

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

VOLUME IV: 1684 – 1689

Edited by
Dmitry Fedosov

Editorial Board:

Paul Bushkovitch, Paul Dukes, Dmitry Fedosov,
Irina Garkusha, Graeme Herd, Mikhail Ryzhenkov

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Portrait
des Generalen Patrick Gordon!

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From Kiev to Moscow

Dmitry Fedosov

On a mild winter day of 9 December 1683 a splendid cavalcade emerged from Kiev's Kreshchatitsky Gate, heading at leisure towards the river. The ornate sleighs and purebred horses carried all the city authorities: Boyar and *Voyevoda* Prince Piotr Semionovich Prozorovsky, *Okolnichy* Prince Boris Vasilyevich Gorchakov, *stolniks* and colonels, Cossack elders and eminent burghers with numerous armed escorts and attendants. Among these stood out Western azure-and-gold liveries, the colours of a famous Scottish clan, worn by the suite of one of the most distinguished commanders of the Tsars' army, Lieutenant General Patrick (*Piotr Ivanovich*) Gordon, whose send-off to Moscow was the reason for this procession. According to Slavic custom, also respected in the traveller's homeland, many stirrup cups were drained. "And having driven out of the Lower Town beyond Kreshchatsky [*sic*] Gate to the Dnieper, and coming out of their sleighs, the boyar and *voevoda*... and *stolniks* and colonels... did stay with the general a good while and, having taken their leave of the general", went their ways.¹

By then the Scots gentleman Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries² (1635–1699) has spent over twenty years in the Tsars' employ, having joined it as major in September 1661. For his admirable conduct during the heroic defence of Chigirin, Hetmans' capital of Right-Bank Ukraine, against the

¹ Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA), Moscow, Fond 210, *Razriadny prikaz; Prikaznoy stol*, stolbets 930, fols. 9–10; *Opisaniye dokumentov i bumag, khraniaschikhsia v Moskovskom Arkhive Ministerstva Yustitsii* (Moscow, 1910), Kniga XVI, p. 154. The exact date of Gordon's promotion to lieutenant general is not discovered yet, but he already held this rank by early December 1683.

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); *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, Vol. II: 1659–1667* (Aberdeen, 2010); *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, Vol. III: 1677–1678* (Aberdeen, 2012).

Ottoman forces he was advanced to major general, and in late 1678, on urgent request of Hetman I.S. Samoylovich, appointed to joint command of the garrison in Kiev, where he was to “take charge of the foot, dragoon and soldier regiments” and to head major fortification works.³ He served there for seven years, which were peaceful, but full of anxiety and cares. For most of this period we have only shreds of evidence from various sources. Thus, we know that soon after his transfer to Kiev, on 8 March 1679, Gordon drew up a deed of factory to run his affairs in Scotland, witnessed by his countrymen and comrades-in-arms, Lt.Colonel Alexander Hamilton and Major William Hay.⁴ As before, he kept a busy correspondence with many addressees in Russia and the West: in September 1680 Baron van Keller, Dutch resident at the Tsars’ court, passed a letter to the secretary of the Polish ambassador in Moscow from the “Kiev Commandant” Gordon, and in April 1681 *The London Gazette* recorded the latter’s visit to the Russian capital in January.⁵ During the Moscow *streltsy* riot and massacre of 1682 he held his Kiev subordinates, including the *streltsy*, in obedience, for which they later received the Tsars’ letter of grace with some fare (see the present edition, fol. 29). On the whole, Gordon’s Kiev spell, of which just two final years (1684–85) are covered in the surviving part of his Diary, is marked by the peculiarity of the time and place.

It was but recently that Kiev came in possession of the Russian Tsardom, and with a small district long remained its only stronghold on the right bank of the Dnieper. The historical, political and strategic importance of this fact was well appreciated in Moscow – in the Tsars’ appellation the Kiev title was second only to that of Moscow, but far exceeded it in antiquity. No less crucial for the Orthodox realm were the venerable holy relics of the “Russian Jerusalem”⁶, which became the

³ See *Diary*, III.

⁴ National Archives of Scotland, RD 4/46, pp. 437–9.

⁵ Archive of St.Petersburg Institute of History, Coll. 40, opis’ 1, No. 56, fol. 186 (van Keller’s dispatches to the States-General are of great value, although this collection contains just their incomplete French translations; originals are in the Royal Archives, The Hague). *London Gazette*, No. 1611, 25–28 April 1681. In a single day, on 8 January 1685, Gordon wrote no fewer than 21 letters from Kiev to Moscow and other places (*Diary*, IV, fols. 54–54 v.).

⁶ See O.P. Tolochko, “Vid ‘rosiyskogo Ierusalimu’ do ‘slov’yanskikh Pompey’”, *Ukraina i Rosiya v istorychniy retrospektyvi* (Kyiv, 2004), pp. 318–31.

greatest centre of pilgrimage from the North-East. However, it was so far obtained *de facto*, not *de jure*: by the terms of the truce of 1667 Poland-Lithuania ceded Kiev for merely two years, after which it was to be given back. Thenceforth, despite mutual desire for peace and alliance, especially after the triumph of Christian arms over the Turks at Vienna in 1683, both sides were adamant. Muscovite diplomats used various pretexts to shun the agreed obligation, while the Poles regarded the city as rightfully theirs, and its return as shortly inevitable. “The capital of the Duchy of Ukraine, – wrote van Keller, – is the place which the King of Poland has always kept in mind”.⁷ And whatever they could not acquire peacefully, the Poles and Lithuanians were wont to win by force, especially when led by such gifted and belligerent leaders as King Jan Sobieski. The age-old Russo-Polish strife could not have been easily overcome, so that the possibility of a new clash always remained throughout Gordon’s sojourn in Kiev, especially since in Moscow and Left-Bank Ukraine there was a potent anti-Polish party headed by principal boyars, Patriarch Ioakim and Hetman Samoylovich.

The situation was aggravated by the constant menacing presence of another great power, the Ottoman Porte and its vassal, the Khanate of Crimea. In the 1670s, having wrested Podolia from the Poles, and beaten back the Russians and Cossacks from Chigirin, the Turks and Tatars kept Kiev and other border fortresses under threat. Even after the Peace of Bakhchisaray with Russia (1681) and the rout at Vienna the struggle was far from over. The Sultan carried on the war with Rzeczpospolita, and as long as Kiev stood on the Polish side of the Dnieper and was not recognised by Europe as Tsars’ property, the danger never ceased. Tatar hordes still plagued Ukraine, often suddenly appearing under the very city walls, laying the country waste and driving thousands into slavery. All this made the defence of Kiev top priority for the Russian government, for which purpose huge sums were spent and all possible means employed.

Meanwhile, after the wars of the mid-17th century, city bulwarks were in a woeful state: governors reported that “the fortress in many places is burnt and broken... and, O Sovereign, its towers are worn”⁸. Even ten

⁷ Dispatch of 5 July 1689 (Archive of St.Petersburg Institute of History, Coll. 40, opis’ 1, No. 58, fol. 153 v.).

⁸ *Akty, odnosiaschieisia k istorii Yuzhnoy i Zapadnoy Rossii*, Vol. X (St.Petersburg, 1878),

years after Kiev pledged allegiance to the Tsar, in Gordon's own words, King Jan Kazimierz of Poland could have "very easily" taken it by storm, "it being not well fortyfyed nor guarded".⁹ Apart from shabby walls and overstretched defences, more difficulties were presented by very hilly and rugged terrain. The capital of Old Rus was no compact citadel, but a string of disjointed forts: the Upper Town, comprising the Great, Small and St. Michael's "castles", the Lower Town (Podol), and Pechersk with its famous Lavra, besides the adjacent monasteries.

These were the circumstances in which Major General Gordon got such a crucial post. I have already expressed my opinion, and tried to vindicate it, that this Scot, who pointedly avoided the tag of engineer and was no innovator in fortification, proved himself probably the best "military architect" in Russia of his age.¹⁰ In any case, both the ruler of Ukraine, Hetman Samoylovich, who regarded him "most needful in time of siege", and the government of Tsar Fiodor Alexeyevich, which largely entrusted the fate of Kiev to a mercenary foreigner¹¹ and a Roman Catholic, have confirmed this view by their very choice.

Their trust was fully justified. Of course, the credit for the construction of Kiev defensive works cannot be ascribed to one person. In those years among Gordon's predecessors or assistants were the Dutchmen van Zалens (father and son), the Livonian Georg von Mengden, the Scot Alexander Livingston, the Venetian Giorgio Lima and others, as well as many Ukrainian and Russian builders. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt in Gordon's contribution to the "immense work in the making of Kiev fortifications" ("so that there would be no fear to sit [there during a siege]")¹², as also to the overall strengthening of the garrison. Here, as in other matters, the Diary evidence is well supported by archival documents.

Already in November 1678 Gordon submitted to *Malorossiysky Prikaz*

pp. 385–6.

⁹ *Diary*, II, p. 185.

¹⁰ See my article in *Diary*, III, pp. xv–xviii.

¹¹ Gordon firmly refused to take an oath of loyalty to the Tsar for "all the days of his life", still deeming himself a British subject (*Diary*, II, p. 146), i.e. in terms of that age he came to Muscovy not "in the Sovereign's [Tsar's] name", but only "for hire", temporarily.

¹² G. V. Alfiorova & V. A. Kharlamov, *Kiev vo vtoroy polovine XVII veka. Istoriko-arkhitekturny ocherk* (Kiev, 1982), p. 3.

(Ukrainian Office) in Moscow a detailed inventory of “what is needed for protection of the city of Kiev in military men and sundry military and mining supplies”. His approach made sense – to ask for much in order to get something, so that Moscow officials carefully considered and in some measure allowed for almost all his requirements. He proposed to reinforce the weak garrison of about 5,000 men to 30,000, of which a half was granted. The number of “high cannon” (mortars) increased from 4 to 10, “with a 1,000 grenades for each”, in exact accordance with the submitted estimate; out of 40,000 hand grenades required, 30,000 were added to the available 4,000, and so on. Gordon’s proposal on the ranks and names of his regimental officers, including a Lt.colonel for each of the “firearms, mining and engineer branches”, was met almost entirely.¹³ Among these officers were several Scots, the general’s proven brothers-in-arms, as well as a young Genevan, Captain François (Franz) Lefort, who was long to stay under Gordon’s command and patronage before turning into a prime favourite of Tsar Peter.

With all the means required by Gordon and arriving from many places of Russia and Left-Bank Ukraine, there began perennial hard labours of reconstructing the defensive lines of Kiev. According to the report of *Voyevoda* I.S. Khitrovo, they made good progress already by the end of 1680: “by September 1st of the year 189, from the inventory of Major General Piotr Gordon, sundry city forts and tunnels and ditches are made anew, and old ones repaired”, whereat a detailed account of the works was appended; however, by the same inventory, much “remains henceforth to be made anew, and to repair the old ones”.¹⁴

Gordon’s tireless efforts as military engineer are borne out in his journal. On 24 April 1684 he ordered to bring him a roll of the garrison, its artillery and ammunition, copied it into his Diary and determined the schedule of “what was to be made about the towne in a large booke under my hand”, which he promptly sent to Moscow (fols. 12 v.–14 v.). On 7 July he recorded that the mending of the Lower Town wall began, and on 7 November summed up the result of autumn works: “being in all of the wallgang and brestworke 487 fath[oms]” (fol. 35). On 29 April 1685

¹³ Ibid., pp. 16, 125–9; RGADA, Fond 124, *Malorossiyskiye dela 1678 g.*, No. 19, fols. 21–35.

¹⁴ G.V. Alfiorova & V.A. Kharlamov, op. cit., pp. 129–32.

he gave in a paper for renovation of the Ivanovsky bastion, whither on 4 May he dispatched 60 men with necessary materials and instruments. On 30 May the changes to the Pechersky Gate were completed, and on 23 September workmen started to install the palisade at the Kievsky Gate, which was finished in five days.

The fortification of Kiev went on after the Russian Scot left the city, and the results are evident in the so-called Ushakov plan of Kiev, dated 1695.¹⁵ Instead of old vulnerable timber walls and towers, which improved little over the centuries, Gordon and his colleagues erected a new solid system of earthen ramparts and other defences, some of them (i.e. Sofiysky Gate) in stone and brick. The fact that no adversary, neither the Poles nor the Turks in the late 17th century, nor even the Swedes in the early 18th, ventured to test the strength of Kiev bastions owes much to Patrick Gordon.

Apart from fortifications, he supervised the making and removal of temporary floating bridges across the Dnieper and its arms, the design of artillery platforms and carriages etc. It is also remarkable that the Scot's building expertise induced the superior of the Pechersk Lavra to seek his advice on the foundation of the new monastic refectory, and on another occasion, to prevent "the falling of a hill whereon the church, which leadeth into the subterranean caves where their holy persons ly, is built" (fol. 69).

The general's duties were not confined to those mentioned above. Although by 1684–85, due to the peace with neighbours, the numbers of Tsars' troops in Kiev sharply fell to some 3,000, Gordon held immediate command over the core of the garrison: 44 officers, 140 soldiers, 281 *streltsy*, as well as all city cannons (35 "constables") and cavalymen (123 *reiters*, besides Cossacks and the city council's troop) – in total 623 men.¹⁶ As always, he diligently oversaw the musters, exercises, bookkeeping, regulation of offences, repair of soldiers' quarters and stoves and other aspects of garrison life. He also distributed sentries day and night, and sometimes "kept the Town" himself when Russian governors and colonels celebrated a holiday (fols. 38, 79).

¹⁵ This "draft" is published and studied in detail *ibid.*

¹⁶ As of 16 July 1684 (fol. 24).

Despite a formal peace, vigilance was the main rule for the border stronghold, because the war-ridden territory of Rzeczpospolita lay just a few miles away. The fourth volume of Gordon's chronicle, like all preceding ones, is a priceless source for the history of both parts of Ukraine as well as Poland, full of diverse information from all of them, although it was omitted in the old Russian translation of this part of the Diary.¹⁷ As usual, the author resorted to every available means of getting intelligence and news: official and private correspondence, reports of agents and spies, accounts of military personnel, merchants, priests, Cossacks etc. With his excellent knowledge of the Poles through his long service to their Crown and fluency in their language, he always did justice to their courage, hospitality, love of freedom and level of education, although he did not admire them blindly (in one letter he blames them for "secrenes [secrecy], incircumspection and disorder"¹⁸). Gordon was an ardent advocate of Christian unity in the face of the Ottoman danger and, consequently, of the alliance between his Russian and Ukrainian comrades-in-arms and Polish-Lithuanian brothers in Roman Catholic faith. This is apparent, in particular, from his memorandum to Prince V.V. Golitsyn, head of the Russian government under Tsarevna Sophia and adolescent Tsars Ivan and Peter, dated January 1684 (fols. 1 b–6 v.). N.G. Ustrialov, who published this important document in his "History of the Reign of Peter the Great", observes that "in those circumstances nothing could be more substantial than Gordon's opinion".¹⁹ Given the general's views, his reputation and proximity to Golitsyn and the Tsars' court, we can safely assume that he played a vital part in the transition from age-old Russo-Polish hostility to the "Eternal Peace" of 1686.

Gordon regularly records news from the Polish dominions, rejecting rumours of the Poles' intent to attack the Russians as being "without ground or likelihood" (fol. 79). Most of this evidence deals with military actions against the Turks and Tatars. For instance, the Moldavian

¹⁷ *Kiev v 1684–1685 godakh po opisaniyu sluzhbilago inozemtsa Patrikiya Gordona* (Kiev, 1875).

¹⁸ S. Konovalov (ed.), "Sixteen Further Letters of General Patrick Gordon", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XIII (1967), p. 95.

¹⁹ N.G. Ustrialov, *Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikago*. Vol. I. *Gospodstvo Tsarevny Sofii* (St.Petersburg, 1858), p. 134. This historian's dislike of V.V. Golitsyn made him believe that the prince allegedly "listened to Gordon with indifference", which can hardly be true.

campaign of Polish Hetmans in 1685 is described in some detail with reference to an eyewitness, Pater Makovius. The Tatars, who often prowled very close to Kiev, also make frequent appearance in the Diary pages. In July and November 1684 they raided Belogorodka on the Irpen' river, killing Cossacks and stealing the Kievites' horses. But, for all that, life in Kiev did not amount to military service.

Cossack chroniclers and later historians had every reason to lament the fate of "Lesser Russia" in the middle and second half of the 17th century: "With ceaseless fires of war, as well as internecine adversities, battles, bloodshed and extreme ruin afflicting her on all sides,... the final and certain ravage and devastation befell Ukraine... She did fall, she did fall, the fair Cossack Ukraine of that bank!"²⁰ However, unlike the remainder of the Right Bank, at this time of comparative calm Kiev gradually recovered from former troubles, being resettled and rebuilt. For its cultural level it was unsurpassed in the whole of Russian Tsardom, as it boasted the country's only high educational institution, the famous Mohyla Academy, which since the 1680s acquired the main features of a university and overcame a certain decline.²¹ Here lived and worked, along with Gordon, such noted writers and divines as Innokenty Giesel, Varlaam Yasinsky, Dimitry Tuptalo, Stefan Yavorsky and others. In his welcoming speech to Yasinsky on 1 May 1684, on the occasion of the latter's election as Archimandrite of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra, Gordon recalls his own frequent meetings with the Monastery's former superior, Giesel. The Diary contains an entry on the merry reception given by its author to the priors of Kievan monasteries, and mentions the name of the Cossack *Sotnik* Tuptalo, father of the future Orthodox Saint. Even though Gordon's sons did not study at the Academy, as some historians thought²², he maintained friendly links with

²⁰ S. Velichko, *Letopis' sobytij v Yugo-Zapadnoy Rossii v XVII veke*, Vol. II (Kiev, 1851), pp. 8, 412; N.I. Kostomarov, *Istoricheskiye monografii i issledovaniya. Ruina (1663–1687). Getmanstva Brukhovetskago, Mnogogreshnago i Samoylovicha*. Book 6, Vol. XV (St.Petersburg, 1905).

²¹ See S.T. Golubev, "Kievskaya Akademiya v kontse XVII i nachale XVIII stoletiya", *Trudy Kierskoy Dukhovnoy Akademii*, Kniga 11, 1901. The Mohyla Academy largely contributed to the foundation in Moscow in 1687 of the Hellenic-Greek (later Slavic, Greek and Latin) Academy, many of whose lecturers and students came from Kiev.

²² *Kiev v 1684–1685 godakh...*, p. 8.

its teachers and alumni, with whom he could freely converse in three languages, Latin, Polish and “Slavonic Russian”. Once he “had the children of the chieffe persons of the Cosakes, who were here at Schoole, by me to dinner, being with their pedagogues 20 persons”, another day he went “to a dialogue” in the Bratsky Monastery, where the Academy was (fols. 31 v, 70) etc.

Besides local Orthodox and visiting Roman Catholic clergy, the general’s circle comprised all Russian dignitaries, foreign officers, eminent townsfolk and Cossack elders, starting with Hetman I.S. Samoylovich and General *Osavul* I.S. Mazepa. The urbane and experienced Scot invariably enjoyed everyone’s respect, often being fêted in the best houses of Kiev, and always ready to welcome guests of honour at his home. In his seven years in Kiev about a dozen of ‘Tsars’ governors succeeded each other, among whom there were inveterate rivals²³, but he seems to have been on good terms with all and corresponded with many, later seeing them in Moscow and making close friends with some. Boyar Piotr Vasilyevich Sheremetev the Elder felt “love and kindness” for the man who promised to give “faithfull advice” to his son and succeeding governor, Fiodor Petrovich (fols. 54, 73). Orthodox and Roman Catholic feasts (in particular, that of St. Andrew, common heavenly Patron of Scotland and Russia), the ‘Tsars’, Kings’ and boyars’ name-days and christenings of children were celebrated on a grand scale, often till the early hours, with fireworks, masquerades and balls – come tomorrow, Gordon confesses of heavy hangovers. Leisure time was spent in hunting and riding in the country and picnics on the Dnieper islands, two of which were called by him *Carolina* and *Jacobina* in honour of his British sovereigns. Funerals were especially solemn, including flambeaux processions, tolling of bells, graveside orations and memorial suppers attended by city guilds and staff of the Mohyla Academy.

We have yet to find the exact site of the Kiev residence of the dean of foreign servicemen in Russia, but in all probability it stood in the Upper Town, near the ‘Tsars’ and Voyevoda’s palaces. From this part of the Diary we can glean but little on its author’s household, since everything has long

²³ A. Barsukov, *Spiski gorodovykh voyevod... XVII stoletiya* (St.Petersburg, 1902), pp. 103–4; *Diary*, fol. 27 v., entry for 7 August 1684.

settled down and followed its normal course. "Gordon was an excellent manager and never fell on hard times".²⁴ There is no doubt that his mansion was one of the best in Kiev. He kept many horses and greatly cared for them, with splendid carriages and retinue decked out in his heraldic colours; his coat of arms was that of his clan: azure (blue field), three boars' heads or (in gold), langued gules (with red tongues), with a crescent in fess point for difference. His rather frequent notes on grazing of horses and hay-mowing bear no trace of the conflict implied in the Tsars' letters of 1679 and 1681.²⁵ Judging by the fact that the general treated guests to wine from his own vineyard (fol. 91 v.), his Kiev orchard was nothing inferior to the one he had in Sevsk, where he grew apples, cherries, plums, rowans, currants, gooseberries, barberries, elderberries and nuts.²⁶ Provisions came either from his own farm or were bought in the market, or else presented by well-off acquaintances: Hetman Samoylovich once sent to Gordon 3 cows, 25 sheep, a barrel of brandy and 40 rubles in coin (fol. 28).

In Kiev the lieutenant general lived with his second wife Elizabeth née Ronaer, who stemmed from a Netherlandish military family settled in Muscovy. His children by his first marriage, to the late Catherine von Bockhoven, already left their father's home: his eldest sons John (born 1667) and James (b. 1668) studied in Scotland, Flanders and Poland; his eldest daughter Catherine (b. 1665) was married to Colonel Rudolf (Rodion) Strasburg, also of the Kiev garrison. Patrick's second daughter Mary (b. 1673) still stayed with her parents, then came the sons Theodore (b. 14 February 1681) and George (b. 24 December 1682). The death and burial of the youngest child, who did not reach two years of age, are

²⁴ A. Brückner, *Patrick Gordon i yego Dnevnik* (St.Petersburg, 1878), p. 52.

²⁵ "We have granted... to Archimandrite of the Kiev Pechersk Monastery, Innokenty Giesel, with his brethren that... the commanders and all military men who... abide in Kiev should not intrude into hay meadows of the Kiev Pechersk Monastery as well as into fisheries and wild honey grounds, and not to give them any offences or infringement... So that you in Kiev are to order Major General Piotr Gordon and our *stolniks* and colonels... and military men... of all ranks... on pain of harsh punishment [to act] according to the former and the present... ukase... and to protect the same firmly with every concern" (*Dopolneniya k aktam istoricheskim...*, Vol. IX (St.Petersburg, 1875), pp. 185–6).

²⁶ RGADA, Fond 210, *Belgorodskiy stol*, stolbets 968, fol. 15–16 (documents on Gordon's estate in Sevsk, 1681–4).

touchingly described in the Diary.

* * *

For all his long-standing achievements in Russia and Ukraine, Gordon, unlike many of his predecessors and countrymen, “foreigners of the Scottish land” such as Hamiltons (Khomutovs), Kers, Leslies, Learmonth et al., never accepted Russian citizenship nor Orthodoxy, and remained a subject of the Royal House of Stuart. He always dreamed of a discharge in order to return to Scotland with his family, and persistently but fruitlessly solicited the Moscow government about it. Apart from a very natural yearning for his homeland as he was getting older, at the time in question this desire grew even stronger for very weighty reasons. First, he was informed of his parents’ demise, which made him the rightful owner of the family estate of Auchleuchries, but he could only obtain the sasine and arrange all affairs on condition of personal presence in Scotland. Secondly, in February 1685, for the first time since the 16th-century Reformation, the British crowns went to a Roman Catholic King, James II (VII), who instantly embarked on a very resolute course to restore the civil rights of his much-harassed coreligionists.²⁷ Having made the acquaintance of this monarch during his visit to London in 1666–7²⁸, and relying on his ties with the Scots aristocracy, Gordon could definitely hope to secure a high post under the new regime. That is why he doubled his efforts to get a dismissal from Russia.

On 26 April 1685, just as he heard of the accession of James II, the Scot dispatched another petition to the Tsars via an old friend, *Okolnichy* L.R. Nepliuyev, and *Dummy Dyak* Ye.I. Ukraintsev; his letters on the 28th to influential Boyars I.M. Miloslavsky and A.P. Saltykov were clearly sent to the same purpose. The Tsars’ elaborate titles and other formal demands were surely respected in this document submitted “above”²⁹, even if they are absent from the Diary version (fols. 73 v.–76). Nonetheless, the tone

²⁷ See G. Donaldson, *Scotland: James V – James VII* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 380–3.

²⁸ *Diary*, II, p. 261.

²⁹ Yet again we have to regret the loss of the *Inozemskiy Prikaz* archive, which included many original papers anent Gordon’s service.

was unusual, and the author calls it not a petition but a *remonstrance*: it is not an abject supplication of a Tsars' "serf", but a dignified statement of a free and noble man, composed in as bold expressions as the autocratic ear would bear. Having mentioned his impeccable service and rued the dearth of his means and impossibility to observe Roman Catholic rites, Gordon asked to give him at least a six-month furlough to go home. After long pleading and recourse to the "First Minister", Prince V.V. Golitsyn, he was finally summoned to Moscow and granted temporary leave. On 26 January 1686 he received a cup of vodka from the younger Tsar with an order to return soon (the first known record of Tsar Peter's meeting with his future instructor in military and other matters), and with just two servants set out on his journey.

Via Riga and Memel the traveller reached Danzig, whence he took his son James, who studied there, to avoid his being "infected with Calvinism"; for a few weeks in March the lad kept their road journal under his father's control. Through Berlin, Hamburg and Amsterdam (the journey to Holland was by land because of the cold season and unwillingness to depend on the winds) they reached London on 14 April. Here the guest was welcomed by his forewarned noble friends. With help from Lt. General Drummond, who had once served the Tsar, and the former's clansman, Secretary of State Lord Melfort, "the Scots Muscovite" was immediately, in the morning of day two, granted a favourable audience by the King, who asked him "many questions concerning the Tzars, the countrey, the state of effaires, the militia & government, as also of my jorney, & many other particulars" (fol. 122 v.).

During a month spent in the English capital Gordon enjoyed the royal company almost daily: in palaces, at Catholic worship, for strolls in the park, on trips to Chatham, Sheerness and Windsor. King James never ceased to make detailed inquiries about Russian "manner of government, our garrisons, souldiery, armes, & manner of warring, the business of Czegrin and many other things" (fol. 123), asked his interlocutor's opinion on English coastal forts, and was apparently impressed by his military expertise and outlook. Moreover, the Tsars' general twice attended theatrical shows, including *Hamlet*, performed on 4 May "in Whitehall in the presence of the King, Queen & all the Court" (fol. 125 v.) – the earliest known reference to Shakespeare's works made by an inhabitant of

Russia.³⁰ Unlimited access to court and growing intimacy with many leading British nobles opened up enticing perspectives for the future.

The honourable reception afforded to Gordon at the highest level is all the more striking because he arrived in a private, unofficial capacity. In contrast with his mission of 1666–7, he had no Tsars' letters, credentials or written instructions from the Russian Embassy Office. But to miss such an occasion altogether would have been unpardonable for Muscovite authorities: some "verball comission by order from the chieffe minister of Estate [Prince V.V. Golitsyn], concerning their Ma-ties affaires" was indeed given on departure (fol. 101 v.). At least Gordon had every chance to acquaint King James and his cabinet about it, although the Diary does not say what the matter was. British sources also keep silence on Gordon's visit owing to its informality.³¹ Anyway, the verbal commission from Moscow could not have coincided with the main goal of shortly subsequent Russian missions to Britain headed by V. Mikhailov (1686) and V. Posnikov (1687)³², i.e. to involve Britain in the Holy League against the Turks, for the Russo-Polish "Eternal Peace", which obliged the parties to act to that purpose, was signed *after* Gordon's arrival in London. The matter had rather to do with commercial links, which were far from ideal: the British still insisted on the restoration of their merchant privileges lost in 1649, while the Dutch clearly outplayed them on the Russian market.³³ Later Prince V.V. Golitsyn bluntly expressed to Gordon his irritation with the protracted absence of British envoys in Moscow: "Wee could agree well enough with your Kings father & brother, but wee cannot come to

³⁰ M.P. Alexeyev, *Russko-angliyskiye literaturnye svyazi* (Moscow, 1982), p. 66. The attendance of *The Tempest* in London in 1682 by Russian Ambassador P.I. Potiomkin is known not from a Russian account, but from an English source (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1682*, p. 24). Besides, not having any English, Potiomkin could hardly appreciate the play.

³¹ P. Dukes, G.P. Herd & J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs: The Rise and Fall of a Special Relationship* (Dundee, 2009), pp. 145–6.

³² See "Zelo narod grub i protivno Korolevskogo Velichestva derzok", *Istochnik*. No. 5, 2002, pp. 24–9; L. Hughes, "V.T. Postnikov's 1687 Mission to London: Anglo-Russian Relations in the 1680s in British Sources", *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 68, No. 3, 1990, pp. 447–60.

³³ *Diary*, II, pp. xxiv–xxvii; Patrick Gordon to the Earl of Middleton from Moscow, 25 January 1687 (BL, Add.MSS 41842, fols. 154 r.-v.); P. Dukes, G.P. Herd & J. Kotilaine, op. cit., pp. 128–30.

right with this; he is proud beyond all measure” (fol. 210 v.). For his part, the Russian Scot tried to appease the contradictions and assured Lord Middleton that “our chieffe minister of state is very earnestly desirous of a good understanding with his [Britannic] Majesty”.³⁴ So far Russo-British relations at this period are not sufficiently studied on both sides, and further efforts in this respect may shed more light on Gordon’s mission.

Russian *Dyak* V. Mikhailov, who visited England just a few months later, in his official report reflected the wide social discontent with royal measures to emancipate the nonconformists, and with “tyrannical” inclinations of King James II (which were largely inflated by the Protestant opposition): “The whole nation is all in the Calvinist and Protestant faith, wherefore they have a great dislike for His Royal Majesty, and breathe great trouble for the suppression of their parliament. And His Royal Majesty... finally eradicates the age-old parliament in England from his subjects because of their hard-heartedness, for upon his accession to the crown he counters the ancient rudeness and disobedience of his subjects with incessant exercise of military men and their frequent musters. And they, the English, are saying that they do not remember here a king so fearful to themselves”.³⁵ In a few years Gordon put it another way: “I perceived even when I was there [in Britain] that the Kings too great goodnes & credulity in intrusting dissaffected & ill principled persons in high charges could not but prove fatal”.³⁶ However, in his British journal of 1686 there are as yet few alarming signs, except for comments on the intractability of the parliaments of England and Scotland (fol. 126).

For all the importance of his visit to the English capital, Gordon was much more eager to go to his homeland; having left London on 17 May, he reached Edinburgh on the 28th. He takes no pains to describe one of Europe’s loveliest cities and continues the Diary in his habitually terse and dryish manner. Deploring this style and the omission of details on his meetings and conversations with the principal characters of the age, Joseph Robertson admits that “meagre as the glimpses are, which the Journal opens, on high Scotch life on the eve of the Revolution, so very

³⁴ Gordon to Lord Middleton, 25 January 1687 (BL, Add.MSS 41842, fol. 154 v.).

