his singing and whistling attendants. Owners of houses honoured with a visit by these laudators had to entertain them and pay for the praises; they drank horribly at that..." (V.O. Kliuchevsky, *Russkaya istoriya*, II (Moscow, 1997), pp. 485–6).

⁹²⁸ Blank pages follow in MS (fols. 421 v.–440 v.).

January 1, Tuesd. God give us all a good new yeare.

At devotion.

In the evening my son James came from Tambow.

Colonel von Mengden & Mr. Woolffe were by me in the evening. My wyfe stood godmother to Lt. Sabanskyes son, who was christened in the church by the name of Georg.

2. In the morning I went with Harry Gordon to his M., who invited him to his wedding.

3. Payed to Alexey the fisher 16 rubles 10 *altines*.

Mr. Woolffe exchanged money for 60 ducates at 110 kopikes, for me to send to Theodorus.

Doctor Carbonary came.

4. [Frid.] Writt to Mr. Gray in Konigsberg in answer to his of the 2d *Oct-ris*, and sent him by Mr. Kintzius 60 ducates to pay my sons maintenance & furnish him with cloaths & other necessities on his jorney hither; adviseing that the way from Dantzick by sea would be most convenient. Writt to him also to provide a dozen of bottells of the best Hungarian wyne, and {441v} some litle presents of amber to be sent along with my son. Sent him also 16 ermins, being a present from my wyfe to his, and promising to send him some cavear by another occasion this winter.

Writt to Pater Schmidt & my son Theodorus in ans-r to theirs of the 12 *No-ris*, informeing of haveing desired Mr. Gray to pay for my sons maintenance & furnish him with necessities for bringing him hither.

Rec-d a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated 18 *Dec-ris*, by Mr. Stiles, with 24 rubles to Lt.Gen-ll Zeugh & some things to me.

Gave of the 60 ducates to Mr. Abraham Kintzius.

Jan-ry 5. I went to the towne early with my son, was by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin], *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovits [Golitsyn] & see others.

6. In church at the early masse. Afterwards in the towne seeing the procession, and eat by Doctor Carbonary.

In the evening, as the *Patres* were by me, received letters from Mr. W-m Gray, dated Konigsberg 1 Jan. *st. n.*, and from Yochim Klandt, dated Riga

27 *X-ris st. vet.* Hereby letters to our *Patres* from the B[isho]p of Olmuts.

{442} Jan-ry 7, Moon. At home the whole day. Sent my letters and the 16 ermines to Mr. Kintzius.

Madam Menezes after many sendings & messages promised at last to restore me my 100 rubles.

8. Let my son James have the 2 pair of pistolls, which I had from Mr. Guasconi, for the same price I had them, to witt 20 rubles; one paire whereof he tooke in & gave to the *Dummy*.

Mr. Kintzius went from hence.

9. James Bruce⁹²⁹ came in the evening.

Given to Lubim a ruble to buy collours.

10. At church.

Mr. Howteman, Kluik & Kenkel by me in the evening.

11. Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Archangel 1 Jan-ry.

After noone the Preluks Collonel Dmitre Gorlenko by me, and brought me a letter from the Hetman. I entertained him and his Cosakes as well as I could.

In the evening the Englishes came by me.

{442v} Jan-ry 12, Sat. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & our *Dummy*.

The loads from Archangel came.

Writt to my son in law.

13. At devotion.

14. The wedding of Jacob Turgenuf with maskarades & the bride-chamber in the fields.

15. The magnifick⁹³⁰ procession at the same wedding.⁹³¹ His M. not

⁹²⁹ Evidently, James Daniel (Yakov Vilimovich) Bruce (1669–1735), then an army major of Scots descent, but soon to become an eminent general, diplomat and scholar, Governor of Novgorod, commander of Russian and allied artillery in the Great Northern War, senator, President of Berg (Mining) and Manufacture Colleges, Count and Field Marshal. He probably visited Gordon to invite him to his wedding on 24 January (see fol. 443 v).

⁹³⁰ *glorious* crossed out.

⁹³¹ “The carriages of the wedding train were harnessed with oxen, goats, pigs and dogs. The riders themselves were decked out in... bast sacks and hats, canvas coats trimmed with cats’ paws... and squirrel tails, straw shoes, mouse-skin gloves etc. The newlyweds travelled in the Tsar’s carriage” (M.M. Bogoslovsky, *Piotr*

well. The new married brought on a camell.

16. At home the whole day.

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins.

17. In towne by Tichon Nikitits, and sent the Colonells Sharpe & Chambers⁹³² to M.Gen-ll Menezes his widdow about the 100 rubles. They came to me in the evening and told me that she confessed the debt, but had not now {443} money to pay it, and still harped upon that which Rothemay is owing to her deceased husband, being 130 rubles.

Jan-ry 18. Writt to the Hetman.

At the wedding of Major Zeughe von Mandeville with the Minister Alex-r Yong his da-r, whither his M. came in the evening.

Bought 2 Dutch horses out of the *Prikase* for 42 rubles.

Writt to my son in law Snivins, with that of the 12th.

19. At the wedding againe in the evening, going to table at 8 aclock at night.

20. At masse early. Thereafter at the wedding of Lt.Coll. Gulits with Kretzmers daughter, and Maior Gulon with M.Gen-ll Crawfuird da-r Elizabeth, both by Le Fort.

Received letters from Pater Schmidt & my son Theodorus, dated Brunsberg 6 Jan. p[e]r address of Joachim Klandt in Riga.

21. At the wedding of Harry Gordon with Carolina, da-r to the deceased Coll. Roonaer, being married in the Catholick church.

{443v} Jan-ry 22, Tues. Received a letter from the Hetman, dated the 8th instant with a present of a wild swine & a rae, and a great pipe of brandy.

At the wedding in the evening.

23. At the wedding of Coll. James Bane with the daughter of Coll. Georg Scott, whither in the evening came his M.

The same day was the wedding of Ad[olf] Howtemans son Isaac with Jan van Swedens daughter.

Veliky. Materialy dlia biografii, Vol. I (Moscow, 2005), p. 203).

⁹³² John Chambers (1650–after 1708), in his own words, “a Muscovite of Scots race”. One of the first military instructors of Tsar Peter, in 1690s he was colonel in command of Semionovsky, and in 1700–06 Preobrazhensky regiment. From 1704 lieutenant general and one of the first to receive the highest Russian order of St. Andrew.

24. Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated 7 Jan-ry, by Mr. Roomeswinkel.

Writt to the Hetman by the Pryluks Colonell Dimitre Gorlunek.

At the wedding of Major James Bruce wt Martha, da-r to Lt.Gen-ll Zeugh, where his M.

The wedding of M[ajor?] Hurick.

25. At the wedding againe.

*Received a letter from the Hetman, dated Baturin 8 Jan-ry, with which a wild swine or boare, a rae & a *kuffe* of brandy.*⁹³³

{444} Jan-ry 26. Signed a roll of the regiment for the grace of *saffians* given upon the acco-t of the birth of the eldest Tzaars Princess Paraskovia Johannovne⁹³⁴, as followeth:

41 serjeants, 36 foriers & furiers, 51 corporalls, 47 pipers, 773 sojours—in all 948 persons; dead since 1 forier, 3 corporalls, 14 sojours, being 18 persons,—in all with these 966 persons.

27. At devotion, and the wedding of Jacob Bazier ensigne with Elizabetha Cowley.

All ordered to service.⁹³⁵

28. At home. At night by Mr. Howteman.

Writt to my son in law Snivins by the *strelets* Ivan Melentiuf, by whom sent 4 side of spek & other things.

The *Patres* in the evening by me.

29. Mr. Brower brought me 190 rubles for the house of the children of the deceased Lt.Colonell Hamilton.

Payed to Mr. Riemsneider 1 ruble 13 *altins*.

Madam Menezes sent me 181 r. dollers & 15 *altins* for the 100 rubles which I had lent her, the doller being at 55 kopeks.

The wedding of Capt. Andrew Holst with the da-r of the deceased Maior Steenhausen.

{444v} Jan-ry 30. Received the bill of Mr. Balling, being 30 rubles 9 gr. & 4 d. for diverse things which he bought and sent to me.

In the evening by Mr. Guasconi.

⁹³³ Crossed out in MS, repeat of entry for 22 January.

⁹³⁴ Tsarevna Praskovya (1694–1731), youngest daughter of Tsar Ivan V. She got married to General I.I. Dmitriev-Mamonov.

⁹³⁵ On campaign against the Turks and Tatars.

Received a bill of John Baltus, charging me with diverse small thing[s] last & this yeare 8 r. 20 *alt.*

31. The wedding of D. Shunderwood.

In the evening by Mr. Guascony & Coll. Bockhoven.

Magister Munck dyed.

Writt to the Earle of Perth in Antwerp.

To my son John in full answer to his of the 4th of July, wherein I quitted him the 3,000 merks and commanded his bond to be restored to him, as also the 300 merks yearly till Whitsunday next, and then ordering to expend out of that which he is to pay upon a retired dwelling-howse & buriall place⁹³⁶; desireing a compleet youth or two of our ffriends to be sent over to me; ordering not to trouble any at law upon the acco-t of the cup but take the other things; recommending my business with Rothemay.

{445} Jan-ry 31. Writt to the Laird of Creichy in answer to his large letter of the 7th of July, thanking him for his vigilancy and care in the effaires of our children; showing him of the ease I have given to my son of the 300 merks, with hopes that at last it shall be no burthen to him at all; recommending againe the buying of the superiority⁹³⁷, & the business with Rothemay; wishing that the tymes could permitt the sending of some of their manufactures hither, promiseing to returne these of this countrey in requitall.

To my unkle, condoleing the death of his bedfellow, and thanking him for not forgetting me & myne in his last will, & wishing him long-lyfe.

To my brother John, telling him that I have ordered my son to assist him if he have necessity, and desireing him to writt often.

To my daughter in law, wishing her much joy with her yong son; desireing her to mind her husband to writt often, showing that no thing can be more acceptable to me.

{445v} Jan-ry 31. To Nethermuir, acquainting him of not haveing received any ans-r to myne of the 12 Jan-ry, of the 4th & 13 Aug. from our sea port; desireing to know if he hath accepted the factory or not, and earnestly desireing him to writt to me.

To my cousin W-m Gordon, acquainting him with the reseat of his of

⁹³⁶ For General Gordon himself, who hoped to retire to his native Scotland.

⁹³⁷ General Gordon long strove to redeem the superiority over his estate of Auchleuchries from the Earl of Erroll in order to hold it directly of the crown.

the 3d *Augusti* wt the enclosed packet, desiring him to writt oftener.

To James or W-m Gordon in Rotterdam, desiring the forwarding of all the above-mentioned encloseds; acquainting him of Mr. Woolffes ffriend in Amsterdam, to whom he may address my letters or any thing for me, & that the said ffriend [...] will pay postage or any other thing due to my acco-t.

{446} Feb-ry 1, Frid. At devotion, being *Off[icium] Def[unctorum]* for the deceased P[ater] Tobias Tichavsky.

Mr. Elizare Isbrand came from China, whither he had been sent Envoy.

2. At devotion.

Received 10 *arsb.* of ash colloured velvet upon the acco-t of the Princess Para[s]kofia Johan. being borne. I gave to the writers a ruble, & the *storos* a *grivne*.

3. I had ffriends at a feast by me & were merry.

Received a letter from Joh. Ignatius Kurtz, dated Wien 5 Jan-ry.

Wee had notice of the death of Mary, wyfe to the Prince of Orange.⁹³⁸

4. Writt to Mr. Meverell in ans-r to his dated London 5 *Oct-ris*, & in it one to my son John.

At dinner by Mr. Guascony with other ffriends.

In the evening a *wezerinka*⁹³⁹ by me.

5. Writt to Pater Schmidt, my son Theodorus, Mr. Gray & Mr. Forbes in ans-r to the former of the 6 Jan-ry; to Mr. Gray, of the 1st Jan., to whom sent 10 pund of cavear; to P. Schmidt a squirrell belly furr; to Theodorus 4 silke neck cloths.

To James Gordon in Roterdam with the en[closed] from Archib. Carmichal to his stepfather.

{446v} Feb-ry 6, Wed. At devotion, being Ash Wednesday.

The buriall of Magister Munk.

⁹³⁸ Mary II (1662–1694) from 1689 to her death on 28 December 1694 ruled Great Britain jointly with her husband, William of Orange. Her demise was hardly lamented by Gordon and other Jacobites: the couple was childless, which increased their hopes for the impending fall of the house of Orange in Britain. Significantly, the diarist does not apply the royal title to either consort, and holds a party the next day.

⁹³⁹ *Večerinka* (Russian), informal party.

At a Councell of warr in the *Pushetsnoy Dvor*⁹⁴⁰, where adjusted some things concerning our march to Assow⁹⁴¹.

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Archangel [...] Jan-ry.

7. In Butirky, mustered the regiment, and found 59 old, sick and *slobodshiks*⁹⁴², 25 Valachians, & 20 Grecians—in all 104 who cannot be sent to service.

Being sent for, wee noted downe with his M. all the ammuniton & other necessaries w-ch wee are to take along.

1,000 *struges* ordered to be made at Voronies for carrying the provisions by water from thence to Pantshina; wee with the Moskovish regiments, artillery & ammuniton going from hence to Tzaritza⁹⁴³ by water, & from thence by land to the same Pantshina, being to joyne them; the *Gorodovy*⁹⁴⁴ regiments being to go on these *struges* which are built at Voronies.

In the Tambovish district are 150 *vities*⁹⁴⁵ or hundreds, and in each 50 houses or families.

{447} Feb-ry 8. In Preobrasinsko. Dined by G. Le Fort and conveyed his son & others to ye Twersky Slaboda.

Agreed to pay 3,000 rubles yearly for the monopoly of tobacco.

9. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], L[ev] Kiril. [Naryshkin] & *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovits [Golitsyn]. Went to Preobrasinsko, but found no body there.

At the buriall of Lt.Coll. Crawfuirds daughter.

A list of my officers

2 Colonells whereof one a stranger, the other a Russe.

4 Lt.Coll-s whereof 2 strangers, 1 Russe, one twice christened.

11 Majors whereof 2 strang., 7 Russes, 2 twice christened.

33 Capt-s whereof 5 strang., 16 Russes, 8 new christened.

⁹⁴⁰ *Pushchmy Dvor*, the Tsars' cannon foundry in central Moscow.

⁹⁴¹ Azov.

⁹⁴² *Slobodchiki* (Russian), retired soldiers who lived in regimental quarters (*sloboda*).

⁹⁴³ Tsaritsyn, now Volgograd.

⁹⁴⁴ Regiments from provincial Russian cities.

⁹⁴⁵ *Vyt'* (Old Russian), small rural land unit used for taxation.

3 Capt.Lt-s whereof 1 strang, 2 Russes.

1 Adjutant & 2 Regt. Quartermasters, 1 of each.

45 Lievt-s whereof 5 strang, 26 Russes, 7 new christened.

51 Ensignes whereof 11 strang, 29 Russes, 9 new christened.

In all 27 83 31⁹⁴⁶

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{447v} Disbursed upon the altar at severall tymes according to myne
& their reckoning:

	R.	<i>Alt.</i>	<i>D.</i>
For gold, silver & collours	6	13	2
For worke	1	10	”
Received to this from the Doctor	7	16	4

Feb-ry 10, Sun. At devotion.

Received letters fro[m] my cousin Nethermuir, dated Edinburgh 24
Dec-ris '94.

11. In Preobrasinsko, service intimated to us.

Mr. Wermuth payed for the former & the halfe yeare to come of
house-hyre 15 rubles.

Caused give in the roll of what is necessary upon this expedition for
the Moskovish & Tambovish regiments.

Payed to Mr. Baltus 17 r.dollers for the last & this yeares acco-t.

{448} Feb-ry 12. In Preobrasinsko.

The officers mustered.

At a christening dinner by Kirila Alexeyovits [Naryshkin].

13. In Preobrasinsko.

Mr. Woolfe sent me his acco-t, which amounteth in all to 185 rubles 8
grivnees 14 *deniskees*⁹⁴⁷.

Afternoone at the contract of David Ghist with Michael Litskins
daughter.

⁹⁴⁶ Some figures in this list are indistinctly corrected, so that results diverge from numbers for separate groups. Foreigners and new converts add up to 28 each.

⁹⁴⁷ Diminutive for *denga*, half a kopek.

14. In the morning the *strelets* colonells by me.

Afternoone in the citty by Mr. Vinus.

In the evening at the contract of Colonell Scotts son with Coll. Farensbachs daughter.

15. Writt to my cousin Nethermuir in answer to his of the 24th *Decris*; to Pater Schmidt, Mr. Gray in a *coverto* to Mr. Fraser by Mr. Sclater; the first by post in Mr. Woolfes *coverto*. And in it for Menezes his borebrieffe, and one for me with an addition to my coat of armes; the expences of mine to be payed out of the money due by Rothemay.

{448v} Feb-ry 15. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin] and Achtemon Ivan[ov]. Art. Russworme & Ivan Machmetuf graced ensignes.

Agreed for makeing 2 red sowed taffety foot collours at 8 1/2 rubles, the collours all theirs.

Spoke with Tichon Nikitits about the march for my regiments or army to the Tambow & from thence to cross the r[iver] Chwapior at Pristan⁹⁴⁸, 3 or 4 dayes journey from Tambow; then by land downe the other syde of the r. Chwapior to the mouth of it, 4 dayes journey; where crossing the Don, downe along the other syde thereof to Czirkask⁹⁴⁹, 10 dayes journey; w-ch pleased him, being farr more convenient as by water.

The Dons Cosakes by me.

In the afternoone Achtemon Mich. Golovin by me, where wee adjusted the officers.

16. Sent the roll of the officers & of the artillery and ammunition, which I am to have along; this into the *Prikase* & that to Acht[emon] Mich.

A letter from his M. advising the number of the cannon in Pereslaw & the weight of the ball, to which wee returned answer.⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴⁸ Khopior river and Cossack town of Pristan' near modern Novokhopiorsk. Pristan' was destroyed in 1710.

⁹⁴⁹ Cherkassk, then capital of the Don Cossacks.

⁹⁵⁰ The Generals' answer to Tsar Peter is preserved: "Mr. Great Bombardier. Your letter has come to us in the 1st hour of the night. And we, having consulted, decided to take these 8 cannon, 1 of 32-pound balls, 6 of 8-pound balls, 1 of 12-pound balls. As for other regimental cannon, they seem heavy to us, but above all—as you please. And I have brought the lead to Moscow, because it would be of use. Lefort, P. Gordon, A. Golovin bowing low. Of the same month on 61 [sic] day, in the second hour of the night" (*Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago*, I (St. Petersburg, 1887), pp. 505–6).

Payed to Alexey the fisher 4 rubles wanting a quart upon the acco-t of Coll. Roonaers lady & 3 rubles for my self.

{449} Feb-ry 17, Sat. At devotion. Dined by Capt. Gast. In the evening the Paters & afterwards the *Dummy* Achtemon Ivan. Ivanuf by me.

18. Writt to Colonell Livingston & Maior Bresky. Given out for Coll. Leviston 24 rubles of his money.

Sent with my son to Tambow:

A halfe-*aame*⁹⁵¹ of hooghlands wyne.

An *anker* of sack.

An *anker* of red wine.

2 tunnes of March-bier.

A great bagg of salt.

A tunne or bushel of pease.

A tunne or bushel of oat-groates.

My son James went in the evening to Tambow.

19. Agreed with Elizary Trofimuf of Ismailow to furnish 2 fath. of *grosse-bude*⁹⁵² at 2 1/2 ruble the fath. & 1 of the small at 2 ruble 2 *grivnees*.

The Archb[isho]p of Tambow⁹⁵³ sent me fish.

Received a letter from my son in law, dated Arch[angel] 11 Feb-ry.

About midnight his M. came from Pereslaw.

{449v} Feb-ry 20, Wed. In the afternoone I went to have found his M. in the armamentary, but finding him not there, I went to *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn] and had large discourse with him concerning our march. I went afterwards to the Boyar Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin] and wished him good luck, it being his name day; dined with others by him. Was afterward by his mother and lady. Came home, and his M. haveing sent every where to seek me, I went to him, where wee consulted about our march, and at my perswasion resolved upon a *bloquado* at Assow. Yet the finall resolution was reserved till the next day at the councill of warr.

⁹⁵¹ *Aam*, old Dutch measure of liquids equal to 4 *ankers*, or 135 to 160 l.

⁹⁵² *But* (Russian), rubble, quarry stone.

⁹⁵³ Pitirim (1645–1698), from 1685 Bishop of Tambov and Kozlov, later canonised by the Russian Orthodox Church.

Mr. Elizary Isbrandt sent 2 partises of *landan*⁹⁵⁴, 6 litle tee-cups with dishes and 9 *kumikes*⁹⁵⁵ or deep dishes of different syzes & sorts, all porcelaine.

21. Writt to my son James by a Tambovish officer.

At a thinne counsell of warr, where it was resolved to send 10,000 men by land in all hast to Assow, who with 5 or 6,000 Cosakes should post themselves so beforr it as to permitt no succours to come into it, and I ordered to command them, and to make as much hast as possible from hence.

{450} Feb-ry 22, Frid. At a feast by Lew Kirilovitz, where the particulars w-ch I gave in were discuss'd, and orders given thereon.

Lent to Colonell Alexey Buist⁹⁵⁶ 20 rubles, to be payed the 3d of Aprill next, and 20 rubles more, receiving in pawne a man called Nikita Onofreuf of the Yaroslawish district and Zeremosky *ujesd*, of the *Dorp* Blinava⁹⁵⁷, so that if the 20 rubles be not payed the 15 of March, the servant to remaine myne forever.

23. Payed to Mr. Woolffe 55 r. dollers 2 kop., which I owed him for cloth, seale skins & other things; my daughter payed also 29 rubles 2 *gr.* for diverse things; and to Mr. Stiles 18 rubles for a watch.

Bought a sorrell horse of 6 yeare, given for him 6 1/4 rubles; a horse blackish browne 7 yeares, given 5 rubles; a browne horse of 8 yeares and another blewish of 8 yeares, given for both 9 [rubles]⁹⁵⁸; a browne horse of 9 yeares, given 6 rubles; another browne of 6 yeares, given 6 rubles; a pybald horse of 7 yeares, given 5 rubles.

Payed to Kusma for

3 pund of rosemary	”	10	”
Cinamon halfe a pund	”	23	2
Aples	”	4	”

⁹⁵⁴ A kind of silk.

⁹⁵⁵ *Kumka* (Old Russian), tea-cup.

⁹⁵⁶ Alexey Vasilyev Buist, *stolnik* and colonel, Orthodox convert of Scots descent. According to P.O. Bobrovsky, he commanded the Butyrsky regiment from 1685 to early 1687, when Gordon succeeded him. After the capture of Azov in 1696 Buist served in its garrison.

⁹⁵⁷ *Uyezđ* (Russian), district. Possibly, Blinovo on the river Cheriomukha.

⁹⁵⁸ *yeares* in MS, clearly a slip.

3 <i>pude</i> of rice	1	26	4
3 pund of oyle d'olives	"	9	"
3 <i>złotnike</i> of cloves	"	1	4
3 <i>złot.</i> of maces	"	2	"
4 pund of plumes	"	5	2
2 pund of resins	"	2	4
6 pund of confected ginger	1	6	4
4 pund of <i>sokade</i> ⁹⁵⁹	"	20	"
Halfe a pund of maces	"	32	"
Halfe a pund of cloves	"	23	2
{450v} 1 pund of ginger	"	8	"
3 pund of peper	"	15	"
1/4 pund of nutmegs	"	8	"
1/4 pund of saffron	1	"	"
1/4 pund of cinamon	"	12	"
4 pund of rasins	"	5	2
2 pund of currents	"	11	2
2 pund of amandels	"	5	2
<i>Summa</i>	9	31	4

Feb-ry 23. Writt to my son James with the Bishops writer.

At the valette feast of Mr. Howteman, where his M. and others.

24. At devotion.

Received letters from Mr. P. Forbes, dated Dantzick 24 Jan-ry, with letters from the Bishop of Olmuts to the Paters in a *coverto* from Mr. Jochim Klandt, dated Riga 24 Feb-ry.

25. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], *Kniaz* Peter Ivanovits [Prozorovsky], Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin] & *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovits [Golitsyn].

Received by Maior Sack in Preobrasinsko 1 musket, [...] lunt muskets & 1,000 heads of Holl. pikes.

Rested of the sojours meanes of December, Januar & February months 5 rubles 13 *altins*.

{451} Feb-ry 26. At a feast by Peter Matfeovitz Opraxin, where his M. & others.

27. In Preobrasinsko. Afternoone *Kniaz* Boris Alex., Peter Matfeovitz,

⁹⁵⁹ *Sukade* (German), candied fruit.

and thereafter his M. by me, & more ffriends at night.

Payed in all 4 rubles to Kirila Kusmin for white-stones, and halfe a ruble for *budl*⁹⁶⁰ to Elizary Trofimuf.

28. Writt to my son James by Lt. Pawlofsky.

In the towne by *Kniaz* Ivan Boriso. Troykuruf & the *Dummy*.

Bought a piece of fyne blew cloth 31 *arsh*. & a halfe, cost 23 rubles 6 *grivnees* & 5 *deniskees*, being at 25 *altins* the *arsh*.

Agreed for 16,000 bricke of the largest syze at 60 *altins* p[e]r 1,000, givinge a *grivnee* for *fuiring*⁹⁶¹ a 1,000 from one house to another.

At the wedding of von Geveren with Mrs. Cookes da-r.

{451v} March 1, Frid. This last night was von Troyen⁹⁶² & Burekrammer rob'd.

In towne by *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovits [Golitsyn], where according to the yesternights order from his M. it was ordered a generall to have *podjom*⁹⁶³ 300 rubles, a colonell 100, a lt.colonell 50, the maior of the artillerie 45, the other 30, a captaine 20, a lt. 15, a ensigne 8, the enginer 50, the fyre-worker 40.

Dined by Mr. Krevet.

2. His M. haveing breakfasted with me, wee went and viewed all the 6 *streletsky* regiments, were in diverse places besides, and ffriends in the evening by me.

Made an end of the business with Mr. Guasconi in parting the goods of Lt.Coll. Hamilton deceased, where every child getts 89 rubles 19 *alt*. 2 *dengees*.

3. At devotion. Afternoone tooke leave in diverse places.

4. In towne by all the persons I have to do with, and tooke my leave of some of them.

I sent 66 rubles 6 *altins* to Mr. Guasconi, which makes with the 23 r. 13 *alt*. 2 *dengees* maketh [*sic*] 89 r. 19 *alt*. 2 *d*. for the girle Maria which is by him,

⁹⁶⁰ See fol. 449.

⁹⁶¹ *Führen* (German), to transport.

⁹⁶² Possibly, Herman van Troyen, Dutch merchant who in 1684, along with other Catholics headed by Gordon, signed a petition to the Tsars to establish a Catholic church in Moscow.

⁹⁶³ *Podjom* (Old Russian), allowance for official travel or military campaign.

so that I have by me for the two boyes⁹⁶⁴ 179 rubles 6 *altins*.

{452} March 5, Tuesd. I stayed at home, being much troubled with company, and in the evening went and tooke my leave of ffriends.

His M. came & found me not at home.

6. In towne, gott an order to receive 1,200 horses with waggons, and all appurtenances in Tambow.

At his M. Tzaar Johann Alexeyovitz his hand.

Received my long-sollicited *bayberak* & *kubick*.⁹⁶⁵

Tooke my leave of the rest of my ffriends.

Received 300 rubles of *podjom* or assistance money and 100 for my son James, 50 for a Lt.colonell, 45 for ane artillery maior, 30 for the regi-t maior, 20 for a capt., 15 for a Lt. & 8 rubles for ane ensigne, 50 for an ingineer & as much for a master of fyreworkes.

7. I heard devotion, the masse & *Itinerarium*⁹⁶⁶ early. Went thereafter into the towne, tooke leave of Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin] & *Kniaz* Ivan Borisovitz [Troyekurov]. Breakfasted wt his M. & others by G-ll Le Fort. His M. with all came afterwards by me, and stayed the whole day.

5,000 rubles & 10 pieces of cloth ordered to be given to me for extraordinary expences & gifts.

{452v} Having taken leave of his Ma-tie and the boyars, and of my ffriends & family, about 4 a'clock afternoone I rode from Mosko and lodged in Wesofka, 7 *verst*.

March 8, Frid. About 2 howres befor day I went and dined in the Slaboda Michaelofsky, 20 *verst*; this belongeth to a nuns monastery. From hence I did writt to my wyfe and Colonell von Mengden with a note into the *Prikase* for 70 *pude* of hempe and 15 *pude* of *drobe*⁹⁶⁷ for the regiments of the *streltsees*.

After dinner I rode to Bronits, 15 *verst*; here I overtooke the regiment. This village belongeth to his Majesty.

9. At sunriseing wee marched and came to Koshakowa⁹⁶⁸, 15 *verst*,

⁹⁶⁴ Mary, John and Patrick, children of the late Lt.Colonel Hamilton.

⁹⁶⁵ *Kubok* (Russian), cup or goblet. *Bayberak* was an Oriental silken fabric with or without a pattern, sometimes woven with gold thread. These rewards were long due to Gordon for his part in the Second Crimean campaign of 1689 (above, fol. 307 v.).

⁹⁶⁶ Roman Catholic service before travel.

⁹⁶⁷ *Drob'* (Russian), small shot or grapeshot.

⁹⁶⁸ Kosiakovo.

where dined. This *dorp* belongeth to Alexander Ivanovitz Miloslafsky. I did writt to my wyfe & daughter and to Capt. Kochintsuf with the bookes for *podyiom* and of these men & mens wiwes stayed in Mosko.

The Capt.Lt. Peter Lochmanofsky came to me. He seemed much troubled about I know not what, and his looks did not please me.

Wee marched to the great village Meshkow⁹⁶⁹ and lodged. This belongeth to the Boyar Alexey Simonovits Shein.

{453} March 10, Sund. Haveing heard masse, wee marched and coming along the river Severka came to Columna, 10 *verst*. The walls of this towne are all going to ruine. I dined in a stone howse belonging to a widdow. As I was at dinner, Ensigne Kredigh came & told me that C.L. Lochmanofsky had fallen upon his sword & killed himself. I sent to view him, found it so, caused seale up all his goods in his *polub*.⁹⁷⁰ and sent them to Mosko with his servant; caused buy a coffin and put the corps in it to be carryed along to the next station. He had been taken with a deep melancholy since he came from Mosko and had neither eat, drunk nor sleep'd, which put his head out of temper & filled it with strange fancies & imaginations.

Haveing gott change of horses, and written three letters to my wyfe, one to my daughter and another to Doctor Carbonari, wee marched downe Moskoes river 3 *verst*, where it is joyned to the river Occa below a monastery on the right hand. Wee marched all along the river except a short-cut of land, and came to Diedilova⁹⁷¹, 20 *verst*. Here I caused digg a grave in an old church yard and caused bury Lochmanofsky in it in the night without all ceremonies.

{453v} March 11, Moon. A litle befor sunriseing wee marched, and most part on the river Occa, and dined by Priviczka⁹⁷², 15 *verst*; here a *kabak*⁹⁷³ and weekly market, but no *panvres* dwelling since Tzaar Ivan Vacileovits carryed away all the inhabitants of a towne hard-by & placed them in Swiasko⁹⁷⁴, 12 miles above Kasan.

⁹⁶⁹ Miachkovo.

⁹⁷⁰ Possibly *polubarka*, a small river-boat.

⁹⁷¹ Dedinovo. Gordon recorded the name correctly, but then substituted *n* with *l*.

⁹⁷² Perevitskaya.

⁹⁷³ Tavern (Russian).

⁹⁷⁴ Sviyazhsk.

Afternoone wee came to Kusminka⁹⁷⁵, great village belonging to *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovits Golitzin, whither our waggons came late, being 25 *verst*.

12. Wee marched because of the bad way about to Volin, and then on the river Bistrizta, which falleth in the r. Trubesh, to Pereslave Resansky⁹⁷⁶, 20 *verst*. This towne standing on a sandy foundation, the walls all go to wrack, and a large stone church lately built by the *Metropolite* and vaulted did fall in.⁹⁷⁷ I lodged in a stone house belonging to Michael Nemshinuf. The Governour of this place Michel Petrovits Ismailow, as he of Columna Ivan Abrahamovits Bibikuf, came and gave me a visit, and being of my acquaintance, he invited me to his howse, whither I went but stayed not long.

{454} March 13, Wed. Haveing gott fresh *podwoods* or horses, I marched by day-light, and 13 *verst* crossed the r[ivule]t Yablofka, and 3 *verst* further the 3 oakes; and about 12 *verst* further dined in Yepichine, belonging to the *Metropolite* of Rezan. Wee passed through Grebina, 2 *verst*, & 7 *verst* further lodged in Czarnobayuf.

14. Wee marched early, and 5 *verst* went through the village Gulinky belonging to the Verderefskyes. Here runneth the river Ishia. Wee dined about 7 *verst* further in a village called Soboleva, belonging to *Kniaz* Volodimier Ivan. Volchonsky. Wee went through Kasin and Suett and lodged in the village Nasnanove, belonging to the Spaskoy monastery, which is in Pereslaw. Here runneth the river Pronia (being 14 *verst*), w-ch falleth in the Ishia, & that in the r. Volga.⁹⁷⁸

15. Wee crossed the r. Ranofka at the *drop* Pachlets, 5 *verst*; to the villages Pryany, Podvislo & Poplevino, 15 *verst*, where dined. Here the r. Ranofka, which falleth in the r. Pronia; the village belongeth to his Ma-tie. Went up the r. Ranofka and through the *sasbek*⁹⁷⁹ to Ria[zh]ska, 12 *verst*, and crossing the river Chupta, lodged in the sojourns *slaboda*; this river Chupta

⁹⁷⁵ Kuzminskoye.

⁹⁷⁶ Pereyaslavl' Riazansky, old name for Riazan'.

⁹⁷⁷ The almost completed Assumption cathedral in Pereyaslavl' Riazansky collapsed on 18 April 1692, after which a new one was built. Avraamy († 1708) was Metropolitan of Riazan' and Murom in 1687–1700.

⁹⁷⁸ A mistake: Pronia and Is(t)ya fall into the Oka.

⁹⁷⁹ *Zaseki* or *zasechnye cherty*, defensive structures along Russia's southern borders built to ward off Tatars and other invaders. They consisted of felled trees, ramparts, moats and natural obstacles connected by a chain of forts.

falleth in the Ranofka. The *Woynod* or Governour Bogdan Michaelo[vich] Teleshneuf came to me & invited me to supper, with whom I went, supped and returned without stay.

{454v} March 16, Sat. I went befor day and came to Turova vil., 15 *verst*, and 6 *verst* further dined in Lubianky, belonging to the Trubnikufs. Then to the Gayes and over the fountaine of the river Vorones to the village Chirino, where the r. Chupta, 8 *verst*, and 10 *verst* further lodged in the village Surukova, where the r. Lesna Voronies.

17. Marched befor day to the village Yurieva, 6 *verst*. Here wee should have gone over the *step* to Lampka the neerest way, but it being 20 large *versts*, the guide to ease himself made us beleeeve that it was impossible to go that way, because the way was closed up with the snow, which the guides of this village confirming, wee went to the right the village way and passed by the vill. Visneva, 6 *verst*, the vil. Podgorne⁹⁸⁰, 2 *verst*, the vill. Glassow, 6 *verst*, the vil. Mikolskoy, 7 *verst*, or Yepanshino, where dined, haveing heard devotion. Wee came to the vil. [...], haveing gone all this day along the r. Voronies called Lesnoy, and then turned more easterly and came to the high road from Koslow (which wee had in our sight, being but about 4 *verst* from it) to Tambow.

At night wee came to Belska by the wall, a fortified place, & lodged, being 15 *verst* from Yepunshin. Here the r. Polna Voronies runneth through the wall and falleth in the Lesnoy Voronies a litle below Koslow, whose walls the last watereth.

{455} March 18, Moon. Marched early along the wall to Czolnafsko Ostrog, 15 *verst*; then went through a gate in the wall 3 *verst* further and dined in a village where 2 forts at the beginning of another wall, the place betwixt this wall and the other being secured by a thick wood and the r[ivule]t Czolnafka, which falleth in the r. [...]. This place is called Liza Gora or bald or bare hill.

After dinner I rode all along the wall about 8 *verst* and turning from it about 8 *verst* further came to Tambow.

From Mosko to Columna & Pereslaw Resansky the way was south east for the most part; from thence to Ria[zh]sko south south east; from thence to Yuriova vill. east south east; from Yuriova to Yepunshin & [...]

⁹⁸⁰ Gordon's route lay first through Podgornoye, then Vishnevoye.

south south east; and from thence to Bielskoy south east; from thence to Czolnofka east south east; from thence to Liza Gora s.s.east; from thence to Tambow e.s.east.

I lodged in the Puskarsky *slaboda* by one Stephan Obonossuf.

In the evening the Governour Ivan Ivanovits Leontiuf gave me a visit.

The frost had been violent these last 8 dayes as any tyme this winter.

{455v} March 19, Tuesd. Being St. Josephs day, heard devotion.

20. The Regiment came. The *Stolnike Kniaz* Jacob Yuriovits Volchonsky came.

The *slabods* being divided among the regiments, the Butirsky stood in the Strasovy *slaboda*, Zukow & Krofkw in the Pokrofska, the *Stremeny* in the Streletska *slabod* without the towne; in the Streletska within the towne Kobilsky and Obuchow, and Kapustin and Koslow in the Polkovy; I with the staffe & the *stolniks* and other officers standing in the Puskarsky.

Bought 2 tunne of *digget*⁹⁸¹ at 7 *gr.* per tunne.

The *Stremeny* regiment came.

Affonasse Koslow came with his regiment.

{456} March 21, Thur. I went into the castle, saw the *ambars* wherein the ammunition was put to be kep't. Spoke with the *woynod* and concluded to send 140 men, the halfe whereof *plotniks*, with 30 *podwods* for building of 30 boats 10 or 12 fath. long & 2 1/2 broad for ferrying us over the r-s Chwapior & Don.

Put in all the ammunition in a large *ambar* & 8 *kelets*⁹⁸².

Dispatched Capt. Lambe to Mosko, and by him did writt to Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin], informing him that there is no order here & in the other townes for the 4,000 rubles w-ch should be given to the 4,000 Tambovish sojourns for assistance to furnish themselves to service; and that the 8,000 rubles for monthly pay to these sojourns; as also that I want diverse things given up in the former note or memorandum; desiring that all these things & money may be sent, & the 4,000 rubles & cloth promised for extraordinary expences; giving notice also of my being come hither the 18th.

To Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], giving notice of my coming, and the other business, and a postscript with my owne hand to him.

⁹⁸¹ *Diogat'* (Russian), tar.

⁹⁸² *Klet'* (Russian, pl.: *keleti*), storeroom.

To Achtemon Ivanovits [Ivanov] with the same as to Lew Kirilovits, the hastening of the money {456v} and other things, & that a letter be sent to Pereslaw Resansky for to send the hempe & 60 *pude* of pitch hither in hast befor the way breake up.

To *Kniaz* Boris Alexiovits [Golitsyn], giveing notice of my komeing, & that I must, haveing passed over the river Chwapior, go to the right hand and cross the river Don a litle above Medwieditza river; and desireing that the two *Nisovy*⁹⁸³ regiments may be ordred to come and wait at the mouth of the river Donets till my order.

To Yemelian Ignatiovitz [Ukraintsev], thanking him for his kindnes, and desireing him to continue.

To Gen-ll Le Fort, desireing him to informe his Ma-tie of the reasons for which I must stay here till the spring or grasse.

To Doctor Carbonari about a business.

To Coll. von Mengden about businesse; to learne if I may writt & in what character⁹⁸⁴ to his M.

To Mr. Vinius about the same, & if I shall writt with *tovarises*⁹⁸⁵ or not.

To my son in law & daughter at Archangell.

To Mr. Guasconi, adviseing how I would have buriall place built.

{457} March 21. Writt to my wyfe & daughter about diverse things whereof I stand in need. All by Capt. Lambe.

In the evening Dmitre Zukuf came wt his regiment, a litle after Semen Krokow came with his.

22, Frid. Ivan Kobilsky & Alexey Obuchow came befor day with their regiments.

The lievtennants Andre Kochintzuf & Varlaam Ivanofsky sent out to writt out the horses, & send out the carpenters & workmen to make the *struges* or boates.

Received of Ivan Vasileuf & Dmitre Selakin of each 19 *altins* on the acco-t of haveing been cation for a ser-t who run [aw]ay & was brother to one of them. In all due to me 3 rubles.

Of April & May at 10 *altins*, in all 40 *altines*.

⁹⁸³ Regiments levied in "Nizovaya zemlia" (Low country), i.e. middle and lower Volga regions.

⁹⁸⁴ I.e. in Russian or Latin letters (see fol. 458 v.).

⁹⁸⁵ *Tovarishchi* in 17th-century Russia meant officials subordinate to the chief *voyeroda*.

Rec-d 40 rubles of the reg-t money.

{457v} March 23, Sat. The *woywod* sent me a note that he had in the treasure 1,200 rubles, & of provisions 750 tunne of oat groate, 750 of *tolokno*⁹⁸⁶ and 300 of rey malt.

The Colonell Semen Kapustine came & the Chancellour Ivan Theophonovits Protopopuf⁹⁸⁷.

Widinicht Andr. Ismeyow⁹⁸⁸ sent 12 horses to be taken along to Puntshina.

24, Easter. I confessed & received the Blessed Sacrament.

The cannon & ammunition came from Shefsky with Gregory Evertson.

25. Sent away 20 load of proviant befor to the Pristane, giving for a *podvod* 10 *altins*, and payed for 13 *podvodes* 3 rubles 30 *altines*. 9 of these *podvodes* (being 7 of my owne) were loaden with oates. In the other were: a tunne of oate-groates, of pease as much, two great bagges of *suchary*⁹⁸⁹ white, 2 bagges of rey dried bread, 3 tunne of buckwhite groates, 3 bagges of rey *suchary*, 3 q-ts of oate-groates, 5 barrels of beer, 2 barrels of anys waters, 1 barrel of double juniper brandywyne, 2 barrels of single wine, 1 barrell of *isbitne*⁹⁹⁰, 2 *viaders*⁹⁹¹ of butter, a barrell of partridges made-in, 1 barrell of vinegar, 6 fattes of honey with the waxe, a bagge of *psionny*⁹⁹² groates, a bagge of Tambovsky peese, {458} a halfe *aam* of French wyne, 1 *anker* of claret, 1 *anker* of Spanish, a bagge of salt, a bagge of white *sucharyes*—in all 20 *podvodes*. Given Ivan along 8 rubles to buy a *strugge* & hyre workemen to it.

The granadiers came & brought to me ane Emp. letter, with 70 *pud* of hempe & 15 *pude* of *sbraude*⁹⁹³.

Given 40 rubles to Vasily Katuf & Rodivon Mesgin to buy oates for their Ma-ties horses.

⁹⁸⁶ Oat flour (Russian).

⁹⁸⁷ I.F. Protopopov († after 1704), from 1689 *dyak* of Apothecary Office.

⁹⁸⁸ Venedikt Andreyevich Zmeyov († after 1697), *voyevoda* and Duma general who took part in wars against Poland, Sweden and Turkey, from 1682 “near” *okolnichy*, head of Razriad, Streltsy and other Offices. In 1695 he was appointed *voyevoda* in Perm’.

⁹⁸⁹ *Sukhari* (Russia), dried bread.

⁹⁹⁰ *Sbilen’*, traditional Russian drink made with water, honey, herbs and spices, and served either hot or cold.

⁹⁹¹ *Wiadro* (Polish), bucket (Russian: *vedro*).

⁹⁹² *Pshionny* (Russian), millet.

⁹⁹³ *Schrot* (German), small shot.

March 26. Being invited, I went & dyned with the Bishop, and was friendly entertained. I was thereafter by the *woynod*.

The colonells & officers with the surgeons came.

Received letters from my wyfe & daughter of the 10 & 11 *Martii*, from Coll. von Mengden the 11 *Martii*; from Coll. Kro dated Koslow.

27. At home. The *woynod* came by me & stayed an howre or two.

The *polkovoy*⁹⁹⁴ Cosakes & other villages mustered.

Gave orders that no sojourns nor *streltsees* should forstall the market, or buy any sort of provisions to sell againe.

28. The Captaine Simon Barshtss came from Mosko in 7 days.

The *Stolnik* Fiodor Petrovits Verderofsky came.

{458v} March 29. Divers officers came, by whom a letter from Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev].

Sent Fama Kleony by post to Mosko, by whom I wrott: to their M-ties in ans-r to their with the hempe, and about the money here in Tambow and what received & provisions; to the Great Bombardirer two in Mr. Vinus his *coverto*, one Rus. letters, the other Latine; to Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin], *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn], Achtemon Ivan[ov] & to Tichon Nikitits in ans-r to his of the 20 instant, and about the proveant that is here, and to *Kniaz* Ivan Boris. Troykuruf about the same; to Gen-ll Le Fort, Coll. von Mengden, my wyfe & daughter.

The Chancellour Gregory Michael. Protopopuf came.

The *Stolnik* Michael Lukin *sin*⁹⁹⁵ Martinianuf came.

I was indisposed the whole day.

Writt to Mr. Patrick Forbes in Dantzick in answer to his of the 24 Jan-ry.⁹⁹⁶

{459} March 30, Sat. The *stolniks* Ivan Famits Bibikuf, Michael Michael. Volinsky, Andre Michael. Visniakuf came.

Invited to the governour to dinner, being his name-day, but did not go, being yet not well.

Received recommendatory letters from diverse great persons in behalfe of the *stolnikes* & officers.

31, Sun. At devotion.

⁹⁹⁴ Regimental (Russian).

⁹⁹⁵ *Syn* (Russian), son.

⁹⁹⁶ and which I had answered befor crossed out.

The *Stolnike* Gregory Vasileovits Chirikuf came.

Sent a letter to the *noywod* of Koslow Affonasse Andre. Soymonow in behalfe of the *streltsees* who had things stollen from them in that district.

Sent the sojourns & the *streltsees* to make boates at the r. Chaper.

The chancellours supped by me.

This day I ended the 60th yeare of my troublesome lyfe. Blessed be God Almighty for givinge so long a tyme to repent me of my sinnes, and to enjoy temporall blessings above many others, & farr above my merits!

{459v} April 1, Moon. Received letters from Yemelian Ignatiovits Ukraintzuf, recommending the Lt. Kudraftsuf to me & dated Mosco 13 *Martii*; from the *Attaman*⁹⁹⁷ of Pristane Savely Constantinovits in the name of the Dons *Attaman* & the rest of the Cosakes.

My people whom I sent to the Pristane with provisions returned, having laid up the provisions in a *podklet* & *ambare*⁹⁹⁸, which the Cosakes gave them, and left 2 persons by it.

About 11 aclock befor noone Lt.Colonell Thomas Crawfuird, son to the deceased Maior Gen-ll Daniell, departed this lyfe after neer 3 weeks sicknes.

About midday the Lt. Stephan Zlotilow brought to me & delivered their Ma-ties letters dated the 18th *Martii*, whereby I had orders and was informed that there is a letter sent to the Dons *Attaman* Frowl Minayuf⁹⁹⁹ & the other officers, and all the fraternity of the Dons army, givinge them notice of my cominge to the Don with ane army, and that they shall send orders to the Pristane and other townes on the river Chapior to joyne with me horse [and] foot (leaving only a competent number at home), and assist {460} to their ability in all things conducibile to their Ma-ties service; as also to send out parties for intelligence, which they are to send over to me; as also to order these townes & places, to which I with the army shall not come neare to, to be in readines to march upon their Ma-ties first order; and finally, to keep all this close and to lett no body but their chieffe officers know of it, and to set such strict guards at all the passes and wayes, that the least notice be not given to the enemyes in Assow or elsewhere. The exact copy of the

⁹⁹⁷ *Ataman* (Russian), elected Cossack commander.

⁹⁹⁸ Basement & barn (Russian).

⁹⁹⁹ Frol Minayev, *Ataman* of the Don Cossack army in 1680–1700.

letter being sent to me glewed under the Emp-rs letter and signed with the Chancellour Ivan Volkow his hand, dated Mosco 16 *Martii*.

Hereby also a letter from the *Dummy Diack* or Chancellour Yemelian Ignatiovitz Ukraintzuf, giving me notice of all, and of forreigne newes: that great preparations were makeing on both sydes by the Emperour & Sultan¹⁰⁰⁰ for the next campagne; that the Turkes had scarcity of seamen; that the Polls parliament dissolved by the faction of {460v} the Sapihaes, and great contests there; that the parliament of England have resolved to owne & maintaine William, that he is resolved to come over to Holland & to Flanders, that it is not mentioned as yet who shall have the government in his absence.

The letter to the Dons *Attaman* & Cosakes sent by Boris Danieluf his winter party or *stanitsee*¹⁰⁰¹ Jakob Volodimiruf & Trofim Karpow.

I caused writt over in presence of the colonells & other officers all the effects belonging to the deceased Lt.Coll. Crawfuird.

Caused receive 19 of their Ma-ties horses from the chancellours, 12 whereof sent to be fed in [...].

{461} April 2, Tues. About 7 a'clock in the morning the writer Abraham Ivanuf of the *Inoshemsky* or Stranger Office came & brought me letters from the *Dummy* Achtamon Ivanuf, Colonell von Mengden & from his M. I dispatched him in two houres tyme back againe.

Sent away 32 workmen to the Chapior r. with the Lt. Brenk.

Achtimon Ivanuf writt to me of sending away the regiments ammuni-tion and dispatching of Capt. Lamb, to whom I returned an answer of thanks. Colonell von Mengden, that if I think fitt to lighten my carriages, I might send to Simon Ivan. Yazikuf for boates to meet me [in] any Cosakes towne where fittest; and that his M. had been ill, but was now well satis-fyed againe—w-ch answered.

To Mr. Krevet, to make a new collour for a signe, and mend the pen-non, and make *grotikes*¹⁰⁰² to them; to my wyfe & daughter about the same, and to my wyfe to give to Lt.Coll. Crawfuirds widdow 14 rubles which I have gott here.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I and Turkish Sultan Mustafa II (1664–1703), who reigned from 1695.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Stanitsa* (Russian), a Cossack party or settlement.

¹⁰⁰² *Grotik* (Old Russian), flagstaff finial.

{461v} April 3, Wed. At the buriall of Lt.Coll. Crawfuird. Our *Pater* convoyed not in surplice nor going befor, and only 3 put earth above him with a *memento mori*, and after made a eloquent oration.

Received from the governour 3 cannon with *affuits*¹⁰⁰³.

Bought a sorrel horse for 7 rubles.

4. About 11 aclock I received 5 letters from their Ma-ties by Maior Soroczinsky and Capt. Batuskuf: 1) with 8,627 rubles 31 *altins* 4 *dengees*; 2) with 3,000 rubles for extraordinary expences; 3d) concerning the officers; 4th) concerning the *podyom* money, and 5th) concerning ammunition.

Received letters [from] Pater Schmidt and my son Theodorus, dated Brunsberg 5 *Martii*, from Mr. W-m Gray, dated Konigsbergh the 9th March, giveing me notice of the reseat of the 60 ducates sent by Mr. Kintzius & the 16 ermines sent to his wyfe; from Mr. Joachim Klandt, dated Riga 7 *Martii*, Snivins, dated Arch[angel] 4 *Martii*.

{462} Aprill 5, Frid. The *Stolniks* Fiodor Ivan. Lodigin and Kirila Ivanuf *sin* Shetneuw came.

Payed for the *budar*¹⁰⁰⁴ at the Pristane 6 rubles and 2 rubles 3 *alt.* 4 *dengees* given there for hemepe, pitch and mending.

6. Received a letter from *Kniaz* Andre Ivanovits Diaskow¹⁰⁰⁵.

The governour sent an order or memoriall concerning many things, to the which I ordered an answer to be written & sent.

7. Received a letter from my wyfe, dated 17th *Martii*, with 200 *arsh[in]s tesma*¹⁰⁰⁶ by Bielevits, & other from Lochmanofskyes widdow.

At devotion.

The Colonell Serge Gregor. Sergeyuf¹⁰⁰⁷ came.

8. Gave the rolls to be writt over againe.

{462v} April 9. Much business. The chancellours dyned by me, and the *wyynod* was by me in the afternoone.

Writt to Coll. Livingston, the English Russia Company, Mr. Krevet, &

¹⁰⁰³ *L'affûts* (French), gun carriages.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Budara* (Old Russian), large boat with freight capacity of 15 to 25 poods.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Prince A.I. Dashkov (ca.1650–1705), *stolnik*.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Tes'ma* (Russian), lace or cord.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Written instead of the crossed-out: *Goloftshin*. Colonel Sergeyev commanded the 'Tsars' own *streltsy* regiment, Stremianny, which in this campaign was subordinate to Gordon.

my son in law in ans-r to his of the 4 *Martii*, desiring a bone handle for a seale to be turned and sent to me.

*To the Gentlemen of the Engl. Mosc. Company.*¹⁰⁰⁸

10. Sent a smith and other workemen to the Pristane & wood, where the *budares* are makeing. Received from Adolph Brenk Lt. a letter from thence.

I rode out to the wall at the Suchana gate, the fields being full of snow and cold.

11. The *Stolnik* Semon Gregoriovit[z] Koledinsky came.

The writer Orlonok came.

The *Stolniks* Alexey Tichonovitz Volkow and Ivan Petrovits Bartenuf came; by the first I had a letter of the 17th of March from my wyfe.

{463} Aprill 12, Frid. The last of the 3,000 rubles received.

Received an answer of the letter I had writt to the *woywod* of Koslow.

13. Writt to Pater Schmidt & my son Theod[ore] in answer to theirs of the 5th *Martii*; to Mr. Gray in answer to his of the 9th of March; to Mr. Jochim Klandt in answer to his of the 7 *Martii*; to Mr. Hartman with the enclosed to Mr. Forbes, desiring him to forward it and to writt to his ffriend to assist my son Theodorus with 40 or 50 reich dollers, if Mr. Forbes call for it; to my wyfe, daughter, Doctor Carbonari, Mr. Guasconi, Gen-ll Le Fort, Coll. von Mengden, Mr. Vinius, the Bombardirer. By a writer of the *Ruiter* Office called Fiodor Protopopuf, who brought the 3,000 rubles; by whom also to Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin], Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], *Kniaz* Boris Alex. [Golitsyn], Yem[elyan] Ukrai[ntsev] and Achtimon Ivan[ov] in a *covert*o to Greg. Kochin[tsev].

{463v} April 14, Sun. All the *stolniks* and the Russe colonels & Lt.colonells dyned with me & were merry.

Dispatched to Mosko the writer Fiodor Protopopuf with 4 *otpiskyes* to their Ma-ties and my other letters, and gave him a ruble of my owne money upon the way.

15. The Corporall Kuprian returned from the Chwapior, and related great difficulties and almost impossibilities in makeing the *budare*.

The Father Confessor his *prikaschik* or chamberlaine brought 32 horses out of 94 howses (according to the first description), there being

¹⁰⁰⁸ Entry crossed out in MS.

now neer 500 in that *volost*. Of these wee could scarcely choose out 4 fitt for service, which I caused marke and restored to be fed.

{464} April 16, Tues. Dyned by Fiodor Petr. Verderofsky.

A monk of the Czudow monastery brought 44 horses for carriages or *podwod*, whereof 27 were chosen fitt for service, the rest dismissed.

17. Caused writt to Lt. Brenk by a Cosake to the Pristanse *attaman*, to be forwarded by him.

18. Caused receive more horses.

Began to give the *podyim* money.

19. Caused degrade the 8th company to be the 10th for letting their capt. be taken prisoner on the head of the company at the Columinskyes exercise.

Rode out at the Suchans gate to the nearest Lipnitsa and wiewed the place where wee shall encampe.

{464v} April 20, Sat. Caused receive about 70 horse[s] for *podvodes*.

The Butirskyes regiment marched out and encamped in the fields before the towne.

Caused receive more horses, and ordered the bringing out of the powder & ammunition out of the towne into the fields.

The *streltsees* colonells gave in their rolls for *podvods*, which amounted to about 500, w-ch being so excessive, I calculated how much of all sorts of ammunition they had.

21 [Sunday]. Dined by the *woynod*, and haveing made ane exact calculation how many cannon, and how much of all sorts of ammunition they had amongst them, I caused draw up a writeing in the following manner.

Given to the 7 regiments of *streltsees*

810 *pude* of fine gunpowder.

100 *pude* of grosse or cannon powder.

70 *pude* of lunt.

321 *pude* of lead.

2,000 cannon bullets of 2 pund a piece.

1,500 hand granadoes of 2 pund a piece.

49 *pude* of hempe.

15 *pude* of cannon graithe or *sbraut*.

Which makes in all 1,540 *pude*.

{465} Whereof giving to the *strelksee*s upon the way to each 2 pund of powder and as much lead to 4,600 men, makes 460 *pude*; so remaines of all the above written ammunition 1,080, which at 15 *pude* p[e]r *podvode* & to one 10 *pude* maketh 102 *podvode*.

For 18 cannon regt. pieces, at 4, is 72 *pod*.

For 5 cut-throats¹⁰⁰⁹, at 2, maketh 10 *pod*.

A spare *podwod* for each cannon and cut-throat piece—23 *pod*.

For smiths tooles & coake to each regt., 2,—14 *p*.

For spades, shuffles and all other digging instruments, to each regt. 3, is 21 *pod*.

For *degot* or smier to waggon to each regiment 2 *pod*.—14 *pod*.

Maketh in all—226 *pod-s*.

Haveing showne and let them copy of this writeing, they seemed perplexed at my knowing and takeing so exact ane acco-t of the provisions they had; yet, not haveing any collour of exception, they objected only their priests, & regiments bussinesse & writeings; which I excused by telling them that the sojourns regiments furnished these things from the regts money, not finding it fitt to condescend to their desires in ane instant, knowing that when I had admitted that, {465v} they would still find more pretences, and be alwayes craveing.

April 22. Dined by *Kniaz* Andrew Ivanovitz Diaskow, when Capt. Andrew Lamb came from Mosko and brought 6 letters from their Ma-ties to me: one with their Ma-ties gracious intimation of their satisfaction, good pleasure, and commendation of me & all the rest of the army for making such hast to the place of rendezvous; another giving notice of the orders sent (according to my desire in Mosko) to the *Dummy Dworinin*¹⁰¹⁰ Simeon Ivanovits Yiasikow in Voroniez, to send with all expedition provisions for two months to Czirkasse for all the sojourns of my army; the third acquainting me with the ammunition & other provisions sent to me; the 4th concerning the cannon gott from {466} the *woywod*; the 5th concerning the *degot* I did writt for; the 6th [...]

¹⁰⁰⁹ In Gordon's own words, *cut-throats* were "short pieces for small shott" (*Diary*, III, p. 56), apparently 1.5- or 2-pounders.

¹⁰¹⁰ Duma nobleman.

By him I had letters from my wyfe, daughter of the 3d & 5th April; Mr. Kurtius, dat. Wien 12 *Martii*; G-ll Le Fort, dated 31 *Martii*; Mr. Vinius, Coll. von Mengden, the children Hamiltons, Capt. Kochintsuf, Gregory Zykow, the *Dummy* Yemelian Ignat. [Ukraitsev].

I went in the evening & tooke my leave of the Bishop & *woywod*.

April 23. Having given orders for the Moskoes reg-ts to march, the first Selected regiment¹⁰¹¹ marched by day light. In the meane tyme I made ready my letters to Mosko:

To the Great Bombard[ier], to Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin], *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn], Tich[on] Nikit. [Streshnev], *Kniaz* Ivan Boris. [Troyekurov], Yemelian Ignat. , Achtemon Ivan[ov], giving notice of my being marched without the wall to the r. Lipovitse, and resolution to march further so soone as the rivers are within their bonds & will permitt passage. Writt also to the Boyar Boris Petr. [Sheremetev], giving him notice of my march; to their Ma-ties of the same; to G-ll Le Fort, Coll. von Mengden, Mr. Vinius, Doctor Carbonari, my wyfe & daughter.

{466v} April 23, Tuesd. About midday I rode out to the *leaguer* and formed and caused measure of the places for the army to encampe in. The first Selected regiment and the first regiment of the *streltsees*¹⁰¹² came & encamped upon the place; the other regiments were benighted and having craved licence, lodged short of the *leaguer* place.

I dispatched with the above-specified letters Vasile Dementiuf, the regiment writer of Alex. Lawr. Obuchow his regt. in the 1st howre of the night; caused give him *progon*¹⁰¹³ for 2 horses 34 *alt*.