³⁵ “Zelo narod grub i protivno Korolevskogo Velichestva derzok”, p. 27.

³⁶ Patrick Gordon to the Duke of Gordon, 15 November 1690 (Russian State Archive of Military History (RGVIA), Fond 846, opis’ 15, No. 5, fol. 58 v.).

little information of that kind has been preserved, that we should grudge the loss of a single line”.³⁷ In Edinburgh the general, assisted by his Clan Chiefs the Duke of Gordon and the Earl of Aberdeen, quickly entered the highest circle of Scots magnates, who paid him much attention, not excepting the leaders of the anti-Catholic party, Lords Hamilton and Queensberry. At this very moment when, to the chagrin of the Protestant majority, “Papists turned very insolent in Scotland”³⁸, the Kingdom’s unicameral parliament became a scene of heated debates on religious toleration. The Muscovite general, greatly concerned with this issue, was on the alert and visited the Parliament House on 1 and 3 June³⁹, although before his departure the religious question remained unresolved.

Soon a letter came from Prince V.V. Golitsyn with an order “to bring along some officers of inferiour quality, as also some enginiers, fireworkers & minirers, and to promise them yearly pay according to their quality, and liberty to go out of the countrey, when their occasions required” (fol. 131 v.). The last promise must have sounded as a gibe, although Gordon perhaps did make some efforts to that end, for example, he was approached anent the sending of Lord Eglinton’s son to Muscovy. For decades the Russian army, and then the navy, were joined by many worthy officers thanks to Gordon, but in 1686 he was mostly absorbed by private matters. By late June he moved to Aberdeen and a bit further north, to Buchan and his patrimony of Auchleuchries, the main purpose of his voyage.

One who had earned the esteem of rulers and grandees in European capitals must have appeared a true hero in his native countryside, where some still recalled him as a destitute and timid youth. After an absence of 16 years he was heartily received and lionised by kinsmen, friends, neighbour lairds and local officials. Gordon beheld his homeland with “great satisfaction & contentment” (fol. 134 v.), so that the Diary’s restrained tone noticeably warms up.

³⁷ *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries* (Aberdeen, 1859), p. xvii.

³⁸ Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, *Historical Observes of Memorable Occurrents in Church and State* (Edinburgh, 1840), p. 247.

³⁹ Joseph Robertson saw an inaccuracy here, as sessions of the Scots Parliament were held on 2 and 4 June (*Passages from the Diary*, pp. 141–2). However, Gordon says that he went to the *House*, not the sessions, wherein he had no right to take part anyway; but he could and did meet many prominent MSPs for discussion.

The Scottish North-East is a picturesque, but rather stern and not too fertile land of hills, stony fields and modest rivers, which in a rainy season like the summer of 1686 can instantly turn into mighty torrents.⁴⁰ The Auchleuchries estate, which devolved on the general from his mother, was of no great size or value, being held not of the Crown, but of the Hay Earls of Erroll, a less prestigious form of tenure. Its five or six farms brought in £ 357 6 shillings 8 pence Scots a year.⁴¹ Nevertheless, its owner prized his possession highly, “it being both well holden & well worth the keeping” (fol. 134); the family archive comprised about 50 documents in support of their rights since 1423. For many years Patrick Gordon did all in his power to redeem the mortgaged parts of the estate, which was divided between his relations, allotted a good share of his Russian savings for the purpose, and finally came home as its full landlord, not burdened with wadsets and debts.⁴² Having squared accounts with his brother and entrusted to his eldest son John, almost of age now, the management of their estate under the custody of factors, Gordon sailed from Aberdeen on 15 July. The shore of Scotland melted away, a sad sight, though he could hardly imagine that he was not to see it again. On the contrary, many things suggested that his days in Russia would be soon over.

On coming back to Moscow on 31 August 1686 Gordon “was very kindly welcomed” by Prince V.V. Golitsyn and had a compliment for speedy return from Tsarevna Sophia. But their grace was badly shaken by the arrival of a letter from King James VII (II) to the Tsars, requesting the final discharge of his subject (fols. 137 v.–138)⁴³, while the latter resumed

⁴⁰ In October 2002 Professor Paul Dukes of Aberdeen University and the editor of this series strove as nearly as possible to retrace, with Gordon’s Diary in hand, his course through Buchan. Although the house of Auchleuchries fell into ruin by mid-19th century and is long gone, I was amazed by the unspoiled nature, well-preserved landscape and unchanged place-names down to the smallest farms; a lot of local castles and mansions have come down to us, and some still belong to the same families since the Middle Ages. Besides, even by Scottish standards these parts are very rich in lore and legend; not surprisingly Gordon, for all his pragmatism, believed in omens and ghosts and recorded his dreams (fols. 17, 31, 68 v.; see also other Diary volumes).

⁴¹ 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 Aberdeen*, 1696, fol. 831.

⁴² *Passages from the Diary*, pp. xx, 211, 214.

⁴³ The original is in RGADA (Fond 35, opis’ 2, no. 113).

his stubborn pleas to that end. After a long and dreadful silence the petitioner's high-ranking friends warned him that if he would not repent and confess his "guilt", he and his whole family were faced with ruin, i.e. exile to "some remote place of their empire". Then came the explanation with Golitsyn, who cast off his usual courtesy and in a fit of rage ordered to demote the obstinate general to the rank of ensign and banish him tomorrow (fol. 147). True, his "stripping of rank was nominal... Gordon's demotion and exile to Siberia was an impossible thing for the same reason that they did not wish to release him abroad"⁴⁴ – because of the eminent foreigner's exceptional worth. But it made no sense to challenge the omnipotent "First Minister", so that the insulted Scot had to yield and seek pardon.

At this very moment the case took an unexpected turn: Lord Middleton informed Gordon of his already decided appointment as British Envoy Extraordinary at the Tsars' Court, an honour so high that the envoy himself was extremely astonished thereby. But after a while another refusal came from the Kremlin, which aimed to convince Gordon who his real master was. He was simultaneously informed of the Tsars' gracious pardon and permission to keep his rank. "Thus ended this stage play", was Gordon's bitter jest. But for all that, despite his tangible personal failure, his efforts did not go in vain, helping to stimulate Russo-British contacts. According to the Dutch resident in Moscow, "the letter from the Earl of Middleton... and the lively insistence of Mr. Patrick Gordon... at last moved the affairs so well that it is resolved to send an envoy [V.T. Posnikov] to His Majesty of Great Britain, with a mission to inform him that here it is definitely decided in the common interests of Christendom to attack the Turks and Tatars next summer".⁴⁵ The Diary and letters of the general himself also show that even without a formal diplomatic rank he represented the interests of his rightful King in Russia at the highest level, and in difficult conditions defended the privileges and claims of British subjects.

⁴⁴ A. Brückner, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 63.

⁴⁵ Baron van Keller from Moscow to the States-General, 31 December 1686 (Archive of St.Petersburg Institute of History, Coll. 40, Opis' 1, No. 58, fol. 91).

* * *

For all Gordon's just indignation at his enforced stay, the Russian government really could not afford to part with one of its best commanders. The Holy League with Poland-Lithuania and other Christian powers obliged Russia to resume the war against Crimea and the Ottoman Empire as soon as possible; this was the main cause of Kremlin's intransigence, of which the British side was informed. On 3 January 1687 the Tsars charged Gordon with the command of Selected Soldier regiments in the division of the "Generalissimo" himself, i.e. Prince V.V. Golitsyn; these were elite troops, the only true regulars forming the core of Russian infantry.⁴⁶ The Scot's immediate and permanent charge was the Second Moscow Selected regiment of soldiers, which became known after its quarters as Butyrsky, and on the eve of the First Crimean campaign numbered about 900 men (fol. 155 v.). Thus, right after a hot quarrel which portended a diplomatic conflict Gordon was back in trust again. Golitsyn obviously strove to atone for the offence.

Despite the peace recently signed with the Crimea, Russia had many old scores with Crimean Tatars, whose devastating, almost ubiquitous raids could not be stopped by southern defensive lines (*zasechnye cherty*), generous tributes to the khan, or peaceful agreements; so many people were driven into slavery from Ukraine and southern Russia that the Tatars mockingly inquired if there was anyone left in those parts.⁴⁷ But now, with the general onslaught of the Holy League members on Ottoman dominions, it seemed a sure opportunity to crush the infidel enemy.

The military forces of the Crimea and adjoining hordes were the direct opposite of Western regular armies. Fighting almost without footmen, artillery and bulky waggon trains, the Tatars, as a rule, avoided pitched battles unless they acted together with more organised allies. Their whole power lay in thousands of light horsemen, who with lightning speed moved in any direction, easily covered great distances and attacked either in scattered elusive bands or in one huge mass, every rider a perfect mas-

⁴⁶ See A.V. Malov, *Moskovskie vybornye polki soldatskogo stroya v nachalnyy period svoey istorii. 1656–1671 gg.* (Moscow, 2006).

⁴⁷ R.K. Massie, *Peter the Great. His Life and World* (New York, 1981), p. 86; V.P. Zagorovsky, *Belgorodskaya cherta* (Voronezh, 1969); idem, *Iziumskaya cherta* (Voronezh, 1980).

ter of mounted combat. All this was very well known to Patrick Gordon, who often faced the Tatars ever since the Northern War of 1655–60 and was an expert in their battle methods. Already in January 1684, in a special written report on request of Prince V.V. Golitsyn (fols. 1 b–6 v.), the general gave his opinion on the timely and necessary campaign against the Crimeans, in order to free “not only yourselves, but Christendome of that dreadfull and cursed plagueie generation, as also liberating yourselves of that (by all so esteemed) tribute which you pay them yearly”. The task did not seem very hard “for with 40,000 foot & 20,000 horsmen you may easily compasse it in one or two yeares at most. Nor is the way thither so difficult, only two dayes march without water”, so that the veteran had no doubts of success. The same victorious spirit possessed him before the very march south: “If wee make right earnest of it, it will be a very famous expedition. However I am confident that our *Generallissimus*... will bring us [to] action”.⁴⁸ Having received the Butyrsky regiment and brought it to good order, Gordon paraded it through the Tsars’ court in the Kremlin; the 14-year-old Tsar Peter, greatly taken with warlike games, intently observed the even ranks and, as we shall see, appreciated the skill of Gordon’s men. In the spring of 1687 the Russian army of 100,000 set out towards the Crimea.

As usual, the immense Muscovite host mustered and moved very slowly. Desertion and disease took their toll; even in the exemplary Butyrsky regiment only 789 men made it to Akhtyrka in April, as over a hundred dropped out long before enemy country was reached.⁴⁹ Then the Russians were joined by 50,000 Ukrainian Cossacks, well-versed in dealing with the Crimeans. The troops marched under cover of a gigantic rectangular *wagenburg*, which comprised about 20,000 waggons (!), with Gordon heading the left flank and part of the front. The Tatars were nowhere in sight, so that the main dangers came from steppe fires and shortage of water, which undid the Tsars’ forces. On 18 June they turned back from the brook Karachakrak, and Gordon confessed: “Haveing notice that all was burnt & destroyed befor us, wee could not in any reason promise to our selves any possibility of accomplishing our designes in takeing in

⁴⁸ S. Konovalov (ed.), “Sixteen Further Letters of General Patrick Gordon”, p. 87.

⁴⁹ N.G. Ustrialov, op. cit., p. 195. At this point there is a gap in the Diary.

the Crim, and even not of going any further w[i]t[h]out a visible & inevitable ruine” (fol. 165). The scapegoat for the failure was found in Hetman Samoylovich, accused of treason and setting fire to the steppe, although in fact he hardly had anything to do with it; the Scot’s campaign journal contains the most detailed and dramatic account of the Ukrainian ruler’s downfall and the election of his successor, Ivan Mazepa.

Meanwhile the chief *Voyevoda* boastfully reported to Moscow: “The Crimean Khan... was struck with terror and fear and, shedding his usual impudence, not only failed to appear anywhere in the field himself, but also all of his Tatars escaped in utter despair”.⁵⁰ Tsarevna Sophia’s government willingly believed it, and “victors” were amply rewarded. Gordon was graced full general and thus reached the very top of military hierarchy (as a non-Orthodox foreigner he could not hold the title of *voevoda*, and the rank of field marshal was introduced in Russia only after his death). It was not so much a reward for distinction (no one managed to distinguish himself versus the invisible foe), as a compensation for the harsh refusal to let him go; on promotion they reminded him again that he was not to think of departure while the war continues. The Sovereigns also ordered him to be styled with a *vich* in his patronymic. The general seems to have succumbed to these signs of favour and official complacency: in his letters home he speaks of achieving “that diversion of the Tatars (without whom the Turk is like a wingless bird), and not a few Turkish troops”, and also praises “the prudent care and great providence of the commander-in-chief”.⁵¹ However, as foreigners realised, “the Russians vigilantly watch the correspondence”⁵², so the praise could well have been intended with regard to this fact.

In 1688, while the Tsars’ forces recovered, there were no active opera-

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 199.

⁵¹ Patrick Gordon to Lord Middleton, 16 September 1687 (S. Konovalov (ed.), “Sixteen Further Letters of General Patrick Gordon”, p. 91). The original is in Latin.

⁵² “Moskva v 1687–1688 gg.”, *Russkaya Starina*, Vol. XXIII, September 1878, p. 122. In the same dispatch dated 23 September 1687 Christoph von Kochen, Swedish resident in Russia, observes: “[Prince Golitsyn] is still held in former favour and stands at the helm of government... All are of the opinion that 40 to 50 thousand men perished in the last campaign. These days Lt.General Peter [sic] Gordon is promoted to general. Everyone here is concerned with publishing abroad, in German and Dutch, a laudatory description of the campaign wherein the reasons for unsuccessful return of the numerous Tsars’ army shall be stated at length”.

tions to counter the Tatar raids; only a new large fortress was built on the Samara river, called Novobogoroditsk, in whose planning Gordon had a hand (fols. 195 v., 212). His authority was unshaken as “having a reputation of an outstanding military commander, knowledgeable, efficient and courageous, able to keep the units in his charge in strict discipline”.⁵³ In the spring the new Hetman Mazepa and *Okolnichy* Nepliuyev urged his dispatch to Ukraine as *vojevoda*’s assistant (*skhodny tovarishch*) in order to attack Kazy-Kermen with the Belgorod corps (fol. 199), although Prince V.V. Golitsyn preferred to keep the general by his side. But the “First Minister’s” military achievements did not impress either his rivals from the Naryshkin party or Russia’s Western allies, so that in September a Tsars’ ukase proclaimed the Second Crimean campaign, headed by the same “Court *Vojevoda* of the Great Army”.⁵⁴ As always, the plan of the expedition caused some controversy, and Gordon could barely contain his annoyance with “our credulous & halfe-witted people”, who advised to follow the former course; furthermore, in the Boyar Duma Patriarch Ioakim, notorious for his hatred of foreigners, angrily condemned the command of a “heretic” Scot over the best Russian soldiers, although the prelate “was taken up smartly by all the nobility, & even laught at” (fols. 211, 216 v.).

Some lessons of the previous setback were learned. This time the troops mustered much earlier, in February 1689, and the march sped up markedly. The army strength grew even more, to 117,500 men, besides Ukrainian Cossacks⁵⁵; Gordon led three soldier regiments again, in all over 3,000 men, and had the left flank in his charge (“I gave in a draught how the left wing of the army should be drawne up in battell & fight” – fol. 237 v.). On 9 March he presented to the “Generalissimo” another military memorandum of 16 points (fols. 231 v.–232 v.); his main proposal was to secure communications along the Dnieper by a chain of garrisoned forts on every fourth day of the march; of special interest is his initiative to establish grenadier companies in each regiment. We do not know if this

⁵³ P.O. Bobrovsky, *Istoriya Leib-Gvardii Preobrazhenskogo polka*, Vol. I (St.Petersburg, 1900), p. 174.

⁵⁴ *Sobraniye gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, Pt. IV (Moscow, 1828), no. 193, pp. 587–91.

⁵⁵ A.V. Chernov, *Vooruzhonnnye sily Russkogo gosudarstva v XV–XVII vv.* (Moscow, 1954), p. 196.

project was accepted then, but five years later the first grenadier company did appear in Gordon's own Butyrsky regiment.

The high reliability of the general's chronicle in dates, place-names and distances of daily marches is proven by comparison with Russian notes on the expedition of 1689.⁵⁶ Unlike the almost bloodless first campaign, on 15 May the Tatars at last turned up and charged the right flank of Russian troops on the march, but were soon rebuffed by cannon fire. On 20 May the forces under Golitsyn and Mazepa reached their goal, the fort of Perekop, whose obsolete and hardly impregnable defences were the last hurdle on the way to Crimea. Alas, at this crucial moment Gordon's journal falls silent because of the loss or removal of several pages.⁵⁷ Knowing the general, it is hard to assume that he could have given his voice for anything else than the storming of the key fort, especially since the Russian army's numbers and firepower more than sufficed. Incredibly, the Tsars' "Generalissimo" chose to negotiate and, failing to ensure the Khan's immediate surrender, the very next day ordered to march back without a shot! Small wonder that rumours spread of his being bribed by the Tatars.⁵⁸ Repelling the raids of their encouraged foes, "as nimble as glads or any bird of prey" (fol. 240 v.), the Tsars' forces struggled back to the capital – and were again hailed with triumph on orders of Regent Sophia.

The Crimean campaigns, Russia's first major offensive operations against the southern Khanate, the greatest military efforts of the 1680s, in all known sources (except Prince V.V. Golitsyn's fabulous relations) leave

⁵⁶ A.V. Lavrentyev, "Zapiska gosudarevym mernym verstam i stanom togo Krymskogo pokhodu po verstam mernomu kolesu" 1689 g., *Yestestvennonauchnye predstavleniya Drevney Rusi* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 208–19.

⁵⁷ Luckily, we have Gordon's letter to the Earl of Erroll, dated 28 January 1690, with a brief account of the Second Crimean campaign (RGVIA, Fond 846, opis' 15, no. 5, fols. 46–7). Already printed by N.G. Ustrialov (op. cit., pp. 309–11), it will be published in the next volume of Gordon's Diary. He writes that at the turning back from Perekop "the danger was great & fear greater if the Chan with all his forces should pursue us. So that I was commanded from the left wing with 7 regiments of foot & some of horse (yet all on foot) to guard the rear. They pursued us very eagerly 8 dayes together, yet gained but little..." So here, as usual, Gordon had the most dangerous post.

⁵⁸ *Zapiski russkikh liudey. Sobytiya vremion Petra Velikago* (St.Petersburg, 1841). *Zapiski I.A. Zbeliabuzhskago*, p. 10.

an impression of incompleteness and mere waste of resources spent and losses suffered. Why did they not bring any glory to the huge Russian army and to one of its best generals, who repeatedly proved his worth both before and after? For a long time, and with justice, historians blamed the chief *Voyevoda*, a man of great vanity and jealousy for his rivals, who had sole command of the troops⁵⁹; a gifted diplomat and administrator, not least in the military sphere, he had very little talent and bravery to lead his men in battle. In his case the flaws of traditional Russian blending of civil and military duties in one person are vividly apparent. None of his subordinates managed to excel either: at war councils there was “much argumenting with little reason” (fol. 164 v.). Moreover, military reforms in Russia were as yet very far from completion⁶⁰, so that an immense but unwieldy host proved inept in the face of the enemy, which was inferior in every respect except speed and unpredictability. The level of tactical skill and discipline also left much to be desired (Gordon speaks of “our multitudes’ disorder, irregularity & confusion with disobedience” – fol. 238 v.). In a word, the Crimean campaigns can be rightly considered as “the last demonstration of our ancient military art.”⁶¹

As for Gordon, he had to accept a secondary role, while many of his sound advices were not followed by Golitsyn. Besides, in his own words, he remained in very dejected spirits, “being much grieved at the great injustice & wrong done to me” (fol. 147 v.), i.e. by the threat of disgrace for his attempts to get free, and then by fateful political news from Britain. Offended by the prince in words and deeds, he did his duty, but seemed to have no desire to surpass himself and others. However, even if the Scot’s part in these campaigns amounted to their mere description (which was not the case), he still deserves our deep gratitude. Deprived of his Diary, we would have known much less. Gordon’s short and reasonable verdict on the outcome of Crimean campaigns is as follows: “altho’ no great things were effected, yet were some things very worthy of observation”.⁶²

⁵⁹ “No doubt, it was not Crimean gold, lack of water or provisions, but the faint-heartedness of the chief commander, both incapable and despotic, that forced the army to shameful retreat” (Ustrialov, op. cit., p. 236).

⁶⁰ Chernov, op. cit., pp. 187–223.

⁶¹ Ustrialov, op. cit., p. 189.

⁶² *Account of the Sieges of Asoph in 1695 & 1696 writ by General Gordon* (British Library, Add. MSS 37356, fol. 425). This document is ascribed to Gordon, but since the

That Gordon's plan to conquer the Crimea in the 1680s was no vain bravado was proved 50 years later by Russian Field Marshal Count von Münnich, who easily stormed Perekop, seized Bakhchisaray and the whole peninsula, recovering some cannon lost by Golitsyn⁶³; he did it with 54,000 men, almost the number that Gordon thought sufficient. True, Münnich headed a different army, transformed by Peter the Great and hardened in his wars, while the expeditions of the late 1680s left the Crimea impregnable and led to the fall of the "First Minister" and his patroness.

* * *

Since the autumn of 1687 Patrick Gordon, still in charge of the Butyrsky regiment, lived in Moscow, or rather in the suburban Foreign Quarter, where he once stayed as a young officer. From now on he was a welcome guest at the Tsars' court, in the palaces and country mansions of Prince V.V. Golitsyn, other boyars and magnates, as well as generals, diplomats and affluent merchants. Both Russians and foreigners often sought his assistance in different matters, although it is not always easy to divide the two: thus, Gordon attested to the pedigree of Russified Scots, *Stolniks* Evtikhy and Piotr Lermontov, who traced their line back to the days of "King Malcolumbus and the tyrant Macbetus" in the 11th century, and submitted the document to the *Razriad* Office on 10 February 1688.⁶⁴

Using every occasion, the general tirelessly exchanged letters with relations and friends in many corners of the Tsardom and Western Europe, which made him widely regarded as one of the best-informed residents of Russia. For many years he acted as a correspondent of *The London Gazette*,

hand is not his, it can only be a copy.

⁶³ D.N. Bantysh-Kamensky, *Biografiï rossiyskikh generalissimov i general-feldmarshalov*, Pt. I (St.Petersburg, 1840), p. 187.

⁶⁴ "Below... is the signature of Lieutenant General Piotr son of Ivan Gordan" (V.V. Nikolsky, "Predki M.Yu. Lermontova", *Russkaya Starina*, Vol. VII, 1873, no. 4, pp. 547–51). Evidently, Gordon certified the document before his promotion to full general in September 1687. There is no mention of Lermontovs in the Diary. This family is descended from the Learmonths of Dairsie in Fife and produced one of Russia's greatest poets, Mikhail Lermontov (1814–1841).

and as such he regularly received news bulletins from Britain.⁶⁵ With intense interest he followed the fortunes of the Holy League, founded by Catholic powers against the Ottoman Porte, and rejoiced at the liberation of Buda, Belgrade and other places.

For a Roman Catholic émigré it was of paramount importance to secure the right of worship and toleration, but in Russia there was an old and strict ban on Catholic churches and priests, except for embassy chaplains.⁶⁶ Already at the start of 1684 Gordon, a devout believer from his younger years, addressed Prince V.V. Golitsyn to that end (fol. 8 v.) and headed his eminent coreligionists in their petition to the Tsars: "We have no purification in faith, which is greatly harmful to our souls... Grant for our spiritual salvation that pastors be invited and kept, and a house of prayer be founded, as the Lutherans and Calvinists have, and give us your graceful letters thereupon".⁶⁷ In view of Golitsyn's Western leanings, the rapprochement and then alliance with Poland-Lithuania and the Holy Roman Empire, the moment was opportune. Although the promised written ukase never came, in the same year with verbal consent of Russian authorities a Catholic mission was established in the Foreign Quarter, run by two Jesuit priests, Johann Schmidt and Albert de Boye, later substituted by Czechs Jiří David and Tobiaš Tihavský.⁶⁸ With Gordon's support (fol. 28 – on 11 August 1684) they founded Russia's first Roman Catholic chapel and school. Having moved to Moscow for good, the influential general led the Catholic community, becoming its pillar in both moral and material aspects (fols. 218, 224). In January 1688 he even showed the new chapel, as yet a humble timber structure, to Russian magnates, Princes P.A. Golitsyn and B.F. Dolgoruky (fol. 194), which was formerly inconceivable. Even the expulsion of the Jesuits on demand of Patriarch Ioakim at the

⁶⁵ A.B. Pernal, "London Gazette as a primary source for the biography of General Patrick Gordon", *The Canadian Journal of History*, April 2003.

⁶⁶ D.V. Tsvetayev, *Istoriya sooruzheniya pervogo kostiola v Moskve* (Moscow, 1886), pp. 3–21. Unfortunately, this serious work is tainted with a hostile anti-Catholic bias, which leads to prejudice and distortion of facts. One cannot agree with a description of Gordon as a "fanatic" and "enemy of Protestantism" (p. 60).

⁶⁷ *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snosheniy drevney Rossii s derzhavami inostrannymi*, Vol. VI (St. Petersburg, 1862), stolbtsy 221–40, 929–36.

⁶⁸ See J. David, "Sovremennoye sostoyaniye Velikoy Rossii ili Moskovii", *Voprosy Istorii* (1968), no. 1, pp. 123–32; no. 3, pp. 92–7; no. 4, pp. 138–47.

end of 1689 was a short-lived tribute to religious intolerance. Quite soon, as we shall see, Roman Catholics under Gordon succeeded in restoring and expanding their rights with the help of the “younger Tsar”, who was the first Russian monarch to attend Latin rites.

At the same time Russia’s future reformer made the personal acquaintance of his principal advisor in military and other affairs. One can hardly imagine two men less alike in their age, descent, upbringing and character, but still the flow of history and common passion for warlike pursuits brought them very close together. From early on Tsar Peter fostered “a praiseworthy desire for his beloved military sciences. For that reason... he ordained to recruit young men of various ranks and to teach them foot and horse exercises in full array... Those young soldiers, strictly instructed above their years in every thing military, he ordered to dress in dark-green uniform and to earnestly establish them in very right order with all the necessary arms, and at that time to call them “playmen” (*potesbnye*)”.⁶⁹ Since the mid-1680s Peter’s main field for “Martial amusements” was Preobrazhenskoye⁷⁰, the youngest of his country estates near Moscow; built up as late as the mid-17th century, it soon left all of its rivals behind and became the cradle of the new Petrine Russia, “a post station en route to Petersburg”.⁷¹ Significantly, Preobrazhenskoye was just a stone throw away from the Foreign Quarter, which lay on the same Yauza River.

From the start of the reign of underage Tsars Ivan and Peter, Gordon was repeatedly present “at the hands” of both, although for the time being the younger one hardly singled him out of dozens of other foreigners. But in February 1687, when his war games already acquired some dimension, Peter could not but admire the splendid parade of the Butyrsky regiment under Gordon in the Kremlin (fols. 157–8). He was coming of age and, unlike his brother, began to reveal a liking for affairs of state: on 25 January 1688, according to the Diary, “the younger Tsar” attended a meeting of

⁶⁹ *Zapiski russkikh ludey. Zapiski grafa A.A. Matveyeva*, p. 48. Matveyev knew Gordon well, calling him “a chaste man, above all a loyal servant and experienced soldier in all military affairs, who for many years in the Tsars’ army was present everywhere” (p. 61).

⁷⁰ M.M. Bogoslovsky, *Piotr Veliky. Materialy dlia biografii*, Vol. I (Moscow, 2005), pp. 43–57.

⁷¹ V.O. Kliuchevsky, *Russkaya istoriya. Polny kurs lektsiy v triokh knigakh* (Moscow, 1997), Book II, p. 459.

the Boyar Duma for the first time (fol. 194 v.). Meanwhile, the Scot took little or no part in the rivalry of the Miloslavsky and Naryshkin parties; directly responsible to the “First Minister”, he also maintained good links with his cousin, Prince B.A. Golitsyn (fols. 193, 208, 212), the acknowledged leader of the Petrine party. Then, on 2 September 1688, right after the monthly list of the Butyrsky personnel, Gordon’s journal contains a remarkable entry: “8 persons of the sojourns taken to be *potiechny konuchs* to the yongest Tzaar” (fol. 211). This meant a serious step forward in Peter’s games, as from now on his “stable boys” were recruited not only from youngsters and “people of sundry ranks” (gentlemen of the bedchamber, grooms, falconers et al.), but also from the best selected soldiers, notably from the Butyrsky regiment.

That this was no random choice, and that Peter had a firm intention to increase the number and quality of his “playmen” at the expense of the Butyrsky, is apparent from the following. On 7–8 September, at the new signs of *streltsy* unrest, the younger Tsar demanded 5 fifers and 5 drummers from the same unit, with further demands on 9 and 18 October and 13 November (fols. 211 v., 215, 215 v., 219 v.). In total during the autumn of 1688, according to the regimental commander’s Diary, no less than 40 soldiers were transferred from Butyrki to Preobrazhenskoye. Naturally, it aroused “Generalissimo” Golitsyn’s displeasure, although he did not dare to oppose the Tsar’s will. Collation of this evidence with Russian sources shows that at the same time the Great Treasury Office was sending “cloth for German dress to the play fifers and drummers... for their march to the village of Preobrazhenskoye”.⁷² And though their meeting near that estate on 17 September (fol. 212) seems to have been a mere coincidence, not Peter’s intended visit to Gordon⁷³, mutual relations were already established and grew stronger every month. Political upheavals in both Britain and Russia brought them even closer together.

* * *

⁷² P.O. Bobrovsky, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 150–1.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 134, 151. Bobrovsky’s words about Peter’s “rendezvous” with Gordon (“after dinner the younger Tsar came to General Gordon from Preobrazhenskoye”) are based on inaccurate translation of the respective Diary entry.

Amidst his daily regimental and domestic cares, on 14 October 1688 General Gordon entertained the Moscow Britons and other guests at the traditional birthday celebration of his rightful Sovereign, King James II (VII); the Polish resident thanked the host by saying: "That King is happy who has subjects to remember him so cordially at such a distance" (fol. 215 v.). But the majority of James' subjects in his British Kingdoms were not so faithful to their Roman Catholic ruler. In those very days his son-in-law and adversary, Prince William of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands, prepared to invade Britain with a large fleet and land army under the pretext of defending the rights of parliament and Protestant faith. On 5 November William landed in England, and James, having failed to put up a decent fight, fled to France on 23 December.⁷⁴ The last conquest of Britain from the continent became a fact.

The so-called "Glorious Revolution" was a terrible personal blow for Gordon, signifying the collapse of his hopes for honourable employment at home, just like in his youth during Cromwell's dictatorship. Even simply to live out his days in Aberdeenshire was no option now, for how could he swear allegiance to "the usurper of Orange"? One after another, his British patrons either accepted the new regime or went into exile. A little later the general confessed: "The sad revolution in o[u]r cuntry & the Kings misfortunes... hath occasioned inexpressible grieffe to me, which brought me in a sicknesse⁷⁵ & even almost to deaths doore. Had I been in a place where I could have been serviceable to his M[a]jesty, I should have vented my passion another way... 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".⁷⁶ True, so far things did not look hopeless: Jacobite risings broke out in Scotland and Ireland; on 27 July 1689 the Jacobites won a brilliant victory at Killiecrankie where, as became known later, Gordon's son James was gravely wounded,

⁷⁴ See J. Childs, *The Army of James II and VII and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980). The author shows that King James could have defeated the invaders after their landing (pp. 177–81). Unfortunately for the King, he had no generals of Gordon's calibre by his side, a fact much lamented by Gordon himself.