24. I viewed the places where the bridges over the river must be made.

Diverse of the colonells & lt.colonells dyned by me.

The Chancellour Ivan Theopho[novich Protopopov] came and diverse of the *stolniks*.

{467} April 25. Many dined by me. I caused begin to make 5 bridges over the river.

180 horses sent to me, whereof I with great ado caused choose out 32.

26. I dined by the *Diack* Ivan Theophon. Protop[opov].

¹⁰¹¹ Gordon's Butyrsky regiment, the first in his corps.

¹⁰¹² Stremianny.

¹⁰¹³ *Progon* (Russian), payment for post-horses.

Great complaints from the *woynod* about the receiving of the horses.

In the afternoone the governour came by me, when wee discussed all business and parted scarce good ffriends.

In the evening 70 horses sent to me, of which not one was chosen out fitt.

27. Haveing sent orders to the other 4 reg-ts and the ammunition to march, I had notice that about 10 aclock the[y] began to move, first my son James with his, then Alempsey Yurenuf, then Coll. Yunger & last Coll. Bane.

Of the ammunition for want of *podwodes* was left on the place:

279 tunnes of powder.

180 mattes double to cover them.

160 pigges¹⁰¹⁴ of lead.

{467v} April 27, Sat. A writer out of the *Inoshemsky Prikase* came & brought 2 Emperours letters, one with 1,300 rubles for the Tambovish sojourns for *podyom* or mounting money, another that their M[a]jestie[s] hath graced the 10,000 sojourns & *streltsees* in this army with a 4t part of a *czet-ferik*¹⁰¹⁵ of oate groates and as much *tolokna* or oate meale.

By this with my writer Fama I received letters from my wyfe & daughter, Doctor Carbonary, Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin], *Kniaz* Ivan Boris. [Troyekurov], *Kniaz* Alexey Petr.¹⁰¹⁶ and others, dated Mosko 14 & 15 Apr.

Towards evening the regiments came into the *leaguer* and the ammunition. I stayed on the other syde of the *bayrak*¹⁰¹⁷ because the grasse on the fields over which it was to passe was burning.

28. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinius, Mr. Krevet and others by Coll. Kropkow his ser-t.

{468} The ammunition waggons came early.

I dined by Michael Michael. Volinsky.

April 29. Sent the sojourns & *streltsees* to the towne to receive the provisions.

Caused give to each regt. of the *streltsees* 3 spare horses, so that with the former and 7 miscounted they have in all 254 horses, for each

¹⁰¹⁴ Pig (Russian: *svinka*), bar of lead of about 2 poods.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Chetverik*, old Russian dry measure, 1/4 of *os'mina*, which varied considerably.

¹⁰¹⁶ Probably, Prince A.P. Prozorovsky († 1705), from 1662 *striapchy*, from 1690 boyar, in 1697–9 *voyevoda* in Azov, and later in Archangel.

¹⁰¹⁷ Or *buyarak* (dialect Russian), ravine.

of which I caused give 4 *altins* to oates, which maketh a *osmin*¹⁰¹⁸ of Tambovish and a *czetvert* of Moskoes measure; and to 38 horses in each of the 5 sojourns reg-ts as much, which to 440 horses makes 48 rubles 13 *alt.* 2 *deng.*

I gave orders also to each regt. of the sojourns & *streltsees* 5 *span* of *degut*¹⁰¹⁹, and for 15 money at 5 *altins* the *span*, which maketh 15 rubles—in all 63 r. 13 *alt.* 2 *d.*

Payed also for a tent to the granadiers 1 ruble 10 *altines*.

{468v} April 30, Tues. Gave orders the next day to march, and particularly ordained how they should in order march over the passe.

Caused summe up the horses and conferr the bookes, and 41 horses more written on by the *woynods* writer as by ours.

May 1, Wed. I marched early, and following those who were sent befor, wee went to the right hand and crossing 2 or 3 litle valleyes, came to the Further Lipovits, which crossing by bridges, wee encamped on the other syde, about 10 *verst.*

Received letters from the *woynod*, and one from Lt. Brenk, showing that he can gett but 7 *budares* ready.

2. Being Ascension day, I rested. Dined by Sem[en] Gregor. Kolidinsky. Caused give the priest Gregory a *grivne*.

Rode out in the afternoone and viewed the way wee were to march. The governour sent me 5 horses for my self. Returned an ans-r to the *woynods* letter concerning the horses, & rec-d 8 from the fryer.

{469} May 3, Frid. I marched early, haveing ordered how the regiments should march round the *waggonburg*. Wee marched towards the sowth 6 or 7 *versts*, and then more eastward some *verst*, where wee did meet with the roade of Koslow; which keeping, wee came to the brooke Siava, which wee found *gatted*¹⁰²⁰ or bridged. Here haveing dined, wee passed the brooke and then another brooke called [...], and then encamped.

In the night-tyme, the horses being in the fields on the other syde of the brooke, they were frighted in the night-tyme and runn all away.

4. I could not march early, because many of the horses under the

¹⁰¹⁸ *Os'mina*, old Russian dry measure which varied considerably.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Zhban diogtia* (Russian), can of tar.

¹⁰²⁰ From Russian verb *gatil'*, to span or bridge, especially marshy ground.

traine & others were missing. Yet about 10 aclock notwithstanding many horses were not found, wee marched and came to the r[ivule]t Kirian¹⁰²¹, on which wee found 6 bridges and the low ground on both sydes *gatted*, but so ill that scarce 100 waggons were passed when all was so spoiled that wee were forced to seek a new way and mend the other; which tooke up so much tyme that some regiments were forced to lodge on the other syde with a good deale of the ammunion, haveing marched this day about 10 *verst*.

{469v} May 5. Wee marched not early and came to a brooke called Litle Korban, 3 *verst*, which crossing by bridges ready made, wee marched into the *step* and lodged by the Burnafsky bushes, where water, 16 *verst*.

In the afternoone on the march my nose fell a bleeding, and did bleed 2 or 3 spoonfuls, occasioned by the heat.

Ivan Mechmetuf returned and brought a Cosake with a letter of newes, that the Tartars were crossed the r. Nedweditza, to whom I caused give a ruble.

6. Wee marched by the Panovy bushes, where the great road from Tambow meeteth with the Koslovish, and dined by the Gratssheny bushes, 12 *verst*. And then, haveing the river Burman¹⁰²² on our right hand, wee came to the r. Savala, 8 *verst*. Here finding 3 bridges ready made, I caused 6 regiments and all the ammunion march over, and stayed my self with the other 6 regiments

7. till morning, and then marched over & breakfasted.

I marched, haveing the river Savala on our right hand, and haveing passed the r-t Shinafka¹⁰²³, encamped all night, 18 *verst*.

8. Wee marched to Dubkow, and haveing [reached] the r-t Taganka¹⁰²⁴, dyned, 15 *verst*, and marching 10 *verst* further, crossed the brooke Prevesinky and lodged.

{470} May 9, Thurs. Wee passed the brooke called Kluczy, 4 *verst*, & the r-t Tavalshanky, 4 more. I dined, where the Cosakes from the Prystany *stanits* did meet me, and so came to the river Chwapior, 8 *verst*, and encamped on the hill by the upper passage.

¹⁰²¹ Karian.

¹⁰²² Evidently, Burnak river.

¹⁰²³ Probably, Shinokost'.

¹⁰²⁴ Tagayka.

10. I went downe to the river and set all hands at worke to make the bridge, haveing ordered every 200 men to make a float of 3 fath. long of 3 *arsb-s* & 2 1/2 fath. broad.

I went over & wiewed the places of passage to the fields, and in the evening caused cast lots for the nearer or further syde of the river, & the further did fall to the sojourns lott.

11. Such expedition was made by the sojourns that their floats were most ready, and wee laid on the bridge, and towards evening had it ready. I ordered the first {470v} regiment of the Selected Sojourns to march over in the night-tyme.

May 12, Sun. Being Whitsunday, I heard masse, and dispatched the regiments one after another over the passe & the ammunition.

The river at the place wee passed is 180 paces broad and 1 1/2 & 1 fathome deepe.

13. I marched over my self, and thereafter the 4 last regiments.

The *budars* came, being 9 & a litle one.

I caused loaden into the *budars* 274 tunnes of powder, 128 piggs of lead, 29 thick matts & 90 slight matts, about 100 waggons, with much small provisions.

I caused give to 8 officers, who had not gott their advance money, in money 77 rubles 8 *altins* 2 *dengees*.

{471} May 14, Tues. I dispatched the Moskoes writer Vasily Serapuf to Mosko with the *rosborny* & *nalitshny* bookes¹⁰²⁵, and answers to all their M[ajestie]s letters, as also letters to the *woynwod* of Tambow in answer to his, especially that I had caused receive 1,149 horses of the 1,200 which were ordered for me. I did writt to Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin], Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], Yemelian Ignat. [Ukraintsev], Achtemon Ivano[v]; to my wyfe, daughter Kat., Mr. Vinius and Mr. Krevet, son John & W-m Gordon in Ab[er]d[een] in Mr. Krevets, desireing the furtherance thereof to Mr. Meverell.

I caused give to the Tambovish 4 reg-ts pay for May month, which to 3,876 men amounted to 1,550 rubles 13 *alt.* 2 *dengees*.

The deputies from the Donish army Yakim Philippiuf & Simon [...]

¹⁰²⁵ I.e. Gordon's reports to Moscow on his division personnel, ammunition and supplies.

came to me and brought me a letter from their *attoman* & officers conforming to their Ma-ties orders.

I ordered the *budars* being loaden to ply downe nearer the army and the 23 floats of timber with all the boats.

Provisions sent along in the boat

A bigge tunne of single brandy, a tunny of lesser syze; a tunne of mede, a tunny of mede vineger; a tunne of bier vinegar, a fatt of Hollands butter; another tunne of brandy, a boxe wt bisket houshold; another of the same, a boxe with bottles of sack; 10 geese, 5 duckes, 12 hens & a cock, 1 Turkey cock.

{471v} May 15, Wed. I went downe early to the *budars* or boates, & see all fitted and gave a small boat to each *budar*; returned & dined by Alexey Tichonovitz Volkuf, and then marched about 10 aclock.

Having marched a *verst* or 2, I halted and returned to the river & dispatched the boats and floats, there being about 300 men sick & sound on them. Wee marched about 15 *verst* and lodged at the head of the r-t Saltiny, haveing had the hamlets of Prystany, Bielova & Gregoriova on our right hand.

Caused give to Capt. Brasche 5 rubles to buy litle boats to the *budars*.

16. Marched early to the brooke Karsak¹⁰²⁶, 8 *verst*, which passing by *gattes*, came to the r-t Tavalshanky¹⁰²⁷, 8 *verst*, haveing passed the hamlets Michaelova, Dobrinskova, Adina & Kotova, near which and Urupina wee encamped all night.

17. Wee came to the brooke Kaminka, 5 *verst*, & then to the brooke Aczkir, haveing the hamlet Tepikina on our right hand, 7 *verst*, where dined; and then came to the Olcha, 5 *verst*, where wee stayed all night.

Received a letter from a *dworantin* called Trofim Pawl. Sterleguf, giving me notice that he came to the Ust-Chwapior the 10 instant with provisions on 29 *struges* or boates for 2 months for the 10,000 men I have with

¹⁰²⁶ Probably Kasarka.

¹⁰²⁷ Probably Olshanka.

me, and desiring orders; whom I ordered to expect my coming by the same Cosakes who brought the letter.

{472} May 18, Sat. I dispatched 3 Kosakes to Pantshina with orders to Coll. Evanitsky to cross the Don and joyne me on the way, and caused give them 3 rubles on the way for their expences.

Marched and about midday came to the river Busuluk below the hamlet, and immediately set all hands to worke to make bridges, 2 for the sojourns & 2 for the *streltsees*; the Cosakes, who were now gathered about 3 or 400 men, making one for themselves.

The bridges being ready in the evening, I caused the souldiers regiments march and the ammunition and the other reg-ts successively the whole night.

Received newes of Tartars come over the river Don from the Nagaish to the Crimish syde below Panshina, which I litle regarded.

The Busuluke river about 40 paces broad & 1 fath. deep.

19. I marched over my self a litle befor day and, haveing heard devotion, entertained the deputies of the Cosakes, and then marched to the r-t Shrebrianka, 15 *verst*, where stayed all night.

{472v} May 20, Moon. Marched early and came to the rivolet Kumilka and dined, over which haveing caused make 10 bridges & passages, I marched over and encamped on the other syde, not being able to go further because of the want of water.

On the river Chwapior are 25 litle forts or hamlets of the Cosakes, who are all or most of them *pawres* or the servants of noble & gentlemen runaway out of Russeland, and are here free or manumitted by the privilege of the countrey & Donish army.

On the river Busuluk, which falleth in the river Chwapior, are about 30 litle forts or hamlets well accommodated with wood, and all this countrey hath a most fertile soyle fitt to produce all sort of graine.

The greatest rogues and evildoers are most acceptable, when they come, and best-trusted, because they are assured that they will not returne for fear of punishment. Yet being once admitted and settled here, they must live under strict lawes as to theft, robbery and other misbehaviour, and are according to their wisdom, courage & activity esteemed.

The ground for the most part is a bituminous fatt black earth, which occasioneth in travel a stuffe very noisome.

{473} A list of the Army which I have here

The Selected Regiment of Butirsky sojourns	894 men
The 4 regiments of Tambovish sojourns	3,879
The 7 regiments of <i>streltsees</i>	4,620

Colonells of the *soldates*

Thomas Balt. Yunger	871 men
Alempey Dorof. Yurenuf	929
James Alex. Bane	876
James Patr. Gordon	1,203 men

Lt.Colonell Ivan Serg. Lashakuf, But[yrsky regt.]

Colonels of the *streltsees*

Sergey Greg. Sergeyuf	660 men
Dimitre Rom. Zukuf	811
Simon Matfe. Krovkow	588
Ivan Mich. Kobilsky	761
Alexey Laur. Obuchow	599
Simon Laur. Kapustin	580
Affonasse Ivan. Koslow	524
Of diverse regiments	<u>97</u>
	4,620

Stolnikes

1. *Kniaz* Andrew Ivan. Diaskow, 2. Michael Mich. Volinskoy, 3. Fiodor Pet. Werderofsky, 4. Fiodor Ivan. Lodigin; Ivan Mich. Verderofsky, Ivan Pet. Bartenuf, Gregory Vasil. Czirikuf, Simon Greg. Kolidinsky, Kirila Ivan. Shitneuf, *Kniaz* Jacob *Kn[iazh]* Yur. Volchonskoy, Ivan Fomin Bibikuf, Alexey Tichon. Volkuf, Lucas Ivan. Duruf, Michael Luk. Martinianuf, Affonasse Ivan. Duruf, Andrew Michael. Visniakuf.

*Strepshe*¹⁰²⁸ Daniel Ivan. Tituf.

*Silets*¹⁰²⁹ Vasile [...] Kanda[u]ruf.

{473v} The *Prikase* chancellours or secretaries

Gregory Mich. Protopopuf.

Ivan Theophan. Protopopuf.

Writers

Old or chieffe: Agafon Meshkow, Agafon Pregaiuf.

Next: Alexey Yermolayuf, Andrew Nepen.

Yonger writers: Vasile Kononuf, Michael Philipuf, Jakob Dederuf, Ivan Maximuf, Miron Neneyuf, Leonty Belayuf, Pankrate Yesauluf, Sava Yershew.

{474} May 21. Artillery and ammunition

31 piece of cannon field pieces or falconets¹⁰³⁰.

12 short or cut-throat pieces.

10 mortar pieces shooting halfe-*pude* or 20 pund granadoes.

5,840 *pude* of musket & fine powder.

220 of cannon powder.

4,600 cannon bullets.

500 great granadoes.

3,500 hand granadoes.

190 *pude* of lunt.

2,000 *pude* of lead & bullets.

27 *pude* of *shraut*, cannon graith or *drobie*.

Besides hemepe, linnen, shuffles, spades, mattockes, cables and all sorts

¹⁰²⁸ *Striapchy*, second rank of “Moscow servicemen” from the gentry (by seniority: *stolnik*, *striapchy*, *dvorianin*, *zhilets*).

¹⁰²⁹ *Zhilets*, lowest rank of gentlemen serving at the Tsars’ court.

¹⁰³⁰ Falconet (Russian: *falkoneyka*, *sokolka*), light long-barrelled field cannon with calibre of up to 2 pounds. It was the standard artillery piece in Russian soldier and *streltsy* regiments.

of necessaries and instruments in abundance usually by a traine of artillery and for a siege.

Waggons in all the 12 regiments

In the 5 regiments of souldiers	1,689 waggons
In the 7 regiments of <i>streltsees</i>	1,552
By the traine wt powder, lead and all sort of ammunition	<u>481</u>
In all	3,722

Besides these of these who follow the army with all sorts of merchandize, and sutlers, whose number encreasing & decreasing are uncertaine.

Myne & these who attend on me with the waggons with the treasure are—264.

{474v} May 21, Tuesd. I marched early, and to avoid deep sands marched to the left hand eastward up to a high ground and so forward about 7 *verst*; and then came on sandy yet firme ground 7 *verst* further, whereby the horses were much wearyed, and with much ado gott to a low meadow ground well accommodated with grasse, wood & water, where I stayed all night.

This day came the Cosakes of Kumilgrod and others, being now about 300 horse and as many waggons.

22 [Wed.] In the morning haveing gott guides, they brought me with the army to the left round hills & sands to the river Don, about 6 *verst* below the *gorodok*¹⁰³¹ Ust-Chwapior, haveing marched in full battaillie with the *waggonburg* over plaine even fields 10 or 12 *verst*.

Haveing wiewed the place where I was to ferry over, I encamped on the high ground a short *verst* from the river.

After dinner I went downe and ordered 4 bridges to be made over a passe, and haveing ordered the boates with the provisions to come neerer to me, they came into a frith.

I received a *otpisky* from the *Dumny Dworanin* Simon Ivan. Yąsikow,

¹⁰³¹ Small town (Russian).

giving me notice of haveing {475} sent the provisions for 10,000 men at the rate of a 4t part of a tunne of bisket for a man, a 8th p-t of a tunne of ry meale, halfe a 8t part of *tolokna* and as much of oate groates. In all 5,000 tunnes of bisket, 2,500 of rey meale, 625 of oate groates and as much of *tolokna*.

Received also a letter from him, dated the 26th of Aprill. Rec-d a letter from Coll. Lima, dated 24th of April.

I caused empty 15 *baydakes* or *struges* for ferrying over the river.

May 23. About midday the *struges* being ready, I caused give to the *streltsees* 6, to the *soldates* as many, and to the Cosakes three. The first regiment of *soldates* & the 1st of the *streltsees* marched downe to the river and began to ferry over, putting 30 or 40 waggons with their provisions in a boat.

24. They continued ferrying over, and the Cosakes being all over and 4 foot regiments, I caused the ammunion to be transported in the 3 *baydakes* wherein the Cosakes went over. Wee caused all the horses to swimme over.

The sojourns & *streltsees* haveing petitioned for provisions, I caused ane order to be writt to the *dworanin* to give to them 2 weekes provisions, all but the Tambovish takinge.

{475v} May 25, Sat. I wrott to my wyfe, daughter and to Mr. Vinius by Fiodor Obonossuf his son.

Most of the regiments being over, I went over my self in the evening.

The river Don or Tanais was here above 500 paces broad & 3 or 4 fathome deepe.

26. These Cosakes who were sent to Pantshin returned and brought me a letter from a *Stolnik* Stephan Yakufi. Yakushkin, dated 23 May.

Coll. Lima came with 230 *struges* with *sapasse*¹⁰³².

27. All the regiments being over, I caused returne 11 *baydakes* and kept 4, loading therein [...] tunnes with powder & other provisions.

Writt to the *Stolnik* Stephan Yakuskin and in his a note to Coll. Evanitsky to follow the orders there.

Caused receive from the Tambovish sojourns 106 *pude* 37 pund of wooll, for which I caused pay 85 rubles 18 *altins* at the rate of 8 *grivnees* a *pude* or 2 kopikes a pund.

Rode out in the afternoone and caused try fowre of the mortar pieces.

¹⁰³² *Zapasy* (Russian), supplies or provisions.

One at the hight of 45 degrees shott 130 fathom, all the other 3 shorter & shorter, & the shortest about 90 fath.

Coll. de Lawzier came with 219 *struges* or *baydakes*.

{476} May 28, Tues. I decamped early and went up to a high ground, holding course south & by west, & breakfasted by wood and water on the right hand.

About 12 aclock I marched¹⁰³³ to the south east, and went very uneven by reason of the steep vallies, and encamped by the river Shuskan¹⁰³⁴ by good convenience.

This evening wee had an alarum, as if the Tartars were near, and haveing sent out a party to recognosce, wee found it was but some of our strayed horses, whom they brought along.

More wooll brought, so that it came to in all 113 *pude* 38 pund, & in money to 91 rubles 4 *altins* 4 *dengees*.

29. Wee marched early, all along the river Shuskan, haveing it on our right hand, and crossing 4 marishy places, detained us very long, so that againe [by] 12 aclock wee had marched but 5 *verst*, where wee dined by the same river Shuskan.

Haveing rested 3 howres, I marched, but by reason of the many marish passages & strait ground, it was near evening befor wee had marched 5 *verst* and then must encampe by the same r. Shuskan. This day wee killed 2 boares.

{476v} May 30, Thur. I marched early, 2 *verst* along the river, and then turned to the left hand over a high ground downe to the river Czire¹⁰³⁵, 4 *verst*, which runneth s.e. & by east, the other running s.e. & by south. Here, haveing sent 500 men befor, I caused make 3 bridges in one place & 4 in another, and haveing dined, marched over & encamped¹⁰³⁶ about 5 *verst* further by the brooke Dweretsky or two-brookes.

31. Marched early, and came about 5 *verst* to the heads of the brooke Gresnofky, where diverse bushes of oaken wood, but no water. And so marched about 8 *verst* further to the brooke Beresofky, where by the advice of the Cosakes I stayed all night.

¹⁰³³ *early* crossed out.

¹⁰³⁴ Tsutskan.

¹⁰³⁵ Chir.

¹⁰³⁶ *on the other syde* crossed out.

{477} June 1, Sat. I marched very early and came over a high ground downe to a valley where some rocks and good fodder, w-ch made me repent that I had not marched thither, being about 5 *verst*; then over a high ground againe, haveing the head or font of the r. Gnilusha on our left hand, downe to a valley, where I dined, being 5 *verst*.

Haveing caused make diverse *gattes* or bridges, I marched over, and keeping course w.s.w. all along the river about 10 *verst*, I lodged by it.

2. Haveing heard devotion, I marched all along the same river about 10 *verst* w.s.w., and then came to the r. Bistra, which haveing *gatted* or bridged, I marched over & dined. Here the Gnilush r-t or, as some call it, the Northerne Bistra falleth in the other or right Bistra, w-ch cometh from the east, 9 *verst*. After dinner marched all along the same river about 6 *verst*, and encamped by the same, still with good convenience of wood & grasse.

I ordered 800 men to be ready against the next day to go befor & prepare for the making a bridge over the river Donets.

On the left hand are 3 rivers, which fall into the r. Donets¹⁰³⁷, viz. 1) Czimla, which hath its font by that of the river Bistra; 2) Kushmak¹⁰³⁸ a litle further, & 3) Kahalnik; all which fall in the river Don by townes, to which they give their names.

{477v} June 3, Moon. I marched early along the same river about 5 *verst*, and then haveing notice of a narrow rocky passage on the road, I caus[ed] recognosce, and upon good information marched to the left to a high ground, and by the untimous advice of the Cosakes I stayed and breakfasted 3 *verst* further, near the place which they call the Kamine Rinek or stony market-place, being great stones or rockes set or placed unorderly not unlike to those on Salisbury plaine¹⁰³⁹, and appeared to us like the broken parcels of the walls of a ruined towne.

About 11 aclock I marched over hills and dales, in two whereof were water, and the horses being wearyed, wee scarce gott over the third dale or valley with water and encamped, haveing marched about 8 *verst*.

4. Marched at the ordinary tyme a *verst* and came to the 4th valley with water (being brookes haveing most subterraneous passages with deep lakes here & there). This wee *gatted* & marched over, and so haveing the

¹⁰³⁷ All three of these rivers fall in the Don, which Gordon himself notes below.

¹⁰³⁸ Kumshak.

¹⁰³⁹ Stonehenge.

river Bistra still about 2 *verst* from us, wee came to the river Donets (having baited halfe-way), 12 *verst*; this last brooke, which wee passed in the morning, being called Famin Kolodets or Thomas well.

{478} I went and wiewed the place which these I sent befor by the Cosakes advice had chosen to make the bridge in, but finding nothing but oaken wood which without pales cannot make a fleeting bridge, and the place so deep, and the streame or current so swift with sandy ground, that no pales could be gott fixed, I went & sought another place. And haveing found a place by the Cosakes foord not so deep, I ordered the bridge to be made there, and accordingly divided the worke among the regiments according to their respective numbers.

Haveing gott notice of 2 *budars* or great boates comeing up the river with dried fish, I sent a party to watch & lay hold of them, and another party to take these who might come downe the river.

June 5, Wed. I went in the morning and caused prepare materialls for the bridge, and levell the entryes to it.

Dispatched Fiodor Obonossuf with Gre- [*sic*] with a party of Cosakes to Czerkask wt a letter to the *Voysekovy*¹⁰⁴⁰ Ottoman Frowl Minayovitz, giving him notice of my being come this length, and desireing to be informed where I shall passe the river Don, and also that he send to that place as many great & small boates as possible, that my march be not retarded.

{478v} The floats being ready, these who were of fresh wood sunk immediately, but those of dry floated. But too many of the fresh being made, and proveing useless, wee were forced to send further up the river to seek dry wood.

I sent downe the river some sojourns to seeke up the *budars* who were comeing up, but they hearing of the armyes being here, returned downe the river a great way, so that they could not be overtaken.

June 6, Thur. I arose early and went to the place where the bridge was making and caused worke as much as possible, but the laziness, unwillingnes or unskilfulnes of the *streltsees* retarded the worke very much; and the beating in of the paaes or stakes, putting staves upon them, and tying the ends of the trees of the floates in 3 or 4 places to the staves (without w-ch it could beare no considerable burthen) tooke up much tyme. Wee

¹⁰⁴⁰ I.e. of the Don Cossack army.

made use of withy, sallow or willow for ropes, as also ropes made of the inmost bast of trees called *liek*¹⁰⁴¹.

7. I went downe early to the bridge, which the *streltsees* advanced but very slowly.

I gave orders to the *ottoman* to march over with the halfe of his Cosakes, and the rest to encampe neerer to our campe.

Guessing that wee should have too few floates, I gave orders for halfe a dozen more to be made.

{479} June 8, Sat. I went downe early and caused make hast with the bridge, which wee gott ready by 4 aclock afternoone, being just 80 fath. of 3 *arsb[ins]* long. I rode over first my self with the quarterm-rs and viewed & choose out the ground where wee should encampe. 3 regiments were gott over by sunsett and other 3 in the night.

9. By day light the ammunitiion with the traine marched over. At 7 aclock I marched over with the staffe, and by 12 aclock all the army had gott over, except the halfe of the Cosakes, to whom I sent orders to march.

The day being rainy and the day farr spent befor all were gott over, and the march to water too long, I resolved to stay all night.

I keepped the same order & figure as our armyes did in the Crimish expeditions in marching & encamping¹⁰⁴²; only because of the strait-ground I caused double the files of waggons, and sometymes reduble these of the regiments in the van, to the which the others following conformed.

{479v} June 10, Moond. I marched early, and being come near the river Kondrusha¹⁰⁴³, the Cosakes Lukian Maximuf¹⁰⁴⁴ [&] Jacob Afanassiuf brought me a letter from the Donish *Attaman* Frowl Minayovitz and the Donish Army in answer to myne of the 5th instant, showing many difficulties in passing this way, yet sending guides, and promiseing vessells to passe the r. Don and other rivers on the other syde.

Being come to the Kondrusha, I stayed and caused make 5 bridges over it in convenient places, and afternoone marched over and stayed on

¹⁰⁴¹ *Lyko* (Russian), bast.

¹⁰⁴² Gordon left us an interesting detailed plan of the Russian *wagenburg* (J.G. Korb, *Dnevnik puteshestviya v Moskoviyu (1698 i 1699 gg.)* (St.Petersburg, 1906), p. 284).

¹⁰⁴³ Kundruchya.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Lukyan Maksimov, *ataman* of the Don army in 1697 and 1701–8; killed on order of his rival K.A. Bulavin.

the other syde all night, haveing marched this day but 7 *verst*.

I caused give the guide Vasily, who guided us from the r. Don to the r. Donets¹⁰⁴⁵ a ruble.

11. Marched early about 7 *verst* to the south (as wee did the day befor) and dined at the heads of the Krimsky Bairak, where good convenience of wood, grasse and water. Afterwards marched to the banke of the river Don, haveing the Valutsky road and the brook Terek on the right hand, and encamped on the high ground, a litle below the Cosaks towne called Rosdora¹⁰⁴⁶, 9 *verst*.

This Rosdora so called because it [is] over against the place or illand which the Donets maketh when it divideth itself; that which runneth towards the south being called the Suchoy or dry Donets, because of its shallownes, and that towards the north being called Severny or Northerne Donets, by which name also the Donets befor it is divided is called. Now the towne, such as it is, is brought over & builded on this syde because of the bad neighbourship of the Assovish and other Tartars.

Our *budars* with the ammuniton wee found here, being come the day befor, and these with the provisions came in the evening.

{480} June 12, Wed. Caused give to the *Ottoman* Yakim Philippiuf 6 rubles, to his comorad Simon Terentiuf 5 rubles, to the two *yesauls*¹⁰⁴⁷ Ivan Andreuf and Andrew [...] each of them 4 rubles, because they were sent from the *Donskoy Attoman* with letters to me, and orders to all the townes to drive out all the Cosakes, and so had marched all along with us and taken great care and paines in watching & scouting.

I ordered pay for May month to be given out to the Butirsky and for June month to be given out to the Tambovish, with two weekes provisions to the whole army.

I tooke the elevation and found this place to be distant from the equator 48 degrees 26 minutes.

I caused 7 great boats to be emptyed & that with the wooll for ferryng over, and gave to each of the 6 foremost regiments a *struge* or great boat & 2 to the traine after a part of the Cosakes had ferried over befor.

The *Attoman* Yakim Philipuf with his comorades went to Czircask,

¹⁰⁴⁵ Should be vice versa: from the Donets to the Don.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Now called Razdorskaya.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Yesaul*, Cossack officer comparable to captain.

leaving another to command in his place, whom the Cosakes had chosen in a *krug*¹⁰⁴⁸.

13. A Cosake Wolodomir Dmitreuf came and brought 15 great boats with him (as he said) and a great many smaller vessels. But most of the great boats being of a small syze, and 5 thereof taken to another river, and the small ones loaden with provisions w-ch the Cosakes brought to sell, wee had but small assistance of them; yet continued ferrying over so well as wee could. I removed with the last 6 regiments downe neerer the river.

{480v} June 14, Frid. I kepted the Cosakes who were sent with the boats to dinner, and hastened ferrying over.

Afternoone I went over my self, and hearing of the *Voyskovy Attoman* Frowl Minayuf with the seniors coming to me, I caused set up all my tents & pavilions.

About 6 aclock at night the Cosakish *Attoman* sent to me, desiring to know where he could see me and speake with me. I told that he should come to me to my station. He sent againe to me with ane excuse that he was come by water and had no horses, desiring me that I should come to him at the river syde, which I excused. And so he consented to come to me, which he did in halfe ane howres tyme with all his seniors.

Wee had much discourse, all his and theirs tending to the diswadeing me to go to Assow befor the rest of the army should come; which I as hotly urged, showing the conveniency and necessity thereof. I showed them my commission, which in a letter to them ordered them with all their forces to joyne me and proceed to warr against the enemyes; to which they answered that they were willing and did submitt to their Ma-ties orders; and so, though unwillingly, consented to go, and seemingly submitted to my reasons. I entertained them with all sorts of liquor. They brought me a sheep, some bread and dried backs of sturgeons, and after some entreaty I promised to come and visit him.

So, haveing dismissed them, I tooke some of the collonells and *stolniks* with a guard along with me, and rode to the river syde where his tent was. He welcomed me, and haveing placed our selves on karpets and cushions, they entertained {481} me with brandy, beer and mede, and so haveing stayed about 2 howres, I returned.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Krug* (Russian for circle), Cossack council.

They delivered me a letter from the Boyar Boris Petrovits Seremetuf, giving me notice that he marched from Belagrod the 10th of May and was come to Columka r. the 28¹⁰⁴⁹; the letter dated there the 30th.

June 15. In the morning Ivan Semenuf sent to me a litle barrel of beer and some dried fish.

I went downe to the river to hasten over the rest of the regiments, and being over, I caused give to the *Dworanin* Trofim Pawl. Sterleguf 2 *budars* to loaden up the rest of the provisions, and 3 to the sojourns, 3 to the *streltsees*, and one to the ammunition masters; ordering all superfluous things to be loaden up on them, and stakes with *straub*¹⁰⁵⁰ to be cutt so much as they could hold.

About 11 aclock I marched after I had dispatched 4 Cosakes to Tzaritza with letters to the *woynod* of that place called [...] Nikitits Willeminuf¹⁰⁵¹, and in his one to Colonell Evanitsky; another to Colonell von Mengden and in that one to the Great Bombardirer; and one to *Kniaz* Boris Alex. Golitzin; commanding Evanitsky to make hast to me; and to his Ma-tie giving notice of all I could learne from the Cosakes of the state of Assow: how that they had no certainty of the comeing of more people thither; that they had made no outworkes, only {481v} fortified ane old wall some fathoms¹⁰⁵² from the towne or stone wall; mended a revelin or redout 10 fathome from the ditch; cleansed the ditch and made it deeper and wider, lyneing the wall within with the earth taken out of the ditch. The same to *Kniaz* Bor[is], and desireing him to dispatch Coll. Evanitsky to me in all hast, because I shall stand in need of more men when I shall come so neer to the towne as I intend.

Wee did meet the *Ziernovy stanitza* with Boris Daniel[ov] bringing the *kasna*¹⁰⁵³ for the Cosakes.

About 4 aclock I came to the r. Susat, w-ch is a arme or branch of the river Saal, and albeit I had sent 5 great boats for making of a bridge, yet

¹⁰⁴⁹ B.P. Sheremetev's campaign against Crimea was a demonstration to divert the Tatars and Turks from the main Russian thrust against Azov. The name of the river is properly Kolomak.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Stroh* (German), straw.

¹⁰⁵¹ Roman Velyaminov-Zernov († after 1713), *stolnik* and *voyeroda* who took part in Azov campaigns.

¹⁰⁵² Instead of the crossed-out: *about 500 fath.*

¹⁰⁵³ *Kasna* (Russian), treasury.

found nothing ready because the place was too broad; and notwithstanding all the hast I made, I could not gett the bridge ready.

I ordered 500 men with waggons, *Spanish ryters* and one cannon to go befor the next day for makeing a bridge of the river Manuits¹⁰⁵⁴. Gave orders to give a pund of powder mor for each sojour.

June 16, Sun. Haveing been present at masse early, I ordered all the colonells to come and hasten the makeing of the bridge, which wee gott with much ado ready about 11 aclock. At 12 I marched, and marching in 2 rowes of waggons over the bridge, I was gott over with all about 4 aclock. And so marching out into the *stepp* about 6 *verst*, I encamped after the ordinary manner.

Ivan Andreuf the Cosake brought a letter to me from Frowl Minayuf and the Donish army, informing that their scouts were returned in {482} safety; that haveing been below Assow, they had discovered a great many ships & *cattarhs*¹⁰⁵⁵ or gallions who had brought and landed 3 dayes ago a great number of men; that they had shott above 40 shott out of great cannon for joy from the towne; that ane exceeding great number of horsemen of all sorts of nations were come to the succours of the towne and encamped without the towne, whose vast number of tents & pavilions they had seen.

Wherefor they advised me not to march any further, but to stay on the other syde of the r. Susat or in any other convenient and secure place, and to writt to their Ma-ties, or at least permitt them to writt.

The Calmuke Tartars out of Czirkase did meet me, and towards evening being ane alarum, they threw cloaks and provisions from and rode in full carrear out into the *stepp*.

In the evening I sent for all the colonells, lt.colonells & maiors and held a counsell of warr, and caused read the Cosakes letter befor them, and asked their opinions & advice; which by the most of them especially was so mixed with perplexities, feares, scruples and insignificant projects, and so varying from my resolution and all reason, that seeing no {482v} settled and solid resolution or advice, I told them my opinion, whereof they all approving, I dismissed them. And so ordered the chan-

¹⁰⁵⁴ Manych.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Greek *κατέγων*, Turkish *kadirga*, a kind of galley.

cellours to returne an answer that I was on my way to the place whither I was ordered; that I could not stay in any place nor writt for orders; that there being such danger, they should make all the hast they can and joyne me with their army; that then wee shall consult what is best to be done. In the meane tyme they shall send out another party to gett certaine and particular intelligence and by all meane[s] to bring a prisoner.

June 17, Moon. Haveing dispatched the Cosaks messenger, I marched a plaine *step* or fields, where as all the way wee came were variety of all sorts of flowers & herbs, as sparages, wild tyme and majoran, tulips, liquoris, gilliflowers, mellilot etc.; and among these a flower like to that called maiden gilliflowers, the roots whereof being longish, white within, like to *cromikes*¹⁰⁵⁶ are (as wee were assured by the Cosakes here) excellent for drawing out of bullets or arrow heads, being bruised or powdered and drunk with brandy or any other liquor, and applyed thereto; yet the {483} first sufficeth, which is aproved, the Cosakes and Tartars, being destitute of surgeons or medicines, makeing continually use thereof.

Haveing marched about 15 *verst*, wee came to the river Manuits, which cometh a great way from the hills near the Caspian Sea and out [of] salt lakes, is brackish all along, but the nearer to the Don is the fresher. Wee marched directly south all this day. I encamped on the higher ground and reserved the meadow below for feeding the horses, and the vessels not being come whereof wee should make the bridges, I stayed all night.

Lent to the Chancellour Ivan Theoph. Protopopuf 6 rubles upon a note.

In expectation of the great boats whereof wee were to make a bridge to passe over I did nothing, being made beleieve that they would undoubtedly be here this nig[h]t.

June 18 [Tuesd.] In the night tyme considering and suspecting the Cosakes syncerity and fidelity, and that they being unwilling that I should advance under Assow till the comeing of the grosse of the army, and so did all to retard my marching further, and so either stopp'd the boats or ordered them to march slowly, I resolved to make a bridge so well as I could {483v} whereover to passe the army. I caused beat the revallie by the breake of day, sent orders for a 100 men of each regt. and a peece

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Kromka* (Russian), edge, rim or fringe.

of cannon to follow me to the river, as also to send all the cables, cords, axeltrees and other materialls downe to me; and then made a bridge of cable towes, laying under it bundles of *camise*¹⁰⁵⁷ or long reeds about 2 fath-s long and as thick as a man can fathome, and laying above the cables bundles of *chorost*¹⁰⁵⁸ or fassines and above these grasse. So send over the halfe of the Cosakes with their waggons befor, and causing the regiments march, I gott the army transported in 9 howres tyme.

About 5 aclock afternoone the *Attoman* Volodimier Dmitr[iev] came with the great boats to transport us, but the greatest halfe of the army being over, I would not cause take the paines to make a bridge of them, and so dismissed him.

I caused give notice to the *Attoman* that I was gott over the Manits.

June 19. Haveing stayed all night by the river, I marched early, being a great mist, and being gone about 7 *verst* directly west, I rested by convenience of good grasse & water, but no wood.

After dinner I marched about 15 *verst* and encamped by litle pooles of water over against the *gorodek* Manits, from the river Don about 6 *verst* west.

In the night tyme Ivan Andreuf brought a letter from the Donish *Attoman*, showing that {484} 2,000 horsmen from Assow had been there the day befor; that they could not be ready to march in some dayes, because they were distributing the money, ammunitiion & provisions sent from their Ma-ties.

June 20, Thur. I marched early about 7 *verst* and encamped by the river Don, west.

Caused beat a *strelets* with the *kenute*¹⁰⁵⁹ for abuseing his Colonell Affonasse Koslow and the under officers.

Gave orders to shoot of and cleanse the cannon and other armes.

21. I marched early, downe betwixt the lakes Lopatina & Ailubit¹⁰⁶⁰, and encamped a litle above Czirkasse, haveing the river or marishy brooke on our left hand, about 5 *verst*.

About midday the Donish *Attoman* Frawl Minaiuf with his comorades came to me and brought a Grecian prisoner, whom with other 6

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Kamysb* (Russian), rush, reed.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Khvorost* (Russian), brushwood.

¹⁰⁵⁹ See fol. 1.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Apparently Alitub.

the Cosakes had taken on Assovish Sea or Palus Meotis¹⁰⁶¹. I examined him befor them very particularly, to which he answered that {484v} his name was Fiodor Yuriuf, borne in the Crim in the towne Sultan Saray¹⁰⁶², by religion a Christian, by nation a Greek, by profession a trader in small wares; that he came in the beginning of January last upon the acco-t of tradeing to Assow; that at his comeing there were about 3,000 men in Assow¹⁰⁶³ when he came thither; that in March a *Bassa* called Murtesa came thither with a 1,000 men, halfe whereof foot; that the foot entred into the towne, the horse remained without in tents; that som weeks ago 4 ships arrived from Caffa¹⁰⁶⁴ with 500 foot in each shipp; that they expected from Constantinople as yet 3 ships and 10 *furcates*¹⁰⁶⁵ with men, ammunition & provisions; that how soone the spring came they had begun to fortify the towne by cleansing the ditches, lining the stone wall with earth, making batteryes and some outworkes; that Mustapha Bey commanded in the towne under the *Bassa* Murtesa; that he was returning to the Crim in a small ship whereon were 6 mariners, and in it 2 small iron guns; that they did not defend themselves, but upon the Cosakes attacking them rendred.

I caused unloaden 12 waggons and sent the provisions to the boats, to witt: a great *beluge*, 2 sturgeons, a great piece of sturgeon, a bagge with Termonds tent, 5 raes skins, 2 foxes, 1 *barsuke*¹⁰⁶⁶, a litle barrel of mede, 1/2 *pude* of stokfish, 9 backs of dried sturgeon, a fatt of salt herring, 1/2 *span* of cavear in graine, 1 *span* of other pressed, 1 *span* of *risikies*¹⁰⁶⁷, 18 lemons, a tunnie of cherries, 2 horse-combes, 10 horse decks, 3 warme decks, a great Dutch saddle, 2 great bridles. *2 red trunks wt cloaths, a great *shamadan*¹⁰⁶⁸ with linnens, 2 brandy cellars, 1 wyne, *podg*...^{*1069}

{485} June 22, Sat. The army being encumbred with so much baggage, I had given orders to abridge the number of the waggons, ordaining that every 6 men should have one waggon, a colonell 4, Lt.col. 2, maiors

¹⁰⁶¹ Ancient name for Sea of Azov.

¹⁰⁶² Now Ulyanovka, Crimea.

¹⁰⁶³ Clearly the strength of the garrison.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Medieval name for Feodosiya, Crimea.

¹⁰⁶⁵ A kind of galley.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Barsuk* (Russian), badger.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Ryzhiki* (Russian), saffron milk caps (edible mushrooms).

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Chemodan* (Russian), trunk.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Marked words crossed out. See below, fol. 486.

to one & capt., lt. & ensigne one, all the under officers of a company one. And so, as the day befor, they were busy ferrying over their waggons and swimming their horses.

In the afternoone the *Attoman* & his comorades came to me, being sent for, where wee concluded that our horses w-ch wee leave here should stay in the illand some dayes, and then be sent higher up; that the Cosakes should go one horseback, so many as be well mounted; that they should take 10 pieces of cannon with them, and they should ferry over the river on Moonday. I entertained them with white wyne & sugar and made them merry.

The *Attoman* Timofe Ivanuf, who had taken the ship, being sent with prisoners up the river to meet his M., I sent Mark Isrivuf along, writeing by him a *otpiska* to their Ma-ties, one to the Great Bombardirer, to *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn], to Coll. von Mengden & to Gen-ll Le Fort.

I was invited by them to come & see their towne.

I caused give to Mark halfe a ruble.

The Chancellour Gregory Mich. Protopopuf dying suddainly last night, was buried or rather for a tyme set by in the church in Czirkasse.

Received a letter from the *Attoman* sent to him from Boris Petrovits [Sheremetev] to me, with a tunne of beer and another of mede for me, w-ch I caused receive, though not full.

{485v} June 23, Sund. Haveing ordered a list to be brought in of all the waggons in the army, as also of their Ma-ties and other horses left here & taken along, of all the men sick and whole how many in the army, how many left with the horses and baggage at Czirkask, how many on the boates & floates, every coll. of a particular regiment brought in his. And finding the number of the waggons diminished, I sent orders to each particular regiment how many waggons should march in front, their being in the 5 *soldats* regiments 744, and in the 7 *streltse* reg-ts 1,154—in all 1,898. Of ammunition wag. by the regiments, of the officers & sojourns with the *streltsees* waggons besides these of the traine and spare ammunition, and my owne & the *stolnikes* and others belonging to the staffe, these of the traine amounting to [...]; myne & the treasure with others.

The 3 sojour regiment[s] on the right flanke to march 8 waggons broad in front, there being in that wing or syde about 500, makes 62 files. The 4 *streltsees* reg-ts on the left syde being 651 wag., I ordered to march 10 in

front, and so they must have 65 files. My sons regiment in the front to march 20 in front, and the other regiment of *streltsees* to march 25 in front. The regiment of sojourns in the rear to march 17 wag. in front, the one regt. of *streltsees* 15 and the other 13 in front, and so they will be equal to the 45 files of the 2 reg-ts in the van. Myne with the staffe to march 40 in front, as the traine also.

{486} June 23. Haveing heard devotion and breakfasted, I sent my son to the invitation in the towne, and marched over the marish or brooke Podpolna, which wee had bridged on our left wing, and then to another branch of it, which wee bridged also, and so keepest westward downe on the lower ground till wee came to the river Don againe and encamped by ane illand, haveing marched with the going about 12 *werst*, but if directly forward but 5.

On the way one from the Donish Army came to me, desiring that I should permitt them to buy and order the sojourns to sell some of their spare horses, which they had left; to the which I consented and sent the Capt. Timofe Kriftofsky along with him.

In the evening wee had a false alarum of the Tartars.

A note of what I have taken along of provisions: a great korffe with all sorts of spices and sweet-meats, another with cloaths, a third with flower bisket, a litle boxe with pipes and tobacco, another with tee and dishes, 3 bagges with rey bisket, a bagge with buckwhite groates, 2 bagges with wheat bisket, a bagge with wheat meale, a tunnie with lily *conval[lilium]*¹⁰⁷⁰, 2 tunnies of cherries, 1 with juice of cherries, 1 with vinegar, a tunnie of single brandy, a great bottle with sack, 2 Hollands cheeses, 1/2 fatt of honey, a tunnie of boyled mede, a tunnie of red *cannel*¹⁰⁷¹ waters, another of red clove waters, a tunnie of boyled mede or *metbeglin*, a bagge with *visiga*¹⁰⁷², the 2 red

¹⁰⁷⁰ Lily of the valley. "It strengthens the brain, recruits a weak memory, and makes it strong again. The distilled water dropped into the eyes helps inflammations there; as also that infirmity which they call a pin and web. The spirit of the flowers distilled in wine restores lost speech, helps the palsy, and is excellently good in the apoplexy, comforts the heart and vital spirits. Gerrard saith, that the flowers being close stopped up in a glass, put into an ant-hill, and taken away again a month after, ye shall find a liquor in the glass, which, being outwardly applied, helps the gout" (N. Culpeper, *The English Physician* (London, 1652)). Modern medicine, however, points out that this plant is toxic.

¹⁰⁷¹ *Cannelle* (French), *Kaneel* (German), cinnamon.

¹⁰⁷² *Vī(a)ṣṛīga*, dried spinal chord of sturgeon used in Russian pies.

trunkes with my best wearing cloaths & foure hundred rubles of James his money, a great *shamadan* with linnens, a *podglovek* with 90 & more rubles, a wine cellar, 2 brandy cellars, bedding, 3 Dutch sadles, 6 paire of pistolls, 7 long gunnes, tents, 7 sadle horses, 17 other horses for waggons.

{486v} June 24, Moond. Being the Nativity of St. John Baptist, I heard devotion and ane exhortation.

One came from the *Attoman* and Donish Army againe with a great regrait that their march would be hindred for want of horses, so I caused give them 10 of their Ma-ties horses & 20 waggons to hinder and take away all excuses and pretences for their further stay.

Received from Nikita Solochin 1 ruble 8 kopikes, being the rest of 150 kop. from Andre Diatskow & 160 kop. from Fiodor Sniatkof; 2 rubles 2 kop. being given to pay of Ivan Telepin.

In the night Timofe Belevin came from Mosko and brought me 4 Emp. letters. One out of the Ambassy Office, dated 3d May, informing that the Donish Cosakes had written to their Ma-ties the 29th of March informing of the Tartars & Turkes being sent out with the Nagayish of Assow to make incursions into their Ma-ties countreyes and to gett intelligence, and that they haveing gott notice of these enemyes, had sent after them Cosakes & Calmukes upon their heeles to curb them; and that now, the 6th of April, their M-s letters were sent with the same Gregory Belitsky, commanding them to use all their endeavours after their way of warring to curb and destroy these enemyes; and that they haveing gott notice of the enemyes signes, should writt and informe me of all; that therefor I, haveing notice of these things, should march warily, and give notice into the *Posolsky Prikase* by letters to their Ma-ties of all intelligence, which the Dons Cosakes should send to me.

{487} June 25, Tuesd. Another, dated the 18 May out of the Stranger Office, in answer to myne from Tambow the 28th of Aprill, concerning the 10 Russe officers who had not gott their advance pay for 2 months, and that the money is sent by the Chancellour Stephan Resantzow to be given to them.

A third concerning the addition of pay to the officers from the tyme that they remove from the place of rendevows and bookes with the officers names, how much pay each hath and how much hath been given advance on this march, and how much was given on both the Crimish

marches; ordering me to give notice of the reseat of these bookes and letters to Mosko into the Stranger Office with other things, dated 19 May.

The fowrth letter, dated 18 May, ordering this Captaine Timofe Belevin to be written in for maior in my Selected regiments.

I received a letter from Mr. Vinius, dated 26 Aprill, with gazettes; from Generall Krovkow¹⁰⁷³ of the 28 Aprill and 4th of May; from the Great Bombardirer of the 28 Aprill from Mosko and the 21th [*sic*] of June from the Upper Kurmanyar¹⁰⁷⁴, first all with his owne hand, the other titul and name.

I sent befor day to the *Attoman* for guides and stayed 2 howres for them. So they not comeing, I marched and hitting on the road to Assow, I marched about 7 *verst* and encamped by good convenience of grasse & water, west & by south.

About 1 aclock afternoone Ivan Kureva came and brought 2 guides with him, who told that wee were in the right way; that the place where wee are is called Manichin; that the *Attoman*, if he can gett over with all, will come and encampe by the Sapolna Kurgan.

{487v} June 26, Wed. In the morning I caused publick prayers to be made in all the particular reg-ts and in the *sabor*¹⁰⁷⁵ or cathedrall, and hal-low the collours. Then marched after wee had a sight of the Cosakes army on their march, and makeing often halts expecting them. I marches south west & by west 7 *verst*, where crossing the brooke Battay almost dry foot, wee marched 5 *verst* further and then turned downe to the right hand west a *verst* and came to the *saton*¹⁰⁷⁶ Koyssaka, a litle above ane arme of it called Mitishowa, where a dry *pristane*¹⁰⁷⁷ or brink, where I intended to have made a fort for securing the landing of the traine, ammunitiō & provisions; and caused draw it out and marke it of, but the *Attoman* comeing late, I

¹⁰⁷³ Matvey Osipovich Krovkov († ca. 1700), from 1677 major general, then lieutenant general and *vojevoda* in Yakutsk. He commanded the Second Moscow regiment of selected soldiers (Butyrsky) before Gordon. Evidently, father of *streltsy* Colonel S.M. Krovkov who fought in Gordon's division.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Tsar Peter's letter to Gordon of 21 June 1695 is preserved. It ordered Gordon to find a safe landing on the Don for Russian troops and artillery approaching to besiege Azov (*Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago*, I, No. 43).

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Sobor* (Russian), cathedral or principal church.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Zaton* (Russian), backwater.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *Pristan'* (Russian), landing or pier.

sent to him that he should enquire among his Cosakes, if there be no place neerer the towne where wee may land our traine etc.; and he desireing me not to make such hast with building the fort untill he should make better enquiry, and I haveing written to his M. and *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn] & intending to send Maior Roonaer with these letters, I sent him to the *Attoman*, that he should take some Cosakes along. But the *Attoman* told that they had made a long march and that their horses were wearyed, so that none of them would go (for he being elective, his command over them is but precarious and small).

{488} June 27. In the morning I sent againe to the *Attoman* that he should give some Cosakes to go along with my messenger, but he excused it saying it was dangerous, because they had seen some scouts of the enemyes on the tops of the hills.

The Cosakes with their army removing a litle beyond us, I rode along with the *Attoman* to seeke a mor convenient place of landing, and haveing guides, wee found a place neerer, but clogg'd with the necessity of make[ing] *gatts* or bridges. And so I remove[d] with the army and encamped by some *kurgans*¹⁰⁷⁸ or mounts of earth, the biggest whereof is called Scopin Krawl¹⁰⁷⁹, or Kurgan, west s.s. 4 *verst*. Here wee have a full view of Assow and the Kalintsheyow forts¹⁰⁸⁰.

As soon as I had drawne up on the ground where I was to stand, I caused fyre 3 pieces of cannon after the usuall manner. How soone I came in view of the forts and towne, they descryed us and so fyred a gunne from the fort, and immediately a sort of fyreworke was fyred & went up in a bleeze; and then they set fyre on all the houses and places about the towne. How soone I had encamped, I sent for all the colonells, and haveing a fort to be marked out, takeing in 2 mounts of earth into, I ordered workemen to be sent to it & to make *gattes*, and make ready horses & waggons for bringing up the ammuniion & provisions out of the boats, which were now come in wiew.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Kurgan* (Russian), mound or hill.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Skopina Krovlia or Skopin Karaul.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Named after Kalancha, a branch of the Don. These two stone towers stood 3 versts above Azov on both sides of the Don, being armed with cannon and linked with heavy chains, which blocked access to the sea.

{488v} About 2 afternoone Maior White¹⁰⁸¹ & Capt. Tourleville came & brought me letters from Gen-ll Le Fort and G-ll Achtemon Mich. Golovin; they being sent and in the letters I being desired to cause seeke up a convenient place for landing.

I dispatched Maior Roonaer with the letters written the day befor, and private instructions.

The Cosakes lodged behind us at their owne desire.

Received a letter from Mr. Kurtz, dated Vienna 20 Apr. '95; from Mr. Vinius, dated Columna 1 May, with gazettes.

June 28, Frid. By day light I sett all hands a worke for makeing the fort (it being distributed among the regiments) and sent 900 horses with waggons to bring up the provisions and ammunition.

29 [Sat.] I caused make hast with bring[ing] up the ammunition and provisions, and sent Kureva to his Ma-tie, desiring him to send orders what I shall do.

About 8 aclock some light vessells came, and in one *Kniaz* Jacob Fiodorovits Dolgorukoy¹⁰⁸², showing that his Ma-tie would be here shortly. Wherefor I caused make ready victuals and expected his M. to dinner, sending my brother in law to invite him; who returned with ane answer that he would come.

About 10 aclock his M. came, and the church being made ready by the river syde, he stayed and heard devotion, which lasted more as two {489} howres, I staying in the meane tyme. At last he was not pleased to come to dinner, but promised to come to supper; and so in the evening came accordingly with both the generalls¹⁰⁸³ and supped by me. At the lighting I caused fyre all the cannon, first out of 12 standing befor the tents, and then out of all round the *leaguer*, beginning at the Butirsky on the right

¹⁰⁸¹ Evidently, Adam Weide (1667–1720), major of Preobrazhensky regiment, engineer in Azov campaigns, later general who in 1698–1700 compiled Russian “Military Regulations”. After the battle of Narva he remained in Swedish confinement until 1710.

¹⁰⁸² Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky (Dolgorukov) (1639–1720), boyar. In 1687 he was sent as ambassador to France and Spain to secure support of these powers for the anti-Ottoman alliance. In 1689–95 head of Moscow Judicial Office. He took part in Azov campaigns, spent 1700–11 in Swedish imprisonment and after a bold escape became a senator.

¹⁰⁸³ Golovin and Lefort.

hand, and so as the sun goeth round, and thereafter out of the muskets the same way.

His M. haveing supped, wee held a counsell, and it was concluded that I with my army should march the next day; that the Donish *Attoman* should send out a party for intelligence, and that upon some notice I should acquaint his M. and then march.

{489v} June 30, Sun. I expected in the morning for the intelligence which the Cosakes should bring to me; and they came about 7 aclock and told that they had sent out a party, which had discovered some of the enemies scouts; and thereupon fearing a greater number, they had retired. So I went downe to the river syde, and expecting till his M. should ryse, I heard many strange opinions of the present expedition from the wysest heads.

His Ma-tie being rysen, I told him the notice he expected, and that it was high tyme to unloaden, and make bridges, and bring all into the fort. But he being prepossessed with ane opinion that there must be a harbour nearer to the fort, could not be perswaded to make any hast; albeit I haveing perswaded him to go to the fort and take a view of the place, he did see the impossibility of a neerer landing. So my march was deferred this day.

Being at dinner by G. Le Fort with his Ma-tie and others, I desired to know in what place I should encampe befor the towne, and haveing a table or carte befor us, his M. ordered me to take up the middle ground, and leave the right hand for the G. Achtemon Michael. Golovin and the left for G-ll Le Fort.

I caused bring the rest of the timber and other things out of the boates and from the *pristane*, & draw up the boats into a secure place, leaving besides the workemen a sojour to each of the Chwapior boats & 100 men in the fort.

Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Vinius, & the usuall to the noblemen.

{490} July 1, Moond. I marched early, ordering the Cosakes to march on our left hand, and sent out their Kalmuiks and light horsemen to scout and recognosce. After wee had marched 2 howres, our scouts brought intelligence that the enemy was drawing up after the hill, which made me change the resolution taken by the advice of the Cosakes to march the lower way, and to march directly up the hill. So haveing put all things in

the best order I could, I marched up the hill, alongst which I advanced in good order and readyness.

The Turkes and Tartars began first with light skirmishes, and then gave a fierce onset on the rear of both armyes¹⁰⁸⁴, which I perceiving, caused the army halt and hastened thither. The regiments in the rear receiving the charge with good resolution, plyed them so hott with cannon and muskets, that they were glad to gett further of. Two cannon being burst in the rear kept us a litle from marching, for¹⁰⁸⁵ the *l'affuits* & carriages being broke, I was forced to cause divide them among other waggons.

As wee began to march againe, the Turkes and Tartars rallying their forces, advanced all along the left wing skirmishing, and being come to the front, collected all their forces and charged so furiously our horsemen that they, being fewer in number, were forced to retire behind the batallions of foot. The foot with the help of the cannon played their part so well that they put the enemyes to such {490v} a confused retreat, that leaving their slaine and 3 prisoners behind them, they left the field and kept a great way of.

Then I began to march againe (for I had caused halt dureing their charge for fear of confusion), and advancing along the high ground, passed the heads of two streight valleyes. And then, because the sojourns & Cosakes and horses also were weary, I stayed a couple of howres & dined, the Cosakish *Attoman* and the chieffe persons about him dineing with me.

After the first great charge some of the colonells and gentlmen, apprehending greater danger as they needed, were perswadeing me to stay and entrench the armyes, which I refused. But now they all with the Cosakes began to perswade the same, and stay the rest of our forces; or, if I will needs go, then to march in the evening or befor day. But I remained constant in my resolution to march forward, and if the old wall be besett, to storme it; and so marched forward in good order circumspectly.

The Turkes seeing my resolution, began to retire the horse to the fields, and the foot who were standing on the wall by degrees to draw of. So I advanced forward to and within the wall without any further opposition.

{491} Being gott within the wall with the *waggonburg*, I caused draw out and marke of the lynes of a *leaguer*, and set all hands at worke. But the

¹⁰⁸⁴ I.e. Gordon's and Cossack divisions.