⁷⁵ The Diary confirms this (fol. 228).

⁷⁶ Patrick Gordon to the Duke of Gordon, 15 November 1690 (RGVIA, Fond 846, opis' 15, no. 5, fol. 58 v.).

causing great anxiety to his uninformed father.⁷⁷ The 'Tsars' general surely counted on another restoration of the old Scottish dynasty in the near future. Still, he evidently went to the Second Crimean campaign in a very downcast mood, not least because British news became less frequent and accessible as he was marching away from Moscow.

On return to the capital in late July with Golitsyn's "triumphant" forces Gordon faced another ordeal. He became a witness and participant in the denouement of the contest between Regent Sophia and her adolescent half-brother. Spurred on by his adherents, Peter, now in his 18th year, could not contain his indignation at the incompetence and bragging of the commander-in-chief, and refused to receive the campaign "heroes" at Preobrazhenskoye. "Now there was plainly to be seen an open eruption or breach, which was lyke to turne to animosities", says Gordon (fol. 247). During these days, decisive for Russia's destiny, the brief Diary entries acquire a fateful tone: "July 31. Passions & humors encreassing, lyke to breake out into a *paroxismus*"; "August 6. Rumors unsafe to be uttered". Then the Scot gives one of the most reliable accounts of that famous episode of Russian history – the nocturnal flight of Tsar Peter, warned by loyal *streltsy* of the menace to his life, from Preobrazhenskoye to the Trinity-St.Sergy Lavra. Less attention has been paid to the fact that, in recording the prompt arrival of "play troops" in the Monastery to protect their lord, Gordon calls them *guards* for the first time, eleven years before their official elevation to that status, and even prior to their proper formation into the Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky regiments (fol. 248 v.).

There is no need here to relate the details of the subsequent dramatic confrontation between the Kremlin and the Troitsa, i.e. Sophia and Peter. This, largely owing to Gordon's unique testimony, has been already done by experts, both Russian (N.G. Ustrialov, S.M. Solovyov, M.M. Bogoslovsky⁷⁸ and others) and Western (R.K. Massie, Lindsay Hughes⁷⁹ et al.). Let us

⁷⁷ Ibid., fol. 138 v.

⁷⁸ N.G. Ustrialov, *Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikago*. Vol. II. *Potesbnye i Azovskkiye pokhody* (St.Petersburg, 1858), pp. 54–81; S.M. Solovyov, *Sochineniya. Istoriya Rossii s drevneyshikh vremen*, Book VII (Moscow, 1991), pp. 440–9; M.M. Bogoslovsky, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 67–75.

⁷⁹ R.K. Massie, op. cit., pp. 95–107; L. Hughes, *Sophia, Regent of Russia, 1657–1704* (New Haven & London, 1990), pp. 234–9. Lindsay Hughes stresses the importance of Tsarevna Sophia's speech on 1 September, apparently heard by Gordon

just clarify the role of “the foreign colony’s patriarch”⁸⁰ himself in Peter’s accession to real power, of which there have been different estimates.

According to the Diary, on 4 September 1689, at the height of the conflict, Peter’s ukase of 31 August came from Troitsa to the Foreign Quarter, ordering all generals and officers to repair to the Monastery immediately in full arms. Since no one dared to show this order to Prince V.V. Golitsyn, Gordon himself headed the officers’ deputation to his commander.⁸¹ The troubled boyar promised another ukase from Tsar Ivan by evening, and Gordon, having waited in vain and made his choice, that same night led the foreign officers to the Lavra, where they were graciously received by Peter. “Our going to Troitsa was the crisis of this business, for all begun to speak openly in the behalfe of the yongest Tzaar” – such is Gordon’s own conclusion (fol. 254).

How well-founded is that statement? “An unjust thought”, objects N.G. Ustrialov, “[because] almost all *streltsy* colonels and officers have long been at the Lavra; the *streltsy* rank and file remained in Moscow, but were clearly leaning to the Sovereign’s [Peter’s] side; the Patriarch, nobles and courtiers also stayed by him, and the people had no mind at all to stand up for Sophia... Foreigners had nothing else to do but repair to the Lavra. Great would have been their merit if they had come to Peter three weeks earlier, at the first call; but now they were only saving their own skins”.⁸²

This point of view of the classical historian of the Petrine age is refuted with facts by A.S. Lavrov, author of one of the most thorough studies on the regency of Tsarevna Sophia and the coup of 1689. He demonstrates convincingly that even by early September, after nearly a month’s deadlock, the Naryshkin party, for all they tried, could not achieve a decisive political and military advantage. First, the position of most Boyar Duma members remained temporising, if not hostile to Peter’s supporters: out of 45 boyars then staying in Moscow just 13 moved to Troitsa (without the most influential ones), and out of 45 *okolnichy* only 18 did so, i.e. just

and transcribed in his Diary (fols. 251–2).

⁸⁰ An epithet applied to Gordon by A. Brückner (op. cit., p. 16).

⁸¹ D.V. Tsvetayev in his anti-Catholic zeal affirmed that “Gordon and other foreign officers have secretly, without warning their immediate superior, Prince Golitsyn, quitted Moscow” (op. cit., p. 63)!

⁸² Ustrialov, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 74.

about a third overall. Secondly, the great majority of Moscow “service-men” (*sluzhilye ljudi*) were in no hurry to commit themselves either. Thirdly, the provincial gentry and *deti boyarskiye* were likewise almost deaf to Peter’s summons, which imparted a purely Muscovite character to the coup (in Gordon’s words, “most resolved on a passive loyalty, and to behold to what point matters would come” – fol. 251). A.S. Lavrov believes that the turning point was the arrival at the Trinity-St.Sergy’s of the *streltsy* colonels and regimental delegates; by 1 September there were 912 *streltsy* in the Lavra.⁸³ But let us ask: what were the odds between the lone *streltsy prikaz* under Colonel Lavrenty Sukharev, Peter’s raw “playmen”, not even called soldiers yet, and several dozen gentry in Troitsa against twenty *streltsy* regiments of the Moscow garrison, numbering some 20,000 men?⁸⁴ Moreover, as the year 1682 showed, the latter were not always obedient to their colonels, while their chief commander F.L. Shaklovity was not yet extradited to Peter. Our contemporary’s conclusion is logical: “Even the shift of all these forces to the side of the new government was not enough for such a quick and bloodless change of power”.⁸⁵ However, making use of Gordon’s journal, A.S. Lavrov says nothing on the significance of his own move to join Peter.

In this respect S.M. Solovyov wrote: “At such a time of intense expectation and indecision every move either way is extremely important and strongly alluring: loud voices in Tsar Peter’s favour began when they learned that even the foreigners departed to him”.⁸⁶ Another great Russian historian, N.I. Kostomarov, calling Gordon “the chief of the foreigners”, observed: “He understood that Golitsyn was only trying to win some time, waiting for the situation to turn in Sophia’s favour... The foreigners’ conversion brought Sophia’s cause even closer to a sad denouement”.⁸⁷

The highest estimate of Gordon’s part in this matter belongs to P.O. Bobrovsky: “His expectant actions... are fully justified by the circumstances. A commander immediately subject to the Foreigners’ Office could not do otherwise, and that Office was headed by Prince [V.V.] Golitsyn,

⁸³ A.S. Lavrov, *Regentstvo tsarevny Sofyi Alexeyevny* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 157–92.

⁸⁴ Chernov, op. cit., p. 189.

⁸⁵ Lavrov, op. cit., p. 166.

⁸⁶ S.M. Solovyov, op. cit., p. 446.

⁸⁷ N.I. Kostomarov, *Tsarevna Sofya. Rossiyskiy letopisets* (Moscow, 1988), p. 55.

from whom Gordon had an order... not to stir towards the Lavra. Like other foreigners, Gordon well understood which side had the right and which [was to blame for] the violent seizure of power. A foreign general could not openly intercede for the rightful cause on his own initiative. The position of Gordon, who played the principal role in the Foreign Quarter and was chief of the Butyrsky regiment, in those circumstances was highly onerous, because his decision, after Peter had left Preobrazhenskoye, to go immediately to the Trinity Monastery with the regiment could lead to bloodshed, which Prince B.A. Golitsyn and Peter's adherents by all means wished to avoid... Gordon's arrival with the foreigners was the decisive turn, for on the very next day Tsarevna Sophia was forced to give up Shaklovity, and the crisis was resolved without shedding a single drop of blood, so that Peter never forgot this service of Gordon's".⁸⁸

To conclude, I believe that even if General Gordon's arrival at the Lavra with foreign officers was not decisive, it was surely of great significance in the course of events. But whether this step became a turning point or not, there is no doubt that within one year two coups d'état, in his homeland and in his adopted country, have determined the future of the Russian Scot.

* * *

The original of Volume IV, among all six surviving parts of Gordon's Diary, is held in the Russian State Archive of Military History in Moscow.⁸⁹ The study of the manuscript, 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 IV, like all the rest, is written on paper in quarto, folded in quires and bound together. The absence of author's pagination (as in the previous volume) suggests that this is not the case of the completed MS sent to the binder, but the opposite – sections were bound and only then

⁸⁸ P.O. Bobrovsky, op. cit., Vol. I., pp. 175–6. Bobrovsky speaks of Gordon's departure for Troitsa "*with the regiment entrusted to him*", but there is no mention of this in the Diary.

⁸⁹ RGVIA, Fond 846, opis' 15, no. 4.

filled in. The later page numbers, not by Gordon, were added when this source entered the archive.

The text is placed on both sides of a folio and measures (when the page is filled up to nearly 30 lines or more) about 17–17,5 by 12–13 cm; margins: top 1,5–2 cm, right and left 1,5–2 cm, bottom 1–2 cm. However, in most cases the entries are spread unevenly, often with considerable gaps; sometimes there are only a few lines per page (fols. 32, 35, 108 v., 109, 115 v., 158 v., 159, 160, 161, 186, 202 v., 244, 247 v., 258, 261 v.), and some pages are left blank altogether. In the second volume of his *Diary* Gordon usually left several blank pages at the end of each year (he normally used the Julian calendar and counted the years AD, as in the West, not from the Creation, as in Russia). He may have intended to draw some later conclusions, or record his thoughts on the events described, but for some reason never did it. The same is true for Volume IV (but not I and III), which may indicate that II and IV as we know them could have been compiled at about the same time. Thus, blank are the fols. 41 v.–52 v. after 1684, fols. 97–8 v. after 1685, fols. 152–4 v. after 1686, fols. 188–92 v. after 1687, and fols. 224 v.–6 v. after 1688. Nor did Patrick Gordon fill the fols. 109 v.–110 v., before he temporarily entrusted the continuation of the journal to his son James. Perhaps he planned some introductory remarks, and the same could be true of the gap on fol. 26 v.

By contrast with the preceding parts of the *Diary*, Volume IV is more laconic; lengthy descriptions are almost absent, and the maximum size of one-time entries does not exceed 4 or 5 folios. Often on one page we can clearly discern entries written over several days. Regrettably, in this MS there are at least eighteen substantial gaps or textual omissions spanning from several days to nearly two months. For 1684 we do not have anything from 1 February to 1 March and from 13 August to 14 September; for 1685 – from 1 to 19 September and from 22 October to 15 November; for 1686 – from 30 January to 3 February, from 25 February to 4 March and from 16 September to 23 October; for 1687 – from 24 February to 1 May, from 21 May to 11 June, for some days before 8 July, from 7 September to 1 October and, apparently, for late December; for 1689 – from 11 April to 6 May, from 16 to 24 May, from 30 May to 12 June, from 15 to 21 July, from 19 to 31 August and from 24 September to 22 November. We can be fairly certain that in most, if not all cases the respective entries were origi-

nally there (twice the narrative is resumed in the middle of a sentence), but were later removed. Knowing Gordon's thoroughness and accuracy, it could hardly have been done by himself. We do not know when and how these cuts occurred, but they were already rued by historians in the mid-19th century.⁹⁰ Especially unfortunate is the loss of pages covering the climax of the Crimean Campaigns, and the events from late September to late November 1689, right after the Petrine coup.

Comparative analysis of the handwriting leaves no doubt that this MS is an autograph of Patrick Gordon, except for several pages written in March 1686 by his son James (fols. 111–21), who travelled through Europe with his father. This is another proof, if more were needed, that the Diary was kept at the very time of the events recorded. That is the only sizeable fragment in the entire Diary which does not belong to the author's pen, although even that was edited by him, if not written at his dictation. In the MS there are also many alien notes in French and German, marginal marks and underlinings made by readers and/or translators in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The study of watermarks shows that similar paper was used for Volume IV and Volume II. The most common filigrees, such as the double eagle (fols. 1–60, 69–80), cavalier and lady (fols. 61–8, 81–94, 152), the arms of Amsterdam (fols. 155–60), the seven provinces and jester's head indicate that the MS was created not earlier than 1683, which fully agrees with other dating criteria. We should keep in mind that in 2003 the MS underwent restoration, made necessary by deterioration of the paper by the ferrous ink. The task was superbly accomplished by I.S. Sharapova, a leading expert in the field. A large number of folios were strengthened with transparent paper, which ensured the preservation of the text, but made impossible any visual study of the watermarks, already problematic due to the format of the MS. The above observations are based on earlier, pre-restoration research.

The restoration of the old leather binding, worn and cracked in many places, was admirably done by another master of this profession, I.A. Shilova. Until then the binding was of solid leather, smooth and light

⁹⁰ "It is greatly to be regretted that in its present state Gordon's diary lacks many sections, which were lost at an unknown time" (Ustrialov, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. vi).

in colour, over cardboard. In the process the binding edge, flyleaves and straps (two on each cover) were substituted, and the stamped leather surface of the covers was retained. The covers have frames and a lozenge-shaped central figure with vegetable ornament and traces of gilding; the stamping on front and back covers is somewhat different. There is a trace of red wax on the back cover, perhaps the remains of a seal. After restoration the covers' dimensions are 21 by 16,5 cm, and the inner book with covers is 5 cm thick. The edges were once painted red. There are no laid-on protective or ornamental elements on the covers. The external appearance of the MS is similar to Volume II, and we can surmise that both bindings were made at about the same time (1680s) by Muscovite craftsmen.

* * *

On completing over three years of work necessary to send the present volume to print, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my colleagues and fellow members of this project's Editorial Board: Mrs. Irina Garkusha, Director of the Russian State Archive of Military History, for her kind permission to use the original manuscript of Patrick Gordon's Diary and other sources; Dr. Mikhail Ryzhenkov, Director of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, for allowing me easy access to the treasures of its vast seventeenth-century collections, and for sharing his discoveries in studying the manuscript itself; Professor Paul Bushkovitch of Yale University, Dr. Graeme P. Herd of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy and, especially, to Emeritus Professor Paul Dukes of the University of Aberdeen, for their constant support of our common cause.

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I am also much obliged to my hearty Scottish friends, the Dalryell family, the Reid family, Dr. Murray Frame, Frank McGuire and many oth-

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I do hope that the appearance of another volume of this priceless source of Russian and European history serves as a token of gratitude to my dear kin for their support and boundless patience.

It is owing to all these people that one of the greatest seventeenth-century chronicles ever written is at long last, after three hundred years, properly presented to the reading world, both scholarly and otherwise. And it is an immense pleasure to observe its appearance, of all places, in Patrick Gordon's beloved native land and shire.

I devote this book to the memory of the oldest and proudest regiments of the Russian Imperial Guards, Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky, first christened as *Guards* by none other than Patrick Gordon in this very volume of his Diary.

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: *dummy*) 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 provincial 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.

Sept^r

1689.

4
wed.

and that so soon as this his Maties letter or order comes to us wee should immediately with all our armes and mounting repaire to his maties in the Monastery of Troika, it was written the last of August an: 7107. 5508 signed by the Chumny Diack Gabriel bereckin and sealed

This letter being brought to me by Col^d Ridder who had received it I sent for the Generall & Colonells in whose presence it was unsealed, wee concluded to bring the letters to the Boyar kniaz Vaf: Vaf: Golizin which were daring to bring I went with some Colonells & showed him the letters, whereat albeit he was much altered yet he kept countenance as well as he could, he told us that he would show them to the Tsar and then wee should receive orders. I told him that wee were afraid to lose our heads if wee disobeyed he told me, that about the 20th of June wee should have an answer for which he desired me to leave my son in law Col^d Thalbirgh I remained and made ready to be gone, and told the Colonells and other officers who came to me for advice that notwithstanding any order might be here given I was resolved to go & would be gone in the evening, whereupon all great & small made ready.

5

In the evening wee went from the flatte and it was dark so far wee got to the Yansa bridge, wee went as verst further & baited our horses then by day light breakfast is verst from Troika, and at 11 a clock came to the Monastery and addressed our selves to kniaz Boris Alexeevitch Golizin according to our orders, wee stayed untill his Maties had dined, and then were admitted to the same his Maties hand and had every one a charka of Brandy out of his Maties hand his Maties was pleased to ask us of our healths & commended us for coming immediately upon the

VOLUME IV: 1684 – 1689

{fol. 1a}¹

1660 24 May²

Inscription written on a column 100 foot high erected at Dover where King Charles the Second first set foot on English ground:

Siste viator iter, vestigia prima secundus

*Carolus hic posuit, cum redit exilio.*³

{1b}

1684

Ja[nua]ry 10. The Emperour Johan Alexeiovitz was privately (as usually) married to Praskovia Fiodorovna Sultikow⁴, her father haveing been

(Words and phrases from the original are in italics.)

¹ Preceding folio 1 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 IV, 1684–1690”. In fact, this volume does not include the events of 1690.

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 “Wayfarer, hold your step, for his first vestige / Charles the Second left here, on return from his exile” (Lat.). King Charles II of Great Britain (1630–1685) inherited the throne after the execution of his father, King Charles I, in 1649 and was crowned in Scotland, but had to live in exile during Oliver Cromwell’s regime. In May 1660 the Stuart monarchy was restored. Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries was an ardent Royalist and, despite his long service for different crowns, always deemed himself a British subject.

Below there are later inscriptions in another hand: “Jour[n]al Gen. Gordon” and “Журнал Генерала Гордона о приватном и публичном его деле от 1684 до 1695 году” (Russian for: “General Gordon’s Journal about his private and public affairs from 1684 to 1695”).

⁴ Ivan (Ioann) V Alexeyevich (1666–1696), Tsar of Russia from 1682, elder brother and co-ruler of Peter I (the Great). He was sickly and incapable to run the affairs of state. Praskovya Fiodorovna Saltykova (1664–1723), from 1684 tsaritsa as consort of Tsar Ivan V. She was a daughter of Boyar Fiodor Petrovich Saltykov, and gave birth to five daughters: Maria, Feodosiya, Ekaterina, Anna (later Empress of Russia) and Praskovya. In her widowhood she lived on the estate of Izmailovo, being on good terms with her brother-in-law, Tsar Peter I.

formerly called Alexander & at this tyme changed to Theodor or Fiodor, as they here pronounce it.

11. I came to Mosko⁵,

12. and the next day went and visited the Boyar *Kniaz* Vasily Vasiliovitz Golitzin⁶, who welcomed me very kindly.

13. Haveing heard devotion, an Archb[isho]p⁷ come from Rome & Vienna & going to Persia saying masse & preaching, I dined by Coll. von Mengden⁸, came soone home & received many visits from the p[ri]nci[p]a[ll]

⁵ Gordon came to the capital from Kiev, where he served since 1679 as commander of several garrison regiments and, in fact, as chief military engineer. On 9 December 1683 “Lieutenant General Piotr [for *Patrick*] Gordan [sic] departed from Kiev to Moscow, and he, the Lt. General, was escorted from the Upper town of Kiev by Boyar and *Voyeroda* [governor] Prince Piotr Semionovich [Prozorovsky] and *Okolnichy* Prince Boris Vasilyevich [Gorchakov] ... And having left the Lower town, beyond the Kreshchatsky gate to the Dnieper, and coming out of their sleighs, Boyar and *Voyeroda* Prince P.S. and *Okolnichy* Prince B.V. with *stolniks* and colonels ... did stay with the General for quite a while” (RGADA, Fond 210, *Razriad, Prikaznoy stol, stolbets* 930, fols. 9–10; I am grateful to P.V. Sedov, who gave me the text of this document). Then an incident occurred, and a case was later opened “anent bringing dishonour upon *Okolnichy* Prince B.V. Gorchakov by *Stolnik* and Colonel Matvey Filosofov in omitting Prince Gorchakov’s rank as *voyeroda* in a petition”, while Gordon was entrusted with an “inquiry into the injury inflicted on Prince B. Gorchakov by the said Matvey Filosofov, who has driven into Prince Gorchakov’s sleigh during General Gordon’s send-off from Kiev to Moscow, and injury caused to Prince B. Gorchakov’s right leg by Colonel Vasily Borkov, who has shoved Colonel Matvey Filosofov onto Prince Gorchakov” (*Opisaniye dokumentov i bumag, kbraniashchikhsia v Moskovskom Arkhive Ministerstva Yustitsii*, Vol. XVI (Moscow, 1910), p. 154). Gordon’s long journey from Kiev to Moscow, which took over a month, implies stops along the way, probably at Hetman Samoylovich’s residence in Baturin and at the general’s friends’ in Sevs.

⁶ 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 I in 1689, and died in exile. His attitude to Gordon was essentially very favourable. *Kniaz* is Russian for prince.

⁷ Roman Catholic Archbishop Sebastian Knabe, who had been preaching in Armenia, came to Moscow in September 1683 with a proposal that Russia join the Holy Roman Empire and Poland in the anti-Ottoman alliance.

⁸ 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. Later a major general.

persons of the Slabod⁹.

14. I went & visited the Boyar Ivan Michaelovitz Miloslafsky¹⁰ and diverse boyars & noblemen, and being invited I dyned with the Boyar Peter Vasiliovits Seremetuf the Elder¹¹.

16. I had private conference with the Boyar *Kniaz* Vas. Vas. Golitzin, where wee handled not only the effaires of Kyow¹², but these concerning the alliance with the Roman Emperour¹³ & Poll, and of the means and way of invadeing Crim, to which he seemed indifferently well inclyned, only pretended the diffidence they had of the {1bv} Polls, & the present difficulties & necessities their Empire¹⁴ was involved into; all which I strove as much as in me lay to extenuate, in regard of the present opportunity & future inevitable greater hazard & danger. He desired me to draw up in writing the substance of my discourse, & what else I might call to mind concerning the present state of effaires, which I promised & so

Ja-ry 17. the next day presented to him the following points in a paper:

I find the present state of Russia, and the nature of their effaires & the tyme to be such, that it is a very hard lesson to give a positive advice, to live in peace or engage in a warr. Yet seing my advice is required, I shall according to my duty really and freely present my weake opinion (w-ch I alwayes submitt to better judgments), and briefly rehearse the considera-

⁹ *Novaya Inozemskaya* (or *Nemetskaya sloboda*, New Foreign suburb or quarter, 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 Great. 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.

¹⁰ I.M. Miloslavsky († 1685), boyar and *voyeroda*, one of the leaders of the Miloslavsky party and the conspiracy of 1682. He was in charge of the Foreigners', Reiters' and Cannoneer Offices (*prikazy*).

¹¹ P.V. Sheremetev the Elder († 1690), boyar and *voyeroda*, in 1681 governor of Kiev, where he kept in close touch with Gordon. 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.

¹² Kyiv (Ukrainian), Kiev (Russian). Gordon spells it the Polish way.

¹³ Leopold I Habsburg (1640–1705), Holy Roman (German) Emperor from 1658.

¹⁴ Russia.

tions & motives, w-ch perswade the one & the other.

In reference to the present state of your countrey, I fynd peace most necessary for you, and that upon the following considerations:

{2} 1. The nonage of the Emperours¹⁵, Governours of states haveing been alwayes cautious, warry & loathe to begin a warr, lest the event not proveing succesfull, the Princes comeing to age may lay the blame on those who perswaded or permitted the undertakeing a warr.

2. That there are two [rulers], by which meanes the state is divided into factions, the noncordance, jealousies & dissensions among the nobility breeding confusion & irresolution in counsell, which can not but bring great obstacles in carrying on a warr.

3. The scarcety of money & want of treasure w-ch are the nerves of warr.

4. The discontents, disobedience and unwillingnes of the souldiery and commonalty, who being of different natures & interests, have their severall ends.

5. The want of inclination to warr in the generality of your people, especially in the grandees & counsellours.

6. The hopes you have that the Turkes & Tartars will inviolably observe the truce for 20 yeares, which you have made with them¹⁶, in which tyme the Emperours will come to maturity of yeares {2v} and so gett knowledge & experience of effaires, & your treasures be filled.

7. The opinion you have of the irreligion or unlawfulness of being the first aggressours & breakers of the truce with the Turkes.

8. The jealousies & diffidence you have of the allyed, especially of the Polls, that haveing gott you to breake with the Turkes, notwithstanding the religion of never so strict a league¹⁷, they will serve their owne ends, and by this meanes getting better conditions, make peace with the Turkes & desert you, or, if a peace follow includeing you, they will be better enabled

¹⁵ At this time Tsars Ivan and Peter were respectively 17 and 11 years old.

¹⁶ Russia signed the Bakhchisaray peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire and Crimea just three years before, in January 1681.

¹⁷ The Holy League against the Turks and Tatars was formed in 1683 by Roman Catholic powers, comprising the Holy Roman Empire, Poland-Lithuania, Venice and the Papacy. All of them strove to persuade Russia to join the alliance.

to prosecute the pretences they have upon you; the aversenes they have to make a perpetuall peace with you, but upon unreasonable conditions, giving you reason and occasion to distrust their sincerity.

9. Peace bringeth plenty, profit, pleasure & ease, which are to be preferred before any other consideration.

{3} In the reasons & considerations w-ch I offer to perswade a warr, I must first mention such as may extenuate, at least, the former arguments, and then bring such as may counterpoize them:

1. The nonage of Princes I confesse to be a great obs[t]acle in a state for undertakeing any great designe, such as the engaging in a warr is, yet the only fear of blame for an unsuccessfull warr, it being not the work of one or a few persons, but the whole body of the state being perswaded & concurring, is not to be valued, neither to be expected; and that warrs have been begun in the nonage of Princes the examples are many, and more that they have been continued with good successe, as in King Hary the 5th of England & Queen Christina of Sweden their tymes.¹⁸

2. The plurality of supreme Governours I confesse to be a great hinderance for caryng on any great designe, yet there is no such danger now whilst the Princes are in their minority, as may be hereafter when they come to maturity of yeares, {3v} so that all relying on conduct & counsells of the most eminent persons. If they agree & the body of the state concurr, it will be your owne fault if things be not carryed on unanimously, deliberately, maturely, vigorously & resolutely.

3. There is money enough in the countrey, therefor in the necessities of the state it is to be taken where it is; looke to the examples of yo[u]rs neighbours the Polls in their parliament of the year 1658.¹⁹

¹⁸ Henry V (1387–1422), King of England from 1413, in whose reign the English won several victories over the French during the Hundred Years' War—although he acceded to the throne when already of age; perhaps Gordon means his son Henry VI, who became king as an infant. Christina Augusta (1626–1689) was Queen of Sweden from 1632 to 1654. In her reign the Swedes successfully carried on the Thirty Years' War, but later she abdicated and converted to Catholicism. Gordon met her in Hamburg in 1667 (*Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699. Vol. II: 1659–1667* (Aberdeen, 2010), pp. 275, 277).

¹⁹ On the Warsaw Diet of 1658, where the Polish clergy granted immense valuables for military needs, see *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699. Vol. I: 1635–1659* (Aberdeen, 2009), pp. 161–3.

4. The discontents, disobedience & unwillingnes of the souldiery & commonalty, being of different natures & interest, & having their severall ends are so much the lesse to be feared, and keeping strict discipline, there is in your armyes no such thing to be feared, they being composed of diverse orders, qualities & interest.

5. *Praemium et poena*²⁰ are the standarts of warr; hopes of honour, fame & riches will move some, & fear of punishment, disrespect & losse will drive others; let honours & advantagious employments be given only to military persons, & every one will strive to merit it that way.

6. How faithfully Turkes & Tartars keepe the peace or truce they make with Christians, the bypast & present tymes give us but too many {4} and sadd examples, it being expired with them, when they have tyme, leasure & opportunity; and because you beleewe they will not break without lawfull reasons, consider if your not permitting the Cosakes to go to their habitations on the other syde of the Dneper be not interpreted & alleadged already for a breach of the articles of your peace. The going over of your Cosakes to assist the Polls & fall in to their countrey will be constructed at least a connivance if not hounding out of these people, and many other things, which they will scorne when tyme serves them to particularize, all his²¹ declarations of warr being couched in generall termes, with an annexation of such places or countreyes as he covets to have.

7. By breaking now you are not the first aggressours, the Tartars haveing since the peace was concluded fallen diverse tymes into yo[u]r countrey & taken away thowsands of people without any satisfaction, though required. The Turkes with every messenger you have sent have changed some of the articles of the treaty, have threatened you, afronted your messengers, & prohibited the sending of more, whereby you can easily guesse what you have to exspect, when he fynds himself {4v} freed from other enemyes, for it is one of the chieffe maximes of that state, not to let the souldiery ly idle.

8. Jealousies & diffidence betwixt neighbour-states hath, doth & will still continue; neither can the religion of never so strict a league remove that. Nor doubt I but the Polls will retaine such thoughts & grudges, ani-

²⁰ Reward and punishment (Lat.).

²¹ The Turk, i.e. Mehmed IV (1642–1693), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1648 to 1687.

mosities being weeds w-ch are nourished by the remembrance of bypast emulations, unkindnesses & injuries. Yet consider this, that the oblidging and assisting of them at this tyme may serve to obliterate, at least in a great measure to mitigate the heats for bypast quarrells; and if they should prove ungrate, then have you the advantage of a good cause, which is the maine thing to be considered in making warr. Besides, guaranties may be desired of the nearest Princes, & some strengths for assurance to be put in your hands.

9. It is true that peace bringeth all these benefitts, but it is a great mistake to think that you can alwayes or long live in peace among so many warlick & stirring²² nations yo[u]r neighbours.

I shall add to all these, to counterpoize the former, some reasons; and first, consider that this warr must end in a peace, and that ere long too, then what influence that peace {5} may have upon your state. If they, the Polls I meane, chance to make an advantageous peace²³, freeing their countrey from fear of any invasion in hast, obliging the Turkes either to syde with them, permitt them the assistance of the Tartars, or at least to stand neutrall, then may they (their animosities being raised to a greater hight by [your] refusing to assist them) prosecute their pretences & make warr upon you, whereby the advantages they have of a victorious & well excercised & disciplined army, & by the assistance of their allyes, whom they have truly & effectually assisted in this warr, they may drive you to greater streights then otherwise you needed, haveing the same advantages if you now make warr.

But if they should be forced to make a dishonourable & disadvantageous peace, by at least standing of their right to the Ukraina & Cosakes, take heed that the Turkes do not alleadge & declare their right better as yo[u]rs & consequently claime so much of the Cosakes countrey on this syde of the Dneper as ever the Polls had, & if to boot they must quite Volhinia²⁴, then have the Turkes better meanes to prosecute their intentions. But if the Turkes make the Polls their vassalls, {5v} then without

²² *↻ stirring* written in by the author above this line and crossed out.

²³ Just four months before, in September 1683, the allied forces of the Holy Roman Empire and Poland led by King Jan Sobieski crushed the huge Ottoman army at Vienna.