¹⁰⁸⁵ *all* crossed out.

cannon bullets flying over & amongst us, consternated some exceedingly, so that many advised to retire without the old wall. I knowing what a discouragement it would be for ours, and encouragement for the enemyes, denied altogether to assent to any such thing, and so caused proceed with entrenching the army.

The Cosakes I caused encampe on the right hand to secure a watering-place for us, and they likewise entrenched themselves within the old wall.

{491v} July 2, Tues. By day light I went round the *leaguer* and found the workes in a pretty good forwardnes, and I encouraged them to hasten.

Three regiments being sent along with me for bringing back the horses I had in the march as now lodged them in the midst of the army, and caused now writt up the horses with the overseers who should go.

About midday some foot out of the towne came out of the towne, round the old wall, and brought 4 pieces along, and planting them on the old wall, began to play into our *leaguer* on our left wing, and did us some harme, killing diverse persons. Wherefor I caused draw out about 1,500 men and a dozen of the lightest pieces with 2 or 300 Kosakes, & marched out my self with them round the wall, where all their horse were also ready, and had broke in within the old wall bravading. How soone I gott without the wall and caused some musquetiers fyre on these, they began to retire, takeing their 2 litle pieces with them, the foot with their 2 pieces keeping ground and fireing often. Yet I makeing great hast, they at last run {492} away and left their cannon. I encouraged our sojourns to make hast to take them, but few being forward, and they calling for more people, befor I could gett more brought up to help them, about 40 men were driven back by their commander & brought away their pieces. However, by this wee were freed from any more trouble this way.

Towards evening I caused all the horses and waggons draw out behind the *leaguer*, and the 3 regiments which were to convoy them, and then caused beat the tap-to¹⁰⁸⁶ through all the *leaguer* so long till they were gott without the old wall. But after they were gott out there was such a confusion among them & continued so long, that I found it not fitting to let them go, and so returned them into the *leaguer* againe.

¹⁰⁸⁶ *Tattoo* derives from Dutch *doe den tap toe* ("close the tap"), i.e. the signal to shut the taverns and get back to quarters.

This night I continued the securing of the *leaguer* with trenches, and heightened the wall befor.

I gave my letters for his M. & K[niaz] B[oris] Al. [Golitsyn] to Ivan Andreuf, who with others were sent to his Ma-tie with the prisoners, but the Turkes & Tartars falling on them in the night-tyme by the way, dispersed them, retooke the prisoners. Some of Calmuiks & Cosakes escaped on horseback, others left their horses & fled into the marish, among whom Ivan Andreuf who had my letters.

In the night the *Attoman* sent to me these newes, desireing me to writt to his Ma-tie for more help. I did writt immediately, but only his desire and not myne.

{492v} July 3, Wed. In the morning I caused the regiments with the *podwodes* to march out againe, which the enemyes cavallierie seeing, they marched out into the fields. The Calmuikes comeing, began to cry out that these handfull of people must be lost if they be sent away so, which so discouraged the sojourns and even the colonells, that they would not go. At last I offered to give them 1,000 men wherewith they were content to go.

So about 2 aclock afternoone they marched from hence, and being midway were attacked by the Turkes with great vigour, and being repulsed with cannon and musquets they retired. And so the convoy with the horses arrived in safety, some few being wounded but none killed.

I played with the our [*sic*] field or regiment cannon, as I had done the day befor, upon two bastions which they were hightening to shoot horizontally to our trenches and approches,—to hinder their workemen with pretty good effect.

I having viewed the conveniences on the right hand, where to lodge the army and make the approches, did writt particularly to his M. of all.

{493} July 4. Haveing advanced our trenches and closed them againe befor and made ready a place for a battery, I enlarged them, and made the wall high befor to guard us from the cannon and their small shott wherewith they began to annoy us. I caused make 50 or 60 gabions.

The Cosakes haveing entrenched themselves, began to draw neerer to the towne after their way by digging of holes.

I caused the cannon play upon the new bastion, which they continued to highten, and with their cannon from it annoyed us more as the day

befor. I placed the small mortar pieces which and [*sic*] played on the towne with good effect.

{493v} July 5, Frid. I caused make wider the trenches, make foot-banks, shooting holes and every thing else fitting for defence.

About 4 aclock afternoone the other 2 armyes came, haveing had but litle opposition on the way. I rode out and did meet them, about a *verst*, and consulted with his M. where they should stand, and went along and viewed the places of the stations, as where the approaches and batteryes are easiest to be made and with greatest advantage.

His M. resolved to stay without both the walls with Acht[omon Golovin] his army, to be out of danger, and then sent me to show G-ll Le Fort to his quarter, which haveing done and brought him to the left hand, and to stay that night betwixt the old walls of contra- & circumvallation, I returned and found that his M. had been enquireing for me. So he went with me to my tent and from [there] to the farthest advanced trenches, which were closed and compleeted befor, with a wall; which pleasing, he caused bring 3 mortar pieces, and cast 3 bombes into the towne, which wee said did fall well, albeit short, though set at 45 degrees.

In the evening the cannon from the towne played sharpe on G. Le Fort his quarter, so that he drew closs to the great wall and entrenched too throng.

After sunsett his M. and the p[rinci]p[a]ll persons of that army with the enginiers came to {494} me and wee went out to view the place where the wall of contra[va]llation should be made, wherein the enginiers did not agree, and by his M. decisive determination yet the chieffe enginier¹⁰⁸⁷ would not undertake to do it in the night for fear of being mistaken in drawing streight lynes; and notwithstanding I offered my assistance, yet all would not help.

This night I caused only secure the approches I had made, because I was gott farr befor and stood bare on all sydes.

{494v} July 6, Sat. In the farthest trenches I caused make ready a place where to place some mortar pieces, by setting and filling gabions and securing them with earth on both sydes, digging up and makeing even all

¹⁰⁸⁷ Frans Timmerman, Adam Weide and James Bruce were the engineers in the first Azov campaign. Russian historians believe that the former was the chief one.

the loose earth within. Here and behind were placed 8 mortar pieces, out of which they began to shoot about midday.

Notwithstanding I caused send out all the horses and waggons of my army, and likewise 4,000 foot were advanced out to convoy them; yet upon some petty scruples of nicenes and formalities these stayed the whole night in the fields in a sory posture.

In the evening wee discovered some gallies at sea, being about 20.

This night the G-ll Acht[omon] Mich. did begin to digg the lyne of contravallation, which they made pretty near the towne and brought near to my trenches.

7. Some boats went out of the towne downe the river to the gallyes rideing a good way of in the sea, and returned with more into the towne, wee not being in a posture to hinder them. These were succours & pay for the besieged.

{495} I advanced my trenchees with one lyne this night, going to the left to come neerer to Gen-ll Le Fort, who had planted 4 cannon on 2 batteryes within and not farr from the old great wall, and though at a great distance, shott at the towne, without any great effect.

Wee sent away about 3,000 horses & waggons to fetch more cannon, amunition & provisions, who marched and came thither in safety without any great trouble or being attacked.

About 4 aclock in the afternoone the Turks made a great outfall on Gen-ll Le Fort his quarter or *leaguer*, into which they did fall, killed and wounded many, yet by our¹⁰⁸⁸ timely comeing with succours they were repulsed.

2,000 Cosakes ordered to guard Gen-ll Le Fort his *leaguer* untill a ditch should be digged to the river.

{495v} July 8, Moon. I caused make ready a battery for cannon, w-ch could not gett brought to perfection this day; but gott another ready to plant mortar pieces in, and put 4 therein, played with good effect, and fired the towne in diverse places, which they extinguished however.

3 cannon planted on Achtemon his battery, which played the whole day without any visible effect.

9. Notwithstanding the working the whole night, being divided

¹⁰⁸⁸ I.e. Gordon's division whence 2,000 soldiers and *streltsy* were sent to relieve Lefort.

amongst the regiments, yet by day light the battery was not ready nor the cannon planted, untill I came my self. And then setting all hands at worke, I gott all ready by 9 aclock and planted 16 great & lesser pieces and immediately played on the towne, on their batteryes and towers, and by all appearance dismounted most of their {496} cannon, for they left of fyreing; and at 4 aclock afternoone shott downe the great watch tower which did us great harme, and this much animated our men.

The Turks or rather some *ochbreans*¹⁰⁸⁹ (who are not only shismaticks in the Greek Church, but deserters and rebels) stole into Gen-ll Golovins trenchees, tooke of a sojourns head and caryed a prisoner away with them.

July 10. I planted 6 cannon more on another battery and played all along the batteryes on the s. east syde of the towne, with wished success.

In the evening Benedict Andr. Ismeyow came with ammunition & provisions, and with him one of my Low Countrey regiments consisting of 800 men.

In the night there was a great alarum in G. Le Fort his quarter, for ane excursion out of the towne was made by how many I know not. But they hearing a great detachment of my people marching over the ffields, retired and in passing did fall on my workemen; who retireing, and being guarded by the ordinary and {496v} succoured by the parade guards, easily evaded, and so the Turks retired into their towne.

July 11. About 400 Cosakes sent out in boates to fetch intelligence.

*Our convoy ordered to be*¹⁰⁹⁰ ready against the next day.

Wee were advised to attempt the takeing of the neerest tower of Kalentzay, to the which the Cosakes offered themselves. So to 200 men 2,000 rubles was promised.

Received letters from¹⁰⁹¹ the *Dummy* Ukrayintzuf & Vinius.

I urged the speedier making of the approaches, representing the danger of delays in a siege.

A battery made neerer the river, to the right hand, and cannon planted thereon by the Cosakes, which had good successe.

¹⁰⁸⁹ A nickname for Russian Old Believers (*raskolniki*) some of whom fled to Turkish dominions.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Crossed out.

¹⁰⁹¹ *my wyfe* crossed out.

{497} July 12, Frid. Wee dispatched another convoy of 4,000 men with about 3,000 *podwodes* for ammunition & provisions.

Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinius, L[ev] Kir. [Naryshkin], Tich[on] Nikit. [Streshnev], Yem[elyan] Ukray[ntsev], Acht[omon] Ivanuf and others.

I urged and compleeted another lyne of communication with Acht[omon] Mich. his people, but could not compass that on the left hand, they makeing but slow progress there.

Planted more mortar pieces on another battery.

13. The Astrachans and Yaickyes horsemen came, being 2,300 men, and the Turkes & Tartars flying at our forragiers, these went out to succour them, and were pretty well beat for their paines.

Powder some barrells blew up at the *pristane*, whereby many were spoiled & some killed.

A counsell by me againe about the takeing in of the Kalentzay tower, and resolved to put the designe in action this night.

{497v} July 14, Sun. Ane howre befor day our Cosakes, sustained by a regiment of sojourns, attacked the hithermost tower of Kalentzay by way of surprize; and the petard to the iron doore working no effect, the Cossakes with mattocks digged and made a large hole at one of the cannon ports, at which they entred. They within shott and threw stones, as from the other tower also with cannon, which continued about ane howre. At last they haveing closed themselves into their chambers, were forced to render, some throwing themselves into the river and were drowned, one only escaping. 15 prisoners were taken and 15 pieces of cannon of different syzes, with some barrells of powder & ammunition, but litle or no victuals.

Hereat was much rejoycing, and a *Te Deum Laudamus* sung with a volley of small and great shott.

A German seaman christened Russe run over to the enemy.¹⁰⁹²

{498} July 15, Moon. The Turkes haveing gott intelligence from the traitor run over the day befor, that the trenchees which I had caused make to the left to bring up G. Le Fort and were advanced about 60 fath.

¹⁰⁹² He was the sailor and bombardier Jakob Jansen, a Dutchman. This entry is inserted in smaller hand.

were not compleeted nor under defence, and that the Russes ordinarily sleep and rest in the heat of the day, sent a shismatik as a Cosake out of a garden over growne with hempe all along the trench, and speaking Russe told he was a Cosake going to his comorades; which they trusting, made no stirr. And he seeing them so secure, gave notice to the Turkes, who were come into the ditch in great numbers, and now ready, did fall on with great celerity and force, and were in the utmost trench cutting in peeces the secure Russes (being the *streltsees* quarter) befor any alarum was given.

So in confusion the *streltsees*, throwing away their armes, tooke them to their heeles and deserted all the utmost trenchees; neither could be gott to stay in the great battery, where were 16 peeces of cannon great and small, the latter being planted towards the fields, and the place (with only two entryes) indifferently well fortified. In this place my son beat them thrice of, but all deserting him, at last he himself being wounded, was forced to retire.

In the meane tyme wee getting the [a]larum in the *leagner*, I tooke the particular parade with me and ordered the rest to follow, & {498v} gave orders to send notice to the other armyes. How soone I came near, and seeing our *streltsees* running, I sent back to hasten the succours, and advanced my self with the few sojourns I had; and by that tyme I had brought the runners away to a stand the rest of the sojourns came up and put the Turkes to a confused flight, and drove them out & over the trenchees. And notwithstanding my ordering the Russes to stay and maintaine their ground in their trenchees, they followed the Turkes closs to the ditch; where the Turkes keeping stand and getting fresh men with their *bassa*, with a hideous clamor did fall on from diverse quarters, and put our men to a confused flight; who could not be perswaded to ma[i]ntaine their ground in the trenchees, but running confusedly over the trenchees and by the redout wherein the cannon stood, all over the fields in such confusion and with such a panick terrour, that I never see the lyke.

For if but one hundred men had come into the redout, they had stoppd the Turkes carreer and saved the cannon; which whilst I strove to perswade, and staying too long in hopes that some would stay by me and defend the redout, I had almost been lost. For the Turkes persuing with great celerity and eagernes our terrified souldiers, were gott so near that

they had almost cut of my passage. Whereof being minded by those about me, I mad hast to follow, and with the help of my son and a sojour gott further of; and getting over a trench, with great ado stopped the flying {499} multitudes. Yet by no perswasions nor threats could gett even the colonells and the sojourns to make any vigorous resistance, to releev our cannon, which the Turkes had possessed, and were busy nailing the great and carrying away 7 small field pieces, which were planted in the redout for defence of it towards the fields. Albeit to animate these discouraged and faint-hearted people I caused cry out that the Cosakes had taken in the towne by the river.

At last more help comeing, the Turkes retired, and wee after three howres fighting tooke possession of our trenchees againe, being learned by this mischieffe to be more vigilant and more dilligent in fortifying the redouts & trenchees. Wee lost here some good officers and sojourns to the number of 3 or 400 of my army, among whom one colonell, 2 captaines, 4 lievtennants and 5 ensignes; my son and 2 other colonells, 1 lt.colonell and about 20 other officers, and about 500 sojourns wounded. The Turkes had great loss also, of whom there could be no less as 5 or 600 killed.

{499v} July 16, Tuesd. I caused repair the approches, clear the cannon which were nailed, fortify the redouts, and urged the advancing of the approaches on the right & left hand, especially the line of communication on the left, that I might not be left bare to such assaults & attacques againe. Yet with small success, because all went so slowly forward, none almost showing any alacrity.

Caused bury the dead, some dyed of their wounds.

In the night tyme the Turkes quitted the other fort at the Kalentzay, which our Cosakes in the morning perceiving invested. 20 cannon were here gott, some booty and ammunition, but litle provisions. Great joy hereat.

Post came from Mosko with l-rs of the 3d July.

His M. chide the coll-s & *streltsees* for not doing their duty at the sally and threatened them.

17. Writt to my wyfe, da[ughter], Mr. Vinius and the Russes to whom I used to writt.

His M. tooke me along to the Kalentzay towres. I desired him concerning my buriall place, which to compleet and cover had been hindred in Mosko; he promised to writt about it.

The long looked for *Biskirtsees*¹⁰⁹³ came, together with our convoy with ammunition; many waggons coming empty, by reason of the passage by water being cleared.¹⁰⁹⁴

Many boates came to the Kalentzay towers.

Placed the cannon in their former places and the mortar pieces in a new redout.

{500} July 18, Thurs. The Tartars appeared befor our army, and our horsemen newly come, haveing their heads well heated with brandy, rode out to skirmish with them, without the assistance of any foot; and in short tyme, being not well governed, were beat all back. Their chieftaine Benedict Chitry¹⁰⁹⁵, in hopes to remedy this, commanded the Ufinsky Cosakes to light from their horses and with their long guns stopp them, but such who alighted being deserted by the horsemen who could not be gott to rally, nor seconded by foot from Achtemon Mich. his *leaguer*, which being very near should have been done, 50 were killed, a gentleman Vayikuf¹⁰⁹⁶ taken, and one Plemenikuf killed¹⁰⁹⁷.

Hereupon a counsell was called by me. I urged 3 things: 1) the completing the line of contravallation to the river below, to hinder the passage of the horsemen to and from the towne; 2) the sending a party with cannon and ammunition over the Don, and to erect a fort there to batter and infest the towne from that syde; the 3d) to make and fortify the Kalentzay towers. The 2d was approved, and the other 2 to be taken in consideration, wherewith I was not well satisfied, all going so confusedly and longsome forward, as if wee made no earnest.

A bridge was begun to be made on floats over the Don to the Kalentzayes illand.

{500v} July 19, Frid. The approches went forward but slowly on the left hand, and on the right hand had not such dispatch as should.

Wee held another counsell, wherein wee only agreed to send over a

¹⁰⁹³ The Bashkirs, Turkic and Moslem semi-nomadic people living to the south-west of the Ural mountains.

¹⁰⁹⁴ The capture of both Kalanchi towers has greatly shortened and facilitated the Russian supply route.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Probably, Venedikt Yakovlevich Khitroy (Khitrovo) (1637–1706), *stolnik* and *voevoda*.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Voyeykov. and *Mottevilluf* crossed out.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Instead of the crossed-out: *taken*.

party of 4,000 men to build a fort on the other syde, and with cannon and bombes annoy the besieged from thence.

The post came and brought me letters from my wyfe & the Boyar Troykuruf.

The Turkes & Tartars horsemen offered to fall into the meadows by the Kalentzay, but were hindered.

I detached 2 regiments, being about 1,500 men, to go over the river with *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. Dolgorukoy.

The engineer Albert Joseph Murlot¹⁰⁹⁸ came hither.

20. The line of communication with G-II Le Forts army finished.

Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinio & Troykuruf & others.

In the night tyme *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. [Dolgoruky] went over with his detachment and posted himself in the garden which I had shewne him. Yet by reason of the deep way all the regiments got not to the appointed place.

{501} July 21, Sun. In the morning the horsemen showed themselves in great numbers befor our *leaguers*. About 10 aclock they began to passe over to the illand in boats & swimme their horses, which I haveing notice of, sent to the other armyes, telling them that it is necessary now with our horsmen sustained by foot to fall on these who remained, or at least it might be a meanes to make them returne. But the others valued it but litle. Yet I, fearing that they might fall on our party who had not as yet well fortified themselves, went to his M. and represented the business to him, who approveing thereof, went with me to *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn] and after some excuses ordered the horsemen to be sent & 1,000 men of each army to sustaine them.

How soone I returned, I ordered a 100 of each regt. to be ready with a piece of cannon & 10 *Spanish ryters*, and drawing them up within the wall, marched out with displayed collours without the wall a good way and halted, haveing *Spanish* or *Frisish ryters* round, expecting the horsmen and foot from the other armyes. But they not willing to do any good by any others advice but their owne, nor that I, who offered my self to command them, should gaine any honour, delayed to send any, and afterwards absolutely refused.

¹⁰⁹⁸ A.J. Murlot († 1695), Swiss military engineer. He was killed near Azov on the night of 16 August.

Yet that I might do something, and to conceale such disorder & dissension from the armyes, caused erect a fort in the outmost corner of the great wall for safeguard of the campes, and stayed {501v} till it was brought into a tollerable defence, and then marched into the campe. In the meane tyme so much good was done that when the Turkes & Tartars saw me marching out, and (as it seemes) they thought, with a resolution to attack them, they returned all over the river againe and that in such hast, that not staying for boats they threw themselves into the river swimming in their cloaths by their horses; whereby our party was releevd of a great danger. For these who were in the garden had not gott themselves into any tollerable defence, and some of the party were on the illand without any defence but their *Spanish ryters*, not being able to joyne the rest.

In the night tyme James Bruce dyed.

The same night Coll. Le Duit, who with his regiment & others had not joynd the others, by the favour of the darke night gott to the rest.

July 22. The fort at the old wall compleeted and 200 men with 2 field pieces placed therein.

About midday 2 Hungarian Protestants came over to us, but for want of any who could speak their language wee could learne litle of them.

{502} I rode to the other *leaguer*, his M. came twice to me in my campe.

Our aproches advanced on the right hand, and G. Le Forts, but not much.

The floating bridge over the Don compleeted.

In the evening James Bruce buried. Received of his money 2 rubles 30 *altins* and 10 ducates.

July 23. I caused make great hast with advancing the aproches. Wee were twice alarumed with outfalls. Our people, haveing gott near to a wind milne in the night-tyme, burned it.

4 great cannon and as many mortar pieces with sufficient ammunition sent over to *Kniaz* Jacob Fiodorovitz [Dolgoruky].

Wee had a counsell, where with much ado I prevailed to send a party to stopp the passage of the horsemen into the towne.

Slow progress on both sydes in the approaches.

{502v} July 24, Wed. Writt to Mr. Woolffe, Krevet, W-m Gordon in Ab[er]d[een] about James Bruce his legacy, and to my son in law.

A party of 3,000 foot sent out under my sons command with 18 field

pieces to guard the passage and hinder the horsemen from going in or out of the towne; whom I convoyed to the place my self in good order.

Provisions distributed to all in the army in abundance.

25. By day light the Turks and Tartars made an excursion into the medowes by the river, and had like to have done great mischieffe, if not tymely prevented by the horsemen from the Kalentzayes and the foot from the campe. Yet they tooke 2 prisoners of ours, a serjeant and a voluntier.

*A sally on the new workes by Le Fort. 2 prisoners taken, one a black.*¹⁰⁹⁹

I dined by G. Le Fort.

Given to the officers & Butirsky sojourns pay for the months of June & July *whereof 2,143 r. 9 *alt.* 1 *dengee* received out of Gen-ll Golovin his army, and of the *shatrov* money*.¹¹⁰⁰

Concluded to bring over the regiments from the other syde and send 400 men of myne and Acht[omon] his army, who with 200 Cosakes are to maintaine that post.

{503} July 26, Frid. I sent the 400 men over the river to releev the 2 regiments.

The Turks from the towne did fall out on Le Fort his new line, which he was causing make towards the river, and did great harme, wounded Coll. de Lauzier. Yet, being succoured by 500 of these sojourns under my sons command, the Turks were repulsed; 2, ane Arabian and a Turke taken, who told us particularly of all things wee could ask, yet not being trusted, it was resolved to bring them to the torture.

The 2 lines, which my regiments of foot and the *streltsees* made, closed befor, and begun to be fortified with a brestworke.

27. Breakfasted by Acht[omon]. Rode afterwards by G. Le Fort, and afterwards by the party under my sons command.

I caused begin 2 new lynes, one on the right hand by the sojourns, the other on the left by the *streltsees*.

{503v} July 28, Sun. It having been concluded to send a writeing in the name of us 3 generalls¹¹⁰¹ to the besieged with perswasions and

¹⁰⁹⁹ Crossed out. See below, fol. 503.

¹¹⁰⁰ Marked words added at bottom of page. *Shatrov money* is apparently money from *Razriadny shatior*, the Russian military camp office.

¹¹⁰¹ Gordon, Golovin and Lefort.

reasons to render, about 10 a'clock in the morning 2 Cosakes were sent with the letter, on the syde of the towne by the river above, and calling by vaveing their capps to the Turkes, two came out and received the letter, promising to have it interpreted and send an answer to it. So to this purpose a truce for 3 howres was desired & granted, and after the prefixed tyme an answer was brought with a deniall to render. So defiance was given, and both sides began to fyre againe.

The post from Mosko came and brought me letters from my wyfe, da-r, Vinio, Guasconi and the Russe lords with whom I correspond, of the 9th & 16 instant.

All hopes of rendition being vanished, wee resolved to advance our approches with greater earnestnes. So I went with the other g-ll by G. Le Fort and into his trenchees, and to animate him promised to advance 40 or 50 fathome further downe, and he to advance towards the river, so to environ the towne the better.

With much ado I prevailed with those on my right hand to possess a hill very convenient for annoying the towne.

{504} July 29, Moon. Writt to my wyfe, da-r, Guasconi, Vinio, Krevet and the noblemen.

About midday the Tartars stole downe to the meadowes by the Kalentzay and drove away some horses, yet were intercepted some of them, and gott much damage by the foot out of the *leaguer*, especially the Cosakes, who among the reeds in the marish did them great harme.

This day was a lt.coll. called Simon Brenkofsky killed by a blow of a piece of a bombe, though no wound appeared.

In the night the towne was fyred by our bombes, which consumed many houses.

30. All being impatient and earnest to have an end of the business, and storming being the only meanes spoken of by those who did not understand what belonged to it; and these who were most desirous to returne urged it continually. So a project was made of calling *uchotnikes*¹¹⁰² or volunteers, who should choose their owne officers, and promise made of 10 rubles a piece, and the officers to be rewarded extraordinarily. Whereof the sojourns, Cosakes & *streltsees* having notice, 2,500 of the Cosakes did writt

¹¹⁰² *Okhotniki* (Russian), volunteers.

in willingly, and more, if permitted, were ready. But the sojourns & *streltsees* came not so forwardly in, yet {504v} it being ordered that 1,500 of each of the three armyes should be written in, the number was gott compleeted.

I oftentimes represented the confusion which would ensue with so great numbers, unexpert officers and want of good direction and order and command, but nothing would help, so I must go along with the streame, if I would not take the blame of all the delays and stay here. So I must by command make ready storme-ladders & bridges.

Writt to my wyfe and Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] about my buriall place with my petition sent by his M. to T. Nik.

July 31, Wedn. Our trenchees advanced I to the left, to gett G. Le Fort joined to me.

My son with his party returned to the *leagner*, after I had caused digg a trenche crosse the way.

Some cannon were planted on batteryes this day, which played to good purpose.

{505} Aug. 1, Thurs. The Turkes and Tartars rode round our *leagners*, without offering any assault.

G. Le Fort well advanced with his trenchees, & a battery set up. I went now, as every day, 3 or 4 tymes through all the trenchees.

I supped by G. Le Fort.

2. Rec-d letters from my wyfe, Mr. Guasconi, Vinus and the noble-men of the 23d July.

Some Tartars haveing gott over into the illand, tooke away some horses at the end of the bridge.

The Hetmans nevoy Ivan Pawlovits Obedofsky¹¹⁰³ came to Czirkask.

Some men killed by the cannon from the towne, they haveing erected 2 new batteryes after the other were beat downe and their cannon dismounted.

A counsell of warr, where his M. with others. Here it was urged with great heat to storme on Sunday next, albeit I protested that the approches must be brought neerer the ditch first, and a ditch so farr as possible

¹¹⁰³ I.P. Obedovsky (Obidovsky) (1676–1701), nephew of Hetman Mazepa, colonel of Nezhin. In 1695 he led Ukrainian Cossacks at the siege of Azov. He was killed in battle against the Swedes.

round the towne, and near the ditch made for defence and safeguard of the stormers in case beat of. But all could not prevaile. A resolution was taken, and accordingly ordered.

{505v} August 3, Frid.¹¹⁰⁴ Writt to my wyfe and Mr. Vinius.

The Hetmans nivoy came to the campe.

Made up 2 redouts, secured with good brestworke.

I caused make storme ladders and bridges for all the armyes, and bring bundles of green reeds in stead of fassines.

4. In the night tyme the Cosakes, keeping good watch by the river, intercepted a boat comeing from Assow with 5 Turkes in it, killed an *aga*¹¹⁰⁵ called [...], tooke a Turke alive, the other 3 escaped.

A Greek about midday came over from the Turks and gave us this intelligence: that the Turkes, with the 1,300 sent them at 2 severall tymes, were at the beginning of the siege 6,000 men; that a 3d part of these were killed, dead, sick and wounded; that they had brought diverse countermines without the ditch, especially at the buryall places; that there was scarcety of ammunition, as also of provisions; that much of their provisions had been spoiled by the fyre; that the besieged had resolved to defend and hold out to the last.

{506} In the evening I tooke the Greek into the trenchees, and he shewed me the places where the mines were made.

In the evening¹¹⁰⁶ his M. by me.

I could not prevaile to deferr the storme, notwithstanding all the reasons I urged to the contrar.

Wee caused draw up the voluntiers in order with the officers, w-ch they had chosen out among themselves. I exhorted them all, and every regiment apart, to behave themselves lyke men, which they promised. Yet I saw many things in this designe which I did not lyke, as the numbers of the voluntiers, which would breed confusion; the fewnes of the officers with their unskilfulnes, which could not but breed disorder; their too great confidence or folly not to accept of the ladders, bridges or any other helps. And even I perceived a repentance on many of their countenances of what they had undertaken, all which prognosticated no good; which I also represented to

¹¹⁰⁴ A slip, should be Saturday.

¹¹⁰⁵ *Ag(h)a*, Ottoman military officer comparable to colonel.

¹¹⁰⁶ Instead of the crossed-out *night tyme*.

his M. in the night tyme, and told plainly that it was no wisdome to storme a place wherein the besieged had resolved to fight obstinately to death without breach made either by {506v} mine or cannon, and without the help of ladders, which they would not take along with them; as also at such a distance, being 40 or 50 fathome from the ditch.

Haveing dispatched all towards the trenches, I went thither my self, whither also shortly thereafter the G-II Achtemon Michaelovits came.

In the 2 houre of the night his M. sent to tell me that he would come to my tent and speake with me. Being come with the other gen-lls, there was no discourse but of storming and takeing the towne, all which I could not hinder, but say as others, albeit my mynd was farr from presageing any good success. The *streltsees* of both armyes, not haveing roome in the approaches, stayed behind.

Aug. 5, Moon. The break of day being perceived, I sent orders to the *streltsees* to march into the trenchees, and then to beat the revally, which was the signe of falling on. But the formost showing no great forwardnes, some tyme past befor wee {507} gott them to march out, and then too with no great alacrity. Yet they went forward, and I haveing ordered the Butirsky and Tambofsky sojourns to march to the left hand and fire continually at the corner bastion, they played their part very well. But the other regiments, who were ordered to march towards the right hand and closse to the Don, did rather follow the other; and so, declining to the left hand and coming among gardens, they choose rather to lurke there as to assault the wall resolutely.

The Butirskyes and Tambofskyes sojourns, haveing silenced the shott from the walls of the bulwarke, advanced with great alacrity, and stormed it, climbing up the wall without ladders, which was easy enough by reason of the severall degrees of the pletted hedge. But being come to the top thereof, there they found great resistance, for the Turkes fought like desperate men; and albeit ours attacked them bravely, yet they were not able to enter the bulwarke. Here the *Bey* or governour of the towne was killed. The other regiments who were below not offering to assaile {507v} the places allotted them, nor to assist these who were assaulting the bulwarke, encouraged the Turkes very much, for without all fear they shott at these who were crouded together among the gardens and lay open to the shott from the wall.

In the meane tyme these on the left hand had been doing nothing all this tyme, till ours were wearyed and beginning to retreat. Then they did fall on with success much alike to the others.

I found it high tyme to order them to retyre, but his M. haveing been in the night tyme to order the Cosakes, who were to come downe in boats and attack the towne from the river, was not returned as yet to the appointed place where he said he would be; and without his licence wee durst not order the stormers to march of; neither was there a 3d part of them remaining, for many of the sound were gone of with the killed and wounded.

{508} The boats which came downe the river, being about 20 and about 400 men in them, came tyme enough, and haveing received some shott from the towne without losse, clapt ashore at the shore low downe and landed, but were not able to do any thing by reason of the strong and vigorous resistance of the besieged; and so gott into their boats againe and rowed downe the river.

The [enemy] horsmen all this tyme were infesting our *leaguer*, whereof wee tooke litle care, being sufficiently guarded.

Wee haveing stayed too long for orders, and getting none, I gave order to retreat, resolved rather to hazard displeasure, then loss more men unnecessarily.

{508v} Thus this business, untimely and inconsiderately begun, and urged by Rehoboams¹¹⁰⁷ counsellours, as I may say, had a most fatall success, where were killed of all the 4 armyes 1,500 sojourns and [...] officers, whereof many were left in the ditch and under the walls, & about [...] wounded.

About 9 aclock his M. sent for me, whither the other generalls came also, where were nothing but sad lookes and mournfull countenances. I desired that a counsell of warr should be called to consider and advise about the state of our affaires.

¹¹⁰⁷ Rehoboam, son and successor of Solomon, was King of Judah (ca.930–913 BC). Forsaking the counsel of old men, he listened to young advisers who urged him to show no weakness and tax the people even more, which he did, and declared: “My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add thereto; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions” (2 Chronicles 10:14). These ill-advised words led to the people’s rebellion, division of Israel and long internal strife.

In the evening againe by his M.

Many dead brought of in the night tyme.

{509} Aug. 6, Tues. I dined by Gen-ll Le Fort.

Afternoone a councell of warr, whereat many were present of all sorts & qualities, where after much discourse all, though unwillingly, assented to his M. opinion and resolution of continuing the siege, advancing the approaches and making mines.

7. I went and ordered the advancing of the approaches.

In the evening the Hetmans nevoy Ivan Pawlovits Obedofsky came to me and gave me of a letter from the Hetman, dated the 12th of July, and rec-d another letter from the Boyar Boris Petr. Seremetuf of the same date.

In the night Archibald Carmichael dyed of his wounds, haveing been first received into the bosome of the Catholick Church, and comforted & strengthened with the Blessed Sacraments.

{509v} Aug. 8. I began to advance the trenchees againe, though on both hands slow progress.

The Turkes & Tartars show themselves befor the *leaguer* and skirmish befor the *leaguer*. The Cosakes take a prisoner, who by being haled and pulled with strokes by those of Achtemon his army expired befor he was gott to the *leaguer*. It seemed he was a man of some quality, haveing a good coat of maile and good cloaths.

In the evening Arch. Carmichael was buried by our priest with Catholick ceremonyes, where his M. was present, who with the seamen came by me and stayed a good while.

In the night a great storme of wind from the sea, which drove the water up very high.

9. I caused advance the trenchees to the place where I intended to begin the sapp, and removed the mortar pieces neerer; made 2 redoubts neerer.

In the afternoone the wind drove up a *furcat* or fregat of 38 oares and another lesser boat.

Wee could but throw few bombes for want of *trubes*¹¹⁰⁸ or [...]

{510} Aug. 10, Sat. Enlarged and secured the approaches with small forts.

¹¹⁰⁸ *Trubka* (Russian), fuse.

No passage for grasse or to the Kalentzay, the bridges being spoiled by the high water.

11. In the morning the post came and brought me letters from my wyfe, da-r, Mr. Vinius and the Russe noblemen, dated 28 & 29 of July.

The Tartars snapt away some horses befor our *leaguer*.

The besieged made a sally upon my trenchees and were immediately beat back with loss.

The besieged againe sallyed out in the afternoone on G. Le Forts trenchees, killed 3, wounded many, tooke many armes which the souldiers had throwne away, and gott into the towne againe with litle or no loss.

12. At devotion, where *Officium Defunctorum* for Ensigne Spakofsky.

The Cosakes brought 2 Assovish Turkes prisoners, whom they had taken at the Koyssova¹¹⁰⁹.

Wee began the sappe.

{510v} Aug. 13, Tues. The 2 prisoners, being examined the day befor, and by their prevaricateing suspected of lying, were brought to the torture, where they confessed that in the last storme the *bey*, or governour, and the *aga* of the Janisars were both killed, and about 200 more; that they had offered the beyshap to Kubek Mursa, which he had refused; that there were in the towne at the beginning of the siege about 6,000 men with these new sent; that near a 3d part were killed, wounded & dead or sick; that they had provisions enough and no scarcety of ammunition.

{511} Aug. 14. Wee continued fireing with cannon and throwing of bombes, which fyred some places of the towne.

I urged the fortifying of the Kalentzay towers or one of them at least.

In the afternoone another sally on G. Le Fort his trenchees, where they espyed his myne, which had been begun some dayes ago; did some harme and retired.

15. I dined by G. Le Fort with his M. and others.

In the afternoone wee went towards the towne and by the Cosakes asked a conference with the besieged, whereof they would not heare, but shott at the Cosake who desired to speak with them. This Cosake had promised that if he could come to speak with a p[ri]ncip[a]ll Turke, he

¹¹⁰⁹ Koyssug.

might perswade or prevaile with him to advise a surrender, because that Turke could do more with the common people or souldiery then the *bey* himself. But this would not do.

Writt to my wyfe, daughter and Mr. Vinius with others, not sealed by command.

In the first howre of the night the engineer Albert Joseph Murlott killed with a bullet through the head, as he was after a gabion viewing the towne too near & uncircumspectly.

{511v} Aug. 16, Frid. A great raine in the night.

The Turkes mad a furious sally on my trenchees, which being alwayes farthest or rather neerer advanced to them, was most opportune to them. But the souldiers being in readines, made a stout resistance and beat them in againe.

Writt to Mr. Woolffe in answer to his of the 27, & to Mr. Krevet in answer to his of the 23 past.

With much ado I gott it resolved in a counsell to fortify the Kalentzay towers and send away the sick and wounded, and build a fort neerer the river.

Late in the night with his M. & others by G-ll Le Fort.

17. In the morning the Tartars came in great numbers very near our campe, & 2 were gott within the old wall, but being skarred with shott, gott themselves quickly away.

According to the conclusions taken yesterday, wee rode to the Kalentzay, dined with his M. on the *furkat*, went and considered how to fortify them. But seeing all very cold about it, I spoke some truth {512} in passion, which was not well taken, as also concerning the bad neighbourship I had in advancing the trenchees equall with me, and communicateing the lynes.

Aug. 18. Gen-ll Le Fort & others dyned by me. Befor wee had ended, wee heard of a sally and I hastened thither, sending my son & the yongest befor. But befor they could come, the Turkes had been at the mouth of the sappe, killed the good Dominico Rossi and John Robertson, who were by the sappe, wounded the engineer & diverse others, yet were beat back with losse.

{512v} Aug. 18, Sun. I rode to his M. at the Kalentzay and pressed to have the approches advanced on all sydes equally & together, as also

to have the Kalentzayes fortified with an earthen wall; which at last was granted, & 200 men of each army ordered to be sent to that purpose.

I received letters from *Kniaz* Peter Lukits Lvov¹¹¹⁰ with his intelligence of the takeing of the forts Kasa-Kirmin & the others by the Dneper.

Received letters by post from Mosko of the 6th of August.

Colonell Affonasse Ivan. Koslow wounded deadly.

In the night letters came from Boris Petr. Seremetuf & the Hetman to us with the certainty and circumstances of the takeing of Kasa Kirmien and the other forts; the Turkes in Kasa-Kirmin and Tavan being made all prisoners of warr, and these of Aslan and Sin-Gerey running away. These letters were brought by Andre Fiod. Vayikuf from the boyar & Ivan Skuropatsky¹¹¹¹ from the Hetman. Wee with all the colonells ordered to come {513} to the *Shatra*¹¹¹², receive the letters solemnly and cause give 3 salvees with great and small shott.

Aug. 19. Wee conveened all at the *Schatra*, received the letters from the boyar & Hetman from their messengers, which being publikely read, wee began to drink first the Emperours, then the boyar & Hetmans, and then all the true servants in the armyes, at each whereof a volly of great & small shott out of all the 3 camps & the approches were given, which alarumed the Turkes in the towne & fields.

I rode out into the fields to observe the Tartars.

Dominico Rossi & John Robertson buried, where his M., and afterwards by me till midnight; thereafter by Col. Koslow, who lay a dying.

{513v} Aug. 20, Tues. In the morning early Coll. Koslow dyed.

The fort about the hithermost tower of Kalentzay measured and begun to be built, being 3 whole bulwarks, 2 halfe bulwarks toward the river, and *redanges*¹¹¹³ betwixt it & the river.

The wounded & sick sent to Czirkask.

21. In the night the Tartars alarumed us by comeing neer forts below in the medowes towards the Kalentzay.

¹¹¹⁰ Prince P.L. Lvov († after 1698), *voyeroda* in Tomsk, Kursk and Sevs, from 1688 *okolnichy*. In 1695 *voyeroda* of Novobogoroditsk on the Samara river.

¹¹¹¹ Ivan Ilyich Skoropadsky (1646–1722), from 1698 general *bunchuzhny*, from 1701 general *osarul*, from 1706 colonel of Starodub, from 1708 Hetman of the Zaporizhian Host.

¹¹¹² *Sbatior* (Russian), pavilion or tent.

¹¹¹³ *Redan* (French), fortification in V-shaped salient angle toward an expected attack.

Befor evening his M. came & caused pine the *streltsees* who had been on the guard in the trenchees by the myne and deserted Dominico & Robertson, because they denyed to have runaway, yet being on the torture confessed.

Writt to my wyfe, da-r, son Theodorus, Mr. Vinus, Krevet and the noblemen I correspond with.

{514} Aug. 22, Thur. Caused advance the trenches and lynes of communication. His M. late by me.

23. Rode to the Kalentzay, and afterwards to the campe of *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. [Dolgoruky] over the river Don.

The post dispatched.

Received letters from Mosko from my wyfe, da-r, Mr. Vinus & the noblemen, dated the 13th *presentis*.

24. I rode to the Kalentzay towers and urged to forward the worke, causing double the workemen, being now of each army 400.

{514v} Aug. 25, Sun. The Hetmans nevoy and the messengers from the Boyar Boris Petr. Seremetuf & the Hetman with their retinues dined by [me], with whom I went into the trenchees afterwards.

The Turkes found out the mine or gallery to it, which Gen-ll Le Forts people were makeing, tooke 2 prisoners out of it, wounded others and ruined a great part of the gallery.

26. In the morning early the Tartars came befor our campe, skirmished, some killed and wounded. I caused widen the advanced trenchees, make a redout, where lodged the sojourns collours.

Gen-ll Le Forts people, haveing gone to the left hand with his gallery, it was againe intercepted.

Caused digge a line of communication betwixt my attack and Achtemons.

27. Caused the *streltsees* begin a redout and widen their trenchees.

The Tartars lodged below in the medowes. A great omission not to attack them, which I urged, but with no success.

I caused remove the cannon to a new battery.

{515} Aug. 28, Wed. Caused fire out of the battery newly made on the curtaine and face of the corner bulwarke, with good effect.

The Cosakes haveing a project with engines to advance their appoches, his M. came to me and desired 3 blinds with the bridges for that use.

I rode to the Kalentzay and found the workes in good forwardnes.

29. This being his eldest M. name-day, wee went and congratulated his M., who came afterwards by me, caused take the bridges and 3 wag-gons with covers to save from stone & shott.

I order 2 trenchees more to be made on the *strellsees* quarter and attack. I caused fortify a place along the ditch for lodging the sojourns collours, and bring the mortar pieces neerer.

The Turkes threw stones night & day into the ditch.

Lt.Coll. Fiodor Augustuf dyed.

30. Received letters by post from my wyfe, da-r, Mr. Vinius and Mr. Krevet, and from the noblemen with whom I correspond, dated 18 & 19.

About midday the Turkes made a sally on the Cosakes attack, killed 3, wounded 10 and tooke one prisoner.

{515v} Aug. 31. The Tartars haveing been diverse nights at & befor day light neer our *leaguer* and within the old wall, I had caused watch them, to have catched some of them. But failing, and the Cosakes haveing notice of it, sent out this night their Kalmuiks horsemen and 1,000 foot to have surprized some. But the Tartars being aware, were upon their guard, and so their designe failed.

I caused make a new battery, enlarge the approches, compleet the lyne of communication twixt Gen-ll Achtemon & me, and caused the sojourns with their covered approches advance to the ditch, which did in three severall places.

{516} Sept-r 1, Sun. Dined by G-ll Le Fort.

The Cosakes brought 4 Turkes and a *ochrean*, or turkified or shismatik Russe, taken by Lutin¹¹¹⁴, who being examined, told that [...]

2. About 30 Tartars haveing gott over to the other syde of the Don, by day light drove away some horses. But the Cosakes horsemen perceiv-ing, followed, and overtakeing them, made them quite the horses, forced them to swimme over the Don, and brought back two prisoners, who related [...]

Colonell Simon Laur. Kapustin dyed of his wounds.

¹¹¹⁴ *Lutin*, Turkish stone fort on the Miortvy Donets, which covered Azov on the north. It was built in 1660.

{516v} My approches brought to the ditch. I caused make lodgings in the counterskarpe, and stay from the filling of the ditch untill the other armyes should be ready.

One of the prisoners taken this day, being a Russe borne, taken yong and circumcized, told that they this day expected Nuradin Saltan¹¹¹⁵ with 10,000 Tartars and 500 Janitzars, whom they intended to bring in below by the Don into the towne; and confirmed that at the storme the *bey* and the *aga* of the Janitsaries were killed with about 200 more; that they had offered the beyshap to Kubek Mursa, which he refused.

Hereupon his M. came to me, and wee went together to consider where to make forts and trenchees to the river; which being done, I sent in the evening two regiments, as the other generalls did, and in the night-tyme made 3 redoubts with trenchees with brestworkes to the towne and fields.

The Hetman & boyars messengers dispatched, by whom I did writt to both.

Sept-r 3. Having been in the approches as usuall & ordered what necessary, I went to the new redoubts not without danger from the great shott out of the towne & the small from the gardens.

His M. came to me, I informed him of the new workes.

In the night wee had alarum, the Turkes sallying out below, but to litle purpose, being quickly repulsed.

Having assured those on my right hand that I had from my lodgings on the counterskarpe mastered all the sally ports, they began to digg 4 trenchees forward towards the towne ditch.

{517} Sept-r 4, Wed. I went to the approches, and see the new serpentine trenchees begun by Achtemon his people, w-ch had been long urged by me.

Caused make another redout or fort in the trenchees for securing of the new lynes.

5. The Turks & Tartars appeared in greater numbers as befor and made a show as if they had footmen, placed some collours along the utmost wall, alighting from their horses and shooting out of *janisarkies*¹¹¹⁶, and after 2 or 3 howres stay marched of.

¹¹¹⁵ Nur-ed-din was the title of the next in line in the Geray dynasty after the Crimean khan's heir, Kalga Sultan.

¹¹¹⁶ Guns used by the Janizaries.

Wee advanced and closed with lines of communication.

6. The Turkes & Tartars leaguered in the medowes.

I caused secure the approches with forts.

Our Kalmuiks skirmished with the Turkes & Tartars befor the *leaguer*, they fyled the grass round the *leaguer* very neer.

A great wind from the sea, which drove the water very high.

Tooke on 5 voluntiers of each regiment to bring out of the approches into the ditch the galleries over it.

{517v} Sept-r 7, Sat. In the night tyme *Kniaz* Fiodor Ivan. Troykuruf dyed of his wound or accident, and was convoyed to the Kalentzay in order to his being sent to Mosko.

8. The post brought us letters from our ffriends in Mosko of the 27 & 28 past.

In the afternoone the Turkes & Tartars rode downe to the medowes by the Kalentzay and, comeing neer, skirmished with our horsemen; which alaruming us, a 1,000 Cosakes were sent downe to secure the forts below & skarr them from adventuring upon the vessels. I rode downe with some foot also, and seeing them most drunk, diswaded them from going too farr from the marish or forts. But they, haveing beat of the Mahometans once and the second tyme, unadvisedly followed them too farr into the plaine fields. The Tartars retireing with designe, and haveing them farr enough, returned with incredible celerity upon them, overtakeing many of them in the plaine fields, tooke and killed many, drove the rest into the marish, and {518} there staying about halfe ane howre without any hinderance killed & tooke diverse out of the marish. And so marched not without damage themselves, leaving diverse of their dead behind them. Here were killed of the Cosakes about 100 & about 30 taken.

Sept-r 9. In the morning the Turkes horsemen came againe and made show as if they would attack the Kalentzay, but went not farr.

Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinius and Mr. Krevet, and to the Russe noblemen.

The *streltsees* who runaway and, deserting S. Dominigo, let him be killed, were brought forth to execution, their sentence first read to them, to be beheaded; then mercy shewne to them to be *kenuted* and banished; and last that upon [reason] of the present service they should only be *k[n]uted*.

{518v} Sept-r 10, Tuesd. The enemyes horsmen came againe befor the *leaguer* and made great cryes with¹¹¹⁷ shoves of footmen.

My approches brought most to the ditch, and in the night a bridge made over the ditch, but because the lodgments in the counterskarp was not ready to secure & defend it, I caused take it of againe.

The Turkes sallyed out on the Cosakes, were quikly beat in againe with the loss of some of their men, 2 whereof they left on the place; by one whereof, whom ours haled to them, was found a good deale of money, and good armes.

11. This morning the post dispatched.

A Cosake, being escaped from the Tartars, said that he was taken on Sunday last, had been kept at the Kagalnik in their campe; that they encamped in 3 different places not farr distant from other; that they were not above 3 or 4,000 men in all, the Assovish Turkes and Tartars apart, the [Nuradin] Sultan with his Tartars by himself, & Kubek Mursa with his Calmuiks in another place; that he was told and had heard it from diverse there that they intended to set upon the forts below the towne, as also on that which I had caused build for the defence of my campe; that they were very inquisitive to know if I was alyve, because they had been informed by {519} some prisoner that I had been deadly wounded, upon which acco-t they pined a Cosake, because he averred that I was alive, and had not been wounded.

I caused try to shoot bigg hand-granadoes out of short graith pieces, which did very well.

I was by his M. and informed him how forward our approches were, complained for want of bombes and cannon bullets.

Sept-r 12, Thur. The fort behind my campe being too farr of to be succoured, I caused build another neerer and more convenient for defence of the campe, intending to raze the other; as also a redout at the end of the first line of communication, which had not been compleeted.

The Tartars came into the fields in fewer numbers as the dayes befor.

I rode to the Kalentzay towers and ordered the provision houses and roomes for the sojourns to be built, showing the most convenient places where to build them.

¹¹¹⁷ *great* crossed out.

{519v} His M. came to me and shew me the paper, w-ch is to be throwne into the towne, wherewith I was not well satisfied. Albeit the contents were well written, yet to send such a writeing or any saveing his M. pleasure & his counsell, I thought it unnecessary and inconvenient.

It being resolved to build a fort on the other syde of the river opposite to the forts lately built below the towne, to take away all correspondence even by water betwixt the besieged and the horsemen, I sent a regiment of *streltsees* over to strengthen that post untill the fort be built.

Sept-r 13. The Cosakes by throwing the earth befor them under the shelter of blinds and brestworks carryed upon wheelles and moved forward, being come to the towns ditch and filled it almost. In the night tyme about 1 a'clock the Turkes made a furious assault upon them and with hand granadoes, fireworkes, shott and stones drove them from their station, fired their blinds and engines, tooke the boards wherewith the Cosakes had covered their lodging or station in the counterskarpe, and the ditch leading to it; killed 20, tooke one prisoner and wounded about 50; the regiments of G-ll Golovin not offering once to second or succour them, though standing next to them.

Upon the {520} first noise I hastened into the trenchees with the parade companyes, but being farr of, came too late to do much good; yet ordered my owne and others to fyre continually on the Turkes wall and musket holes. The Cosakes in this hurly burly snapp'd a collour or ensigne from the wall, which the *Okolnitzze* Pet. Matfe. Opraxin his ser-t tooke from them.

The Tartars came into the fields, but in fewer numbers as formerly. Hereupon wee had a counsell where, after the usuall manner, nothing was right discussed nor concluded.

The fort over the river not begun because of the high water.

A litle befor evening wee intercepted¹¹¹⁸ one of the enemyes counter-mine or galleryes, and presently set a guard to it and made preparations to ruine it.

Coll. Sergey Sergeiuſ wounded in the trenchees.

Having gott bagges and filled them wt about 8 *pude* of powder, as also the traines, I caused take also 3 bombes of 4 *pude* a piece, and

¹¹¹⁸ Instead of the crossed-out *discovered*.

putting them in a good way into the enemyes gallery, caused close it close & strongly.

{520v} Sept-r 14, Sat. Haveing stayed all night in the trenchees untill all should be ready, in the second howre of the day I caused fire it. The smocke at first came out backwards out of the mouth of our mine or sappe a pretty while befor it tooke effect. Then it blew up with a great noise and trembling of the earth, and ruined all their gallery and a small part of ours, which alaruming the Tartars, they came flying to see what past.

Received letters from friends in Mosko of the 3d & 4th 7bris.

Wee caused from 3 severall places shoot in the papers befor mentioned concerning the rendition of the towne, being from each place 3 papers in Russe and 3 in Turkish, one of each being tyed to an arrow.

Wee expected that after so much ruine and loss they should have conformed themselves, but they did not daign to give us any ans-r.

{521} Sept-r 15, Sun. The army of Achtemon Mich. haveing begun to throw up a wall against the towne to be equall with it in hight, and being come within some fathoms of the wall, in the morning the besieged fired a mine under their wall, which did throw back some of the earth upon us. Whereupon a great cry and larum. I hastening thither, was not 60 fathome from the campe, when a cannon bullet comeing very near grassed just by me and into the campe, killed a sojour and did more harme.

I rode to the Kalentzay towers and spoke to his M. about diverse businesses. Ordered againe the *ambars* & roomes to be removed, because not right placed.

The mine of Achtemon Mich. his attack being brought (as the unexperienced minier¹¹¹⁹ imagined) so farr as convenient and needfull, made ready the chamber, in makeing whereof some noise of digging being heard, and he thinking it to be the Turks countermining, informed the gen-ll thereof; who, lest it should be discovered and their labour lost, unadvisedly ordered it to be filled, and put therein 83 *pude* of powder.

In the night tyme my regiment of *streltsees*, which had been on the other syde of the Don, returned, the fort being compleeted.

¹¹¹⁹ Probably Major Adam Weide. According to Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul, who fought at Azov a year later, after this failed explosion Weide was afraid to appear in the camp for some days (A. Gordon of A[u]chintoul, *History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia*, I (Aberdeen, 1755), p. 101).

{521v} Sept-r 16, Moon. Great raine in the night tyme and morning. I went and rode the round into the fields, as I constantly did every day. A post came from his M. to me to come thither.

Being all come together, wee consulted about the firing the mine, which I diswaded altogether, seing wee were not ready on all hands to fill the ditches. Yet others prevailed to fire it with this only¹¹²⁰ reason that they might discover it, and so all our labour lost. Neither did it help that I told they might loss their labour, and their powder too, and kill some of their owne men to the boot, because I had alwayes suspected that the yong minirer could not take the right distance, nor well knew where he had made or under which place he had placed the chamer; altho he spoke continually with such confidence that it was under the flank of the bastion & a part of the curtaine.

In the afternoone his M. and the other generalls came to my tent, where, notwithstanding my advice to take the powder out of the mine rather then losse it, and the labour too, and hazard the discovering of it seing it was useless at this tyme; yet it was resolved to fire it, and if it happened to make a great breach in the {522} wall, then these next it to run to the breach and lodge themselves on the wall; the other armyes in the meane tyme to make a show of storming. So wee went all to our respective posts, and his M. to the Kalentzay towers.

When the signe was given by 3 severall shotts of cannon for these in the neerest trenchees to retire, the mine was fyred, w-ch at first casting a great smocke out of the mouth of the gallery, the Turkes seeing this retired from the bulwark and wall. But the mine springing and not being farr enough brought under the wall, nay scarce to the ditch, did fly up and threw all the earth with boords, balkes and stones upon our owne people in the trenchees; whereby 30 were killed and more as 100 wounded & bruised, 2 colonells and a Lt.colonell were also bruised. Which caused a great consternation among the souldiery, and ill will against the strangers, and grieved his M. very much when he heard of it.

This was the 3d unlucky Moonday in this siege.

{522v} Sept-r 17, Tues. In the night tyme the Turkes allarumed with their cryes and *boldaes*, whereupon I went with some choise men into the

¹¹²⁰ *late* crossed out.

fields to see if they had gott more succours. But not seeing any danger, I returned and rode to the Kalentzay with intention to have diswaded the storme, dined there. Yet, haveing no assistance of the other gen-lls to speake, durst not adventure alone for feare of wrath. I advised his M. there to put the powder and ammunition into the towers and cover them well.

Being returned, I went into the trenchees and ordered the neerest to the towne to be mad wider & deeper, and some forts to secure them to be hightened.

Went over the Don, saw my horses and boates, ordered some things there.

18. Dementy Novosiltsuf came from Mosko with money and brought for my army: 3,485 rubles 5 *d.* for the¹¹²¹ officers; 3,817 rub. 24 *alt.* 4 *d.* for the Russe officer[s]; for the Butirsky sojourns 2,361 r. 23 *alt.* 2 *d.*; 2,875 r. 32 *alt.* 5 *d.* for the Tambovish sojourns, and 15,882 [rubles] for the *streltsees*.

A sojourn of Lomova, who had been taken prisoner the 1st of July, escaping, returned; told that he had been carryed beyond the river Kuban, was kept straitly; that the Tartars wer weary of this campagne, and many more things not considerable.

I went to the trenchees, ordered earth with bundles of reeds to be throwne into the townes ditch to fill it.

{523} In the 2d howre of the night a countermine or *fournell*¹¹²² sprung in the counterskarpe by Gen-ll Golovin his approches, did litle harme, only caused a great alarum and shooting on both sides, w-ch continued a couple of howres.

In the night exceeding great raine & haile, which put all the trenchees full of water, the ground being clayish.

Sept-r 19. Writt to Mosko to my wyfe, da-r, Mr. Vinius & Mr. Krevet and to the noblemen with whom I correspond.

I rode to the Kalentzay, dined there with his M., found him more plyable as to the storming. Returning went by Le Fort, consulted about the storming, found litle constancy or judgment in considering what is necessary to be done.

¹¹²¹ *stranger* crossed out.

¹¹²² *Fourneau* (French), blasting chamber.

I removed the guards on the old wall out of the fort formerly built (which I demolished) to that lately made, being neerer and better to be seconded, placing two hundred men therein with 3 field pieces.

{523v} Sept-r 20, Frid. Ugly unpleasant weather. Went to the other *leaguer* to consult about the meanes of facilitateing the stormeing or attack.

His M. being come, I informed him of the two mines in my attack being ready. None durst speake to diswade the storming.

I went with Gen-ll Acht. and other noblemen into the trenchees, see the difficulties of the attack.

21. The Tartars in great numbers neer our *leaguers*.

I went into the other *leaguer*, where all being present who were called, it was resolved to make all ready for storming against Tuesday, and resolved to send 600 men in boats to attempt the water syde.

His M. with Achtemon by me in the afternoone.

The Tartars below skirmished, and befor Golovin his *leaguer*.

{524} Sept-r 22, Sun. A great cry by G-ll Le Fort about the breaking of the day, whereupon I went with my guard towards that quarter. But being come without my campe & hearing no noise, I sent 6 men over the fields to know what the business was. I in the meane tyme went to the new fort, which I had caused build for the defence of our campe towards the fields. I had not been there long, when 7 Tartars came driveing or rideing at full speed in within the old wall towards these I had sent to the other *leaguer*, which seeing, I caused the foot to run in great hast to intercept them, which might have been easily done if they had made hast. But being loth to hazard, and fearing a greater number w-t-out the wall, they had tyme to escape, haveing wounded lightly on of these I had sent.

The Turkes & Tartars rode round towards the medowes by the Kalentzay towers, whither I rideing about business and ordering what necessary there, as I returned the enemyes horsmen were gott over some marishes & pooles and skirmished with our horsmen about ane howres, they driveing ours, and ours driveing them, till at last they retired to their campe, which every 3 or 4 dayes they removed, according to their {524v} usuall manner, they liveing after the way of the old nomades.

The post came and brought me letters from my wyfe, da-r, Mr. Vinius, Krevet, Troykuruf, dated 10 7bris; and one from my son Theodorus to his

mother, dated 29 Aug.; and from Mr. Woolffe, dated Archangell 27 Aug.; from my son in law, dated 28 Aug. at Archangel.

Sept-r 23, Moon. The Tartars againe in the old wall, tooke away a horse, and another with a waggon below.

In the trenchees, ordered to make greater hast with filling the ditch and enlarging and covering the approches.

Wee were alarumed by our minirers that the Turkes were working neare it, w-ch remained so doubtfull that wee knew not whether it were ours workeing in the approches or the Turkes countermincing. Gen-ll Le Fort his sojourns began to fill the ditch next to my attack.

{525} A project being made of sending 2 regiments to attack the towne on the river syde, I went with Gen-ll Golovin to see the boats prepareing for that use, which were mad higher on one syde as the other with musquet holes on both sydes and places or holes for the oares below.