²⁴ Volyn', historical region of north-western Ukraine, which then belonged to Poland.

doubt they will espouse their quarrell & assist them to regain all they can pretend to. So that I looke upon it, that the worse peace they make with the Turkes, the worse it is with you.

What may be feared, that by the conjunction of the armyes the Cosakes may be moved to a defection from you to their old master, I do not think that the Polls desire any other conjunction, as that by invadeing the Crim you should divert the Tartars, & by keeping some forces at Kyow secure your selves & your countrey, and make some diversion of the Turkes thereby.

Next you are to consider that the Cosakes, being a troublesome, military, unconstant people & exceedingly given to gaine & plunder, the Polls will (as they are doing already) entice the best & most military spirits over to their syde, & so by their liberality & courteous behaviour to these allure and gaine the affections of the rest.

The reasons which may move you to invade the Crim & ruin them (for I doubt nothing of the performance) ar so pregnant, that I shall need to use few words in representing them. For first, you will do most acceptable service to God in destroying a nest {6} which some bypast ages have been still infesting Christendome. You will also releve many thowsand Christian soules out of miserable captivity.

2dly, you will gaine to yourselves the greatest honour that any nation hath done of a long tyme, by not only freeing yourselves, but Christendome of that dreadfull and cursed plagueie generation, as also liberating yourselves of that (by all so esteemed) tribute which you pay them yearly²⁵, and so redeeme all former afronts & injuries.

3dly, no question but you will enrich yo[u]r selves, for all the Christians who come from thence will assure you that they have infinite treasure hidd in the ground, for how can it be otherwise? Have they not by tribute, selling & ransoming of prisoners & plunder exhausted the wealth of Russia, Poland, Hungaria & other countreyes?

4thly, the facility of doing it, for with 40,000 foot & 20,000 horsmen you may easily compasse it in one or two yeares at most. Nor is the way thither so difficult, only two dayes march without water, yea, so farr commodious that all the way you can march {6v} in battell array, except in very

²⁵ The treaty of Bakhchisaray (1681) has confirmed Russia's humiliating obligation to appease the Crimean khan with regular "gifts".

few places, and these neither woods, hilles, passes nor marishes.

I shall add that it is a very dangerous thing, to lett your souldiers & people grow out of use of armes, when all your neighbours are so busy using them.

{7} Ja-r 18. The boyar²⁶ told me that if I desired to come to their Ma-ties hands, I could see but one of them now, w-ch I declined, chuseing rather to wait untill I could see both, & this to gaine tyme.

19. The Swedish messenger, being a captaine, complained by his ser[van]t of his *pristave*²⁷ haveing affronted him, & came himself afterwards into the office & complained, but received litle satisfaction.

22. Hearing of the indisposition of the yongest Emperour²⁸, & that being sick of the small pockes he was not lyke soone to recover or be seene, being advertised, I went & kissed the eldest Emperour his hand, who being a sickly & infirme Prince, looked out sadly. He said nothing, the Boyar only in his name asked for my health & praised my services. Afterwards I was brought throw that & another roome, where the Princesse Sophia Alexeiovna²⁹ sate in a chair on a elevated place, at the upper end of the roome towards the corner on the left hand as I came in; haveing done the usuall reverence, the Boyar in the Princesse {7v} her name asked my health, & told me that she graced me to kiss her hand, w-ch I advancing after usuall reverence did. She was pleased to thank me for my service, and commanded me to make ready to returne to Kyow, w-ch the Boyar iterating, and being retired of near the lower end of the roome, I desired the Princesse to consider my condition that I was a ruined person³⁰, had

²⁶ Prince V.V. Golitsyn.

²⁷ *Pristav* (Russian), an official assigned for escort. The Swedish captain was named Gregor Probsting.

²⁸ Tsar Peter I (1672–1725) from 1682 ruled jointly with his half-brother Ivan under the regency of their elder sister, Tsarevna Sophia.

²⁹ 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.

³⁰ Despite his general's rank and salary, back in 1678 Gordon lost most of his belongings at the fall of Chigirin to the Turks (see below, fol. 8, and *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleubries 1635–1699. Vol. III: 1677–1678* (Aberdeen, 2012),

served 5 yeares in Kyow, begging to be exeemed for a short tyme. It was neverthesse answered me that I should make ready.

Ja-r 23. I went early to the Boyar & desired him to interceed for me that I might not be sent back to Kyow; who told me that he would speak with me at more leasure the next day. This day the nobility were all entertained above, being the wedding feast.³¹

24. A messenger from the Roman Emperour, being a secretary & named Johannes Hovel, came to Mosko to give notice of the ambassadours who should follow.³²

{8} Ja-r 25. I had audience in the morning early by the Boyar, with whom I had a large discourse about my going to Kyow, he telling me alwayes I should not think, farr lesse speake of my not going to Kyow, but for my necessityes I should petition their Ma-ties. So having a petition by me with a particular register of my Czegrins³³ losses amounting to near 700 rubles, I gave it him; which haveing read over, he gave to a chancelour³⁴ to be written out. After I had dined a *stolnik* called Philip Deyuf³⁵ with ano[the]r called *Kniaz* Michael Andr[eyevich] Volchonsky came to me w[i]t[h] a present, being a sugar-cake from the Emperour, as a favour from his wedding. I gave the *stolnik* after a world of healths a pair of Kyovish pistolls & an embroidered patron case.

26. The Swedish messenger departed from Mosko.

{8v} Ja-r 29. The Emperours messenger had audience, a regiment of *streltsees*³⁶ standing in armes befor the palace.

pp. 102–5). Besides, after his transfer to Kiev his mansion in Sevsk “was taken on behalf of the Great Sovereign for billeting the boyars and *voyevods*” without any compensation to the owner. Thereupon he submitted several petitions to the Tsars, notably in January 1684.

³¹ On the account of Tsar Ivan’s recent marriage (see above, fol. 1b).

³² The Imperial ambassadors, Barons Johann Christoph Zirowski and Sebastian Blumberg, arrived in Moscow in May 1684 with a proposal of alliance against the Turks, but this proved impossible to achieve just then.

³³ Chyhyryn (Ukrainian), Chigirin (Russian), Czechryń (Polish), Hetmans’ capital of Right-Bank Ukraine, which Gordon bravely defended from the Ottomans in 1678.

³⁴ Gordon’s usual term for *dyak*, a high-ranking civil official in Muscovy.

³⁵ *Stol’nik* was a Russian court rank, originally an attendant at the tsar’s table. The surname is properly Deyev.

³⁶ *Strel’tsy* were Russian infantrymen of the 16th and 17th centuries, armed with long

31. The Emperours messenger had conference in the *Posolsky* office³⁷.

I had orders concerning my house in Shewsky, that it should be valued according as it was when I left it, & payed me out of the Emperours treasure.³⁸

In a conference with the Boyar Galitzin, when I complained that wee Catholickes had no such free exercise of Religion as others had³⁹, he told me that wee should petition their Majesties, & it should be granted, and letters of priviledge also.

{9} March 2.⁴⁰ The Archb[isho]p made his valet preaching in a very moving & gracefull manner, the Dan[ish] envoy, M[ajor] G[eneral] L[or]d Graham, Boutenant⁴¹ & many others being auditors, most whereof I kept to dinner.

3. Being resolved to be gone the next day, I went early to have taken my leave of the Boyar Galitzin, who desired me to come to him when he

guns, poleaxes and swords. They were divided into regiments (*prikazy*), of several “hundreds” each.

³⁷ *Posolsky prikaz* was the government office dealing with foreign affairs.

³⁸ Sevska was an important fortress in southern Russia, where Gordon served with his dragoon regiment from 1671 to 1678. Documents on compensation for his house there, dated 1681–84, have survived (RGADA, F. 210, *Belgorodskiy stol, stolbets* 968, fols. 1–29v). Gordon himself valued it, with outbuildings and orchard, at 150 rubles.

³⁹ Unlike Protestants, the Roman Catholic community in Russia, which grew in numbers and influence, was still forbidden to have churches, and only allowed to worship in private.

⁴⁰ Entries for February 1684 are absent from the MS, although the pagination (not by Gordon) is uninterrupted.

⁴¹ Danish envoy in Russia in 1682–84 was Hildebrand von Horn. Count David William Graham, “Baron” of Morphie (ca.1639–1693), Scottish officer, a Roman Catholic, 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. Heinrich 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.

should come downe from their Ma-ties, which doing, he told me that I was graced to receive my other halfe yeares pay, w-ch made me resolve to stay till Thursday.

4. I sent letters to Mr. Meverell & Mr. Grove & cousin Alex[ande]r with B. of E. by the convoyance of Mr. Wulffe, English merchant.⁴²

5. I tooke my leave of Galitzin who gave me diverse injunctions concerning Kyow, telling me that I did well to please their Majesties now in going to Kyow, & that for my liberty to go out of the countrey I should rely on him, and that I should writt confidently to him of all things that passed in Kyow. I received 200 rubles for my other halfe yeares pay.

{9v} Wee had notice of the arrivall of the Swedish plenipotentiary ambassadours, being come to Narew⁴³ the 24th past & to go from thence the 1st of March; whereupon a post was immediately dispatched to hasten them forward y-t they might be received befor the Passion weeke, but if that could not be, then to bring them on softly till in or after the Holy weeke.

March 6. Haveing taken leave of my greatest & neerest acquaintance, & gotten 10 *podvod*⁴⁴, I went from Mosko, being visited in the morning by the Danish resident, & convoyed by many people. I had by reason of the unevennes very bad way, yet the farther from Mosko the better, and travelled without any thing remarkeable untill

16. I arrived in Shewsky.

{10} March 17. I gott my howse valued at 90 Rubles copper money, which I received the next day. I rode about with the governour & gave him my advice as he desired for the planting of a new suburb with the new *streltsees* w[i]t[h]out the Putivlyes gate.

18. The weather beginning to thaw, I tooke leave of the governour & ffriends & went from thence, being conducted by ffriends to the usuall place. I travelled the most part of the night &

19. came to Chitivisa, where resting, with great difficulty, the way being very badd, I came to Gluchow a litle befor midni[gh]t.

⁴² Evidently, Samuel Meverell (ca.1630–1696/97), George Grove and Joseph or Philip Wolf, prominent English merchants in Russia, Gordon's long-standing friends, correspondents and partners. The initials are undeciphered.

⁴³ Narva. The Swedish embassy, headed by Konrad Gyllenstierna (1638–1684), was sent to ratify the peace treaty of Kardis with Russia, concluded in 1661.

⁴⁴ *Podvody*, Russian for waggons.

20. I came to Krolovets.

21. I came to Baturin, haveing been troubled with great floods of water on the way.

23. Being sent for by the Hetman⁴⁵ in the morning, I had a large conference with him, where wee handled all Muskoes & other effaires very narrowly, & being Palme Sunday, after many familiar expressions he dismissed me, sending all sort of provisions to my lodging.

Here I had notice how that the Hetman of Polonian Kosakes Stephan Kunitsky was killed by one Mogila⁴⁶, and that the same Mogila was {10v} by the Cosakes chosen Hetman in his place, who had taken up his residence in Nemerow.

I marched with great difficulty through deep floods of water, & all the night over, &

March 24. gott but by sunriseing to Borsno⁴⁷, and at night to a village 3 miles further.

25. Being the Annunciation of O[u]r Blessed Lady, I came to Nisin⁴⁸ & stayed all night.

26. I came with great difficulty to Nassovka,

27. to Kosary, where I quited 6 sledges and laid my goods upon wag-gons, & came late to [...] ⁴⁹, &

28. the next day to Kosselsky⁵⁰.

31. Here I kept my Easter & was well feasted by the present Colonell Gregory Karpovits Koropshunka⁵¹, my old ffriend, & by the former

⁴⁵ Hetman was the title of rulers of Ukraine, elected by the Cossacks at their general council (*rada*), with supreme military and administrative powers. Sometimes there were two of them, one on each side of the Dnieper, or even more. Ivan Samoylovich (early 1630s–1690) was Hetman of Left-Bank (from 1672) and Right-Bank (from 1674) Ukraine, and strove to unite them, but in 1687 was charged with treason, deposed and exiled to Siberia.

⁴⁶ Stepan Kunitsky (ca.1640–1684), Hetman of Right-Bank Ukraine since 1683, was killed, and succeeded by Andriy Mohyla (Mogila) or Mohylenko (ca.1630–1689).

⁴⁷ Borzna.

⁴⁸ Nizhyn (Ukrainian), Nezhin (Russian).

⁴⁹ Gap in MS.

⁵⁰ Kozelets.

⁵¹ During the heroic defence of Chigirin against the Turks in 1678 G.K. Korovchenko was colonel of Chigirin Cossack regiment and fought alongside Gordon.

Colonell Constantin Dimitreovits Solonina, each of them giving me a fowling-piece.⁵²

{11} Apr[il] 2. Haveing gott *podwodes* & furnished myself with wagons, I went from Kosselsk & lodged in Semipolka.

3. I dined in Dimirka & lodged in Bravary.

4. I came to the Dneper early and ferryed over by the Petshirsky, comeing to Kyow about 2 houres after midday. I went immediately to the governour⁵³ & delivered him the Emperors letters. He welcomed me very kyndly.

5. The water being cleared of ice the 29th & 30th past, this day the first vessells of the bridge were brought on.

6. This day the rest of the vessells & many of the *plots* or floats [were set].

This weeke there was continuall working at the bridge.

10. I mustered the regiment of horse & found y-rin but 124 men.

11. I wrott to the Hetman, Masepa⁵⁴, Colls. Ham[ilton]⁵⁵ & Ronaer by the officers who convoyed the *streltsees* from hence to Shewsky.

13. A post sent to Mosko that the bridge was ready, by whom I did writt of my arrivall to the Boyar Galitzin & others.

I getting a great paine in my head & eyes on the eleventh, I had on the 12th taken in a laxative & sett ventoses in my neck, yet found a greater pain then ever in my eyes, especially in my left. I applyed diverse things, as hard {11v} boyled egges hott to my brow to stopp the defluxion, & clay with vineger to draw away the heat, & dropped water of bread, womens milk & even childes urine in my eyes, but had litle ease by all.

The water in the river encreased so violently that befor day it carryed away a number of vessells & broke the floating bridge.

⁵² 31 March O.S. (10 April N.S.) was Gordon's birthday—he turned 49.

⁵³ Alexey Petrovich Saltykov (ca.1650–1725/26), from 1682 boyar, in 1684 *voyeroda* in Kiev, later governor of Moscow and Kazan'.

⁵⁴ Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa (1639–1709), at this time general *osavul* (senior officer) under Hetman Samoylovich, after whose fall in 1687 he was himself elected Hetman of Ukraine. During the Great Northern War he changed sides and joined the Swedes, fled to Turkish dominions after the battle of Poltava and died there.

⁵⁵ Apparently, Colonel of dragoons Andrew (or Henry) Hamilton († 1689), Gordon's compatriot and friend, who lost his leg near Chigirin in 1678.

Apr. 14. I tooke head-pills w-ch by reason of the great heat in my body had but litle operation & I litle ease notwithstanding of my continuall using some of the above-mentioned things.

17. I lett blood of the mediana, which I imagined to give me some ease.

18. The river encreased so that it began to overflow all the illands, so that wee despaired of compleeting the bridge.

19. Wee heard of the Turkes assembling their forces at Camieniets⁵⁶ & the Polls at Trembovla; that the Polls had beaten a great convoy of the Turkes, getting much ammunition & provision, w-ch they were bringing to Camieniets; that {12} some thowsands of Polls were come to Mogilow⁵⁷ to joyne the Cosakes. The Hetman sent a letter of pardon & invitation to the Cosakes in Nemerow.

The water still encreased.

April 21. I tooke head-pills againe, w-ch haveing better operation as the former, I resolved to go out on Wednesday.

The water at the hight.

22. I did writt to my brother John⁵⁸, enclosed in a letter to Mr. Meverell & that in one to Mr. Hartman; to my cousin Mr. Thomas Gordon⁵⁹ enclosed in a letter to Mr. Adie in Dantzick⁶⁰, and that in one to Mr. Vinius⁶¹, & all with one to Coll. Menezes⁶² & ano[the]r to Mr.

⁵⁶ Kamenets-Podolsky (Russian), Kamyanets-Podilsky (Ukrainian).

⁵⁷ Mogiliow-Podolsky (Russian), Mohyliv-Podilsky (Ukrainian), Mohylów Podolski (Polish).

⁵⁸ John Gordon of Westertoun (ca.1637–after 1698), Patrick's younger brother, who managed the family estate of Auchleuchries in Aberdeenshire.

⁵⁹ Thomas Gordon, Patrick's cousin and factor in Scotland. He was a writer to the signet in Edinburgh, and from November 1682 clerk of the Justiciary Court, being known as "Honest Tom Gordon".

⁶⁰ Gdańsk, Poland.

⁶¹ Andrey Vinius (1641–1717), *dummy 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.

⁶² 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,

Guasconi⁶³ addressed to Coll. von Mengden.

23. I went abroad, albeit I found my self not very well.

The coronation of King James the 7th.⁶⁴

24. I did writt to the Danish envoy, the Hollands resident⁶⁵, L[or]d Graham, Abbot Blasius Fleming of Regensburg⁶⁶, M. Villiers, Colls. Ronaer & Hamilton, *Kniaz* Vasily Vas. Galitzin, *Kniaz* Nikita Sem[enovich] Urusuf, Benedict Andr[eyevich] Ismeyow, Leonty Rom[anovich] Nepluiuf & Boris Dementeyuf⁶⁷ by Boris Anutshin, a lt. to horse of my regiment, as also to Ivan Michaelovits Miloslafsky.

{12v} April 24. I caused bring me a roll of the garrison, artillery & ammunition, w-ch I found to be as here followeth:

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 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'ya* (St. Petersburg, 1906)).

⁶³ 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.

⁶⁴ This entry was inserted later, and ended up in a wrong place. James VII (II) (1633–1701) became King of Great Britain in 1685 (see below, fol. 70 v.). In winter of 1666/67 Gordon made a personal acquaintance with him, then Duke of York and Albany and Lord High Admiral. In 1686 they were to meet again.

⁶⁵ Baron Johan Willem van Keller, resident of the United Provinces in Moscow from 1677 to 1698.

⁶⁶ The Bavarian city of Regensburg had an ancient Scottish Benedictine Abbey of St. James. This is yet another instance of Gordon's wide circle of correspondents.

⁶⁷ Prince N.S. Urusov, *voyeroda* of Tatar stock, in 1679 became a boyar and governor of Kiev. V.A. Zmeyov († 1696/97), *voyeroda* and general, who took part in wars against Poland and Turkey, from 1682 *okolnichy*, head of Razriad, Streltsy and other offices. L.R. Nepluiyev, *okolnichy*, in 1681 *voyeroda* in Kiev, from 1688 boyar; for some years he was governor of Sevsk, where Gordon served in the 1670s. B.F. Dementyev was a colonel, whose regiment at this time was stationed in Chernigov.

Of foot in six regiments	2,621
Of horse one regiment	124
Of constables ⁶⁸	35

The artillery

2 cartowes ⁶⁹ shooting 50 pund ball, to w-ch	300 bullets
2 cartowes shooting 47 p-d, to w-ch	799 bul.
3 4 th cartowes shooting 15 p-d, to w-ch	1,663 bul.
2 mettall ⁷⁰ & a 3d of iron shooting bullets of 12 pund, to w-ch	1,669 bul.
4 mettall pieces on[e] whereof long called "The Lyon" shooting 6 p-d;	
6 iron shooting 6 pund	5,652 bul.
3 mettall shooting 4 p-d & 1 iron broken shooting 4 p-d	3,500 buls
1 iron piece shott. 3 1/2 p-d	[...]
11 mettall pieces shott. 3 p-d and 1 iron of the same syze spoiled	7,051 buls
62 mettall pieces on[e] whereof spoiled shooting 2 p-d bullets, to w-ch	2,564 buls
8 mettall & on[e] iron shott. 1 1/2 p-d, to w-ch	2,476 buls
1 mettall piece shooting 1 p-d, to w-ch	1,571 buls
1 mettall piece shooting 1/2 p-d, to w-ch	933 bul.
1 mettall in wid. shott. 1/4 p-d, to w-ch	1,088 bul.
Of halfe a q[uar]t[er] p-d bull. no can[non]	10 bul.
{13} 13 mortar pieces of different syzes mettall	
15 mettall cutthroat ⁷¹ for haile-shott	
Of bullets of 2 & a halfe pund, to w-ch no cannon	1,025 bul.

⁶⁸ Here *constables* means cannoneers. This term was also used in Russian naval artillery from the foundation of the Navy in the 1690s.

⁶⁹ *Cartow* (Flemish and Scots), cannon shooting a ball of a quarter of a hundredweight (12.7 kilos). The Russian cognate is *kartaun*.

⁷⁰ Substituted for *copper*.

⁷¹ In Gordon's own words, *cutthroats* were "short pieces for small shott" (*Diary*, III, p. 56).

In all

Cannon	Bullets
126	31,301
Morter pieces 13	Bombes ⁷² charged
Of 12 <i>pude</i> ⁷³	11
Of 3 <i>pude</i>	595
Of 2 <i>pude</i>	541
Of 1 <i>pude</i>	301
Of halfe a <i>pude</i>	1
Of 4 pund	174
Of 2 pund	200
Of glazen ⁷⁴	106
Hand granadoes	14,068
	Not charged
Of 12 <i>pude</i> granadoes	97
Of 3 <i>pude</i> to w-ch 800 <i>trubes</i> ⁷⁵	1,972
Of 2 <i>pude</i> to w-ch 699 <i>trubes</i>	1,100
Of 1 1/2 <i>pude</i> to w-ch no <i>trubes</i>	715
Of 1 <i>pude</i> to w-ch 800 <i>trubes</i>	2,580
Of halfe a <i>pude</i> to w-ch 952 <i>trubes</i>	987
Of chained to w-ch 1,600 <i>trubes</i>	4,168
Hand granadoes whereof 325 glazen	31,754

{13v} Of powder to cannon 7,548 *pude* whereof 5,033 *pude* and 5 *punde* with the wood.

40 *pude* with the wood of spoiled.

1,466 *pude* & 2 1/2 pund of musquet powder whereof 1,050 *pude* 39 pund with the wood.

⁷² *Granadoes* crossed out.

⁷³ *Pud*, pood, old Russian unit of mass equal to 16.38 kilos.

⁷⁴ Glass grenades, cheaper to make, but brittle and more dangerous to use, weighed about 2 pounds.

⁷⁵ *Trubka*, Russian for fuse.

In all 9,054 *pude* 7 1/2 pund.
 4,252 *pude* & 24 lib. of lead.
 2,105 *pude* of lunt & 34 lib., whereof 364 *pude* 1 pund unboyled.⁷⁶
 927 *pude* 1 pund of bullets & cutt lead.
 5 *pude* of broken iron.
 409 *pude* of iron whereof 12 *pude* of Swedish iron.

{14} April 24. I gave in a list of the worke what was to be made about the towne in a large booke under my hand.

I gave in a list of such things as is necessary to be provided this summer, as followeth:

3,500 balkes of 4 fath. long & at the smallest end 5 & 6 *verskies*⁷⁷ thick.
 6,200 bal[k]es or boords long 3 fath., broad 9 *verskies*, thick one & a halfe.

10,000 *dranitses*⁷⁸ 2 Emp[eror's] fath. long.
 40 fath. of wood.
 300 tunnes. 300 *kades*⁷⁹ for the cannon.
 300 *vedr*⁸⁰ or buckets.
 500 axe trees of yong oake & *klion*⁸¹ to the cannon.
 200 wheeles of different syzes to ye cannon.
 50 *l'affûts*⁸² of different syzes of oaken wood to the cannon.

Trubes w-ch want to the granadoes:

1,272 to 3 *pude* granadoes.
 451 to 2 *pude*.
 800 to 1 1/2 *pude* gran.
 1,900 to 1 *pude* granadoes.
 {14v} 435 to halfe-*pude* granadoes.
 2,768 to the chaine or *stang* granadoes.
 In all of *trubes* 7,624.

⁷⁶ Match was usually boiled with sulphur.

⁷⁷ *Versbok*, old Russian measure of length equal to 4.45 cm.

⁷⁸ *Dranitsy*, old Russian for boards of pine.

⁷⁹ *Kadi*, old Russian for tubs.

⁸⁰ *Vedro*, Russian for bucket.

⁸¹ Russian for maple.

⁸² *L'affûts* (French), gun carriages.

And what is necessary of gabions⁸³ and ryce or *strauch*⁸⁴ & stones, may be provided when there is certaine intelligence of the enemies approaching to the siege of the towne.

The bookes & list of the worke & things to be provided were sent to Mosko by a lt.

A roll given in of these upon duty, which is of my sojors & *streltsees* 237 & free but 188.

April 25. The water began to decrease.

The defluxions did begin to fall downe into my neck & shoulders.

26. The lieutenant dispatched & went from hence.

27. Wee heard that the Hetman had ordered strict watches to be kept for hindring people going to the Zaporoge⁸⁵; that notwithstanding many people were going over the Dneper and joining with the Polls Cosakes.

It was talked also that the Hetman intended to turne monke, & to use meanes that his son should be chosen Hetman in his place.

{15} April 28. I sent orders to Coll. Ivanitsky for two men to be written in in the roll for *ryters*⁸⁶.

I received with avisoes letters from Mosko of the 25 *Martii*.

30. A Kyovish burgesse coming from Nemerow informed that the Polls had taken a Tartar of whom they had learned that 40,000 Tartars were come out of the Crim; that they were to divide, & one halfe to fall into the Podlasse⁸⁷, the other halfe into the Volinia; that notice was given to Bially Czerkiew⁸⁸ & the adjacent townes to be vigilant.

This & the weeke befor was much discourse about miracles in the Church dedicated to St. Georg, wherein a picture of the Blessed Virgin had been seen to weep, & the great wax candle befor the picture of St. Nicholous lighted on of itself diverse tymes.

⁸³ Gabions, baskets or boxes made from wickerwork, filled with rocks, sand, soil etc, and used for cover in fortifications.

⁸⁴ *Strauch* (German), brushwood.

⁸⁵ 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.

⁸⁶ *Reiter* (German), trooper. This term also used to denote cavalry "of foreign order" in Russia.

⁸⁷ Podlasie or Podlasze, region of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

⁸⁸ Bila Tserkva (Ukrainian), Biala Cerkiew (Polish), Belaya Tserkov' (Russian), literally White Church.

The Hetman sent for Marka, Dmitraska his cousin, & the Cosake told that Voitza was kept in durance still⁸⁹; that the Hetman had a great mind to speake with the old Seremetuf, to w-ch purpose it is thought he would come to the borders.

{15v} May 1. I went and gave the Abbot of the Petshursky Monastery⁹⁰ a visitt. He did meet me halfe-staires and conducted me into the roome, where I congratulated him in the following words:

Perillustris et Reverendissime; et-si [i]n primo adventu meo, misi gratulandum Rev. Vest., tamen non potui omittere quin quamprimum infirmitas mea me permetteret, idem in persona facerem, et spero q[uo]d R. V. faciet mihi hanc justitiam ut credat, q[uo]d quando audiui de promotione R. V. magno affectus fui gaudio.

Ideo nunc primo gratulor Ruthenicae Ecclesiae, quod tale et tantum lumen et columnen in tam sublimem locum acceperit, ubi in magis conspicuo quam antea Theatro, virtutes exercendi quotidie dabuntur occasiones.

Gratulor et huic Monasterio, cum Confratribus, Incolis et Subditis, q[uo]d non solum Abbatem dignissimum, Rectorem et Directorem vigilantissimum et sapientissimum, sed Patronum et Protectorem inclitum, et Patrem amantissimum acceperint.

Gratulor et personae R. V. pro promotione et incremento honoris, et evectione ad tantum fastigium, compertum habens, quod anteactae vitae {16} vestrae serenitas, vir[tu]tum perspicuitas, non tantum tacito Dei instinctu, sed summo cum omnium ordinum applausu et unanimi consensu in hoc culmen evexerint.

Sinat me et sibi ipsi et commilitonibus meis gratulari, q[uo]d post discessum piaae et clarae memoriae Abbatis praesulis optimi qui placidis congressibus, et amantissime nos semper excipiebat, vidimus R. V. in hunc

⁸⁹ Rodion Dmitrashko-Raycha († ca.1705), colonel of Pereyaslav, his nephew Marko and Voytsa Serbin († 1689), former colonel of Pereyaslav removed by Hetman Samoylovich.

⁹⁰ Varlaam Yasinsky (1627–1707), new Archimandrite of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra, whom Gordon congratulated on his consecration. In 1690 he became Metropolitan of Kiev and all Ukraine.

locum suffectum, cujus nobis nota humanitas et amicabile conversatio, de omni benevolentia reddit securos.

Denique precor, ut D[eus] Op[timus] M[aximus] R. V. in hac functione beat, et ut omnia felicia, prospera, faustaque R. V. eveniant, et ut nunc terrestri et temporanea, ita in mundo futuro caelesti et aeterna videamus coronatum Infula.⁹¹

He answered with a low voice in the same language, in termes agreable to the purpose, and afterwards entertained us very kindly in diverse places.

{16v} May 2. I gave in bookes for this halfe-yeares pay wherein were written of the horse and foot regiments:

2 colonells, 5 lt. colonells, 3 maiors, 4 *ruitm-rs*⁹², 12 capitaines, 12 lieutenants, 6 cornets & ensignes, 126 horsmen; 9 serj[eants], 6 capt[ains] *ab*

⁹¹ Most illustrious and Most Reverend [Father]! Although upon my first arrival I have sent my congratulations to Your Reverence, yet I could not omit the chance, as soon as my illness would permit me, to do the same in person, and I hope Your R. will do me justice to believe that when I heard of Your R.'s promotion I was filled with great joy.

Therefore, I now firstly congratulate the Russian Church, which acquires such a luminary and pillar in so high an office, where occasions shall daily offer themselves for exercising virtues in a theatre more conspicuous than before.

I also congratulate this Monastery with its brethren, indwellers and subjects, who acquire not only a most worthy Abbot, most vigilant and wise Rector and Director, but also a renowned Patron and Protector, as well as a most loving Father.

And I personally congratulate Your R. with your promotion, elevation of honour, and ascent to such a height, being convinced that the serenity of your previous life, and perspicuity of your virtues shall rise to that summit not only by God's secret providence, but also by general approval and unanimous consent of all estates.

May I be allowed to congratulate myself and my comrades-in-arms too, in that after the demise of the late Abbot, of pious and serene memory, who has always most lovingly received us at our pleasant meetings, we see Your R. elected to this office, while your acknowledged kindness and amicable conversation assure us of [your] complete benevolence.

Lastly, I pray that God Most Good, Most Great may bless Your R. in this office, so that every joy, prosperity and success attend Your R., and may we see [you] crowned with a wreath, now earthly and temporary, and in the future world,—heavenly and eternal (Lat.).

⁹² *Rittmeister* (German), captain of cavalry.

*armis*⁹³, 4 corporals, a reg. writer; of sojors 120; *streltses*: 6 50ths, 23 10ths, 256 *streltsees*.

These were sent to Mosko by post.

3. Wee heard that the Chan⁹⁴ with the Tartars were come to the River Rossava, and that one halfe of them were going towards Camieniets, & the other towards the Podlassia. Wee had also notice that the Russes had at the treaty at Kadzin prolonged the truce for 3 yeares with the Poles⁹⁵, so that yet nine yeares is to the expiring thereof.

{17} May 4. A great showre of hailestones as bigg as dove egges, & many as bigg as hens egges, did fall in the afternoone. This haile had as if stamped on one syde a crescent.