Thereafter wee went over the Don with his M. to *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. Dolgorukoy his quarter, from whence haveing a full view of the towne, wee considered and resolved on the fittest place to land. I did not altogether approve of this project for diverse reasons: first, seeing they must stay above the bridge till the mines spring, and that then wee must instantly go to the assault, it will be a good howre befor they can gett to the landing-place, and so will come too late to assault alike with us. For what wee do wee must do it in a howres tyme or then not at all, so at the best it will make but a late diversion. 2dly, if to make only a diversion, then needs not so many of our best men. 3dly, I greatly doubt that they not only shall do any good, but that wee shall loss the most of the men who shall land, because though they cut downe the palisadoes, yet the Turkes shutting the citty gates of the stone wall of the towne will {525v} overpower them, or let in at the gates so many as they think they can deall with, and so let downe the portcullises, so is danger of lossing all. 4thly, there will be great difficulty in turning to the right or left hand towards the earthen wall without, or which environeth the citty on three sydes, because they have their most strength and greatest forces by the river, for fear of the Cosakes. Lastly, the difficulty of the landing, as also of getting aboard againe in case of a repulse, because the shore may be shallow, the sides of the boates are high and not easily gott out nor into them.

Notwithstanding all my reasoning, yet the great zeale to have the towne made others overcome all difficulties in their imagination, without giving any solid reasons for what they said, and even to doubt of victory or not takeing the towne was looked upon as an unwillingnes that it should be taken. So it was concluded to detatch two regiments, I the one and G-ll Golovine the other; as also that the businesse of the assault should be deferred till Wednesday, being St. Sergieus his day, the great Patron of this countrey. I moved also to have a previous fast the day befor, which was very well taken, and accordingly commanded.

{526} Sept-r 24, Tues. In the morning the Tartars drove in betwixt Gen-ll Le Forts *leaguer* and myne, tooke a sojour prisoner, but by our speedy sending relieffe they were forced to let him go.

I was at the battery with his M.

Wee heard working againe near one of the mines on the left hand, which caused me give orders to line and fill them both, 95 *pude* of powder being ready in bagges. I caused put so many 4-*pudish* bombes into the chambers as could be contained conveniently with the powder, 16 great bombes in one & 30 lesser in the other.

I spoke to the *Attoman* Frowl Minaiuf to give me 20 or 30 of his Kalmuiks to ly in ambush by or in our new fort, to surprize the Tartars when they should enter againe betwixt the *leaguers*. In the evening the Kalmuiks came, whom I caused convoy to the place, where they lodged.

I caused plant 3 cannon in the redout on the line of communication betwixt G-ll Le Fort & me.

The colonells who had been ordered with their regiments to go by water and assault the towne from the river syde, haveing been over the river to wiew againe the place of landing, found that they had fortified that very place with a pallisado, and planted some pieces of cannon, wherewith they despaired of being able to land; & so that business came to nothing.

{526v} Sept-r 25, Wed. I went by the breake of day to the fort where the Kalmuiks stayed and there waited a long tyme, but the Tartars, being skarred with some of the Low Countrey horsmen who conveened in the evening below the hill upon the same designe that the Kalmuiks were, did not appeare. Albeit wee had sent out 2 or 3 horses langelled or fettered for a bait, but they would not bite.

I caused send 20 men of a regiment into the fort behind my campe

and secure the not compleeted line of communication with *Spanish ritters* or turnepikes, to secure us in the tyme of the attack from the horsmen, who, as wee had been informed by prisoners & others, were resolved to assault our campe or breake thorow our lynes and bring the foot they had with them into the towne.

Haveing consulted with the other generalls, wee resolved to have all ready by 2 aclock afternoone; then that I getting notice from the others that they were ready, I should fire 3 pieces of cannon one after another, which should be a signe for the sojourns to retire out of the trenchees neerest the mynes, and a quarter of ane howres tyme given to that; and then to fire the mynes, which should be the signe to begin the attack.

I had caused from the morning make smocking fires befor & neer to the gallery or sappe, which led to the mynes, to amuse them that {527} they should not know when the mines should be fyred.

A litle after midday I caused these ordered for the storme or attack to march into the approchees, and then going my self, I ordered what was convenient and needfull to be done, haveing first spoke in few words to the officers & sojourns to behave themselves like men.

About 3 aclock, haveing gott notice from the other generalls that all were ready, I caused give the signe with 3 pieces of cannon, and a litle thereafter fire the traine to the mynes; which might have had great effect, if it had not been countermined by the besieged, & a row of strong pallisadoes digged deep from the curtaine to the gorge point of the bulwarke. Yet it made a breach of about 20 fathome, being the whole flank, a part of the curtaine and face of the bulwarke; only by reason of the pallisadoes and [counter]mine a great deale of earth and stones were throwne into our approches & redouts, whereby Coll. Bane with his Lt.colonell & maior, and neer a hundred sojourns were wounded & bruised, and some few killed.

The noise of the mynes springing frightened the Turkes, so that they run all from the wall. In the meane tyme the sojourns and *streltsees*, passing over the ditches which wee had filled, scaled the walls without ladders, which was easy, they being overgrowne with grasse, and in some places very slopeing. {527v} Yet could not enter at the breach in the flanke because of the pallisadoes, but at the curtaine and bulwarke they climbed up and lodged in the bulwarke as had been commanded, notwithstanding the retrenchment in the gorge of the bulwarke. This did the *streltsees*, whilst

the sojourns, especially the Butirsky regiment, invested the other bulwarke and the curtaine.

Gen-ll Le Forts souldiers advanced also in no great numbers, and haveing not gott ready any place to assault as not haveing filled the ditch nor made any *bresse* in the wall, they came to the *streltsees* of my army and thronged a collour or ensigne upon the wall with the others. Yet none of them did enter, nor were further as the middle of the wall of the bulwarke.

I sent diverse tymes to see what the other armyes were doing, and gave them notice by the ensigne which I had by me, of whose motions I had informed them befor, and admonished them to do their best. But it seemes they only made showes untill myne should clear the wall of all, and even that opposite to their quarter, that they might have a safer entrance.

As to the Cosakes, they were so divided that they were not able to do any thing, 3,000 of them being sent to guard Gen-ll Le Fort his army, {528} and a 1,000 to guard Achtemon his *leaguer* (notwithstanding 3 regiments were there also), a 1,000 guarding their owne *leaguer*, so that they had not above 1,000 men, and these the worst (which had falled out so by their lotts throwing) to fall on in the place which they had prepared for themselves. And these who guarded Gen-ll Le Forts army, haveing no place prepared for ane attack, could not do any thing, only a litle befor our giveing the signe for the attack the Turkes had sallyed towards that quarter, and were beat in againe with great loss.

The horsmen in the meane tyme were hovering round our campes, on which they could gett no advantage, being so well secured.

The Turkes seeing no great earnest nor force in other quarters, came with a great battallion, and first cleared the wall of the sojourns, and then did fall on with great fury, being about 400 led by a p[rinci]p[a]ll person in red habite, who not only animated them extreamly, but drove them to do their duty with a drawne simitar in his hand. The *streltsees* seeing such a storme like to fall on them, retired in some hast & confusion out of the bulwarke, yet maintained the outer part of the wall still. In the meane tyme in place of 3 collours which had been on that bulwarke, 2 whereof the *streltsees* had taken, the Turkes set up 4, and standing bare even to our shott, {528v} fired, shott with arrowes and threw hand granadoes & lances at ours men, who were in great numbers and thronging in the ditch. Which I seeing, and that they could not be perswaded nor forced to enter

the bulwarke againe, caused beat a retreat, and so without any great loss retired into the neerest trenchees againe.

This haveing continued about ane howre and a halfe, very hott service, the other armyes having done nothing all this tyme but meaning & making shoves; but orders comeing from his M., who was beholding all from the other syde of the river, to the Cosakes & G-ll Golovin his people to fall on againe, the Cosakes being also threatened with indignation by their director P.M. Apraxin, advanced to the right hand by the river, and with the Preobrasinsko and Semenovsky regiments entered the outward wall, and advancing amongst the houses continued fireing. Which giveing some hopes of their maintaining that post, moved me, haveing notice of what passed, to order the assault againe.

So all went on, but not with such alacrity as at first, and so the success was answerable. For haveing brought some collours to the wall againe, and climbed up with them halfe-way, they were not able to keep their station long, {529} but by continuall fireing from the flankes, throwing of hand granadoes and stones, as also great bombes tyed to cords and let downe halfe wall among our people, which terrified them as well as killed and wounded many; so that I seeing the loss of the people and no good like to be done, caused againe beat a retreat. Which was no sooner done, but new orders came againe from his M. to renew the assault, and send assistance to these who were in the lower towne.

So I caused beat a attack againe & send two regiments to assist these on my right hand. But as the one so the other was fruitles, for in the attack wee could do nothing but loss men, albeit they had advanced with their collours againe to the middle of the wall againe; and these who were sent to assist the others came too late, for they were forced to retire out of the towne befor they came.

By this it was evening, and so I gave the signe to march of. In this assault were of my army killed [...]

{529v} Sept-r 26, Thur. In the night all was quiet, both being alike weary, but yet with greater advantage to the Turkes as to us, they making up their breaches undisturbed, notwithstanding all the orders given, and in the night often renewed to fire without intermission at the breaches & wall.

In the morning 2 Butirsky sojourns brought a ensigne or collour, which they had taken from the Turkes on the middle bulwarke, for which service

I gave them {530} 5 rubles. Other 4 *streltsees* brought a iron cannon of ane old fashion, which they had taken from the wall, for which I gave them also 5 rubles.

Some officers who had behaved themselves well I preferred to vacant places.

The Tartars appeared in the fields, but very few of them.

Having been by his M. and held a consultation, I with much ado obtained that they should think of Lutin, and only this, that an engineer should be sent with a guard of Cosakes. So Mr. Ruell¹¹²³ was sent to recognise it.

Sept-r 27. The engineer being returned, I went to the Kalentzay to informe his M. and to consult what is further to be done. And because the engineer told that Lutina could not be taken without loss of men and some tyme, I was overpowerd in not sending to attack it.

{530v} After some discourse wee concluded to march of on Tuesday next, albeit I urged to march of on Saturday or Sunday at farthest, delays being dangerous. But the pretences of not getting all things in readines prevailed to delay till Tuesday.

Sept-r 28, Sat. In the morning Gregory Lukin and Iakim Voronin¹¹²⁴ dyed, the last of a wound, whereat his M. grieved exceedingly, they being both bred up with him.

His M. came to me and told me that I must come to the buriall.

Wee consulted how many men should be left here, and so it was concluded to leave 3,000, a thowsand of each army wt compleet officers and a *woynwod* or governour {531} to be choised out of the *stolniks*, and 3 pitched upon to cast lots. 3 let.colonells were also preferred to be colonells upon the acco-t of staying here.

In the night tyme I caused draw of two of the greatest battering pieces and two mortar pieces.

Sept-r 29, Sun. By advice of the Cosakes I was perswaded to cross the Don at Kalentzay and march up on the other syde, wherefor I went downe and choosed a place to encampe in.

¹¹²³ Christian Ernst Ruell, lieutenant of the Swedish army, from 1692 engineer in Russian employ, Lefort's protégé.

¹¹²⁴ G. Lukin and Ya. Voronin, bombardiers of Preobrazhensky regiment, of whom Tsar Peter was very fond.

The Tartars removed with all to the meadowes below the towne.

I caused draw of the rest of the great guns, leaveing only the field pieces and 2 of the least mortar pieces.

{531v} Sept-r 30. I caused the one halfe of my waggons to march downe to the meadowes by the Kalentzay.

The Tartars were in the fields, took a prisoner of ours and killed two, by the river. By this prisoner they were informed of our resolution to march of.

Each vaunting of being ready to march of, when it came to the push, Achtemon said he could not be ready, wherefor it was delayed till the next day, and some battering pieces returned to the trenchees againe.

{532} Oct-r 1, Tuesd. In the night tyme a terrible storme from the sea, set all under water in the lower ground, so that being informed by the officers in the forts below the towne of their danger, I sent them orders to march of and draw up the cannon to the higher ground.

Above the towne all the waggons were up to the axetrees in water, and some powder wet, some persons also drowned.

The Tartars were early in the fields. I went into the fields with some cannon and made them march of after wee had killed a man and a horse of theirs.

I seeing the difficulty of marching over the Don here, resolved with the Cosakes to march of the way wee came, and so gave orders for the waggons to returne and lodge under the hill.

This morning a person, who had been taken prisoner when he was yong, came over to us and gave us good intelligence of all that passed; how that they had sure intelligence that wee were to march of suddainly; that the first day of our comeing {532v} to Assow the Tartars lost above 300 men and many more who afterwards dyed of their wounds, who were let of to their habitations so soone as wounded; that they were now in the fields about 3,000 men, yet were dayly running away.

Rec-d letters from Mosko from Mr. Krevet, dated the 17 of 7ber.

In the night befor day I did writt to my wyfe, daughter and Mr. Krevet, to Mr. Woolff wt ane enclosed from Peter Matf. [Apraksin] to his bro-r the governour of Archangell concerning James Bruce his business; to my son in law, which I gave to Gen-ll Le Fort in the evening.

Oct-r 2 [Wed.] I rode to his M., who permitted me to march of on the Assovish syde of the Don. I returned, and finding the Tartars in the fields, sent for 200 men and 2 field pieces, and soone made them to remove. Then sent for my *waggonburg* and ordered it and made all ready for to march of in the night, albeit I urged to march of by the breake of day.

About midday *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. [Dolgoruky] marched out {533} of his fortress, haveing sent away his cannon in the night tyme. The Assovish Turkes ferryed over the river immediately and tooke such things as they found in the fort.

I caused bring out *Spanish ryters* and forme a square fortresse for the regiments to march of in, and in the evening caused draw of the last of the cannon, take away the boords wherewith the approches had been covered, cut all the gabions and burne any thing w-ch could be steddable for the Assovish.

About 8 aclock Gen-ll Le Fort with his army marched of and by my *leaguer*. I caused also myne in the trenchees to give notice to the other armyes in the trenchees of their marching of, and then to march of themselves; which they did and joyned me about 10 aclock at night. I stayed about ane howre longer untill the sojourns of both the other armyes were marched by, and then marched, it being very darke, and came into my *leaguer* or *waggonburg*.

As I went by, I found Gen-ll Golovin staying in the fields and letting of his army regiment-wayes, which made me resolve not to march till day, lest the enemy should fall upon him and ruine him.

{533v} Being come to the *waggonburg*, I rod round it and found all in pretty good order.

About 2 aclock I arose and rounded the *leaguer* againe, found all vigilant, and it being pretty cleare I was once resolving to march away. But seeing many fyres below on the way to the Kalentzayes, and people by them, I resolved againe to stay till day light, fearing lest these might be lost, and hoping they might gett away befor it be day.

Oct-r 3 [Thur.] By day light it was told me by one of Coll. Evanitsky his officers that by his coll-s command he had brought 5 pieces of cannon from the Kalentzay, that they were below the hill, and the people he had being most runaway, the rest could not gett them brought forward. I sent him to his colonell to gett men sufficient, yet when all was ready to march,

and I being come to the rear to observe the Tartars, who were beginning to appear on the old wall, the cannon were as yet below, the hill being so steep that 100 men were scarce able to draw up {534} one cannon, which vexed me hugely. But ordering Coll. Bush his regiment and others who were nearest to assist, as also the horsemen, with much difficulty wee gott them brought up to the army.

In the meane tyme the Cosakes were marched away, yet halted at the furthest *kurgan*.

The Tartars began to draw downe to the medowes in no great numbers, the grosse of them advancing towards us, and the foot were come to the old wall, and some into Gen-ll Golovin his *leagner*, which made me (haveing ordered all things as well as I could in the rear) send orders to march.

I had enough to do to gett the rear kept in good order, by reason of the two *Nisovy* regiments, who were very unruly and undisciplined. Yet wee continued marching to the going downe of the hill, where wee were encombred and a litle disordered by two steep valleyes, which made me send orders to the van {534v} to stop a litle, as well to recover some wag-gons who were broke in the valleyes, as to rescue some of our souldiers, who being fallen upon by the Tartars in the medowes were making their escape throw the marish and reeds to my army.

In the meane tyme I caused the Low Countrey horsmen (who for securities sake were gott in and marching betwixt the army & the marish) to returne & march in the rear, albeit they were very loth to it, so that I was forced to drive them back with my sword. They pretending that their horses were naught, I told them that they who had bad horses should alight and with their long gunnes fight on foot. So after halfe a howres stay I gave orders to march.

The Tartars in the meane tyme, haveing espyed many straglers on the way to the Kalentzay, as also a regiment left in the rear standing without *Spanish ryters* or any other defence, drove downe that way and takeing most of the straglers without resistance, attacked the regiment of foot commanded by Coll. Swart, and after some repulses by the sojourns retireing, overpowred {535} them, notwithstanding some regiments were advanced very neer to their succours. The colonell¹¹²⁵ with most of the regiment

¹¹²⁵ *ll.colonell* crossed out.

were taken, about 30 killed, some collours were lost also. This bred a great consternation amongst the armyes below, so that in great confusion they betooke themselves to the boats, not waiting nor careing whose they tooke nor how they should be divided, and even throwing out provisions some on the land and others in the river, to provide accommodation for themselves.

After the Tartars had glutted themselves with blood and takeing of prisoners, they came with all their power againe towards me, and moveing very briskely on, upon all sydes except in the front offered to fall on. But I keeping good and closs order and being well furnished with cannon, suffered them to come as near as I thought convenient and then let fyre upon them from all quarters within reach, which notwithstanding they advanced neerer {535v} and being come within the reach of our small shott, I caused fire on them so thick that they, finding themselves so hotly handled, were glad to gett further of. Diverse tymes they offered to attack us thereafter, but finding us well provided and in good order, and seeing that they could not gett any advantage of us, they began to desist, and following us for some *versts* at leisure & distance, at last they returned; and wee being glad to be quite of their company and complement of convoying, marched forward to Scopin, where wee refreshed our selves & horses, and then marched about 7 *verst* further and stayed in the fields all night without water.

{536} Oct-r 4, Frid. I marched by day light, and about 4 *verst* came over the brooke Battay, which was dry, and then forward a great way, and dined without water. Then advanced to the brooke Podpolna, where encamped by good convenience of grasse and water.

5. I caused make wayes over the Podpolna by throwing in of reeds, and then marching over encamped by the r. Don over against Czirkask.

After dinner I went over to Czirkask, visited the *Attoman* and others, as also by *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn] and others heard the particulars of what passed the day wee marched of. Sent an order for great boats to ferry over in.

In the evening his M. came, whose arrivall wee congratulated with great gunnes.

{536v} Haveing gott great boats, I caused divide them among the regiments and gave orders to ferry over in the night, which few did because it was dark.

Oct-r 6, Sun. I caused set all hands at worke to ferry over.

His M. came to me in the morning and related to me what had befallen at the Kalentzay the day I marched of.

I ferried over the Don and viewed the place where the army should encampe, being on the way whither wee must march.

I dined by the *Attoman* Frowl Minauf, with his M. & others, where much discourse; all very d[runk].

I gave orders to fetch all the superfluous ammunition and other things to the new *ambars*, which I had cause[d] build.

{537} Received letters from my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinus, Mr. Krevet and the noblemen I correspond with.

I received a letter from the P[ater] Ignatius Zapolsky from Astrachan without date; he entituled himself *Ablegatus S.M.R. Poloniae*¹¹²⁶.

Oct-r 7. I sent 200 *podvodes* and 200 workmen to Benedict Andr. Ismeyow to fetch up the ammunition from the boats to the sellars; as also 100 *podvodes* with workemen to bring away the ammunition belonging to my army.

Having dyned, I went to his M. and told him that I resolved to be gone the next day, because I had no forrage for the horses, which he approved; as also of the Tambovish sojourns go the direct way to Tambow.

I tooke my leave of the *Attoman* & others, went into the Church, offered 5 ducates, & in my returne visited the Hetmans nephew.

{537v} Oct-r 8, Tues. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinus, Mr. Krevet and the noblemen I correspond with by post; to the Hetman and Coll. Leviston by P. Obedofsky.

Rode to the Vasilofka, viewed the ammunition sellars and the bridge.

Gave cloth to 5 coats, 4 1/2 *arsb.* to each, to 5 of the ppl Cosakes, who convoyed me from the r. Chwapior to Czirkask.

9. I marched over the *yerik*¹¹²⁷ Vasilofka by a bridge and encamped by the Don at the Zoloty *yerik*, or Golden brooke.

This day the Cosakes brought 4 prisoners, and a Valachian came over to us, who related that after wee were gone the horsmen had been triumphantly entertained in Assow, and being richly rewarded were dismissed &

¹¹²⁶ Legate of H[is] M[ajesty] the K[ing] of Poland (Latin).

¹¹²⁷ Russian dialect word for river arm or channel.

gone; that the Assovish had taken mor as 30 *struges* with provisions and all the floating bridge; that they had sent the next day after our departure, to give notice of the state of their city, and desire help speedily.

{538} Oct-r 10, Thurs. I marched all along by the Don most part, dined by the way & encamped by the *yerik* Baklansky, being more as 20 Mosco *verst*.

This day I sent back with Maior Roonaer 120 workemen, 60 carpenters & 20 horses with waggons to make a sellar to put the remainder of the ammunition in, because there was no place in the other for it.

I sent back with Agafon Pregayuf 640 rubles, being 4 months pay to the first of Feb-ry for the 400 Tambovish sojourns left in Kalentzay, now called Sergeiyuf Gorod¹¹²⁸, and for the officers this halfe-yeares pay compleet.

I caused pay to Lt.Coll. Pawlofsky 14 rubles for the chesnut horse his M. tooke.

This day wee marched by the *gorodeks* Mainits, Buhay and Besergenuf, all on the illand on our right hand.

A litle befor midnight Maior Roonaer returned, haveing stowed up the ammunition, for the Tambovish sojourns the 640 rubles, and for the officers [...]

{538v} Oct-r 11, Frid. I marched early over the *yerik* Baklansky dry and came to the r. Axay, about 7 *verst*, haveing crossed 2 *yeriks* dry. Here I caused the workmen sent befor to digg downe the high banks to make passages for the waggons & bettered the entry, which was much muddy. And so, rideing to the other syde, viewed the place where I should encampe, and so continued the whole day marching over, and encamped on the other syde, haveing the r. Don on my right hand, the r-t Kirczik¹¹²⁹ on my left and the r. Axay behind me, by good convenience of grasse, wood and water.

This Axay, comeing here out the r. Don, runneth first south west, and receiving the r-t Kirczik goeth southerly, and another river called Tuslo & other small brookes, falleth in the Don some *verst*, about 10, into the Don againe, and maketh the Cosakes illand, being 40 or 50 Moscovish *verst*s

¹¹²⁸ Properly, Novosergiyevsk.

¹¹²⁹ Kerchik.

in length and 10 in breadth, where it is broadest. On it are the townes Besergenuf, Buhay and Manits above Czirkask, being ill fortified places of about 200 narrow built howses in each. As for Melechova on the other syde, over against where the Axay cometh out of the Don, they are also to {539} remove into the illand, being more secure as where they live. Below and by Czirkasse are 2 litle hamlets also lately built. On the Axay are diverse foords where the Cosakes keep watch, have small forts with a cannon or 2 in each of them; only here where wee passed there is nether watch nor fort & at another obscure lower downe, non either.

As for Czirkask it self, it is of no great age, being begun to be inhabited but [...] yeares ago.¹¹³⁰ At the first they suffered no women to live among them, but did worse by making use of boyes. But of late they live with their wiwes and families, only so farr as [...] on the Don it is strictly prohibited to sow or reape any cornes. Gardens they have and cultivate, wherein all sorts of herbes and some fruit, and this they do to necessitate them to seeke their livelyhood by pirateing on the lake of Maeotis and the Black Sea.

They choose a *attaman* by most votes, calling together from the other townes deputies and the ppill Cosakes, and he whom they pitch upon must not refuse, so that in this they observe a religious obedience, and this in chooseing the seniors in all townes; who {539v} are not very glad for the most part of the office, because of the great trouble and small authority. For he can do nothing of himself, not so much as give a guide, notwithstanding a Tzars order be showne, with[out] calling a *krug* or counsell, being all the Cosakes or so many as will [be] conveened together in a round, to whom he proponeth what is desired, and then asketh their advice and allowance.

At such *krugs* or conventions any Cosake who hath a complaint against another cometh out of the croud into the round and throweth downe his cap on the ground, which is as much as a citation to such a person to appear and that he will make good his plea. So the person he complains of is called, and must immediately answer to the accusation. If he confesseth or the proofs are clear, then they immediately proceed to the execution of the sentence, which is by most votes approved. If

¹¹³⁰ Cherkassk, the Don Cossack capital, is first mentioned in 1593.

a rigorous sentence be decreed at first, and some Cosake step out and oppose, saying, "It is not fitt nor ought not to be, let it be so, or so"; and then he calls for the approbation of the rest. If then the greatest part {540} of them approve his sentence or opinion by throwing up their caps and crying out "*Lubo, lubol*", which is as much as "it pleaseth", then the *attoman* proceeds to the execution. If it be beating with staves, then it is immediately done; if to be drowned, or hung upon ankers in the river, which last is their ordinary punishment for running to the enemy, when caught againe, then he may have respite for some dayes perhaps, which however is seldome permitted.

In these *krugs* or rounds all prisoners are examined, the booty taken, prized, divided or bought, and the money payed given to these who tooke it; some part thereof by the common consent brought into their common treasure. In these *kruegs* a Cosake may, when his wyfe hath offended him, bring her and openly dismissee her (which is a lawfull divorce with them); and any other, and perhaps one who hath been his owne servant, steps out, and telling the convention that he will take her, without more ado taketh her by the hand and leadeth her away (which serves for a lawfull copulation).¹¹³¹

{545} October 12, Sat. I received an order out of the Casansky Office to returne Coll. Evanitsky and the officers of his regt. to Czerkask, which I did immediately, and sent Artemy Kriftofsky with them.

In the first howre of the night Lt.Colonell Stuart dyed.

It being in the night great frost & snow with stormy weather, and having consumed part of my provisions taken for the journey, and seeing the other armyes retarding their march, I sent back for more provisions and a tent with other necessaryes against the winter (for I had taken but as litle along as possible). Yet, fearing now the cold and a tedious long journey, I provided my self better.

13. Lt.Coll. Stuart buried.

The Capt. Artemy returned and informed that the other armyes were on their march and would be the next day at the r. Axay.

Great frost in the night.

The Ensigne Thomas Kredigh dyed.

¹¹³¹ Blank pages follow in MS (fols. 540 v. – 544 v.).

Haveing given orders for a list of the waggons of the army to be given, I found to be in all the 12 regiments 2,277.

{545v} Oct-r 14, Moon. Haveing given orders the night befor for marching this day, though not early, I breakfasted, and the Hetmans nephew Obedofsky came & breakfasted with me, and takeing leave, departed, being dismissed.

About 9 a'clock I marched and encamped on the high ground, about 5 *verst*, by the river Kirczik, haveing good convenience of wood, grasse & water.

Hearing that the other armyes were come to the r. Axay & marching over, I rode thither and spoke with his M., who was very kind and told me he would march the next day and *per passant* visitt me.

Received letters from my ffriends in Mosko, dated 1st *Octobris*.

Some boyars came to my *leaguer*, who be for security to march with my army.

{546} Oct-r 15. After midday the armyes marched by and encamped 4 or 5 *verst* further.

In passanto his M. with the generalls and other ppl persons came to me and stayed 2 or 3 howres, and were merry. I spoke to his M. about the 2,000 rubles, which the Gen-ll Golovin had seized on, it belonging to my army. He told me he knew nothing of it, and that in the place of that I should give to the officers of the money which was left over the *streltsees* pay. I likewise desired that the fowre Tambovish regiments might be let go directly to Tambow, to the which he assented.

{546v} Oct-r 16, Wed. Being a misty morning, I marched, the other armyes preceeding, all along the river Kerczik, it being on our left hand, 15 *verst*, where I let the Tambovish 4 regiments go with my son James. Wee turning to the left hand crossed 2 armes of the r. Kerczik, being but marshes, and heads thereof and encamped on the other syde, all the 3 armyes together, I haveing still 8 regiments with me.

My son came & tooke his leave of his M. & me and marched this evening towards the Kondrusha.

It being very unpleasant coldish weather, and I troubled with a cat-tahrre some dayes, did find my self not well when I went to bed or rest, and haveing had an extraordinary heat all night, towards day I was all in a sweat. But haveing none whome I could entrust with the ordering of the

waggonburg & march, I arose & gott one horseback.

Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinio, Krevet & the noblemen I correspond with.

{547} Oct-r 17. Wee marched early, it being exceeding bad weather, snow, sleet, and the wind in our face.

About 10 aclock I found my self so evill that I was not able to ride on horseback, so retired and lay downe in my waggon or coach; and sending for the doctor, at our resting place he dined with me and promised to send me a powder.

Wee marched some *versts* further and encamped late in the ffields, haveing marched this day about 20 *versts*, with very bad weather & way, whereby many poore sojors were starved to death, dined and lodged without wood and water.

18. Wee marched not very early, and comeing about 5 *verst*, crossed a head of the r. Kondrusha, where I haveing the arrearguard had leisure to dine befor the other armyes gott over. I found my self a litle better, yet continued in my waggon the whole day.

Wee marched through stony ground and encamped by another head of the r. Kondrusha called Lichofsky Rostosa¹¹³², 10 *verst*.

{547v} Oct-r 19, Sat. Wee marched over the r. not early, and haveing passed by or over diverse valleyes of stony ground, wee came to the r-t Czernafky, about 20 *verst*.

This day I received letters from my [wife?] and ffriends in Mosko, dated 10 *Oct-ris*.

20. Haveing passed the river, wee marched over plaine ground, about 20 *verst*, and encamped by the r. Kamienky with good convenience of wood, grasse & water, which wee had also the 2 nights before.

This day his M. tooke with others a litle refreshment by the way with me.

21. Haveing marched over the small river, wee came to the river Donets, 10 *verst*, and began presently to make preparations for bridges to march over on.

{548} Oct-r 22. Wee were busy all this day in makeing bridges over the r[iver], which wee gott not compleet till the next morning.

¹¹³² Likhovskaya Rossosh.

23. I marched early and see the bridge for my army compleeted, and then neer midday began to march over, which continued most part of the night.

I was with his M. and there had much discourse about diverse things.

24. In the morning the Colonell Dmitrius Shukow dyed of the stone wherewith he [has] been diseased many yeares, and had now lyen about 3 months.

Marched not early, expecting those who had lodged below. Came over the fields, haveing the litle towne Gundarowa on our left hand, whither I had sent some sick people. Marched over a marish, 10 *verst*, and 10 *verst* further encamped by good convenience of wood, grasse and water.

{548v} Oct-r 25, Frid. The other armyes haveing lodged at the r-t Matiakin, I marched early and by day light came thither, being 5 *verst*, and with great difficulty gott over, haveing lost some horses. From hence I sent my cooke Clemens with his son & stepson and a spare tent to Mitiakin, a litle towne hard by.

It being too troublesome & tedious to march the whole army in a *waggonburg* together, I gave orders for marching regiment-way, keeping however close together; the regiments to change successively except the regiment of the selected soldiers & the *Stremeny*, or first regiment of the *streltsees*. In which order I marched and came to the river Dergull, and lodged the regiments together, though not so exactly compact as should be or usuall because of the straitnes of the ground neer the river.

{549} Oct-r 26. Haveing made 2 bridges in the night tyme, I began to march over by day light, and then towards the right hand up a steep hill, being a great frost & snow; and haveing marched 20 *verst* further over a r-t or brooke called Czugina in tempestuous weather, and turning to the left hand, lodged confusedly by a wood, many people being lost this day. The two regiments of Preobrasin[s]ko and Semenovsky marched 5 *verst* further and lodged to the right hand of the way by wood & grasse, but no water.

27. Marched early, and on the right hand a naturall hill of pleasant and strong scituation, called Grodishtsha, or the fort, where in former tymes, it seemes, there hath been a fort; which being passed, wee dined in the fields without wood or water, though on both sides at some dis-

tance there was by the fort runneth the r-t Czugina, which wee crossed the evening befor. And haveing a long march, were forced by the night approching to march to the left and encampe in a most confused manner all the 3 armyes, except the 2 reg-ts of Preob[razhensky] & Sem[ionovsky] who marched some *verst*s further {549v} to the r. Yausufga¹¹³³. Wee had but a very bad night here, neither water nor grass, all being burnt of round us, and no dry wood either, so that both the poor sojourns and the horses had great necessity.

Oct-r 28, Moond. I marched and could scarce find a passage out of the army with one row or line of the waggons of the first regiment, which haveing ordered to march, I commanded the rest to follow one after another till more roome should be made. By day light wee came to the r-t Yawsufga, 5 *verst*, and went over in diverse places. About 3 *verst* from the r-t I lodged with 4 regiments, the other armyes and 4 regiments of myne marching further. Being passed this river or brooke, wee had a strait or steep hill to ascend, and had here good convenience of wood, grasse & water, these befor me wanting water.

{550} Oct-r 29. I marched early to a valley & wood, 5 *verst*. Here and on the right hand a litle further the other armyes & my 4 regiments had lodged by store of wood and such grasse as the tyme of the year affoords. I marched 15 *verst* further to the r. Aydar, where the other armyes were busy getting over the bridges which they had made. I caused the reg-ts which were come befor make 2 bridges, by which I passed the army in 2 or 3 howres tyme.

Here 700 *podvodes* did meet us, which his M. caused distribute among the Preob. & Sem. reg-ts with a share to the Court and some few to others, but I gott none. Some provisions were also brought, all which these who came first bought and monopolized.

Haveing dined and fed our horses whilst the bridges were makeing ready, I marched over & so directly forward, whilst the other armyes remained feeding their horses. And being now free of danger, it was permitted to every regiment to march as they could come forward. So I marched with the first regiment of the selected sojourns about 12 *verst*, by good convenience of grasse & water, but litle wood, some being on the

¹¹³³ Yevsug.

other syde of the r. Bially, all along which on o[u]r left hand wee marched. It falleth into the r. Aidar below where wee passed it.

{550v} Oct-r 30. Marched early and befor day marched by the Preobrasinsky and Semen. reg-ts, 5 *verst*, where good convenience of wood, and along on the syde of the r. Bially 10 *verst* further, and dined by grasse, water and some but small wood; whither his M. came and dined with me, it being unpleasant cold weather with snow & sleet.

Then marched along the same river and crossed the head thereof 8 *verst* further, it being very tempestuous wind & weather, and in our face. With much ado wee gott to a valley, where store of wood, good grasse and water not farr of. The most marched further, wher litle, and that badd, or no water.

31. Marched early by diverse woody valleyes without water to the Shachovy Bayrak, where wood & grasse but naughty water, 15 *verst*, it being a great frost with some snow. Here by a mischance I lost my purse & seale ring. Haveing dined, crossed the valley and up a steep hill, and along the brooke or marish Urasow; and having crosseing [*sic*] another marish, I turned to the left hand and lodged by the marish, where water, grasse but no wood, 15 *verst*.

{551} No-r 1, Frid. Marched very early, 12 *verst* to the r. Urasowa, which crossing by a bridge, wee came 10 *verst* further and crossed another river of the same name by 2 ready bridges, as the other. These fall in the river Oskoll below Valuika¹¹³⁴.

Wee came to the towne Valuika, 8 *verst*, crossed the r. Valuika, which runneth through the midle of the towne or *posad*¹¹³⁵, the citadell being on the rising ground towards the hill. Hearing that his M. was by the *woy-wod*¹¹³⁶, I went thither & dined. A litle befor evening the regiments and my waggons came. I sent 6 horses to change these who were weayed.

His M. went away in the night tyme, haveing left orders to give to me 100 *podvodes*, to G-ll Le Fort as many, to Acht[omon] 160, to the 2 r[egiments]¹¹³⁷ about 400.

¹¹³⁴ Valuyki was then the southernmost fortress of Russia's steppe frontier. The hardest part of the return march was over.

¹¹³⁵ Quarter or suburb (Russian).

¹¹³⁶ *Voyevoda* in Valuyki was Afanasy Gavrilovich Ragozin.

¹¹³⁷ Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky.

The r. Valuia cometh out of the *step* not farr from Palatuf and, falling into the r. Oskol 5 *verst* below this towne, maketh it navigable.

{551v} No-r 2, Sat. I caused give of the cannon and ammunition, caused receive the *podvodes*; sent 12 horses to meet my waggons, who were stayed behind.

3. I dealt out the horses to the regiments, caused give *podrosnies*¹¹³⁸ for more horses as they received.

Writt to my wyfe by post.

4. I marched early with my owne retinue, ordering the regiments to march the most convenient way they could, and to rendezvous at Molodiach, 50 *verst* from Mosko, the 19 or 21 at furthest. About day light I rode by a wooden tower on my right hand, and having the r. Oskol on my left, marched all along by it, there being villages on the other syde of the river, from whence they brought to the high way all sorts of provisions.

Having marched {552} about 20 *verst*, I dined, and 15 *verst* further lodged by the said r. Oskol, having crossed diverse small r[ivule]ts or brookes. Here as every where good convenience of hay, wood & water.

No-r 5. I marched early, about 15 *verst*, and then turning to the right, came over a high hill. And so about 10 *verst* to the towne Novoskol¹¹³⁹, where getting change of horses I stayed not long, but marched up the r. Oskoll about 20 *verst*, and turning to the left hand, lodged by the village [...], where by the sojour [...] Kishiel his nephew I left 2 horses who were wearied.

6. Marched early, about 20 or 25 *verst*, crossed the r. Oskoll by new-made bridges thrice, came to Staraskoll, about 15 *verst*. This towne is scituate on a hill or the declining thereof very pleasantly, is distant from Novoskoll 60 *verst*, & from Livin 120 *verst*. I dined here with the governour¹¹⁴⁰, being invited, and getting my horses relieved, {552v} I marched 10 *verst* further and lodged by good convenience of hay, wood & water.

No-r 7, Thur. Marched early over the r. Oskoll by a village on our right hand, 2 *verst*, and 20 *verst* further dined in a oaken wood, 2 *verst* short of a large vill. called [...]. Then marched a long march by the said village and through some woods, crossing the r. Kzin¹¹⁴¹, and 2 *verst*s further

¹¹³⁸ *Podorozhnye* (Russian), orders for post horses.

¹¹³⁹ Novy Oskol.

¹¹⁴⁰ *Voyevoda* in Sary Oskol was M. Ofrosimov.

¹¹⁴¹ Kshen'.

crossing the brooke Teple. Lodged in a new village where 4 houses, but large, haveing marched this day about 40 *verst*. The r. Kzin falleth in the r. Sosna below Livin.

8. Marched early through oaken woods, where much hay, and not going the village way, went directly forward. About midday, watering the horses, wee lodged in the fields by hay & wood, but no water, haveing marched about 40 *verst*.

{553} No-r 9. Marched about midnight and by sunriseing I came to Livin, crossing the r. [...] just under it, being about 35 *verst*.

Here I stayed all day, changed my waggons or put them upon sledges. The river Sosna runneth by this towne. Here the cooke Artemy and Gregory the servant were both sick, but the cooke very ill. In the evening I marched and so the whole night.

10. A litle befor day they fedd the horses, and so most through oaken woods uninhabited. In the evening crossed the r. Susia¹¹⁴² and came to Novosila, a towne or citadell built with woodden towers as all the other in this tract. The governour came to visitt me, and with some entreaty I went along with him and supped.

My waggons comeing very late, and though I gott my *podvodes*, I resolved to stay till day. This towne is distant from Livin 70 long *verst*.

{553v} No-r 11, Moon. Befor day a litle my cooke Artemy dyed. I gave a *pope*¹¹⁴³ 2 rubles & his cloaths to bury him decently, and marched befor sunriseing through strait ground at first, then ffields; and then turning to the left hand, I lodged in the village Pandaraiova¹¹⁴⁴, 20 *verst*, where poore gentlemen live. This day very tempestuous with snow.

12. I marched early, and being moist unpleasant weather, I came 20 *verst*, and then turning to the left hand, dined in a village called Spasse, belonging to the *Dummy* Nik. Ivan. Akinfeow. Here I was forced to leave my best Dutch saddle-horse, being sick, as also another sand-colloured, being lame.

I marched, and haveing villages on both hands but non on the way, in the evening came to the vil. Polova¹¹⁴⁵ by a river of the same name. This

¹¹⁴² Zusha.

¹¹⁴³ *Pope* (Russian), priest.

¹¹⁴⁴ Poddarieva.

¹¹⁴⁵ Plava, now Plavsk.

belongeth to the *Stolnik* [...] Alex. Chitry, a large village and well accommodated. It is 50 or 60 *verst* from Tula, from Mczinesk¹¹⁴⁶ as much, 20 *verst* from Kropivna, and 60 or 70 from Novosila.

{554} No-r 13. The boy haveing forgott a spoone where wee dined the day befor, I gave a *panre* 2 *grivnees* to ride back with a note to Vasily Alabin the *denshik*, who stayed with the horses, to seek it up.

Marched early over the river and stopped a litle at a gentlmans house and caused feed my horses. I left by the gentleman my great black horse, the gentlemans name is Dmitre Yuri. Rosanuf.

A litle befor midday I came to Tula, and passeing the river Uppa, lodged on the other syde.

In the evening Captaine Kochintsuf [came] and brought me the sad newes of the death of my son Peter, who dyed in the night ane howre befor midnight betwixt the 9 & 10th. The circumstances of his death I had in letters from the Pater Deane & Mr. Krevet, desiring to know if he should [be buried] befor I should come, and if in my new buriall place. I wrott back to have him buried befor I come, and in the new buriall place. Of this writt to my wyfe, daughter, Pater & Mr. Krevet.

{554v} No-r 14. After breakfast I marched, and haveing crossed the r. Sulima, came to a village belonging to the Chitries, where lodged.

15. Marched too early. Came befor day to iron workes, and staying in a howse feeding the horses & resting till day light, I then went to Court and was made very welcome by his M., all the noblemen, and especially Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin], the lord of these workes.

I received letters from Mr. Vinius with an enclosed from Mr. Meverel, dated the 1st of October, giving me notice of 45 pounds 3 shil. 5 pence recovered of my expences of my Envoyship hither.¹¹⁴⁷ Hereby also letters from my son John, dated Achluichries 2 *7bris*; his father in law, dated Creichie 2d *7bris*; my brother & unkle, dated 12 *7bris*.

Went in the afternoone with his M. to the workes and beat out a broad plate.

¹¹⁴⁶ Mtsensk.

¹¹⁴⁷ In October 1686 King James II (VII) appointed Patrick Gordon British Envoy Extraordinary in Russia, which was declined by the Tsars because Gordon was on active Russian service. The general then solicited the British government for compensation of his expences incurred upon this appointment (*Diary*, IV, pp. 166–8).

Gave orders for my waggons to go directly to Mosko.

{555} No-r 16. Many noblemen came from Mosko and the journey.

Writt to my wyfe.

At the works againe.

17. Princely entertainment. In the evening by Tichon Nikit. [Streshnev] with his M. and merry.

18. All sort of provisions sent to me, dined. After dinner tooke journey and in the evening came to Czerpuchow, being thaw weather.

19. Marched early, came to P[...], 20 *verst*, and to Molodiach as much. Dined with his M. by the Sukofnins, and went to Dubrovitzza, where supped, lodged, and the next day

20. after breakfast marched to Koluminska, whither my son Theodorus came and brought me letters from my friends: {555v} Mr. Forbes, dated Dantzick 18 *Augusti*; Pater Schmidt, dated 22 Aug. & 19 *7bris*; Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 14 & 19th *7bris*; Mr. Johan Heling, dated Novogrod 27 *7bris*; Mr. Krevet, dated 19 *No-ris*, and in his *coverto* from Mr. Meverel, dated 3d July.

I understood by Theodorus that his brother was buried on Moonday last, being the 19th. I brought him to his M., who received him very kindly.

Received a letter also from Ro-t Gordon, dated Dantzick 17 Aug.

No-r 21. This day wee stayed expecting the coming of the regiments, who came but slowly, being now a terrible frost after all the snow was gone by the 2 former dayes thawing.

{556} No-r 22, Frid. Marched through Mosko and the Court in state, and came home to my house in the evening.

Received some visits.

23. Received a letter from Joh. Ignat. Kurtz, dated Alba Regalis¹¹⁴⁸ 21 *8bris*.

Many came to visit me.

Received a letter from the Count of Sanis¹¹⁴⁹ his lady, who subscribed

¹¹⁴⁸ Alba Regalis (Regia), Latin name for the Hungarian city of Székesfehérvár.

¹¹⁴⁹ Count Philipp von Sanis, apparently a christened Persian from Isfahan, son of Shah Abbas and his Armenian concubine. He went to Europe to study, lived in Britain, France and other countries, and was allegedly created count. In November 1695 he came to Moscow from Sweden to proceed to Persia, but in May 1696 was dismissed back to Stockholm. His reputation was suspect.

herself borne Countess of Suffolk, among other particulars claiming consanguinity wt me, dated Stockholme 31 July.

24. After devotion and vespers had many visitts.

25. Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Archangell 2 *9bris*, and from Coll. Bockhoven, dated Pereaslaw the 24 *Octobris*.

{556v} No-r 26, Tuesd. Gott a great fitt of a colick, which kept me for ane howre and a halfe. I gott after that ease, slept 2 howres. His M. sent for me to dine, but could not go, tooke phisick.

27. Tooke phisick and was better.

28. Purged and found great ease in my head & members, which were all out of order.

An order came to send in the service bookes.

29. His M. came by me in the morning & see Theodorus play with the collours and handle the *fusie*¹¹⁵⁰, was well pleased.

Writt to Mr. Forbes, Pater Schmidt, Mr. Gray & Mr. Frazer with encloseds to them all from my son Theodorus. These in answer to all these lately received.

{557} No-r 30, Sat. At devotion. Was visited by some ffriends, as Gen-ll Tawrnicht¹¹⁵¹ and others, who had not been by me.

Dec-r 1, Sund. Had some ffriends at dinner.

In the evening payed contravisitts, though not recovered fully.

2. Tooke phisick, being indisposed.

Received a letter from my son James, dated Tambow [...] *No-ris*, by the writers.

{557v} Dec-r 3, Tues. Writt to my son in law Snivins.

Sent my son Theodorus in my place to be godfather to a daughter of the deceased Lt.Col. Valentine Jacobi, called Elizabeth.

The buriall of [...] Pulst, to the which I went, but by reason of my indisposition could not stay to convoy him to the grave.

A great feast by Gen-ll Le Fort, to the which I was invited, but could not go.

Received a letter from Alex-r Gordon, eldest son to the Laird of

¹¹⁵⁰ *Fuzeya* (Russian), smooth-bore flintlock gun.

¹¹⁵¹ General Afanasy Trauernicht, a German convert to Orthodoxy (see *Diary*, Vol. III).

Achintowle¹¹⁵², dated Reval 29 *Oct-ris*.

4. Received a letter from my son James, dated Tambow 15 *No-ris*.

The Count de Sanis came to me and stayed about 2 howres, I haveing taken phisick.

{558} Dec-r 5. Many Russes did visitt me in the morning.

In the afternoone I rode to the new saw mill.

Received a letter from my son James, dated Tambow 17 *No-ris*.

6. Writt to C[a]ptain] Alex-r Gordon, Mr. Thomas More in Revall, and Lt.Coll. Palmer in Great Novogrod.

7. Rode and spoke with his M. about diverse things.

8. Many friends came to me. In the evening I was by Coll. Lima & M. Guasconi.

{558v} Dec-r 9, Moon. I was by Coll. Farensbach and Mr. La Valette.

Received a letter from Alex-r Gordon, dated Narva 18 *No-ris*.

10. In towne by many noblemen & ffriends and in Butirky.

Mr. Guasconi came.

11. The Count de Sanis by me.

12. The *escalado* of Gen[eva].¹¹⁵³

In the evening by Mr. Guasconi.

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated 3 *Dec-ris*.

{559} Dec-r 13, Frid. Writt to the governours of Novogrod and

¹¹⁵² Alexander Gordon (1669–1751), eldest son of Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul and Isabel Gray, niece to Lord Gray. He studied in Paris, fought for the French in Catalonia and was promoted to captain. On 12 January 1696 he came to Moscow, soon became Lt.colonel and took part in Azov campaign of 1696. In 1698 he married Patrick Gordon's daughter Catherine, but their children died young. In 1700, as colonel, he was wounded and captured at Narva by the Swedes. In 1707 he was exchanged by Russians, and advanced to major general. In 1711, on his father's death, he returned to Scotland, and in 1715 was among the leaders of the Great Rising, commanding the Jacobite centre at Sheriffmuir; condemned for treason, he lived in exile in France, but attainder under a wrong name allowed him to return home in 1727. He wrote *The History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia* in 2 vols. (Aberdeen, 1755), "impartial and in many cases true", according to N.G. Ustrialov.

¹¹⁵³ On the night of 12 December 1602 the Catholic army under Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy, tried to storm the walls of Calvinist Geneva, but was repulsed by the townsfolk. Apparently, this event was celebrated by General Lefort who came from Geneva.

Plesko with orders from their Ma-ties to further such officers, enginiers and fireworkers as shall upon my writeing for them come thither, with all expedition to Mosko and to give them *podvodes*; as also to Jochim Vaget & Lt.Coll. Palmer to the same purpose.

Writt to Alex-r Gordon.

Writt to my son John to send in my nephew to this countrey, as also some distressed cavaliers & knights errants.¹¹⁵⁴

Writt to Mr. Samuel Meverel in ans-r to his of the 3d July & 1st of October, with the enclosed to my son, by post, for w-ch 10 *altines*.

Bought a broad square stone to make ane inscription on for my son Peter; given for it 4 *grivnees*, 2 in hand & the rest when they shall set it up.

Coll. Obuchow sent me a *kuffe* of wyne.

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated 12 *No-ris*, with some of the fishes in that place.

{559v} Dec-r 14, Sat. His M. came to my house in the afternoone and tooke me along to Gen-ll Le Fort, who was sick, with the other Gen-ll Achtemon Golovin and others, where wee consulted about the chuseing of a *generalissimus* and admirall. And the business being befor prepared, it was resolved that the Boyar *Kniaz* Michael Alihukovitz Czerkasky¹¹⁵⁵ should be, and in case he be sick (as it is said he is), then the Boyar Alexey Simonovitz Sheyn to be.

A gentleman, Alfim Velimbassuf *sin* Ochliabinin, borrowed 20 rubles to the 20 of May next, & layd in pawne of the Galitsky *ujasd*, Robdina *stan*, *dorp* Kunitzina 5 *pawres* with all their goods. The same borrowed 20 rubles and laid in pawne his *pawr* Timoska Vasileow to the 30th of this month.

15. Being invited, I went to the *Goist* Gregory Dimitreovitz Strogonow¹¹⁵⁶ to dinner, where was his M. and some others.

Orders dispatched to Voronies and other places for makeing of 1,000 *struges* or great boates, as also to all the upper countrey to prepare a great deale of provisions & bring it to Voronies.

¹¹⁵⁴ I.e. Jacobites.

¹¹⁵⁵ Prince M.A. Cherkassky († 1712?), “near” boyar, *voyeroda* in Novgorod and Kazan’. In 1679 he was sent with his division to Kiev to repair fortifications, which was Gordon’s charge just then.

¹¹⁵⁶ G.D. Stroganov (1656–1715), head of the prominent family of merchants and entrepreneurs, one of Russia’s richest men.

{560} Dec-r 16. Writt to Colonell Georg Bush in the New Sergeyuf Towne, by a *strelets* come from thence.

Payed a visit to the Hollands resident, being sick, & to Coll. von Mengden.

The *Conte* de Sanis came to me in the evening.

17. A note of what I have needfull for a bridge over the Don at the breadth of 200 fathome.

500 firr boards 3 Tzarish fathome long, 12 or mor *verskyes*¹¹⁵⁷ broad, 1 1/2 thick.

700 fathome of cable ropes of the biggest syze.

600 fath. of ropes of a midle syze.

1,000 fath. of ropes of 1 1/2 *versky* in the round.

1,000 fath. of small ropes.

16 ankers of 5 or 6 *pude* weight.

4 ankers of 12 *pude* a piece.

So many old boates or *struges* as will make a double bridge.

100 *pude* of iron.

100 *pude* of hemp.

100 *pude* of thick pitch.

3,000 great nailes according to the patterne.

3,000 lesser nailes according to the patterne.

100 *swayes*¹¹⁵⁸ or pales of 4 & 5 fath. long, of 6 & 8 *verskyes* {560v} at the thickest end.

500 load of coales.

Dec-r 17. At the buriall of Maior Andrew Snivins his son.

This bridge to be made after this way.

Take 4 boards and joyne them not after the joyners but the slight, the narrowest of these boords take to the syde boords, which are to be put in betwixt the upper & lower, and these are to be chosen out of the broadest. The lowest boord ought to be a litle longer at both ends, and being joynd

¹¹⁵⁷ *Vershok*, old Russian measure of length equal to 4.45 cm.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Snaya* (Russian), pile.

with the two syde boords, are to be with hempe & pitch at the joynings well [...], that no water gett in. As also at both ends square boords are to be fitted within to keep them from another & in forme and well *calefated*¹¹⁵⁹ or [...].

Then both the ends of this longish coffer or chest are to be fitted within a iron girth, which in the middle where it closeth the upper boord must have a ring, through which a good strong cable can pass. But before the upper board be put on, this iron wipp as also the boords at the ends must be fastened and secured with nailes rivetted within. Then the upper boord must be fitted and put in, and well *calefated* that no water gett in, and with nailes fastened also.

{561} Haveing prepared a 100, lesse or more, as the river will require, you may put them all together on the bank of the river. The rings in the hooppes being evenly fitted in a row, and two cables drawne through them, the ends of which 2 cables must be fastened to two boates, or two long ropes to the ends of the cables, and so ferryed over the river; where must be ready two wheelles, such as are made for haleing of great burthens, and fixed in the ground. The ends of these cables or ropes being tyed to the axes of these wheelles, must be by the turning round the wheelles drawne over the river, there being men on the other syde, as also in boates to put of and keep at an equall distance these boxes. And then these cables must be tyed to the rings closs with ropes that they do not nor cannot remove.

Note that this must be done, if possible, in calme weather, but if in stormy weather, then must ankers be throwne out of boats on the wind, weather, or streame syde, and with cables or ropes tyed to the other cables of the bridge to keep it from driveing up or downe the river.

Haveing secured it above and below with ankers, you are to draw two ropes more of the middle syze within these at an equall distance. And if you will and have spare {561v} cables, you may [add] one more in the middle. These cables must be pletted with other small ropes across to keep them in order and at their equall distance. So now you may lay on loose boards for the more easy going over.

It will much conduce also to the securing of the bridge to have stakes or poles beat in above & below, 5 or more fathomes betwixt the stakes

¹¹⁵⁹ *Kalfatern* (German), to caulk.

according to the snelines, current or calmnes of the river. These stakes must have wippes with rings at the heads of them, to which ropes must be tyed & so to the syde cables, for keeping the bridge steady. The stakes may be beat in from a great boat, and from the bridge also.

Haveing thus secured your bridge with ankers and stakes as above, you must have boards ready to lay cross according to the breadth of your bridge (for you may make your bridge broader or narrower according to the river you are to put the bridge on). These boards must be made sure with ropes to both the syde cables, and then cross along this in the length another row of boords so broad as your store will permitt. The ends whereof and here & there in the midle must be beat [with] the great nailes, the ends especially secured by cross planks.

{562} But if you are to make a bridge only for transporting an army, then these long cases may be stuffed with reeds or other dry matter, without being at the paines or expences of pitching them.

If planks or *bruses*¹¹⁶⁰ can be had, then may these be laid crosse the river on the cases or boxes in 3 rowes, & the boords on them, yet yeelding or loose.

Dec-r 17. In the evening my son James came from Tambow.

{562v} Dec-r 18, Wed. In the night haveing been sick, I kept my bed till near midday; tooke phisick.

The *Dummy* Achtemon Ivanovits by me.

His Ma-tie went in the night for Yaroslaw to be at the interment of *Kniaz* Fiodor Ivanovits Troykuruf.

19. Caused writt the above-written roll to be given into the *Prikasse* to give orders to furnish the contents thereof.

20. Sent in the [roll] to the boyar with my son James.

The following note given me of the But[yrsky] regt.

Taken to service	900
Stayed in Mosko	100
Killed & dyed at service	183
Dyed in Mosko	9

¹¹⁶⁰ *Brus* (Russian), beam.

Not come from service	31
Returned from service	691
In Mosko	91
Written in at service	6
In Mosko written in by the <i>Dum[ny]</i>	3
Since by me of children	46
Of <i>plemeniks</i> ¹¹⁶¹ & others	<u>37</u>
In all now	905

Sent back the *podvodes* come with my son.

Rec-d a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 15 *No-ris*, by Capt. Bricks.

{563} Dec-r 21. Being St. Thomas day, heard devotion and dined by Coll. Thomas Yonger.

Coll. Limaes son Georg dyed.

22. His M. returned.

Rec-d a letter from Novogrod from Lt.Coll. Palmer, anothe[r] from my son in law Snivins, dated the 6^t *Dec-ris*, by Mr. Wullff; and by Mr. Meverell one from his father, dated 3d July past.

Received the Blessed Sacrament.

23. Writt to my son & daughter Snivins.

Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated 12 instant from Riga.

24. Sent the bookes into the *Prikase*.

The Chancellour Kusma Nikitits [N]yefimonuf dispatched Envoy to the Roman Emperour, to desire to continue the warrs with the Turkes, promising to do great matters, & desiring to have some enginiers & fireworkers.

25. At devotion by midnight.

{563v} Dec-r 26, Thurs. At devotion. In the evening friends by me.

All the gentlemen ordered to rendezvous at Valu[y]ka the 16th of March without faile, in order to their marching to Assow.

To Yermolay Daniel. [Mishukov] with Gavriel Minshikuf & Ivan Philipuf 2 ducates.

Ordered 50 libs. sterl. to be remitted to my bro-r John.

27. Writt to my son John, & to Mr. Meverell and to Mr. Frazer in Riga in answer to his of the 15th *No-ris* & 12 *Dec-ris*.

¹¹⁶¹ *Plemiannik* (Russian), nephew.

28. Given to the great *slavitsnikes*¹¹⁶² 3 rubles & to the singers who had been with us in the fields a ruble.

29. Rec-d letters from Mr. Joch. Vaget, dated Plesco 22 *Dec-ris*; from Lt.Coll. Palmer, dated Novogrod 24 Dec., giving me notice of the receipt & delivery of the Imperiall letters to the governours with the orders to send forwards without hinderance any who shall come that way upon my call, and give them *podvods*.

{564} Dec-r 30. Visited Lt.Gen-ll Zeugh, and thereafter by Mr. Guasconi.

31. Rece-d a horse from Maior Du Pré.

{564v} The regiment writer Nikita Solochin gave the following account of the moneyes remaining by him, the disbursments cleared.

	<u>R.</u>	<u>Alt.</u>	<u>D.</u>
Of the 201 year	-	27	5
Of the 202	125	32	1
Of the 203 to the month of June	<u>95</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>2</u>
In all	222	23	4
Disbursed	154	22	-
Remaining	68	1	4

Received by Assow

From Agafon Pregayuf	1,072	1	-
From Agafon Mieskow	180	-	-
From Alexey Yermolayuf	<u>697</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>4</u>
In all	1,949	29	4

Received by order from Mosko

From Agafon Pregayuf	2,100	-	-
From Agafon Mieskow	<u>1,700</u>	=	=

¹¹⁶² *Slavitschiki* (Russian), singers of praises, usually on Christmastide.

In all	<u>3,800</u>	=	=
Received in all	5,972	20	-

Whereof in monthly pay to the Butirsky sojourns

For June & July	1,941	23	2
Aug. & 7ber	1,791	24	5
For October	690	31	4
To the writer Agafon Mieskow	<u>300</u>	=	=
Disbursed in all	<u>4,842</u>	8	=
Remaining wt the former 68-1-4	975	32	2

{565} A list of the sojourns killed, dyed, wounded & alive in this last campagny at the siege of Assow.

Reg-ts	Gone from Mosko & homes	Killed	Dyed of dis- eases	Dyed of wounds	Wounded	Alive
Lyfe Regt.	900	42	92	46	122	715
Yonger	871					
Yurenuf	929					
Bane	876					
Gordon ¹¹⁶³	1,203					
Evanitsky	978					
Bush	981					
<i>Stremeny</i>	660					
Zukow	811					
Krovkow	588					
Kobilsky	761					
Obuchow	599					

¹¹⁶³ Colonel James Gordon.

Kapustin	580
Koslow	524
Of diverse	
reg-ts	97
Sent of	
Tamb[ov]	<u>50</u>
In all	11,408

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