6. Maior Bockhoven⁹⁶ & Capt. Bresky came from Shewsky, by whom I had letters from Mosko, Smollensko, Shewsky & Baturin.

7. I did writt to Coll. van Zaaen.

8. A holy day in the Iordansky Monastery⁹⁷ whither the Boyar went. 17 sick men of *streltsees*.

9. St. Nicolaus day; the Boyar should have gone in his pontifical, but was hindred by the raine.

10. I had words with the Boy[ar] concerning the indwelling sojors.

11. A Jew came from Byally Czerkiew, who told that a party of the Tartars had been in the *Posheks*⁹⁸ 30 *verst* beyond Bially Czerkiew and taken away two indwellers, the third escapeing hurt.

I did writt to Mosko to Gal[itsyn], Ismey[ov], Ukray[intsev]⁹⁹, Gorczak[ov]¹⁰⁰, Nepluy[ev], Birin, to Col-s von Mengd[en], Ron[aer],

⁹³ *Capitaine d'armes* (French), *kaptенarmus* (Russian), NCO responsible for storage and distribution of arms, ammunition, uniforms and provisions.

⁹⁴ Hacı II Giray, Khan of Crimea in 1683–84.

⁹⁵ *Russes* in MS, an obvious slip.

⁹⁶ The family of van (or von) Bockhoven, originally Roman Catholics from the Netherlands, long settled in Moscow, were related to Gordon through his first wife, Catherine van Bockhoven.

⁹⁷ On 8 May the Russian Orthodox Church celebrates the feast of St. John the Divine. Here S.A. Ternovsky suggested a mistake by Gordon, as this was the principal holiday in Bogoslovsky, not Iordansky monastery (*Kiev v 1684–85 godakh po opisaniyu sluzhologo inozemtsa Patrikiya Gordona* (Kiev, 1875), p. 7).

⁹⁸ *Paseka*, Russian for apiary.

⁹⁹ Yemelyan Ignatyevich Ukraintsev (1641–1708), *dummy dyak*, noted diplomat, later head of the Embassy Office.

¹⁰⁰ Apparently, *Okolnichy* Prince Boris Vasilyevich Gorchakov, who slightly earlier

Ham[ilton], Men[zies], Galb[raith]¹⁰¹, Kalder[wood], Vinus, Iv[an] Yak[imov].

13. The *ambar*¹⁰² in the Castle begun to be repaired.

The Hetman sent the Pereaslavish writer to the Cosakes in Nemerow to entice & perswade them to leave the Polls service with promise not only of pardon but of gratuities besides; they haveing, upon the letter sent to them, given hopes of betraying their trust.

{17v} May 15. Wee were informed that the Turks & Tartars convoying treasure & ammunition to Camieniets were attacqued by the Polls & Cosakes, whom they had defeated & brought all safe to Camieniets.

17. By a prisoner come from Human¹⁰³ wee had the confirmation of the Cosakes being beat by the Turkes & Tartars; that Human was destroyed by the Tartars & that they were hovering about Stugna neer Ladishin exspecting the comeing of more Turks, and to hinder the conjunction of the Polls with the Cosakes.

18. Being Whitsunday, the Boyar & all went to the Petsharsky Monastery, & came well f[ull] home.

20. I gott in a note from Capt. Musalow that he had still in his keeping 276 great boats and 97 *plavnies*, or litle boates.

21. The Colonell Korpshunka told me that the grosse of the Tartars army were lying about Iassy; that a strong party of them under the Chans sonne were on this syde of the Dnesther, lying not farr from the Polls armyes, either to amuse or hinder them from joining with the Imperialists¹⁰⁴.

Wee dined with the Boyar, being his mothers name-day.

22. Wee dynd by Coll. Pawl Bokin, where *varia*¹⁰⁵.

{18} May 23. Wee heard that the Polls Cosakes haveing beat twice the Turkish convoys to Camieniets, whereof the Turkes haveing gott notice, they sent the third convoy stronger, and laying an ambush, entrapped the Cosakes & killed some hundreds of them.

served as *vojevoda* in Kiev.

¹⁰¹ Scottish Colonel Tobias Galbraith, who in the 1680s commanded Russian regiments of soldiers and pikemen.

¹⁰² Storehouse or barn (Russian).

¹⁰³ Uman', a town in Right-Bank Ukraine.

¹⁰⁴ I.e. troops of the Holy Roman Empire.

¹⁰⁵ Various matters (Lat.).

25. Wee had notice that the Boyar Fiodor Petrovits Sheremetuf was to come hither.¹⁰⁶

26. Capt. Peter Kosmus buried.

27. My letters to *Kniaz* Vasily Vasil. [Golitsyn] I dated this day and sent them to Ivan Yakimuf with my petition to go out of the country.

Wee dined by the Boyar with the Pereaslavish *woynod*.

28. It was reported that the Turkish vizier w[i]t[h] the halfe of the Tartars were to make warr this summer upon Polland, and that the Sultan himself with the other halfe of the Tartars was to carry on the warr against the Roman Emperour, and intended to besiege Wienna.

I did writt to Mr. James Adie, merch-t in Dantzick, by the *woyts*¹⁰⁷ servant.

It was found to be the knavery of a yong priest, that the candles had been so often lighted on, & the Blessed Virgin seen to weep in St. Georg his church.

{18v} May 29. Wee celebrated Corpus Christi day, as also our Kings birth day¹⁰⁸ with the ordinary solennity.

Our petitioners went from hence.

30. Wee heard that the Tartars were about Bially Czerkiew. Wee heard also that most of the Cosakes, who had taken service with the Polls and were in and about Nemerow, had promised to come over the Dneper how soone they had gotten the money, which the Pope¹⁰⁹ had sent to them, giving assurance of their deserting the Polls service.

31. Wee drew on the *baydakes*¹¹⁰ of the bridge aright againe.

Maior Bockhoven went to Shewsky, by whom I did writt to the governour, Coll-s Hamilton & Ronaer.

¹⁰⁶ F.P. Sheremetev (1655–1722) was married to a daughter of Hetman Samoylovich, who successfully solicited the tsars for his son-in-law's appointment to Kiev as *vojevoda*.

¹⁰⁷ *Woyt* (akin to German *Vogt*), an elected head of the city council according to the medieval Magdeburg Law. At this time the office in Kiev was held by Zhdan Tadrina.

¹⁰⁸ King Charles II of Great Britain, whose subject Gordon remained.

¹⁰⁹ Pope Innocent XI (reigned 1676–1689), head of the anti-Ottoman Holy League, comprising the Holy Roman Empire, Poland-Lithuania and Venice, and soon to be joined by Russia.

¹¹⁰ *Baydaki*. Ukrainian term for large river-boats on the Dnieper, here meaning pontoons.

{19} June 2. The river being much decreased, wee compleeted againe the bridge, so that waggons went over.

3. I was in the Widebitsky Monastery¹¹¹, where I heard that some thowsands of the Cosakes, who had been in Polland in that service, were come to the Dneper syde below Tripoly[e], desireing permission to come over the Dneper to their houses & ffriends.

4. Some of these Cosakes, who had deserted the Polls service and were now permitted to go to their homes, informed that they had received of the Popes money each man 14 florens and a new suit of cloaths, where-upon they combined among themselves and marched away; that their Hetman Mogila had followed them with his cap in his hand and teares in his eyes, entreating and begging them to returne, promising them 10 dollers apiece & a new suite, notwithstanding which they came away, being about 5,000 men with fowre colonells called Drobiasda, Donskoy [...]; that about 3,000, most of them horsemen, stayed still in Nemerow; that the Tartars were lying in the Budziakian fields¹¹², much impoverished and dismounted. They reported also that the Christians had in Hungaria gained two strong townes from the Turkes; that the Tartars with light parties from Camieniets were makeing incursions into Polland and doing {19v} considerable harme.

June 5. I sent our horses to the illand to be kept, the grasse being now well growne, and the water falne of.

6. The Moskoes *streltsees* brought *kasna*¹¹³ or pay for this halfe-yeare to September.

8. The Boyar went to the Widebitsky Monastery.

A letter came from the *woynwod* of Pereaslaw of the following contents: that the 27th of May about 4,000 Saporovish, Donish & other Kosakes and Czirkases¹¹⁴, who by the enticements of the Polls were allured to come to them and serve in their armyes, were come to Pereaslaw; that upon the Hetmans order Leonty Palibutek, Colonell of Pereaslaw¹¹⁵, rode out

¹¹¹ Vydubitsky Monastery, ancient religious house on the southern outskirts of Kiev.

¹¹² Budjak, a plain along the Black Sea between the Danube and Dniester rivers, occupied at this period by the Akkerman horde of Tatars.

¹¹³ *Kazna* (Russian), treasury.

¹¹⁴ *Cherkasy*, another name for Ukrainians.

¹¹⁵ Leonty Polubotok († ca.1695), colonel of Pereyaslav.

to them in the fields, and receiving from them their collours, Levko or Sitshenko, their colonell, with the Cosakes & 45 Valachians who came along with them tooke the oath of fidelity to serve their Ma-ties faithfully, & not to let themselves be any mor enticed by the Polls or any others allureings to go to serve any other as their Ma-ties; that hereupon they who had houses & ffriends and had been inrolled in regiments were permitted to go to their houses & regiments, and the other who had no being on {20} that syde were quartered in the townes & villages of the Pereaslavish regiment, and ordered to be fed untill their Ma-ties order. Moreover, these Cosakes reported that they went from Nemerow because the Hetman Ivan Samuelovits had written letters to them to come, and sent Pereaslowish Cosakes to them with assurance and large promises of pardon and contentment; as also that they were not fully payed, and had received but for the last & this yeare 5 reichs thalers a man; and that they seing such bad payment, and that the Polls have no forces on foot, and that there were no forces considerable to rely on, they therefor went away from Nemerow.

June 9. I received a letter from Colonell John Barriffe informing me that the regiment of horse, which had wintered in Pereaslaw, was ordered to be dismissed to their houses, & he to go to Byallygrod¹¹⁶.

10. This day as all of June continued with great raines.

{20v} June 15. By a servant of the Boyars come from Mosko in 10 dayes wee had notice that the Boyar Fiodor Petrovits Seremetuf was gone out of Mosko the 5th instant, and setting forwards to Kyow.

I did writt to Mosko to Ivan Birin, Coll. von Mengden & the Chancellour Vinius by a capt. and the Boyars ser-t.

An order came to send 300 tunne of rey to Ariel¹¹⁷ for to feed the regiment of souldiers who were to be sent thither.

16. Wee began to worke at the wall, repairing what was spoiled and making what was unperfected.

18. My brother in law came hither.

19. The *Archimandritt* with all the priors entertained by the Boyar; in the evening the priors came to me & were merry.

¹¹⁶ Belgorod, important town in southern Russia.

¹¹⁷ Orel', a fort on the left tributary of the Dnieper of the same name.

An order to send money to Ariel in stead of the rey formerly commanded.

20. I went to the illand & found my horses in good condition, and did writt to Kursk to Coll-s Westhoffe & Haupt by Lt. Philip Musalow.

21. Wee had notice by persons come from Bially Czerkiew, that since the Tartars had at their first comeing thither been in the night surprized & beat by the souldiery of that garrison, they had not heard of any being to attact them.

{21} June 22. Wee were at devotion in the nunnes monastery, & dined by the *Archimandritt*.

I did writt to Coll. Ronaer by a Russe capt. of Serg[ey] Gol[ovchin].

23. Wee had notice by a merchant come from Russe Lemberg¹¹⁸ that the Polls armyes wer not conveening, only some few companies were under Trembovla.

26. The Festivall of the Emperours Coronation. A stranger called Lorens Liddell, borne of Scottish parents in Polland, came hither with Hungarian wyne and was seized on for a spy, and with great diffculty gott dismissed & sent to the *sotnik*¹¹⁹. He informed that the King¹²⁰ was conveening his army with intention to go under Camieniets.

28. Gregory went to the schoole in the Bratsky Monastery.¹²¹

29. Being the yongest Emperours name-day, wee were all by the B[oyar] & f[ull].

{21v} July 1. The Boyar and all the p[rinci]p[a]ll persons of the garrison dyned by me.

¹¹⁸ Lemberg (German), Lviv (Ukrainian), Lwów (Polish), centre of Poland's Ruthenian Voivodeship.

¹¹⁹ *Sotnik* (Russian and Ukrainian), an officer of Cossacks or *streltsy* in command of 100 men.

¹²⁰ Jan III Sobieski (1629–1696), eminent commander, from 1674 King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, with whom Gordon was personally well acquainted.

¹²¹ I.e. the famous Kiev Mohyla Academy (College until 1658), established in 1632 by Piotr Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kiev. Located within the Bratsky Monastery in Kiev's district of Podol (Podil), it virtually became the oldest university of Eastern Europe, and at this time was the only institution of higher education in the entire Russian Tsardom. Gregory is probably Gordon's brother-in-law Gregory Ronaer, certainly not Gordon's son, as some historians believe.

2. Two troupers sent to Nemirow to recover 6 horses, which were stolne from them.

Writt to Coll-s Ron[aer], Ham[ilton], Capt. Stewart by Simon Reinolds.

3. Maior Bockhoven returned from Shewsky, by whom I had letters from Mosko wherein I was informed that the Russes, upon the Ro[man] Emp. Ambassadors desires, would not consent to a rupture with the Turkes, unlesse the Polls would make a perpetuall peace with them & let them keep Kyow, Smollensko & the whole nation of the Cosakes, to which the Embassadors excusing themselves as haveing no comission, were shortly to be dismissed. From Shewsky I had, that Simon Almasuf¹²² was sent to the Hetman (the now only oracle & square of the Russes resolutions) for his advise, & that he was returned with a peacable memorandum; that two regiments of sojors were commanded to be drawne together & march for Kyow, but in another letter hearing they were to rendevow at Drihaylow, I suspected their march another way; that the Boyar Fiodor Petrovits made his entry into Shewsky the 25th past; that orders were from Mosko, he should stay there till further orders.

I was in the Petshursky Monastery, being desired by the Abbot to give my advice for the {22} founding of a stone refectory, and did see the materialls provided by Maxim.

July 4. I rode with some officers to take a view of our medowes.

5. The trowpers sent to Nemirow returned, haveing been no further as Bially Czerkiew, because of the Tartars who, haveing taken away all the people out of Chorostoshewa¹²³ & Rudn[i]a & other places, were gone towards Czernoble & the Polesia¹²⁴. They informed that the commendant had sent 300 horse & dragouns to Nemirow with advertisment to the Hetman to march out & besett the passages, by which the Tartars should returne; that he had also sent notice of the Tartars incursion to the army; that the Crowne army was rendevouzing at Glinian, & the Littawers already advanced to Trembowla; that how soone the Sweds & Brandeburgs auxiliaries were come, they were to march to the siege of Camieniets, wherein it was 15,000 Turkes were in garrison.

¹²² Semion Yerofeyevich Almazov, Duma nobleman, 'Tsars' envoy in Ukraine.

¹²³ Korostyshev.

¹²⁴ Chernobyl' and Polesie, the historical region in northern Ukraine and southern Belorussia, then a part of Poland-Lithuania.

Haveing written the 2d to Coll. von Mengden, Mr. Vinius & Ivan Birin, & the writer¹²⁵ Sid[or] And[reyev] Putitsky staying yet, I did writt an answer to the Hollands resident his of the 3d *Junii* & to Mr. van Troyen¹²⁶.

My people went to mow hay.

{22v} July 6. The Hetman sent for the Pereaslavish Cosakes who had been in durance since the Hetmans being here last yeare, who were accordingly sent to him.

7. I sent an order to Coll. Evanitsky for secureing the wiwes, children & houses of two trowpers who had runaway, and of whom wee had notice by Maxims servant that they had taken service in Bially Czerkiew.

The wall of the Lower towne begun to be repaired.

The writer Sidor And. went from hence to Mosko.

8. A poor Scotsman called Lorens Liddell haveing been kept neer two weekes in irons, as being suspected of being a spy, because he only brought but a small tunne of wine to be sold, and because by his *fuirman*¹²⁷, an indweller of Kyow, he was perswaded not to show himself to the watch, was with great difficulty let loose.¹²⁸

Kunitsky his widdow came from Polland. She had letters from the King to the commendant of Bially Czerkiew for the payment of some honey he was owing, & to the Hetman Andrew Mohila, for payment of some thowsands of sheep & some hundreds of oxen and other things taken from her husband when he was murdered.

{23} July 9. Sojours came from Ariel for money to the regiment, bringing books with the names of the sojors, near 819 men¹²⁹. They told that they were commanded men out of diverse townes & villages of the Ukraina townes; that they were sent out without any money; that they had orders to guard the Dneper & both sydes thereof, & not to permitt either people or provision to go to the Zaporogue, neither to let the Zaporovish Cosakes trade up the Dneper with fish or any other commodities, wherewith these

¹²⁵ Gordon's usual term for *podyalny*, middle-ranking civil official in old Russia.

¹²⁶ Probably Jeremiah van Troyen, Netherlandish merchant who in 1684, along with other Roman Catholics led by Gordon, signed the petition to the Tsars to allow public Catholic worship in Moscow.

¹²⁷ *Fuhrmann* (German), carter or waggoner.

¹²⁸ Apparently this Polish Scot was helped out by Gordon himself, who was always eager to lend a hand to his countrymen.

¹²⁹ The author substituted 800 with 819, so that the word *near* became redundant.

Cosakes cannot be well pleased, albeit they carry fair for the present. All this done by the Hetmans letters and directions, he being still the oracle.

10. The *Ruitmaster* Peter Golochwastufe went to Ariel, being 200 *verst* from hence, tooke with him 114 rubles 22 *altines*¹³⁰, that is 14 kopikes a man for 819 men, in place of halfe a tunne of corne according to the price here, being provision to them for [...] months.

The liev-t returned from Kursky, showing that the Boyar Alexey Semenovits Shein was to take a progresse and visitt the townes along the wall¹³¹, & that three regiments as usuall were ordred to march to the borders upon the acco-t of exchanging of prisoners with the Tartars.

I had letters also from Mosko of the last *Junii* by post.

{23v} July 11. Ivan Steigalo, the *Cashovy Ottoman*¹³² of the Zaporovish Cosakes, being enclyned to march to the assistance of the Polls against the Turkes, as also the most of these Cosakes, and haveing received pay & large gratuities from the King of Polland, whose commissioners were still by them, was not only prohibited by the Hetman, but by his faction there put of, & Gregory Sa[halydashny set in his place, as also by these he sent thither these commissioners detained. God avert His judgement from us for such unchristian dealing!

By a fryer come from Shewsky wee were informed, [...] ¹³³ had gott orders to march to Kyow, 700 men being commanded to convoy him.

By a writeing sent from Nemerow to the prior of the Mezegorsky Monastery¹³⁴ wee had notice that the Tartars intended to come by way of stealth towards Kyow for booty, wherefor wee ordered our people to go out with armes & with great watchfulnesse.

¹³⁰ *Allyn*, old Russian unit equal to three kopeks.

¹³¹ I.e. the forts of the Belgorod defensive line (*zasechnaya cherta*), built since the 1640s against the Tatars. A.S. Shein (1662–1700) was a boyar, *voyeroda* and one of Russia's leading generals in the Crimean and Azov campaigns. In 1696 he was appointed "*voyeroda* of the great army", i.e. commander-in-chief (Gordon calls him *Generalissimo*). Together with Gordon he quelled the *streltsy* mutiny of 1698.

¹³² *Koshovyi otaman* (Ukrainian) was the highest military leader of the Zaporizhian Host, elected by Cossack elders. The surname is properly Stigaylo.

¹³³ No visible gap in MS, but an omission is obvious here. Apparently this entry refers to Boyar F.P. Sheremetev, who was on his way to Kiev to take over as *voyeroda* there.

¹³⁴ At this time the prior (*begumen*) of Mezhygorsky monastery, north of Kiev, was Feodosy Vaskovsky.

Wee dispatched an ensigny to Shewsky, by whom I did writt to the governour, Coll. Hamilton & Ronaer.

Given a note for a house-postill, Daniel Printz¹³⁵ & the great new cart of Hungary to Breslaw¹³⁶.

{24} July 12. Wee heard by people come out of Polland, that the 4,000 Tartars who made the incursion into the Ukraina last were all choice men sent by the Chan, who was come himself with 40,000 men on this syde of the Dnester and encamped at [...]; that the Turks were on their march to Camieniets, being expected to be shortly at the Dnester.

13. A cornet dispatched to Baturin, by whom I did writt to the Hetman & Boyar.

14. The earthen work finished.

15. I rode to my hay-mowers.

A kaptaine came from Shewsky who informed that the Boyar marched out of the old *leaguer*¹³⁷ on this syde of Shewsky on Fridday last.

16. Rolls given in of these under my command, being 2 colonells, 5 lt. colonells, 3 maiors, 5 *ruitm-rs*, 11 captaines, 12 lieutenants, 6 ensignies & cornets, 123 horsmen, 140 sojors, 281 *streltises*, 35 cannoniers; in all besides officers 579.

17. I had words with the Boyar about von Mengdens house.

{24v} July 18. Wee heard that the Tartars who had been at Chorostoshow were retired in great hast, haveing had notice of Mohila with his Cosakes & the Polls preparations to waylay them in their returne.

19. Sent an order to Coll. Evanitsky about *Ruilm-r* Peter Golochwastuf, and a writeing to the *Prikase*¹³⁸ about the milne dated 20.

20. By a letter from Czernoble wee had that the King of Polland was marched towards the Donaw¹³⁹; that the court thesarer had killed 4,000

¹³⁵ If it is not the postilion's name, perhaps Gordon means Daniel Printz von Buchau (1546–1608), ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire to Russia in 1575–76 and 1578, who left an account of the Tsardom, *Moscoviae ortus et progressus* (Neisse, 1668 & other edns.). Gordon had a sizeable library, including works about Muscovy, and took every opportunity to replenish it.

¹³⁶ Wroclaw (Polish), capital of Silesia.

¹³⁷ *Lager* (German), military camp.

¹³⁸ *Prikaż*, one of the Russian government offices.

¹³⁹ The Danube.

Turkes, being a convoy with provisions to Camieniets & cut of those who had gone out to the siege of Ostropolia.

21. I had a letter from the Hetman & another from the Boyar, dated Baturin 18th July.

22. I did writt to Scotland to my Lord Chancellour¹⁴⁰, to Lt. Gen-ll Drummond¹⁴¹, [Gordon of] Rothemay, my cousin Mr. Thomas, uncle, brothers, children¹⁴², brother in law¹⁴³, Mr. Adie & Alex-r Gordon, addressing them to Mr. Adie in Dantzick & sent by the merch-t Martin.

700 Tartars under two white collours & a guidon went by & lodged at Bially Gorodka. They tooke away about 20 Czirkasses belonging to this towne, killing one of the Cosakes who had the guard at the bridge of the Irpin, & takeing the other along.

23. *Ruim-r* Golochwastuf coming from Ariel informed that the regiment there expected orders to be dismissed shortly, seing upon the Hetmans letter the Zaporovish Cosakes had sett of their *Cashovy* & choosed another, {25} all was quiet, and orders given to lett downe provisions thither & permitt them to come up with their fishes & other wares.

A *stolnik* Semen Nepluyuf sent to the Hetman with presents & a letter of thanks from their Majestyes for his great services in diverting and drawing away the Cosakes from serving the Polls against the Turkes and for quieting of the Zaporovish Cosakes & diverting them from doing the lyke.

July 24. A holyday called Boris & Chleb, which were 2 Russian Princes vanquished & murthered by their brothers¹⁴⁴; it is called an angry holyday,

¹⁴⁰ Lord Chancellor of Scotland in 1682–84 was George Gordon of Haddo, Earl of Aberdeen (1637–1720), General Patrick's kinsman and advisor in his Scottish affairs.

¹⁴¹ William Drummond of Cromlix (ca.1617–1688), 4th Baron Madderty, eminent Scots royalist commander, who joined the Tsar's army in 1656 along with General Thomas Dalryell of The Binns. On 16 May 1662 he won an important victory against the Poles and Lithuanians at Chausy, where 15 units of enemy infantry were destroyed. In 1665, having reached the rank of Lt. general, he returned to Scotland, became Dalryell's deputy, and was created Viscount Strathallan in 1686.

¹⁴² Gordon's eldest sons John (1667–1712) and James (1668–1722), both born in Russia, were made ensigns by Tsar Fiodor, but then were sent by their father to study in Western Europe.

¹⁴³ Husband of General Patrick's sister Elizabeth, William Hay of Ardenrit.

¹⁴⁴ 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

because the Russes beleeeve that whatsoever worke they do this day will not thrive.

I did writt to Mr. Adie with an enclosed from Coll. Levistone¹⁴⁵ to his brothers.

25. According to the Russes, St. Annaes day. Wee were all feasted by the Boyar, & all differences composed.

26. Wee were in the Petsharsky Monastery, dyned there, & made no long stay.

{25v} July 27. I had notice that Fiodor Pet. Seremetufs his lady was delivered on Fridday last of a sonne whom they christened Vasily.

A fryer, by birth a Wesomsky *kniaz*¹⁴⁶, being in the Petshursky Monastery, said to the prior of the Mezegorsky Monastery in presence of the *Archimandritt*, that the Hetman had written to Mosko that the Mezegorsky & Kirilowsky Monasteryes should be destroyed, because in the first they prayed for the King of Polland & in both favoured and kepted correspondence with the Polls, and that the Boyar Fiodor Petr. Seremetuf had orders to execute this. He was set fast and, being examined, confessed—he had said it, but that he was drunk & had no ground for it; whereupon he was locked in irons, and his deposition or examination with all the circumstances sent to Mosko.

{26} July 29. The *voyt* of the towne came and told that a merchant come out of Polland said that he had heard that the Roman Emperour, haveing sent very rich presents to the King of Polland, which he had immediately sent to the Tartars; whereupon both the Crowne and Littawish army were confederating with a resolution to kill the King.

30. The Boyar Alexey Petrovits¹⁴⁷ his lady was here in the evening delivered of a sonne, who was to be called Peter.

Russian saints canonized by the Orthodox Church.

¹⁴⁵ 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 and, as colonel, was mortally wounded at the siege of Azov in 1696.

¹⁴⁶ Prince Viazemsky.

¹⁴⁷ A.P. Saltykov, *vojevoda* of Kiev.

31. I did writt to the Boyar *Kniaz* Vasily Vasiliovits, to Ivan Birin by [...]¹⁴⁸

{27} Aug. 1. The Greeks offered to the Hetman 50,000 florens for the next yeares induct or toll, but were refused, he saying he rather let Maxim, who hath it, keep it for 40,000 as give it to them for 50,000.

The Boyar christened his sonne this day takeing, according to their fashion, the first man & woman they meet for godfather & godmother.

3. Wee were at the christening feast by the Boyar. I sent letters to Mosko by his servant Vasily Nekrasuf.

4. A merchant come from the market of Berestetsko reported that he had seen the Littawish army on their march towards Camieniets. He said they were about 15,000 men all well mounted, and that the Hetman was come within three miles of the army; that they were to rendevow at Lesniewa.

By many circumstances & relations I perceived that the Polish Cosakish Hetman Mogila was currying favour & makeing friendship with this, intending as it seemes, if things go not well with the Polls, to have a retreat here.

Wee heard that the Tartars who made the incursions into the Ukraina had their *kossbow*¹⁴⁹ by Zordaniec.

{27v} Aug. 5. The person whom wee sent to Silesia & Polland for intelligence sent the following intelligence to us: that there had been a great battell betwixt the Imperialists & the Turkes by Rab¹⁵⁰, wherein the Imperial. had the victory with the losse of some thousands of men; that on the 18th *Junii* another battell had been by the towne Voitsan¹⁵¹, the Turkes haveing attacked the Imp. *leaguer*, yet it pleased God to give the victory to the Christians, who killed of the Turkes 12,000, tooke all their artillery, ammuniton & baggage, takeing many prisoners, & that they had taken in the towne of Vaitza & therein 1,200 janizaries; that the Venetians

¹⁴⁸ There follows a blank page in MS (26v).

¹⁴⁹ *Kosb* (Tatar & Russian), camp.

¹⁵⁰ Raab, German name for the Hungarian city of Győr and Rába river.

¹⁵¹ Vác (Hungarian), Waitzen (German).

had taken two townes in Candia¹⁵²; that the Hungarians with Tekely¹⁵³ had resolved to be neutrall.

By another wee had that the King of Polland had sent money & a *bulawy*¹⁵⁴ to the Zaporovish Cosakes, and had caused execute 4 senatours, who had conspired against him.

6. I rode out and did meet the Boyar Fiodor Piotrovits in the wood about 3 *verst* from the Dneper & convoyed him to his campe by the syde of the Czartorey¹⁵⁵.

An officer sent to the Hetman with the newes from Polland.

Money brought to pay the officers & sojors for this halfe-year.

7. The Boyar Fiodor Pet[rovich] made his entry into the towne; neither sojors nor *streltsees* were in arms as usuall, nor the cannon shott of as sometimes had been done, all being done by order of the Boyar Al[exey] Pet[rovich] , and notwithstanding all endeavours & messages [to the contrar]¹⁵⁶ it was not done.

Wee convoyed the Boy[ar] Al. Pet. to the other syde of the Czartorey, & dincing by him, drunk till it was darke.

I reseived letters from England, Hamborgh and Mosko.

{28} Aug. 8. The two regiments of sojors came neer and lodged in the woods 5 *verst* from the Dneper.

9. The two souldier regiments commanded by the Colls. Ronaer & Holst marched into the towne, being both about 1,300 men.

I returned an answer to my letters from Mosko, writeing to my L-d Graham, Coll. von Mengden, Hollands resident, Mr. Vinius, Mr. Sportarius, *Ruitm-r* Menezes, M[ajor?] Calderwood, Daniell Hartman, *Kniaz* Vas. Vasil. Galitzin, Yemel. Ignat. Ukraintsuf, Ivan Birin, Ivan Yakim[ov], to Leonty Rom. Nepl[iuyev] & Coll. Hamilton in Shewsky, all by Samson Dmitreuf, a *strelets* of myne.

10. The colonells who came the day befor dined by me with their wiwes.

¹⁵² Crete.

¹⁵³ Count Imre Thököly (1657–1705), from 1678 leader of anti-Habsburg uprising, in 1682–85 ruler of north-eastern Hungary, from 1690 Prince of Transylvania.

¹⁵⁴ *Bulava* (Russian & Ukrainian), mace, a symbol of hetman's rank and power.

¹⁵⁵ Chertoroy, branch of the Dnieper.

¹⁵⁶ Three words crossed out in MS.

11. The post who was to be sent with notice of the Boyars arrivall going but this day, I wrot to the Boyars Peter Vasil[yevich Sheremetev] & Ivan Fiodor[ovich]¹⁵⁷, to Benedict Andreovits [Zmeyov] & to my Lord Graham againe, concerning the maintenance of our priests in Mosko, wee haveing by their Ma-ties favour at the intercession of the Rom. Emperours ambasadours obtained liberty to build a church & keep priests.¹⁵⁸ I sent along a copy of what each would contribute yearly to the maintenance of the priests and other necessaries for the church, amounting in all to 47 1/2 rubles.

I had a very ffriendly letter from the Hetman, and thereby 3 kowes, 25 sheepe, a pipe of *aqua vitae* and 40 rubles of money. I gave the writer who brought it a ducat, his brother a doller, & his servant 2 *grivnees*¹⁵⁹.

{28v} I did subscribe the bookes for the halfe-yeares meanes from March to September for the officers and sojors under my command, being 2 colonells, 5 lt. colonells, 4 maiors, 4 *ruim-rs*, 11 captaines, 14 leivtenants, 5 ensignies, 123 horsmen, 140 sojors & 283 *streltses*.

Money in the treasure of silver about 7,000 rubles, of Polls money 13,000 and odd rubles.

Aug. 12. Wee had certaine intelligence that the Crimish Tartars had refused to go against the Romane Emperour, & that the Chan was fled out the Crim; that it was thought that Selim Gerey, who had been deposed the last year¹⁶⁰, should at the intercession of Galga Sultan¹⁶¹, his sonne or nevoy, be installed againe.

That the Zaporovish Cosakes, hearing of the pay comeing from Constantinople to the janizaries in Crim, and of a treasure to be sent

¹⁵⁷ Apparently, I.F. Volynsky († ca.1696/97), in 1681 *voyeroda* in Kiev, from 1682 boyar, in 1682–83 head of Investigation Office (*Sysknoy Prikaz*), later *voyeroda* in Astrakhan and Samara.

¹⁵⁸ The Roman Catholic community in Russia largely owed the foundation of its first church to the efforts and influence of Patrick Gordon, who tirelessly pleaded for it and was the first to sign the relevant petition to the Tsars earlier that year.

¹⁵⁹ *Grimna*, Russian monetary unit of 10 kopeks.

¹⁶⁰ A mistake: after the rout of Ottoman forces at Vienna in 1683 it was Crimean Khan Murad Giray who was deposed, then his successor Hacı Giray fled from the Crimea in 1684, and the next Khan was Selim I Giray, who was also ousted after the 1st Chigirin campaign, and ruled four times (1671–77, 1684–91, 1692–99, 1702–04).

¹⁶¹ Kalga Sultan, title of the prince next in line to the Crimean Khan of the Giray dynasty, usually his eldest son and heir.

out of the Crim from Galga Sultan to the late Chan, their luck was such that the convoyes with these treasures did meet together, and they in the meane tyme did breake loose upon them and, mastering them, killed them all & tooke away all the treasure, so getting good booty.

{29} Sept-r 15.¹⁶² Letters came from Mosko from their Ma-ties to beat the frier with the *knute*¹⁶³, who had said that their Ma-ties had given orders to destroy the Mezegorsky & Kirilofsky Monasteryes. Lrs from Vinius, d[ated] 3 Aug.

Another letter of grace to the sojors, *streltsees* & constables under my command for their keeping within bounds & being quiet when the Moskovish *streltsees* mutinied & rebelled two yeares ago.¹⁶⁴

16. The letter of grace was read to the sojors openly and they thanked for their service, w[i]t[h] an order to give every one of them halfe a q[uar]t of brandy, for a penny¹⁶⁵ of white bread & for 3-pence of flesh.

17. It being the governing Princesse Sophia Al[exeyevna] her name-day, devotion was as usuall.

18. Ivan Posdeyuf returned from Ariel, by whom I had that the orders were there strict againe for not permitting any provision to be carried to the Zaporogue, nor any body to go or come from thence; that every day they were there alarumed for fear of the Calmuick Tartars, who, as it is said, joyning with the Zaporovish Cosakes were to invade the Crim.

Rec-d lts from Mr. Vinius dated 22 Aug.

{29v} Sept-r 20. I did writt to Mosko to Mr. Butenant and sent my silver furniture set with stones to be given to K[niaz] V[asily] Vas., to Mr. Vinius & Coll. Hamilton in Shewsky by the Capt. Macare.

21. The Capt. Makare went from hence.

22. Wee divided the bridge, givinge a third part to the last come two regiments.

¹⁶² Entries from 13 August to 14 September 1684 are absent from the MS, although its pagination, which does not belong to Gordon, is uninterrupted.

¹⁶³ *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.

¹⁶⁴ In May 1682 the *streltsy* rebels overran Moscow and the Kremlin and butchered many members of the nobility, including Tsar Peter's kinsmen the Naryshkins.

¹⁶⁵ Probably a kopek.

Wee were at hunting & had good sport.

Wee heard of the taking of Buda¹⁶⁶, and that the King was marched towards the Donaw with his cavalry, leaving the foot & artillery at the siege of Camieniets.

Haveing heard that the Cosakes of the Pereaslavish regiments were making themselves ready for a march, wee sent the fors-d Posdeyuf to Pereaslaw with a letter to the collonell to know the reason; who returned answer that hearing that the Hetman was marched from Baturin, and not knowing but that he might be called for, had ordered the best of the Cosakes to be in readiness, and that the Bresanish company¹⁶⁷ was marched to releev the guards by the Dneper, for hindring the going over of those who by the promises and flatteries of the Polls (as he said) were so foolish to be enticed to go to their assistance.

{30} The Hetman hearing of the inconstancy of the Zaporovish Cosakes, how they had send [*sic*] some forces to assist the Polls, and were threatening to fall into the Crim if they should offer to stirr to assist the Turke; and being challenged for breach of the peace, not without threatenings by the Tartars, resolved on a progresse to that place of the countrey for setling of businesse, and begetting a better understanding betwixt them & him; which haveing notified to their Majestyes and obtained some gentlemen of Rilsky & Putimly for his convoy & guard, he went from Baturin towards Lubna,

23. whither he came the 23d and from thence intended to Mirograd & Pultava, & to returne by Hadits.

{30v} Sept-r 29. Men come from the Bania with salt informed that about 4 weeks [ago], as they came by Trembovla, they heard that the King with the Crowne & Littawish army and the Cosakes were lying at the siege of Camieniets; that they had taken in Yasloviets, Mezeboz¹⁶⁸, Barr & all the other towns & small forts, which the Turkes had in that countrey, and that they were in good hopes of carrying of Camieniets ere the winter;

¹⁶⁶ Rumours of the liberation of Buda from the Turks proved wrong, which Gordon notes below (fol. 41). In 1684 the siege failed, but the city was taken by the Imperial army two years later.

¹⁶⁷ In Ukraine companies were units of mounted Cossacks (*kompaneytsy*).

¹⁶⁸ Medzhibozh.

that abundance of all sort of provisions was bringing to the campe to be sold, in very peacable manner & without all danger; that being come to Polonna, they had heard that the King was marched from Camieniets towards the Donaw with all the cavaliery, the foot and artillery remaining at the siege; that they had taken 40 barrells of powder from the Turkes, being hidd in the ground, which I suppose to have been in mines; that Mogila had 10,000 men with him, being Cosakes who were doing good service, and in good esteeme by the Polls.

Brought in this month from the bridge 177 r[ubles] 13 *alt[yns]* 4 *d[engi]* and from the *cabake*¹⁶⁹ 213 rubles, 16 *alt.* 2 *d.*

{31} Oct-r 1. Being the Russe holy day *Pokrove*¹⁷⁰, no worke was done. A market in Nisin.

2. I dreamed I had a letter from Scotland upon gilt paper, but with a black seale, which also was torne.

3. By people come from the Bania, or salt pits 12 miles beyond Trembovla, wee were informed that not only the Crowne and Littawish army, but the Zaporovish and Dons Cosakes with about 500 Calmuiks were come to Camienets to assist the King.

4. By Hollands avisoes from Mosko I heard of the outing¹⁷¹ of my cousin, the Lord High Chancellour of Scotland, out of his office.

{31v} Oct-r 6. I examined a merchant come from Slobodiska¹⁷², who told that the King of Polland with his armyes was only blocquing Camienets, he himself lying at Zwaniets¹⁷³ two miles from it, and the other armyes round it; that the Turkes did every day ride out and skirmish, taking also some straglers.

7. I had the coll-s & ffriends at dinner by me.

8. The *Vladika* or Bishop of Luczko¹⁷⁴ fled out of Polland & came

¹⁶⁹ *Kabak* (Russian), tavern. *Denga*, half a kopek.

¹⁷⁰ *Pokrov*, Orthodox feast of the Intercession of Our Lady.

¹⁷¹ Written in instead of crossed-out *death*.

¹⁷² Slobodishcha.

¹⁷³ Probably Zhvanchik near Kamenets.

¹⁷⁴ Prince Gedeon Sviatopolk-Chetvertinsky († 1690) (Gordon incorrectly calls him Czartoryski), Bishop of Lutsk. In 1685 he became Metropolitan of Kiev (see fols. 81v–82v). *Vladika* (Lord) is the title of Orthodox bishops.

to Kosselsk¹⁷⁵. He pretended that he fled from his brother, the Duke of Czartoreisko, who sought to kill him for religion, he being the chieffe pastor of the Russe or Greeks religion, & the Duke Catholick. He was well received, and notice given to the Hetman, who write thereof to Mosko, & in the meane tyme promised to send for him shortly.

9. I had the children of the chieffe persons of the Cosakes, who were here at Schoole, by me to dinner, being with their pedagogues 20 person.

My sonne Georg, holding a lott for 20 *altines*, wonne a paire of pistolls worth 3 rubles.

{32} Oct-r 12. The Kyowish colonells sonne marrying, the Boyar went thither in the evening.

16. Wee tooke of the bridge on the Dneper, and in this day gott up all the anchors except one whereof the rope broke; the reason of their being so easily drawne up was their haveing been stirred & removed in the latter end of July last.

{32v} Oct-r 17. I had letters from Mosko and avisoies.

I was informed by Coll. von Mengden that it was denyed me to be let out of the land.

19. At a feast by Maxim the *Harendar*¹⁷⁶, where wee had plenty of all things.

20. By Colls. Kiskin & Capusta¹⁷⁷.

21. In the Witibitsky Monastery, and at night by me.

22. Wee had notice of two regiments of *streltsees* marched out of Mosko for to strengthen this garrison.

The *Vladika* of Luczko sent for to Baturin.

{33} Oct-r 23. By diverse persons come from Polon[n]e and Nemerow wee had the following relation: the King of Polland being come to Yasloviets and gott it rendred by accord, marched and encamped by Zwaniec, a towne on the Dnester, two miles from Camieniets, and haveing made a bridge over the Dnester, he marched over with the greatest

¹⁷⁵ Kozelets.

¹⁷⁶ *Arendar*, i.e. tax farmer. Revenue farming, especially on brandy, tobacco and tar, was widely practised in Ukraine at this period.

¹⁷⁷ Colonel Semion Kapustin.

part of his army into Moldavia; the Prince whereof with the Chans sonne, who with some Tartars had lyen some tyme there, marched further into the countrey, and so the Polls roamed up & downe the countrey untill they had made it bare enough; then hearing of the Chans march with all his power, as also that the Bialogrods Tartars with a considerable force of the Turkes were advancing, he marched back to the Dnester and passed at the bridge where he had left a guard of 6,000 men, and some weekes stopped the passages of the Dnester, so that the Tartars were hindred from passing it, and albeit some thowsands {33v} passed [it] over divers tymes and did some harme, yet were alwayes with losse repulsed. However, in the beginning of this month the Tartars & Turkes with all their forces came over, and the King drawing his armyes together repulsed them diverse tymes, yet at last he was forced to retyre to Czartkow, & some say further, the Tartars following in the rear. The Tartars are said to be above a 100,000 men with some thowsands of janizaries.

{34} *No-ris* 1. My sonne haveing been extraordinary sick the whole night, calling continually for drink and no sooner drinking then vomiteing it up, about the breake of day I gott him by faire words and delays to refraine from drinking halfe an houre, and then gave him a litle *Dioscordium*¹⁷⁸, after which he did not womitt, and at day-light I perceived it was rather for want of strength as any vertue of the *Dioscordium*, for even at the beginning from the midday befor he could not hold up his head, and both hands & feet were cold notwithstanding a lively enough colour remained in his nailes. Not knowing what to do, and imagineing that the great inward heat proceeded from the want of passage below, I thought of causing give him a glister, which however I perceived to be dangerous, because of his want of strength; yet sending for more ffriends, before they came he gott a stoole, which being reddish stunke extraordinarily, and in a short while ano[the]r. He called alwayes for drink, which wee gave him sparingly, warme wine mixt with water. About 11 aclock a cold chilly sweat was on his head & body, with a preass of vomiteing, for wanting strength he could not voide any thing;

¹⁷⁸ Electuary made from water germander (*Teucrium scordium*) and other ingredients.

It appears in 17th-century treatises as a remedy from infectious diseases and an antidote (J.Gerard & T.Johnson, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (London, 1633), p. 661).

halfe ane howre he gott as it were an inward convulsion fitt and thereafter fell a roughling in his brest & throat, which continuuing about halfe ane houre. He lay afterwards about a quarter of ane houre very quiet, only now & then gaunting and as it were gapeing for breath, holding up his eyes continually to heaven and looking now & then with a fresh enough eye on us, {34v} untill about one aclock in the afternoone, without any signe of struggling or paine he departed. *Requiescat in pace!*¹⁷⁹ I sent immediately and caused ring the bells, and prepare for his buriall.

No-r 2. Many ffriends came to visitt & condole us.

3. About 10 aclock these who were invited to the buriall conveened, the Bratsky Gild¹⁸⁰, as also the smiths. The smiths went befor [every] one with their waxe *fackles*¹⁸¹, the *bratskyes* thereafter, the colonells and p[rinci]p[a]ll mens children carying the *fackles* or *flamboises* about the hearse & corps, which was caryed by 4 officers, the masters & singers going befor singing, and the bells of the Sophia & Yagory¹⁸² churches ringing, the mourners after following in order. At the grave after the ceremonies two students had two learned condolatory speeches. The pppl persons who had been at the buriall with their wiwes dyned with me.

I gave to for the singers and those who made the speeches 1 1/2 ruble, for their Gild a ruble, for the smiths Gild 7 *grivnees*, for the ringing of the bells at St. Sophia 6 *grivnees*, for those at Yagory 3 *grivnees*, for the students who brought and tooke away the flamboises 2 *grivnees*, for 70 ells of black ribbands 1 rubl. 26 *altines*, a ruble for meale.

{35} No-r 7. I gave in a roll of the worke done this harvest, being in all of the wallgang and brestworke 487 fath., to which worke were taken 479 firr trees, 207 oaken pales, 3,273 oaken stakes, 18 boards.

The bridge of the Czartorey taken of.

A strong frost.

9. The Czartorey frozen over, so that horses came over.

¹⁷⁹ May he rest in peace! (Lat.). George Stephen, Gordon's youngest son, did not reach the age of two (see fol. 37).

¹⁸⁰ Kievan Orthodox Brotherhood was founded in 1615. Its spiritual centre was the Bratsky Monastery, and its school was the precursor of the Kiev Mohyla Academy. *The Gild* evidently means its lecturers and students.

¹⁸¹ *Fackel* (German & Russian), torch.

¹⁸² St. George's.

{35v} No-r 11. I did writt to Shewsky to Colo. Hamilton & to Mosko to *Kniaz* Vasily Vas. Galitzin and to Coll. von Mengden, & to Capt. Kristy¹⁸³.

Wee dined by the *voyt* & had plenty of all things, especially of good wine.

By a letter from Gavrila Podolsky to the *voyt* and by the intelligence which Ivan Philonuf [provided], whom wee sent for intelligence from hence the 29 *Augusti*, as also from others wee had the following true particulars: that the King of Polland had retired from the Turks & Tartars, first to Czartkow & then to Yasloviets, and intended to winter at Yaroslaw if the Tartars should stay in the Ukraina; that many straglers of the army were lost, & that the Tartars were robbing & harassing the countrey every where, carrying away many prisoners & much booty; that, however, the King was as was said in good intelligence with the Chan & had sent him great presents; that the Cavalier Lubomirsky was come out of Hungaria to the King with 500 horsemen; that there was great hunger in the Kings army; that as others said the King would winter in Rousse Lemberg & the army in Trembovla & the other townes; that the {36} Tartars haveing intercepted a Cosake Sulimka with 300 well mounted men on horseback, had upon condition that he should deliver to him Nemerow not only dismissed him & them, but ordained him Hetman, and that the said Sulimka had sent an order from Soroka, where he remaineth, to Nemerow for that purpose.

No-r 12. Yemelian Ignat. Ukraintsuf the *dummy diack*¹⁸⁴ sent to the Hetman to consult about effaires, & to examine & hear what the *Vladika* or Bishop of Lutczko had to say.

13. Being the Russes last day of eating flesh, wee dined by the Boyar.

My servants came from Borisofka haveing bought geese for 3 pence, hens & dukes for a penny apeece & turkies for 4 & 5 pence.

15. R[*it*]/*tm-r* F. Kort sent to Mosko with the rolls of the worke & mines.

{36v} No-r 16. Wee dynd by the Boyar & the Pereaslavish colonell, who came all with their ladyes by me.

Wee heard that the Chan, haveing made the King retire, had let his

¹⁸³ Apparently, yet another Scot in Russian service (Christie).

¹⁸⁴ *Dummy dyak*, more often called “chancellor” by Gordon, was a secretary of the Duma, or Boyar Council, who exerted considerable influence.

Tartars divide themselves for plundring the country.

I received letters from my friends in Mosko.

17. The Tartars tooke some people by Biallygrodka.

18. The Tartars tooke above 40 persons & horses belonging to the Kiovis inhabitants in the woods.

The Romanenkies, intending as was said to go to the Polls, were taken & put in durance.

I returned an answer to the coll. of Hadits.

19. Wee heard that the Turks had againe taken possession of Nemerow, but not true.¹⁸⁵

20. The *Sotnik* Tuptala¹⁸⁶, who was sent out to recognosce concerning the Tartars, returning informed that about 400 Tartars comeing from Motivilofka did fall upon the village Kniazofka¹⁸⁷ 4 miles from hence, upon the brooke Irpin, thinking to surprize it, but the *panvres*¹⁸⁸ being aware, received them so that on the first onsett they killed some of them. The Tartars after about 4 houres skirmishing & assaulting of the village were forced at last to desist, takeing their dead along, whom being 10 they buried at their *kons* or halting place; of the *panvres* 4 were killed & some wounded. The *panvres* went afterwards & digged up the Tartars out of their graves & tooke of the cloaths of them.

{37} No-r 21. Wee had certaine intelligence that the Tartars Cham was about Nemerow, which had not (as was reported) rendred to them, but held out still.

22. I caused affixe on the grave of my sonn last deceased this following: *Hic depositum est quod mortale fuit Georgii Stephani Gordonii, Nati An. Dni 1682 Dec-ris 24, Denati An. Dni 1684 No-ris 1. Requiescat in Pace.*¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ But not true written in later.

¹⁸⁶ Sava Tuptalo (ca.1600–1703), *sotnik* of Kiev Cossack regiment, father of the great divine Dimitry, Metropolitan of Rostov (1651–1709), who was later canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church.

¹⁸⁷ Below (fol. 37) Gordon gives another version of this placename. Today it is Kniazhichi.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. boors or *Bauern* (German). Gordon usually applies this term to peasants, whether German, Polish, Ukrainian or Russian.

¹⁸⁹ “Here is deposited whatever was mortal of George Stephen Gordon, born A.D. 1682 December 24th, deceased A.D. 1684 November 1st. May he rest in peace” (Lat.).

23. Wee were informed that the King of Polland should be fallen sick.
 24. Wee had notice that the Tartars had come againe to Kniazitza & taken away their cattell.
 25. My hay taken by a mistake.
 26. Being Yagoriufs day¹⁹⁰, wee dyned by the Boyar.
 27. My hay restored. An[drew] Arb[uthnot] dyed & buried.¹⁹¹
 28. Wee were informed that the Tartars were retired from Nemerow. Writt to ffriends in Mosko by Semen Kolitshuf¹⁹².
 29. *Pawres* comeing from Kosaritsa and Tokarefka informed that they were fled because of a report of the Polls souldiers comeing to be quartered among them.
 30. Being St. Andrews day, wee feasted and faired.¹⁹³ The Boyar had notice of his mothers death.
- Payed to me from J.V.¹⁹⁴ for the 3 to this day.

{37v} Dec-r 1. Brought in from the *kabak* 169 rubles.

Kutshebey¹⁹⁵ came hither from the Hetman with letters to the Boyar & money to pay his servants, being 386 rubles.

The river frozen to but not passable by Kyow, albeit some dayes ago at the Mezegorsky Monastery.

2. Being at hunting wee had excellent sport, the snow being light & not very deep. I did writt to my L-d Graham.

3. Excellent sport at hunting againe.

The *rospisny spisky*¹⁹⁶ sent to Mosko by Capt. Simon Kolotshow, by

¹⁹⁰ Orthodox feast of the Consecration of St. George's church in Kiev (1051–54).

¹⁹¹ See epitaph on fol. 38. It is not yet known who this elderly Scot was, but hardly a soldier since Gordon does not mention his rank. Clan Arbuthnott, named after their barony in the County of Kincardine, dates back to the 12th century. Its Chief Sir Robert Arbuthnott was created Viscount in 1641.

¹⁹² Apparently Kolychov, an ancient and noble Russian family. Semion Kolychov was a captain.

¹⁹³ St. Andrew the Apostle has of yore been revered not only as the Patron of Scotland and Russia, but also as the legendary founder of the city of Kiev.

¹⁹⁴ Undeciphered. Below there is mention of one Jacob Waar.(fol. 54).

¹⁹⁵ Vasily Leontyevich Kochubey (1640–1708), “regent” of Hetman's chancellery, from 1687 “general writer”, from 1699 “general judge” of Left-Bank Ukraine, from 1700 *stolnik*. He informed Tsar Peter of Hetman Mazepa's treason and was executed by the latter.

¹⁹⁶ *Rospisnye spiski* in old Russia were detailed inventories of town fortifications, artil-

whom also my letters were sent.

4. Being the day dedicated to St. Barbara, it was a great holy-day in the Michalovsky Monastery, and wee dyned by the *dummy*¹⁹⁷. At night the Boyar and lady by me till midnight.

5. A Cosake of Starodub comeing from Calamay¹⁹⁸ informed that the Polls army were gone to their quarters, most being quartered in the Ukrainish townes; that there had been no great action between them & the Tartars; that the King of Polland was to winter in Yaroslaw; the Chan was gone to his country; Mogila & Paley¹⁹⁹ were in Nemerow; that a party of the Cosakes from thence had been in the Valachia at a place called Petshure, where being a great faire they had surprized all the people & gotten great booty; that Gritska who was come lately from the Zaporogue {38} out of Sczetcze²⁰⁰ was with his people in Skalata; that the Polls in the adjacent townes to Camieniets were forced to be very vigilant by reason of the sallyes of the Turkes out of Camieniets.

I caused affixe on the grave of Andrew Arbuthnot lately deceased this following:



Hic Jacet

Mortalis Pars

D. Andreae Arbuthnoti,

Nobili in Scotia genere orti.

Vixit annos LXXVIII.

Requiescat in Pace.

Scotia me genuit, tenuitque Polonia quondam,

*Russia nunc Requiem praebet. Amice, vale.*²⁰¹

lery, ammunition etc. compiled at departure of old and arrival of new governors (*voeyevody*).

¹⁹⁷ Probably Duma nobleman Rodion Pavlov.

¹⁹⁸ Kolomyia, a town in western Ukraine.

¹⁹⁹ Semen Paley (Paliy) (1640–1710), Cossack colonel of Fastov, who served the Polish King and distinguished himself in daring raids against Tatars and Turks, then sought to become the Tsar's subject. In 1702–04 he led the anti-Polish rising in Right-Bank Ukraine, but was arrested by Hetman Mazepa and exiled to Siberia. After Mazepa joined the Swedes he was pardoned by Tsar Peter.

²⁰⁰ Zaporizhian Sich.

²⁰¹ "Here lies the mortal part of Mr. Andrew Arbuthnot, scion of a noble family in Scotland. He lived for 78 years. May he rest in peace. Scotland gave me birth,

Dec-r 6. St. Nicolaus his day. The Boyar with all the *towarises*²⁰² & colonells in the Nicolsky Monastery. I kept the Towne.

7. A Moskoes regiment of *streltsees* came, being 506 men strong, the Colonell Ivan Greg[oryevich] Osioruf²⁰³ not being come.

{38v} Dec-r 9. At a feast by the Kyovish colonell. The Dutchess of Radzivill wrote a letter to Maxime the *Harendars*, expostulating for keeping some of her merch-ts belonging to Olika and withholding their goods upon the acco-t of a Jew of Wlodzimiers²⁰⁴ haveing kept up some of his goods to the value of 13,000 florens; blameing him for giving occasion of dissension betwixt the Potentates, and threatening to detain others, and repay with the Talian law; which letter was immediately sent to the Hetman.

10. Wee were by Maxime and the Nisins *woynod*, the *Dummy Dwor[ianin]* Rodivon Michael[ovich] Pawluf²⁰⁵, and all night almost by me.

11. I lay the whole day, being sick of the former nights excesse.

12. Wee dined altogether by the *dummy*.

13. Wee dined all by the Boyar, where was reckoned to be about 60 boyars, 40 *okolnitsees*²⁰⁶, above 30 *dummy dworanins* and near 200 *spalnikes*²⁰⁷ in Mosko. At night wee convoyed the *woynod* of Nisin to the Nicolsky Monastery.

14. I received letters from Mosko from the Boyars Peter Vasileovits Seremetuf & Alexey Petrovits Saltikow, from Mr. Andrew Boetenant, dated the 25 *Octobris*; from Coll. Hamilton out of Shewsky the 6 & out of Baturin the 9th instant. By these I had notice that the *Okolnitse* Leonty Rom. Niepluyuf was gone towards the Perevlotzna for the exchange of prisoners; that both he and the Tartars had sealed commissions, not to be {39} opened untill upon the place. From Mosko the difficulties of my getting of encreased for want of a good, dilligent & faithfull sollicitour.

Poland received me for a while, Russia now gives me rest. Farewell, my friend” (Lat.).

²⁰² *Tovarishchi* here means officials subordinate to the chief *voyevoda*

²⁰³ Ozerov.

²⁰⁴ Volodymyr-Volynsky (Ukrainian), Włodzimierz Wołyński (Polish).

²⁰⁵ Duma *dvorianin* (nobleman) Rodion Pavlov.

²⁰⁶ *Okol'nichy*, Russian court rank between *boyar* and *stol'nik*.

²⁰⁷ *Spal'nik*, court rank comparable to British gentleman of the bedchamber.

A liev-t sent to Oriel with money to buy bread to the regiment lying there for two months, by whom I did writt to the coll[onel].

Dec-r 15. An order came to let of the two sojor colonells w[i]t[h] their regiments. The *dumny* by me at night.

16. A sojourn of myne with a²⁰⁸ Czirkass comeing from Nemerow informed, that two regiments of Polls souldiers were come thither, & the Bially-Czerkews sojors returned to their garrison; that about 5,000 Cosakes under the Hetman Mogila had upon their being dismissed to their quarters received each of 5 Reichs dollers & a suit of cloaths; that about 6,000 Cosakes with the deposed *ottoman*²⁰⁹ Griska were in Skalata; that the *ottoman* was gone to the King to procure pay & quarters; that cornes were exceeding dear in these places, near thrice as deare as here, the *yagla* or *bergrets*²¹⁰ being at 16 florens according to this measure, and the rey at 8.

{39v} Dec-r 17. I was very sick of a cattarrhe, yet went to the Boyar and gott order upon our *wipisky*²¹¹ for to receive 12 *altins* for the measure of rey & 8 for the oats.

18. I was in the Lower towne, in the Bratsky Monastery & by the Burgermaster²¹² Dimid Moshionkovitz.

19. I caused add to the inscription on my sonne his grave the following verses:

Non tua sed nostra abbreviarunt crimina vitam.

Mors te faelicem, nos miserosque facit.

Nos lacrimarum tristes in valle relinquis

Dum Patriam repetis, Aethereumque Polum.

Hic Pater Omnipotens nos plecta, ut parcas in Aevum.

*Defunctis requiem, tribue [Bone Deus crossed out] Summe Parens.*²¹³

²⁰⁸ *Another* crossed out.

²⁰⁹ *Otaman* (Ukrainian), elected Cossack commander.

²¹⁰ *Yaglo* or *yarets*, old Russian for spring grain.

²¹¹ *Vypiski* (Russian), official records or extracts.

²¹² According to the medieval Magdeburg Law, Kiev city council was headed by the elected burgomaster (*burmistr*) and *voyt*.

²¹³ "Our sins, not yours, have shortened your life. / Death has made you happy, and us miserable. / You leave us grieving in a vale of tears, / While you return to your homeland and Heavenly Vault. / Our Omnipotent Father chastises us here, to preserve you forever. / Give rest to the deceased, O Father Most High!" (Lat.).

{40} Given along with Coll. Ronaer the following obligations:

One of Capt. Barradales for two rubls silver and one ruble 20 *altins* copper.

Lt. Lawder his for 2 1/2 rubles silver and 3 rubles 10 *altins* copper.

Capt. Stewart for 25 *altins* silver money.

Capt. Barradale for 7 rubles copper money to Capt. Jones.

Capt. Stewart for 5 rubles silver money and on ruble 4 *grivnees* copper to Capt. Jones.

Dec-r 20. Coll. Holst went with his regiment from hence, it being a very stormy day.

21. Coll. Ronaer marched with his regiment from hence, by whom I did writt to Coll. Hamilton, and by a souldier to Coll. Menezes.

22. I received 60 rubles for my corne for this year.

24. I did writt to Mosko to Coll. von Mengden, Mr. Boetenant, Mr. Vinius & Ivan Birin by a *dentshik*²¹⁴ of Serge Fiod[orovich] Golovtshin.

{40v} Dec-r 25. Being Christmass day, I dined at home with some friends, and was at night by the Boyar, where wee had fyreworks.

26. By the *dumny* at the ordinary Russe pastimes.

27. Dined by the *okolnitsee*.

28. At night all by me, where all sorts of maskaradoes & dancing till neer day.

29. In the Lower towne by Ivan Nastits the burgemaster, and afterwards by me, where dancing till past midnight.

30. In the Petshursky Monastery; by Anthony & Maxim.

31. Brought in out of the *cabake* this month 286 rubles.

{41} This year in August the King of Spaine²¹⁵ tooke away from the ambassadours of forreigne Princes the freedome of their quarters, leaving only the priviledges to the precincts of their houses within doores; notice hereof being given by a billet to all the ministers of forreigne states, who remonstrate, yet the Spaniards proceed & still continue by their resolution.

Buda besieged & deserted by the Imperialists. The siege began the 14th of July & marched of the first of September, haveing lost befor it,

²¹⁴ *Dentshik* (Russian), orderly.

²¹⁵ Written in instead of crossed-out *France*. The King of Spain was Carlos II (1661–1700), who ruled from 1665.

according to the common report, 20,000 men & many brave noblemen & officers.

The Castle of Kyow in circumference 817 fath[oms] 2 *arsh[ins]*²¹⁶; the Sopheisky, Michaelofsky with the Petshursky [monasteries], which make with all the retrenchments besides the outworkes, are 2,937 fath. 1 *arshin*, which make in all 3,755 fath.

The cittadell in Smollensko is without by the ditch from betwixt the stone walls 275 fath-s.²¹⁷

{53}

1685

Ja-ry 1. Michael Susluw, whom wee had sent to Polland & Germany and went from hence the first of May last, returned. The Boyar & lady were by me till past midnight, were merry & danced.

2. [...] Philonuf Wariluf²¹⁸ returned and informed that he being in Lvova and Solkwo²¹⁹, where the King was with the Hetmans & senatours, 15 Tartars were come from the Chan desiring that the King might make peace with the Turks & them; that a gentlman, Yury Papara, had bidd him tell the governour of Kyow and assure him that at the parliament²²⁰ to be holden on the 20th Feb-ry peace betwixt the Polls & Turkes with the Tartars will be concluded, and that then the Polls with their help would invade Russia, without all question.

3. The Boyar sent some provisions to me.

Warilufs newes sent by post to Mosko.

4. Michael Susluw gave up his relation in writeing, wherein he magnified the great victoryes as well as the losses of the Christians in Hungary; that, because of the great mortality of the souldiery they were forced to leave Buda, leaving however 5 or 6,000 men in the nearest strengths

²¹⁶ *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).

²¹⁷ Blank pages follow in MS (fols. 41v–52v, according to later pagination).

²¹⁸ Ivan Filonov Varilov.

²¹⁹ Żółkiew (Polish), Zhovkva (Ukrainian), Zholkva (Russian).

²²⁰ The Polish-Lithuanian sejm.

to block it up; that *seraskier bassa*²²¹, who with the Turks from *Quinque Ecclesiae*²²² attempted to {53v} have releevd the siege, was totally routed, himself hardly escapeing; that the Venetians were prosecuting the warr vigourously with the help of the Pope & the princes of Italy; that comeing through Polland he heard among the common people that at the parliament it would be urged by the lower house that peace be made with Turkes & Tartars & warr proclaimed ag-st Russeland, with a great many storyes more.

Ja-ry 5. It was resolved to methodize & epitomize Susluws newes & send them to Mosko by post.

6. Being 3 Kings²²³, my regiments of horsmen, souldiers and *streltsees* marched, haveing 16 feeld peeces along and after the devotion & sanctifying of the water according to custome, 3 salvees were given, first with cannon & then with small shott, each salve being answered above out of 21 pieces of cannon standing on the wall of the Castle and wall of the Towne towards the Lower towne, as also with small shott from 6 regiments drawne up on the wall of the Castle & Towne in view of the Lower towne.

Wee dined all by the Boyar.

{54} Ja-ry 8. I did writt to Mosko to *Kniaz* Vasily Vasiliovitz [Golitsyn] desireing an answer of my businesse as to my going out of the countrey, and that if I cannot be let out for altogether & with all, that I may be let of for a time.

To Ivan Michalovitz [Miloslavsky] to the same purpose. To Yemelian Ignat[yeovich Ukraintsev] also, desireing their intercession & assistance.

To Peter Vasiliovitz [Sheremetev] in answer to his, with promise of faithfull advice to his sonne.

To others, as to Vasily Savitz²²⁴, Ivan Fiodoro[vich Volynsky], Alexey Petrovitz [Saltykov] only complements.

²²¹ *Serasker Pasha*, commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army.

²²² Five Churches (Lat.), Fünfkirchen (German), the Hungarian city of Pécs.

²²³ On 6 January Roman Catholics celebrate the feast of the Three Kings (Adoration of the Magi), while for the Orthodox faithful it is Theophany (Baptism of Christ); on this day Gordon's regiments took part in the traditional solemn blessing of the water on the Dnieper.

²²⁴ Possibly Vasily Savich Narbekov († after 1692), *voyevoda*, from 1682 *okolnichy*

To the Lord Graham; Holl[ands] resid[ent], according to the copy²²⁵.

To Coll. von Mengden, desiring him to assist my servant in my businesse & to give him the money he getteth from Jacob Waar. and to give me notice who and upon what acco-t some are not pleased with my desiring to be let go out of the countrey.

To Capt. Menezes, Mr. Slater²²⁶ & Mr. Hartman ordinary businesses.

To Mr. Guasconi, remembring him of remitting 400 r[eichs] thalers; to Mr. Nathaniel Cambridge, merch-t in Hamborgh, to send me the *ancker*²²⁷ of Spanish wine he hath provided for me, and to buy one of red wine, the rest of the odd money from Mr. Hassenius to be given to James.

To Mr. Boetenant, desiring him, if Golitzin do not my businesse in hast, to be present when my servant giveth of my letter to Ivan Michael[ovich], that I may know what I have to expect from him.

{54v} To Benedict Andr[eyevich Zmeyov], putting him in mind of my letter written lately to him and desiring his assistance in my busines.

To Leonty Roman[ovich Nepliuyev] complements al[so].

To James Cooke, desiring him to provide 40 pund of the best prest cavear & pack it up in three parcels, 20 pund for the Earle of Middleton²²⁸, 10 pund for Sir Andrew Foster & other 10 pund for Mr. Meverell, and all to be addressed to Mr. Meverel.

To Coll. Hamilton, desiring him, if he go to Mosko, to assist my servant in my businesse, I haveing ordered him to follow his advice in all things, and that if the Kings letter come in my behalfe, he shall unseale the packet and read Mr. Meverels letter, and so proceed as is ther written, and if the letter be addressed to any of the publick ministers in Mosko, to give it to them and desire them to urge a speedy answer; but if it be addressed to me to deliver as I shall find convenient, then to send the copy of it to

²²⁵ Gordon copied his correspondence into a special letter-book, and sometimes into the Diary itself.

²²⁶ Apparently, the Briton Robert S(c)later (in Russian, Roman Afanasyev Shlator), from the 1670s to the 1700s apothecary of the Tsar's pharmacy in Moscow. See below, fol. 71.

²²⁷ Various units of weight used in the Netherlands, Denmark, Scotland etc.

²²⁸ Charles, 2nd Earl of Middleton (1649/50–1719), Scottish nobleman, successively Secretary of State for Scotland, the Northern and Southern Department. Gordon counted on his help in order to be dismissed from Russia. Later Middleton followed King James II (VII) into exile

me with my other letters, and keep the p[rinci]p[a]ll untill I give notice how it shall be disposed of.

To Coll. Ronaer matters of course.

To Mr. Vinus, newes, and desiring him, if I be not let go out of the country, to send me the lend of *Theatrum Scotiae*²²⁹.

To Ivan Yakimuf, dated 10th Ja-ry, desiring him to assist James in my businesse.

With these letters I did send James Lindesay, ordering him to make as much hast as possible and to be diligent there in prosecuting my business.

{55} Ja-ry 9. Wee were advertised that a *stolnik*, Semen Kaladinsky, was sent to Ariel to seek up & examine complaints of the Cosakes against Coll. Gulits and his regiment; that staying there he had satisfied the Cosakes, condemned the coll. to pay 100 rubles to a Cosake who had been robbed by his servant, who was runnaway as he said; yet he gott composition and payed but 60; his regiment being ordered to be let of, was taken from him and given to the lt. coll. to conduct to Byallygrad. By this wee had also that a gentleman with 500 horse was waiting at Perevlotshna and had sent the third tyme to the Crim to know if the Tartars will come to the exchange or not; the *Okolnitsy* Leonty Rom. Niepluyuf lying with the army at Afterk²³⁰. The way the officer went from hence to Ariel: to Borispolia 6 miles, to Pereaslaw 6, to Almazuf 5, to Zlotonoss²³¹ 2, to Kropivna 1, to Irkleuf 3, to Jeremiufka 3, to Zolnin²³² 2, to Czegrinska Dubrowna 2, to Grodishtza²³³ 2, to Vlasofka 2, to Kremenczug 2, to Potok 2, Kabarda 2, Perevoloshna 3, Kishenki 1, Ariel 2 miles, to Kudak [...]

10. I did writt to James Lindesay and Ivan Yakimuf by the writer Osip Susluf.

²²⁹ This work (*Theatrum Scotiae, containing the Prospects of Their Majesties Castles and Palaces, together with those of the most considerable Towns and Colleges, the Ruins of many Ancient Abbeys, Churches, Monasteries and Convents within the said Kingdom* ...) was published in London later, in 1693, but Gordon and Vinus could have known of its preparation by John Slezer, royal engineer in Scotland from 1669.

²³⁰ Akhtyrka.

²³¹ Gel'miazov and Zolotonosha.

²³² Zhovnin.

²³³ Gorodishche, now Hradyzk.

11. Wee dined by the *dummy*, it being his name-day²³⁴.

13. Wee dyned by my sonne in law²³⁵ & were afterwards by the Boyar & Borkow²³⁶.

{55v} Jan-ry 15. Wee dined by Coll. Buchan²³⁷.

16. The Coll. Ivan Greg. Osioruf came.

17. Wee havinge gott notice that much cornes, especially rey & oats, was carryed from hence into Polland, where[by] the prices here were raised about a third part, it was concluded to let none go thither, & for that purpose to send guards to the Mezegorsky & Kirilofsky Monasteryes.

18. In the evening the Boyar with his lady by Rod[ion Strasburg].

20. The Lt.Coll. Affanasse Gretzinin let of from hence, by whom I did writt to the Colls. Hamilton & Ronaer, compliments only.

{56} Ja-ry 21. An order came from Mosko not to let any person of whatsoever quality coming out of Polland come into Kyow, but to send them back againe; wee being jealous of their being quartered so near us; and this was upon a letter sent by the Hetman Ivan Samuelowits & dated the 27 *Dec-ris*, wherein he writeth that haveing intelligence from a burger of Pereaslaw lately come out of Polland, & from other places, that one Kensky, a stranger by birth and in quality generall of the strangers in Polland, calleth himself *woywod* of Kyow, and that three regiments of Polls dragouns are to be quartered in the countrey about Kyow (to witt in the Vissegrads *starosfy*, & that not for a short tyme but long instance)²³⁸, who are to receive orders from the commendant of Byally Czerkiew, and that they intend to erect a fort at Vissegrad²³⁹, 3 miles above Kyow, he givinge notice & orders to these under his command to keep good watch and not to permitt to come over to the Pereaslavish syde of the Dneper.

²³⁴ *Birth* written in above.

²³⁵ Gordon's eldest daughter, Catherine Elizabeth (1665–1739), in 1682 married Colonel Rudolf (Rodion) Strasburg († 1692). 13 January was the birthday of her mother Catherine von Bockhoven, Gordon's first wife, who died in the early 1670s and whom he dearly loved.

²³⁶ Apparently Colonel Vasily Borkov, who served in Kiev.

²³⁷ Despite Scots spelling, this was Russian Colonel Pavel Bokhin.

²³⁸ Words in brackets written above the line. *Starosfy* (*starostwo*) was a territorial unit in Poland-Lithuania administered by *starosta*, a royal official. Vyshgorod (Polish Wyszogród) is to the north of Kiev.

²³⁹ Vyshgorod.

22. An order came not to let cornes or any sort of graine passe to Polland, which the Hetman for moneyes sake had permitted the people to carry thither.

{56v} Ja-ry 23. I did writt to L.G. Drummond in a letter to Mr. Adie, & that in one to Mr. Daniell, and this to the Postm-r Vinus, & his in myne to James Lindesay, and to the Boyar *Kn[iaż]* Vasily Vas. with a petition to be let of to my owne countrey for a tyme, addressing it to Coll. Hamilton, to Coll. Menezes, all in a packet to Coll. von Mengden.

25. The above specif[i]e'd lrs sent to Mosko by the Boyars servant Kusma, wher[e]t[o] went also Capt. Ivan Chskow [*sic*] with the Venetian goldsmith Giovanni Negri.

A wedding in the Boyars house.

I had a great defluxion on my eyes & teeth, which,

26. my cheeke swelling, aswaged.

The Boyar haveing written to the Hetman complaining that the price of the cornes was hugely raised here, and that because of the Czirkasses takeing in much cornes to Polland, which he partly ascribed to the neglect or knavery of the *vojt*, the Hetman returned answer that he had indeed upon the petitioning of the poor people permitted them to sell their cornes where they best could for money, but now that thereby the prices were raise[d] so high with us, he had given orders to keep strict watch and suffer none to bring thither any more.

27. I had letters from Shewsky by these who brought my sledge.

{57} Ja-ry 30. The Colonell of Hadits Michal Vasil[yev] did writt to the Boyar *dato* 26 Ja-ry from Perevloczna, that on the 13 he with the *Okolnitzę* Leonty Roman[ovich] came thither; that at their meeting with the Tartars the Declaration of their Ma-ties being read, that they had now sent the years pension or tribute, which they desired might be there received; and that hereafter for the more certainty & to avoyd all inconveniences they had resolved not to send any ambassadours or messengers to the Crim with the ordinary pension; and that the Tartars needed not either to send any for that purpose to Mosko, but that in all tymes comeing it should be delivered at their meeting every year about the exchange of prisoners. The Tartars commissioner called Velish Bey said he had no such instructions or commission to receive the pension there, and could not befor he had

orders, wherefor they resolved to send to the Crim, the Tartars sending an *aga*²⁴⁰ & the *okolnitsze* with the colonell sending their particular posts, the tyme sett for their returne being 15 dayes, dureing which the Tartars were to remaine on the other syde of the Dneper in the fields, & the Christians in Perevo[lo]tshna. In the meane tyme they had dispatched business relating to the exchange, releeving some prisoners for money, and others for prisoners of alike quality.

The Boyar with *towarises* & all the colonells & lt.colonells were by me in the evening.

{57v} Ja-ry 31. Affanasse Speciftsuf came and informed that he had passed by our peti[tu]oners with our meanes at Bolqhow.

Feb-ry 1. I was partly freed of the defluxion in my eyes & teeth, and my neck & shoulders did ach[e] grivously. A christening feast by the *dummy*.

2. Wee had notice that the Polls Cosakes were murmuring for want of pay and threatening to runn over the Dneper to their houses, and had sent to the King for pay. 5 Imperiall²⁴¹ letters came about particular businesses.

3. Wee were at a feast by the Boyar.

5. I did writt to Coll. Hamilton, Coll. von Mengden and James Lindesay, putting them in mynd of my business, & to Coll. Roonaer by Lomaka.

6. A gentlman called Alexander Jakubofsky dwelling in Nerodits²⁴², 24 miles from hence, comeing hither with 4 waggons of honey to sell, reported that at his being in Vl[a]dimir the Hetman Gogola²⁴³ or Mohila had sent {58} to that coll., advertiseing that the Turks & Tartars with the Tartarian Cosakish Hetman Sulimka were with cannon come befor Nemerow with intention to force it; that therefor the s[ai]d coll. should make hast to Nemerow with his Cosakes to their releefe.

A Poll called Stenka Prochoruf, being discovered by Abraham the farrier and delated as if he were come from Bially Czerkew of purpose to bespeak the Cosakes to come & serve the King of Polland, was apprehended, and being examined, he told that serving in Bially Czerkew for a

²⁴⁰ *Ag(h)a*, Ottoman military officer comparable to colonel.

²⁴¹ I.e. 'Tsars'.

²⁴² Probably Narodichi near Ovruch.

²⁴³ Ostap Gogol', Colonel of Bratslav, who was granted the title of Hetman by the King of Poland in 1676.

sojor, he with other two sojors in the night tyme on the 2d of Februar had come over the wall; that the other two, called Griska & Fedka, were gone to Pereaslaw; that their errand to steale horses & then to go to the Kings army with them, which trade they had used befor with the servants who had runn away from the *Okolnitse Kniaz* Ivan Stepanovits Chotiatefsky²⁴⁴. He reported also that the day befor they came away, two Kosakes were come up slisees or skatches²⁴⁵ from the Hetman Mogila, advertising that {58v} the Chans son with 6,000 Tartars, a thowsand janizaries and Sulimka with about a thowsand Cosakes, haveing with them 16 cannon, were come befor Nemerow, to whom the burgers presently rendred the towne; that Mogila with much ado escaped to the castle where he with a few people was now besieged; that the day they came from midday till night they had stormed the castle; that they now were quartered in the towne in the burgers houses and resolved to force the castle, wherefor Mogila had sent them to advertise the Polls forces every where, and desire them to make hast to their releefe.

The King of Great Brittain departed this lyfe halfe an houre befor midday.²⁴⁶

Feb-ry 7. These newes sent to Mosko by post.

8. Our petitioners came from Mosko & brought 3,468 rubles of silver money & 800 of copper, being this halfe-yeares pay for me, the officers, trowpers, sojors & *streltsees* of the garrison. They brought also an order to give a ruble to every soior & *strelets* for a *shube*²⁴⁷ or sheeps skin coat, and 30 rubles for bringing up the meale brought from Brensko²⁴⁸, according to the Moskoes *streltsees*. I had also particular letters: from the Hol. Resid[ent] with complements {59} and forreigne newes; from *Graffe*²⁴⁹ Graham, giving me notice of his being ordered to Biallygrod in place of Maior Generall Bilts, and from others that there was no order upon my business as to my going out of the countrey; from Mr. Guasconi that he had received a 100 rubles from Capt. Krysty by my order, & 50 from

²⁴⁴ Khotetovsky.

²⁴⁵ Sluices or locks.

²⁴⁶ This entry was added later, when Gordon heard of the death of his sovereign King Charles II (see fol. 70v).

²⁴⁷ *Shuba* (Russian), coat of fur or sheepskin.

²⁴⁸ Briansk.

²⁴⁹ *Graf* (German), count.

Mr. Hassenius, being to receive the other 65 10 dayes thereafter, all which according to my order he hoped to gett shortly remitted to Mr. Nathaniell Cambridge, merch-t in Hamborgh, to be payed there in specy R. dollers; from P[ater] Schmidt²⁵⁰, informing that the Rom. Emp. former ambassadours *Stallmaster* Kurtz²⁵¹ was shortly to be in Mosko with letters from the Emperour to the Tzars.

Wee dyned by Ivan Osioruf, & the Boyar with his lady came & supped by me.

Feb-ry 9. I sent in the sojors & *streltsees* names in bookes to get their money for their *shubes*, being sojors w[i]t[h] under off[icers] 138 and *streltsees* with the lyke 276, in all 414.

10. The *archimandritt* of the Savinsky Monastery²⁵² by Mosko being come hither in pilgrimage coached, dined by the Boyar, where non else but the *tovarises* & I.

The Hetman sent an order to the Kyovish colonell that no brandewine, tobacco or any sort of provisions should be let passe into the Polish dominions.

11. I sent in the bookes for the officers to receive their pay. Wee heard in the evening as it were thunder or shooting of cannon, yet rather the first as the last.

{59v} Feb-ry 12. A Cosake haveing been in Dimier by the Colonell Semen Korsunets at dinner, in the meane tyme a Cosake came from the commendant of Bially Czerkiew with this: that the Turks, Tartars & traitour Cosakes were come to Nemirow and had there besieged the Cosakish Hetman Andre Mogila; that therefor he should send men thither to the releefe, and give further notice to the Polls forces there abouts that they may march to the assistance of these in Nemerow; that the same Coll. Semen had notice that the Coll. Losnitsky was from Zaz.²⁵³ with 18 collour[s] gone to raise the siege, & that the Tartars had besieged him with his men in Bogoslawofky; and that Coll. Paley with 800 men being

²⁵⁰ 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.

²⁵¹ Johann Ignaz Kurtz. *Stallmeister* (German), officer of honour, originally responsible for stables and horses of a person of rank.

²⁵² St. Savva's Storozhevsky monastery west of Moscow.

²⁵³ Probably Zhashkov.

on his way thither also was besieged in Musigova; that the Coll. Apostoll being come to Czarnogrodka and hearing of the Tartars had retired to Czernoble; that the Pols forces were gathering at Lubar to go to the releefe of Nemerow; that the said Coll. Simeon had written back to the commandant that he would neither go nor send to the releefe of Nemerow, but would leave Dimier & go over the Dneper & serve the Tzar; that a Cosake was come thither with money from the King, to levy {60} a company of Cosakes to horse & another to foot. All which wee sent by post to Mosko in the evening.

An order to writt in 23 sojors children, 17 *streltsees* & 3 others, which now made in all 162 sojors & 295 *streltsees*, under officers & all.

Feb-ry 14. I had letters from Mosko from Mr. Vinius dated 30 Ja-ry with printed avisoes.

15. Wee dyned all by the *okolnitse*, it being his sons name-day.

18. Cosakes come from Janpolia & Osterrog²⁵⁴ reported that they heard there & from merch-ts comeing from Nemirow, both of Mogila & Sulimka his syde, that about 20,000 Tartars, Turks & Cosakes were there conveened; that they were doing no hostility to Mogila nor his Cosakes, but lived in good correspondence eating & drinking together; that the Polls army was conveening together by Lubar, as they gave out to go to the releefe of Nemirow, but in truth to go over the Dneper to Pereaslaw & to come to Kyow also, because, as they said, the Moskoviters had broke the peace by takeing in three {60v} of their townes; which being false, wee gave litle trust to that of invadeing us, especially seing they said that they heard a letter to the commandant of Zaclaw²⁵⁵ read publikely, whereby all were warned to beware of the Tartars incursions. This day, however, wee dispatched these newes to Mosko per post.

In the magazine of all sorts of iron 332 *pud*. 14 pound.

Having gott notice that 50 Cosaks belonging to the Colonell Apostol [came], the Boyar sent for the Mezegorsky prior to expostulate with him, why he did not give notice when they came; who comeing denyed that any had been there.

²⁵⁴ Yampol' and Ostrog.

²⁵⁵ Zaslav, modern Iziaslav.

Feb-ry 19. Pereaslavish burgers having been in Osterrog & Tarnopol, returned & confirmed the former newes.

I gave in a note to be sent to Mosko for orders to fetch timber, repaire the sojourn stoves & houses, & the worke about the towne.

Wee heard of a *stolnik* on the way from Mosko to Kyow.

20. The Bo[yar] & *d[ummy]* did fall out.

22. Wee were all feasted by the Boyar where peace was made.

The *stolnik* came, by whom I received a letter from Coll. von Mengden, showing that the *Dummy* Yemelian Ignate[vich Ukraintsev] had told him, that it was absolutely resolved above not to let me of from Kyow for reasons which he durst not write, & that I should send a petition for any necessity I had.

21.²⁵⁶ The *Stolnik* Potap Philemon[ovich] Shenshin came to the *prykease* and first asked the Boyar & *towarsises* from their Ma-ties of their health, whereat they bowed and thanked; then he told them their Ma-ties praised their services, whereat they againe bowed & thanked, afterwards in the same words he asked me & the colls., lt.colls. & officers of our healths, and praised our service, {61} whereat wee twice bowed & gave thanks as befor. He went afterwards to the lower *krilets*²⁵⁷ and spoke the same to the souldiery, who also bowed & thanked.

Wee dyned all by the Boyar. After dinner their Ma-ties good healths were drunk in a great overgilt *bakal*²⁵⁸ holding a Scots pint, after which the Boyar gave to the *stolnik* a horse worth 20 rubles, a gilt *bakal* worth 15, a gunne worth 5 & an *amaleike*²⁵⁹ worth 2. The *okolnitse* gave a piece of thin damask & an *amaleike*, the *dummy* a pair of pistols, & on[e] of the chancel-lours a pair of pocket pistols.

Feb. 24. The Boyar with all went to the Petsharsky Monastery, being the commemoration of the late *Archimandrit* Innocentius Gisel.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ Reverse dating sequence in MS.

²⁵⁷ *Kryl'tso* (Russian), porch.

²⁵⁸ *Pokal* (German), cup or goblet.

²⁵⁹ *Amaleyka*, a kind of obsolete Russian coat; the term is probably of Arabic origin.

²⁶⁰ Innokenty Giesel (ca.1600–1683), outstanding Ukrainian churchman, writer and historian of Prussian stock. From 1646 he was rector of the Kiev Mohyla College, and from 1656 archimandrite of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra. He probably compiled the *Synopsis* (Kiev, 1674), the first printed work on Russian and Ukrainian history. Gordon was well acquainted with him (see the congratulatory Latin speech to his

In the evening the *stolnik* came by me & was merry; from him I had that the Tartars had denyed to receive the tribute or pension, which was sent to the *rosmene*²⁶¹, but desired it to be payed them in the Crim as befor; that they had delivered the Chancellour Ivan Hippolituf and some prisoners for money & prisoners of theirs.

The King of Great Brittain buried.²⁶²

25. A letter from the Emperours was read, giveing the Boyar & *tovarises* thanks for the reparation of the towne wall.

I did writt to Mosko in answer to Coll. von Mengden his of the 3d instant; to Mr. Vinius with newes; to Coll. Ham[ilton] my mynd according to the copy, & to Coll. Ronaer complements & matter of course.

{61v} Feb-ry 26. Wee were in the Widebitsky Monastery in the afternoone.

27. A burger come from Polon[n]e reported that the Turks & Tartars, hearing of the Polls gathering & comeing to the releefe of Nemerow, burnt the great towne, & takeing all the burgers with their families along with them, were marched of, but whither he could not tell.

28. Wee were informed that the Polish Cosakes were furnishing themselves with provisions and makeing themselves ready for a march against St. Georg his day.

Mart[i] 1. Being the last day of the Russe fasting-in or even, the Boyar & wee all went the tour.

4. A *strelets* called Vavila [...], causing writt a letter to *Kniaz* Jakob Shachofsky, the *okolnitse*, wherein diverse things were not avowable²⁶³, the writer brought the same to his Coll. Ivan Osioruf, who sent the *strelets* with the letter & an information into the *Prikase*. He being examined said that whilst he was in Ostro²⁶⁴, a Cosake called Naum Kosemiaka had said to him, "If thou intends to be rich thou must come to us, for wee have great matters in hand. Wee intend shortly to kill the Hetman because of

successor on fol. 16).

²⁶¹ *Razmen* (Russian), exchange, in this case of prisoners.

²⁶² This entry was added later.

²⁶³ Written in instead of the crossed-out *handsome*.

²⁶⁴ Oster.

the *barenda* or axcize & other oppressions. Wee have sent also to the Dons Cosakes to joyne {62} with us, who have desired assurances from us in writeing". As to his writeing to the *okolnitsa*, he said that in former tymes having revealed a secret to him about the killing of a *dvorandin*, he was rewarded for it, and that now he intended by his writeing to be brought to Mosko, to make his service knowne himself.

With this an ensignie of my regiment was sent to Mosko by post, by whom also I did writt to the *Dummy* Yemelian Ignat[yevich Ukraintsev], to Ivan Birin, to the Holl. resident, to Coll. von Mengden, Mr. Guasconi, Mr. Vinius & Pater Schmidt.

Mar. 5. I rec-d letters from Mosko from Colls. Hamilton & von Men[gden], Mr. Boetenant & my servant Jacob²⁶⁵, that it was denyed altogether to let me of from this place, farr lesse out of the countrey; wherefor I did writt to my brother, Mr. Meverell, Mr. Cambridge & Mr. Guasconi, all included as here, advertiseing them hereof & other particulars. I did writt also to Mr. Boetenant, Mr. Hartman, Mr. Sparwenfelt²⁶⁶, all in a *coverto* to Coll. von Mengden. I had also a letter from M.Gen-ll *Graffe* de Graham, w-ch I could not answer by reason of his going to service to Biallygrodt. These letters were sent by Archip Makaruf, a *puskar*²⁶⁷. I did writt by Ivan Posdeiuf to Shewsky to Leonty Rom[anovich] & to my father in law²⁶⁸.

{62v} March 7. Wee were informed of the businesse of Nemerow by some merchants of Lubna, who were there in the castle in the tyme of the siege, after this manner: the burgers & inhabitants of Nemerow, being weary of the oppressions & insolencies done them by the Cosakes under Mogila, had sent privately to Sulimka, the Tartarian Cosakish Hetman, desireing him to come thither with forces, & they would deliver the great towne to him. Wherefor he with some thowsands of Tartars & some

²⁶⁵ James Lindsay.

²⁶⁶ Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655–after 1722), Swedish diplomat and scholar, author of a Slavic-Latin *Lexicon*. In 1684 he was a member of the Swedish embassy to Russia under Konrad Gyllenstierna. He stayed in Moscow until 26 February 1687 and left a diary of his sojourn there (J.G. Sparwenfeld, *Diary of a Journey to Russia, 1684–1687*. Ed. Ulla Birgegård (Stockholm, 2002)). He was well acquainted with Gordon, whom he counted among his “best friends” (ibid., p. 231).

²⁶⁷ *Pushkar*’ (Russian), cannoneer.

²⁶⁸ Colonel Ronaer, who served in Sevsk.

Turkes advanced, and by the treachery of the burgers suprized the great [town]; Mogila with his Cosakes & some of the inhabitants, who knew nothing of the treason, with some difficulty getting into the castle. The Turkes with 3 piece of cannon, whither brought with them or gott in the towne, played upon the castle and in three weekes stormed it thrice, driveing the burgers on befor them, telling them that if they should take in the castle, then might the[y] expect to be graciously used by them, otherwise they were to exspect no favour. They were notwithstanding the fierce assaults resisted & repulsed with great losse by Mogila & his Cosakes. The very first night about 300 of the inhabitants who had fled into the castle run away, which made Mogila to take ane oath of & watch the rest better; that {63} after three weeks, whither for scarsity of provisions or hearing of the Polls gathering & comeing [to] the releefe of the castle, haveing burnt the towne, they marched of, takeing all the inhabitants along with them.

March 8. The *Okolnitse Kniaz* Vasily Fiod. Sirovogo Sashekin²⁶⁹ with his lady came, & the other *Okolnitse Kniaz* Ivan Stepanovitz Chotiatefsky & the *D[ummy] Dwor[ianin]* Fiod[or] And[reyevich] Sikuf²⁷⁰ marched. Wee first convoyed the *dummy* over the Dneper, & returning convoyed the *Kniaz* to Troyitshina, & stayed drinking about an houre. Wee returned in the evening. The *okolnitze*, whom (to his great discontent) no body had mett, came immediately & welcomed with the Boyar in his house.

The Philaret of the Petsharsky Monastery²⁷¹ came from Mosko.

10. The new *sotnik* Ignat Greg[oryev] mustered the Kyowish trowpe, being about 80 horsmen & above 200 foot.²⁷²

James Lindesay came from Mosko and brought me letters from my Lord Graham, the Hol[lands] Resid[ent], Coll. von Mengden, Coll. Devissen, Mr. Hartman, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Guasconi, Ivan Birin, {63v} as also from *Kniaz* Nikita Sem. Urusuf & Leonty Rom. Nepl[iuyev] & my father in law from Shefsky.

I rece-d a letter from Lt.Coll. Hamilton²⁷³ out of Scotland, dated 28

²⁶⁹ Prince V.F. Zhirovogo-Zasekin.

²⁷⁰ Zykov.

²⁷¹ Filaret Lianeovich, treasurer of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra.

²⁷² Either a Cossack unit or the one belonging to the Kiev City Council and including the mounted "Golden Banner" troop.

²⁷³ Apparently, Lt.Col. Alexander Hamilton who was the eldest son of Sir Alexander Hamilton of Fenton and Innerwick, East Lothian, and served with Russian dra-

April 1684 at Ed[inbu]r[gh].

March 11. I did writt to *Kniaz* Nikita Sem. Urusuf and sent him grafts by the *Okolnitse* *Kniaz* Vas[ily] Fiod. his people.

12. The Boyars lady, haveing been sick 9 dayes of the falling downe & uncleanness of the mother, by often bathing with herbs became better. In the evening Masepa came, being sent by the Hetman upon the notice of his daughters sickness.

13. The Counsell in Mosko, haveing concluded that the yearly pension or *honorarium* should be given to the Tartars at the ordinary place of meeting for the exchange of prisoners, as also that no residents from the Crim should remaine in Mosko, nor theirs in the Crim, to avoid the affronts (as was pretended) which might be done to either, but in reality, to be freed of such intelligencers in Mosko; these things being against the articles of peace, the Tartars were not satisfied herewith, and therefor had not received [*sic*] the *honorarium* at the Perevloshna, and were now expostulating about it in Mosko.

{64} March 14. Wee were all at a feast by the Boyar drunk largely, and made many visits. The Boyar and Masepa supped by me. My seale-ring lost.

15. At a feast by the *okolnitse*; the Boyar came afterwards by me, & wee rode out to the fields.

16. The Boyar grew sick.

17. Wee caused begin to make the floats upon the ice and set up the rest of the boats.

18. The Boyars lady, whither by a suddaine terrour of hearing that the Boyar was adying, or by some other cause, tooke such a suddaine fitt that she did fall to the ground and lay a space without sence. Afterwards recovering, she tooke such a strong apprehension of her husbands death, that she did againe take such fitts, as did in less as the quarter of an houre bereave her of her sight & understanding, in which condition with most violent fitts she continued till

19. the next day after midday, about the same tyme that the fitt had

goons from 1664. On 8 March 1679 in Kiev he signed as witness Gordon's deed of factory for Scotland and perhaps delivered it home. In 1681 he got a major's commission in the new Scottish militia (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 3rd series, III (Edinburgh, 1910), pp. 143–4; VII (Edinburgh, 1915), pp. 25–6; National Archives of Scotland, RD 4/46, p. 439).

taken her the day befor, at which tyme the prior of the Monastery of St. Michael²⁷⁴ came. The Russe priest gave her the blessed Sacrament, which she could not receive but voided it againe. The prior (her speech being laid) gave her the Sacrament of extreme unction. She continued as it were sleeping, yet with terrible inward groanes untill 9 aclock at {64v} night. Then she gott strong fitts of the epilepsie with frenesy, with such violent motions of all her members as was grievous & lamentable to see,

20. which continued with very litle relenting, untill the same tyme that she had taken the fitt two dayes before with most vehement inward motions she dyed. Immediately notice was sent to the Hetman to know his will, where she should be buried.

March 21. In the morning Lt.Coll. Peter Ivanuf was buried in the Monastery of St. Sophia; he left to me in legacy a Turkish long gunne.

About eleven aclock befor noone the corps of the Boyars lady was carryed to the Monastery of St. Michael, the *Archimandrit* & all the priors conveying it. Being come into the church, masse being said, the funerall sermon & ceremonies ended, by the Boyars desire (he being because of his sickness not able to convoy her himself) I did excuse him & thank the clergy, speaking as followeth:

“Perillustris et Reverende in Christo Pater, Reverendi Patres et pii Fratres. Quanto dolore illustrissimus Dominus Palatinus Theodorus Petriades affectus est, verbis exprimere non facile; de irreparabili damno Excellentiae Suae nihil dicam, quia non possum satis, neque opus, quod omnibus notum, hoc autem Exc. Suam maxime etiam dolet, quod illustrissimam Dominam, dilectissimam conjugem suam huc usque saltem comitare, et gratias R.V. hoc in loco agere {65} non potis erat, hoc quidem posterius mihi mandavit. Ideo nomine Exc. Suae, Perillust. Rev. V., Rever. vos Patres et pios Fratres rogo, ut Exc. Suam excusatum habeant, et pro Christiana charitate piiis precibus et sanctis laboribus vestris humillime maximas ago gratias.

Jussit me etiam R.V. dicere, quod quicquid pro tam sanctis laboribus et piiis commemorationibus debitum est et solitum dare, tempore opportuno secundum officium suum cuique satisfacturum.

²⁷⁴ Feodosy Gugurevich, hegumen (superior) of St. Michael's "Golden-Domed" monastery in Kiev.

In commissis etiam habeo, Perill. R.V., Rever. vos Patres et pios Fratres iterum rogare, ut Ex. Suam excusat[um] habeant, quod nunc et statutis forsan temporibus R.V. solito tractamento et hospitalitate ob infirmitatem excipere et accommodare non potest, pollicetur autem per me, omnia haec, quam primum D. Opt. Max. Exc. Suam pristina vel meliore beaverit salute, rite et congrue prestaturum.

Ego autem nihil dubito, quin Perill. R.V., Rever. vos Patres et vos pii Fratres omnia haec ex parte suae in bonam sint interpretaturi partem”.²⁷⁵

The *Archimandrit* answered with a short speech & low voice in the Slavonian language. Masepa also told them that his Exc. the Hetman would be mindfull of the holy places, & reward them for their pains.

In discourse concerning the ladyes disease there were many opinions. Some alleadged that it was a *demoniaca*, others a violent *cardiaca*, but considering all the passages & fitts, wee concluded that out of an extraordinary melancholy, which had caused *immunditiem et vitium matricis*²⁷⁶, {65v} from whence proceeded *obstructiones et suffocationes*, and that the first fitt was

²⁷⁵ Most Illustrious and Reverend Father in Christ, Reverend Fathers and pious Brothers!

It is not easy to express in words what sorrow affects our Most Illustrious Lord, Palatine Fiodor Petrovich. Of His Excellency's irreparable loss I shall say naught because I cannot say enough, neither it is necessary. For it is known to all that His Exc. grieves all the more because he was even unable to accompany here our Most Illustrious Lady, his beloved consort, and to render thanks to Y[our] R[everences] in this place, but then he ordained it to me. Therefore, on behalf of His Exc. I implore Your Most Illust. Rev[erence] and ye, Rever. Fathers and pious Brothers, that ye might excuse His Exc., and I most humbly offer ye the greatest thanks for your Christian charity, devout works and holy labours.

He also bade me say to Y.R. that in whatever it is due and customary to grant for such holy labours and pious commemorations, each one shall be satisfied in convenient time, according to his office.

Besides, I have a commission to beg Y. Most Ill. R. and ye, Rever. Fathers and pious Brothers, that ye might excuse His Exc. that now and, perhaps, at the time prescribed, because of his infirmity, he cannot accommodate Y.R. and offer you the usual entertainment and hospitality; however, through me it is promised that how soon God Most Good, Most Great blesses His Exc. with his pristine or better health, all that shall be duly and appropriately provided.

I doubt not but Your Most Ill. R., ye Rever. Fathers, and ye pious Brothers, shall interpret all this on his behalf in good part (Lat.).

²⁷⁶ Contamination and affection of the uterus (Lat.).

an epilepsie, which causing *op[p]ilationem in ventriculis cerebri*²⁷⁷, did at last bereave her of her sight, & so continued in violent paroxismes in a frenzy, which spent her strength & spirits & made an end of her.

March 21. An order came to let of two regiments of *streltsees* to Mosko, intimateing that a 1,000 men should be sent from the townes to be under my command.

The *voyt* of Labiun called Yefstafey Maximovits came hither, who informed us that the Polls parliament was begun; that most of the senators and deputies were come; that there was no such misunderstanding betwixt the King & nobility as was said; that the provincially committees had consented to give subsidies for carying on the warr against the Turke; that Coll. Lashinsky had sent 12 companyes of Polls horsmen towards Barr & Mezeboze upon notice that some Tartars were to convoy a *bassa* or *aga* to these places; that the Polls horse & foot were rendezvousing at Grische²⁷⁸ a mile from Labiun, with intention upon the returne of their party to go with cannon and attacque Barr & Mezeboze.

The spy Ivan Philonuf *sin*²⁷⁹ Variluf returned and informed that being in Nemerow he heard that there had been with the Chams sonne at the siege of Nemerow 7,000 Tartars, 500²⁸⁰ Cosakes with Sulimka, & 500 Turks horse {66} and foot with 4 piece of cannon from Camieniets with a *bassa* or a *aga*; that one Bardey the *sotnik* of Nemerow had brought letters to the Cosakes from the King wherein he allowed the Cosakes to take up all the rents of the Ukraina from the River Slucs southward, and that hereafter no Poll shall meddle with any thing of that nature, where-with the Cosakes were very well content and glad. He reported also that their were great discontents betwixt the King & the nobility, especially the Littawish; that the Romane Emperour was not satisfyed with the last campagnia of the Kings under Camieniets; that he was riseing meanes to get a sonne of King Michael Visnovitsky²⁸¹ declared successour to the Polls Croune, and this Kings sonne laid by; that ambassadours from the

²⁷⁷ Obstruction in the ventricle of the brain (Lat.).

²⁷⁸ Probably, Hrytsiv (Russian: Gritsev).

²⁷⁹ Syn (Russian), son.

²⁸⁰ a *thousand* crossed out.

²⁸¹ Michal Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1640–1673), King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1669.

Pope, Rom. Emp., State of Venice, Schach of Persia²⁸² & other princes were to be in Varsaw, all perswading & offering assistance for continuance of the warr against the hereditary enemy of Christendome.

With these intelligences a dispatch was sent to Mosko.

{66v} March 22. The two regiments of *streltsees* went from hence, the one being 515 men, the other 380, so that there remained now only of foot in the garrison 2,241, 125 horsmen & 35 constables.

24. I had letters from Shewsky by Ivan Posdeyuf, showing that by their Ma-ties order the *Okolnitse* Leonty Rom. Nepluyuf was gone to Baturin to consult about matters concerning the state, the particulars whereof not knowne; that with the Hetmans advice he was to go immediately to Mosko; that upon notice that the Chan, upon the refusall of sending the *honorarium* into the Crim, had sent a messenger to the King of Polland, and the short answer given by the King to the writer sent from their Ma-ties by the Hetmans instigation; the treasure, which was returned from the place of treaty, & ordered to be sent to Mosko, was againe returned from Bielow to Shewsky.

I did this day returne an answer to these letters, and wrote to Mosko to the Holl. resident, Coll. von Mengden, Mr. Vinius & Mr. Guasconi newes & matters of course by the regiment writer of Coll. Borkow.

{67} March 25. Wee were advertised that the Hetmans lady with her sonnes & many more were on the way to Kyow, to be present at the buriall of the Boyars lady.

26. Wee gott order upon our meanes to have a quarter.

27. 4 Emperiall letters were brought from Mosko by the way of Pereaslaw hither: one giving notice of the intelligence sent from hence received, with encouragment & order to proceed in the same way & keep good guards; the other giving notice of the letters received concerning the buying up of cornes for the provision of the garrison, and that by these letters they were certified of 46,000 bushells of rey & 26,000 rubles of money, whereof 12,000 in silver, the rest in copper; the other two particular of small consequence.

In [the evening?] the Hetmans lady with her sonnes & other company came over the river upon the ice, & lodged in the towne by the Petsharsky

²⁸² Suleiman I (1645–1694), Shah of Persia (Iran) from 1666.

Monastery.

{67v} March 28. The Hetmans lady with her children and many more came to the Monastery of St. Michael, where hearing devotion with much lamentation, they came afterwards & gave the Boyar a visit, who lay bed-sick; then visiting the child, they returned and so parted without speaking a word to other.

29. Being Sunday, all the clergy hereabout convened at the Monastery of St. Michael. The Boyar was brought in a sledge & caryed on a tapet into the church & lifted up with men to take his leave of his deceased lady, which he did with many teares. The beer was afterwards lifted up & carryed by the Boyars servants out of the church & Monastery. The Boyar because of his infirmnes returned to his lodging. All went on foot out of the towne, then the abbot & priors sate into their *kolesses*²⁸³ & went befor. The corps was on the way rested thrice & dirigees sung. The coffin was beat all about with yellow tabine²⁸⁴ with two escutcheons on each syde & one at each end, whereon were the armes of the Boyar, being two lyons supporting a crowne, & above in place of a crest in a field three crosses, all in a green field; the letters set thus: P.I.H.S.B.V.K., being *Pologia*²⁸⁵ *Ivanovna*, *Hetmans daughter*, *Seremetuf*, *Boyarina*, *Voywodzina Kyofska*. 4 empty decored beers went befor, then a mourning sledge of state, ordained to have caryed her, but afterwards on better thoughts she was caryed & went so. At the entry {68} of the Monastery²⁸⁶ the abbot & prior in their copes received & did meet the corps & convoyed it into the midle of the church, the clergy going all befor & the mourners & others after. In the church was a stately funerall theatre whereon the coffin was sett betwixt 4 pillars covered and decored with many piramids & lamps, the emblems of death being every where hung & laid on the 3 steps of the theatre. After a long sung masse and the funerall obsequies & ceremonies almost ended, the prior of St. Kirilaes Monastery, called Monastersky & a christened Jew²⁸⁷, made a politick funerall oration. Then, the ceremoniall obsequies being ended, the

²⁸³ *Koliaski* (Russian), carriages.

²⁸⁴ A kind of silk.

²⁸⁵ Her real name was Praskovya.

²⁸⁶ The Kiev Pechersk Lavra.

²⁸⁷ Innokenty Monastyrsky († 1697), hegumen (superior) of the Kievan St. Cyril's Monastery from 1681.

corps was caryed out with many lights as it had been all the way, to the buryall place, which [was] a litle low vault newly built, & to be covered in forme of a help adjoining to the church wall. Wee went into the church againe & heard the orations of great & small students; & so went all & dyned in Maxim his house.

March 30. Masepa with the Hetmans wyfes brother came with a com-mission from the Hetman to the Boyar, that he should give the child, his grandsonne, to be bred up in Baturin, & all the goods which he had given along with his daughter, promising that it should not be diminished but rather augmented, yea, he intended to double it. Afterwards some alteration the Boyar told them that he could not give his sonne from him without their Ma-ties order & his fathers {68v} leave. As for the goods, he was contented that one inventory should be made, signed & exchanged for the greater security, and the goods to remaine by him; wherewith seing they could get no better, they seemed content.

March 31. Masepa with the *buntsbusnik*²⁸⁸ came & brought with them the Kyovish colonell, Maxim, the *voit* & the burgemasters. All things being brought in were written up, the p[rinci]p[a]ll whereof were 2 *pude* & 9 pund of silver, most overgilt, many rich cloaths worth about 1,600 rubles, pearles, rings & jewels worth about a thowsand rubles. They would have been sealing all up, but the Boyar permitted them not, and caused bring all to the place where they were, wherewith they being not satisfyed, went away, yet said that the inventaries being signed should be exchanged; yet it seemes the Hetmans sonnes not being satisfied, there came no body, all going away the same evening.

It is remarkable that about 7 weeks befor, in the night tyme the Boyars lady being awake, did see a woman in a white habite very ill favoured advancing towards her bed, wherewith being afrighted she cryed out, and the attendants comeing, she desired them to looke after the oven whither, as she said, the apparition went; after which tyme she was so afrayed that she would not ly on that syde of the bed, and upon every surmise of the least suddain stirr was frighted exceedingly.

As also a youth in the house, very devout, deposed the next day after

²⁸⁸ *Bunchuzhny*, bunchuk-bearer. Bunchuk (Tatar), a pole decorated with horse tails etc., which served as symbol of power of oriental rulers as well as hetmans of Ukraine and Poland.

she dyed that 4 dayes befor in the night tyme, he coming out of a lower roome did see comeing downe the back stairs a tall woman all in white blasting and blowing to the right & left hand; wherewith being afrighted he hasted back to the lower roome, and looking, saw the apparition go over the yard into the garden where it vanished. This he told the same tyme & the next morning as now to his comorads.²⁸⁹

{69} Aprill 1. I did writt to Coll. von Mengden & Mr. Guasconi, ordaining the last to receive 60 rubles upon my son in lawes acco-t, I being to pay it to him here; to Coll-s Hamilton & Roonaer, & in Coll. Hamiltons *coverto* one to my Lord Graham to be sent by the way of Kursky or any other sure occasion, the first being sent by the captaine who came from Mosko, the others by the horsmen who convoyed the *strelets* to Shewsky.

2. The Boyar sent a servant to the Hetman with letters excuseing what passed, & showing the reasons why he could not deliver neither his sonne nor the goods.

The river began to open in some places.

3. There came two letters from their Ma-ties by post, one to make cables of the best which is here, the other to send Iv[an] Osieruf his *strelets* to Kosselsky to be delivered to any whom the Hetman should appoint to receive him.

5. By the *Archimandrits* desire I rode to the Petsharsky Monastery, to advise the preventing of the falling of a hill whereon the church, which leadeth into the subterranean caves where their holy persons ly, is built. I advised the leading of the water in *rindstek*²⁹⁰, which flowing under it, had & did wash away much earth, and filling up the ditch & gapes it had made; which being reasonable was approved, & after good entertainment with great thanks, dismissed.

{69v} Aprill 7. The river cleared of the ice.

8. I sent my slightest horse & mares to the grasse.

9. Wee brought on all the bridge vessells.

10. Wee drew on the floats.

11. Wee bridged the floats & drew on the bridge on the Czertorey.

²⁸⁹ On this day Gordon makes no mention of his 50th birthday, apparently due to mourning for *Boyarynia* Sheremeteva.

²⁹⁰ The provenance and meaning of this term are unclear to me.

13. The bridge compleeted and waggons brought over.

14. I went to the Illand Carolina²⁹¹ & had good sport.

15. Ane officer being to be sent to Mosko with notice of the bridge being made ready, I did writt to *Kniaz* Vasily Vasiliovits [Golitsyn], Peter Vasili. [Sheremetev], *Kn.* Boris Vasil. [Gorchakov], *Kn.* Ivan Step. [Khotetovsky], Leonty Rom. [Nepliuyev], Benedict Andr. [Zmeyov], Yemel. Ignat. [Ukraintsev], Fiodor Andr. [Zykov], Coll-s Timofe Kisk[in], Vasily Bork[ov], Ivan Yak[imov], as also to the Holl. resid[ent], Coll. von Mengd[en], Mr. Vinus, P. Schmidt, Coll-s Hamil[ton] & Roonaer. These were sent by Ensignie Constantin Maes, who was sent with the bridge dispatch.

{70} April 16. A *pope*²⁹² called Eustachius comeing from Vinnicza declared, that being on his jorney hither in Polonna, on the 8th instant, a Cosakish colonell called Paley came thither with three waggons, befor each waggon 6 horses loaden with treasure which he was bringing from the King of Polland to the Zaporovish & Dons Cosakes, that they should come to his assistance this summer; with him were but 4 Cosakes for a convoy; the next day he went from thence. These intelligences were sent to Mosko by the same ensignie, who went from hence about midday.

Here is Coll. Ronaer his acco-t:

	<u>R.</u>	<u>A.</u>	<u>D.</u>
For 2 1/4 <i>lokets</i> ²⁹³ of red cloth at 1 r[uble] 3 al[lyn] 2 d[engi].	2	15	5
For sewing of all	4		
For the stock, girths, stirrop leathers & nailes	1		
For the <i>tabinkies</i> ²⁹⁴ , stuffing, lining and sewing	1	3	2
Yet for sewing of the hulsters caps		4	
For hulsters		<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>
	9	3	1

²⁹¹ Evidently, one of the Dnieper islands was thus named by Gordon himself in honour of his sovereign, King Charles II (cf. fol. 73).

²⁹² *Pap* (Russian), priest.

²⁹³ Lokot' (Russian), ell.

²⁹⁴ See above, fol. 67 v.

17. Being Good Fridday, wee went to the Bratsky Monastery to a dialogue.²⁹⁵

18. 12 cannon were brought to the open place befor the Sophiaes Monastery, to be discharged, when the tyme of the Resurrection should be given notice of in the night.

{70v} Aprill 19. A litle after midnight upon notice the cannons were discharged three severall tymes.

I went and gave the Boyar the ordinary complement. He came to me in the afternoone, and I was by the *okolnitse* in the evening and supped by the Boyar.

20. The *okolnitse* came by me in the afternoone.

21. I dynd by the Boyar, and visiteing the *okolnitse* wee went all over the Dneper.

23. Wee dynd all by the *okolnitse*, he plaguing us with healths. A Imperiall letter came to let of one of the chancellours to Mosko.

I received notice by gazets & letters from Mosko of the death of our King & that the Duke of Yorke was succeeded to all his Kingdomes & Dominions, whom God long preserve!²⁹⁶

{71} Aprill 26. I did writt to Mosko: to Leonty Roman. [Nepliuyev] with sollicitations and reasons for my leave to go out of the countrey; to Yemel. Ignat. [Ukraitsev] the same; to Fiod. Andr. [Zykov] complements; to Ivan Birin concerning our salt; to Vasily Timofeovits Poshwinkuf²⁹⁷ in W-m Gordon²⁹⁸ his behalfe; to the Holl. resid[ent] with a booke, the *Description of the R[iver] Donaw* & other passages; to Coll. von Mengden, desiring him to learne what order I am like to get; to Mr. Guascony to let my servants have a trunke with cloaths, a great flashfutter²⁹⁹, a chest with armes, and the horse furniture for my coach with the white iron buckles, ordering my coach to be brought; I sent to him a saphier w[i]t[h] a ducat for a ring to set it in, the saphier cost ten dollers; to our priest to come

²⁹⁵ Apparently, a scholarly disputation at the Kiev Academy.

²⁹⁶ Cf. fol. 12.

²⁹⁷ V.T. Pos(t)nikov († 1708), from 1678 *dyak* of the Embassy Office, noted diplomat.

²⁹⁸ Evidently, Captain William Gordon of the Russian army († 1692), son of James Gordon of Rothiemay and kinsman of General Patrick, under whom he served in Kiev.

²⁹⁹ *Flesh-fatt* etc. (Scots), *Fleischbütte* (German) – meat-barrel.

hither, haveing befor by E[nsignie] Maes written to *Kniaz* Vasily Vasiliovits and sent a petition for his comeing hither; to Mr. Sclater for epileptick water; to Mr. Cooke, 40 pound of cavear to be made up in 3 parcells, one of 20 pund, the other of 10 pund a piece, all to be sent to Mr. Meverell, my letters being to follow; to Mr. Boetenant thanks & complements, desiring him to give my silver furniture to Mr. Guasconi; to Mr. Hartman, desiring him to informe the Russes aright concerning my remitting of money to England; to Coll. Devissen complements, referring the relation of his business to Coll. Evanitsky; to Coll. Ronaer, with his sadle & sadle-cloth; to Coll. Hamilton familiarly; to Mr. Vinius matters of course & correspondence; all w-ch I sent by Maior Evanitsky & my servants.

{71v} Aprill 27. Wee had notice that the *Sejm*³⁰⁰ or parliament was end[ed] in good unity with a resolution to prosecute the warr against the Turkes, and by all meanes to seeke to obtaine the assistance of the Tzars.

28. The Chancellour Osip Zenov[yevich] Tatarinuf went from hence, by whom I did writt to the Boyars Ivan Michaelovits [Miloslavsky] & Alexy Petrovits [Saltykov], to Fiodor Andreovits [Zykov].

I went with the Boyar & *okolnitsze* to the illand where my horses are kept & had good sport at the killing of a hare.

29. I gave in a writeing for mending of the Ivanofsky bastion.

{72} May 1. A *pawre* comeing from Vl[a]dimir reported that whilst he was there letters came from Nemerow, informing that the Tartars had made an incursion thereabouts and taken many prisoners; that the Polls haveing notice conveened their forces, followed, and overtakeing them at a disadvantage, had routed them and releevd all their owne people, & killed and taken many of the Tartars, amongst [them] 7 *mursaes*³⁰¹ or chieftaines; and that the Tartars prisoners affirmed that the Chan with all the *bordaes* were to be on the Polls borders about Trinity Sunday.

2. With the forsaid intelligence a post was dispatched to Mosko.

3. I gave in a roll of the timber and other things w-ch are needfull to be provided this spring, to witt:

1,500 balkes of 4 fath. length & 5 to 6 *verstkeyes* thick at the top end;

³⁰⁰ *Sejm*, the parliament of Poland-Lithuania.

³⁰¹ *Murza*, Tatar nobleman.

1,000 dales of 3 fath. long, broad 9 *verstkeyes*;
 500 oaken stakes of a fath. long & 3 *verstkeyes* thick at ye top;
 10,000 *dranitsees* of 1 1/2 fath. long & 6 *verstkeyes* broad;
 4 *l'affuits* to whole cannon;
 10 *l'affuits* to midle-syzed & quarter cannon;
 10 *l'affuits* to the cutthroat pieces brought A.D. 1682 from Mosko;
 20 axetrees to whole cannon;
 40 axetrees to quarter & midle-syzed cannon;
 60 to lesser cannon.

{72v} Being the solemne holyday of the Petsharsky Theodosius³⁰², the Boyar & wee all were invited thither, but non went because of the Boyars sicknes & the *okolnitsees* peevishnes.

May 4. Wee heard of some people lately come from Polland, that the Tartars at Jantsharichy had robbed and taken away many people.

Wee began to repair the Ivanofsky bastion, to w-ch I sent 60 worke-men and ordered for these & that worke 60 oaken stakes & 5 load of willow for the foundation, 40 linnen sacks for carying of earth, 6 spades, 10 shuffles, 2 *kirkies*³⁰³, 30 boords, 8 *czegins*³⁰⁴, 60 fath. of cording, 2 irons for cutting turffe, 4 irons for pareing the turffe, 16 *tolkatches*³⁰⁵.

5. I did writt to my ffriends in Scotland, as to the Earle of Aberdeen³⁰⁶, my brother John, unkle, sonnes, Lt.G-ll Drummond, Lt.Coll. Hamilton, Mr. Tho. Gordon, to Bayly Gordon & to James Adie in Dantzick accord- ing to the copies.

6. The water of the river at a stand. To Bayly Gordon.

8. People comeing from Bially Cerkiew & Labuin informed that the Polls had entrapped some Turkes of the garrison of Mezeboze, killed 9 and took prisoners, sending them to the King; that there were but 60 jani-zaries and 100 horsmen, most Tartars, in Mezeboze, which is 12 miles from Polon[n]e & 9 from Labiun, which is 4 miles from Polon[n]e; that in Barr,

³⁰² The feast of St. Feodosy of Pechersk, one of the founders of the Kiev Lavra in the 11th century.

³⁰³ *Kirka* (Russian), pick.

³⁰⁴ *Chegen*, old Russian for pile or post.

³⁰⁵ *Tolkach*, large wooden pestle.

³⁰⁶ Former Lord Chancellor of Scotland (see fol. 24 v.).

which is 9 miles from Caminiets & 4 miles from Old Constantinova³⁰⁷, there was a Turkish garrison of about 200 men horse & foot.

{73} May 9. Being a holy day dedicated to St. Nicolaus, there were a great concourse of people from all places at the Monastery of St. Nicolaus.

The water still at a stand.

10. A party of Tartars came to Pawlovitz³⁰⁸ and tooke away all the cat-tel out of the fields.

12. I went to the illand where our horses feed, dined with ffriends and our wifes³⁰⁹. I named the island Jacobina.³¹⁰

13. A souldier came from Shewsky and told that souldiers were gathering there, but whither they were to go he could not know.

14. I rode to the Petsharsky Monastery and was there very kindly entertained by the *Archimandrit*.

15. I had letters from the Boyar Peter Vasiliovitz Seremetuf full of love & kindness & ano-r from Colonel Borkow.

The Emp. order came to the Boyar to deliver of to any whom the Hetman [appoints] all the goods he had gott with his wyfe w[i]t[h] the Moskoes house & village, & the sonne upon his father & ffriends petition to remaine by him, their Ma-ties graceing him with Borkow for his & his sons maintenance.³¹¹

16. Wee heard by diverse come through & from Polland, that the Polls Cosakes were removed from their winter quarters and marching towards Nemerow, some said to receive their pay, others that Mogila their Hetman had given notice of the Tartars advancing to that place, & ordered their march. They informed that the Littawish army were still in their quarters in Volhinia, & not like to march untill St. Johns day.

{73v} In the evening I reseived letters that my Remonstrance³¹² was delivered to these I intrusted, who promised to offer & represent it to their Ma-ties and to the Princesse Sophia Alexeiowna according to my

³⁰⁷ Starokonstantinov (Russian), Starokostiantyniv (Ukrainian).

³⁰⁸ Probably, Pavoloch.

³⁰⁹ On 3 February 1673 Gordon married his second wife Elizabeth Ronaer, daughter of a Netherlandish colonel in the Tsar's service.

³¹⁰ In honour of King James II (VII). Cf. fol. 69 v.

³¹¹ This entry was inserted in smaller hand, partly on the margin.

³¹² Gordon uses this term very rarely, enhancing the importance and singularity of this document whose tone differed from usually humble Russian petitions.

desire; the copy whereof followeth, translated out of the Russe, according to their style:

“Being descended of honourable parentage³¹³, I travelled from my Native Country into forreigne to purchase honour and meanes to maintaine it with.

Having served diverse Monarchs honestly and faithfully, when my occasions called me to quite their service, I was never detained, but upon my desire I had my liberty granted, being dismissed in favour and with ample testimonies of my fidelity & service.

I came into Russeland in an honourable charge, not out of necessity, but rather of dartleness, and not poor but rich, according to my quality.

I came into Russeland to serve only for a tyme, hoping, when my occasions should serve, to have my liberty as I had in other countreyes, and as others of my quality have here formerly had.

In the tyme of my service here I have alwayes served truly & faithfully, neither shunning danger or spareing labour.³¹⁴

In An. Dni 1670, returning out of my owne countrey, and finding the pay redacted to a third part of the former, I petitioned to be dismissed from this service, which being denyed, I was sent {74} with others to Shewsky, his Ma-tie of glorious memory³¹⁵ dismissing us graciously, and out of his owne mouth telling us that wee should have bread there, and if wee should stand in need of any thing, wee should petition for it, and our wants should be supplied.

In An. Dni 1677, being at his Ma-ties³¹⁶ service by Czehrin in the army against the Turkes, his Royall Ma-tie of Great Brittaines Extraordinary Envoy John Hebdon Esquire, by orders from his Royall

³¹³ The Gordons date back to the 12th century, and by late 17th had several lordly lines: Marquises of Huntly and Dukes of Gordon, Earls of Sutherland and Aberdeen, and Viscounts of Kenmure. In Scotland there were no less than 369 landed branches of the clan (see J.M. Bulloch, *The House of Gordon*. 3 vols. (Aberdeen, 1903–1912)). On his mother’s side the general sprang from the less numerous, but also noble clan Ogilvie (of Deskford and Findlater).

³¹⁴ The end of this phrase written in instead of the crossed-out: *sparing paines nor my head from hazard & danger or*.

³¹⁵ Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich (1629–1676), who ruled from 1645.

³¹⁶ Tsar Fiodor Alexeyevich (1661–1682), who ruled from 1676.

Ma-tie gave a memoriall into the Ambassade Office desiring my dismissal and liberty to returne to my owne countrey; to which he received answer that when this campagnia should be ended, and I desire to be dismissed, I should be let go, to which purpose an order was sent into the Stranger Office.

In An. Dni 1678 I coming to Mosko in hopes, according to his M. gracious promise, to be dismissed, found that I was ordered with my regiment to go to Czegrin; so that being unwilling to shunne such dangerous service, I went without troubling his Tz. Ma-tie for my dismissal, only remonstrating that I might have my liberty, if it should please God to bring me from that service in health.

In the same yeare, haveing lost all I had in Czehrín, I came to Mosko in hopes againe to be dismissed, when also his Tz. [Majesty's] orders for me to go to Kyow anticipated me; and because it was expected that the Turkes would attacque that place, {74v} lest it might be thought that I shunned such dangerous service, I went with alacrity to that service.

Haveing the last year gott notice of the deceasse of my parents³¹⁷, and that in my absence they will not give me entry to the heritage which my father hath left me, I petitioned their Tz. Ma-ties for licence to go to my owne countrey with my family, and if that could not be granted, that I alone might have liberty for a short tyme.

My grievances:

The former Generalls Thomas Dalzell and William Drummond, who in my tyme served his Tz. M. of glorious memory, had not only full monthly meanes & pay, but for maintenance of their honour, and that they might live according to their charge, had villages given them with great rents.³¹⁸

Gen-ll Lt. Athanasius Tawrnicht³¹⁹ after the Czehrins siege, where he

³¹⁷ 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).

³¹⁸ On the Russian service of Generals Dalzell and Drummond see Gordon's *Diary*, Vol. II.

³¹⁹ On General Trauernicht see Gordon's *Diary*, Vol. III.

did not loss any thing, hath been graced from one government to ano-r, where he hath enriched himself.

For my heavy beleaguering in Czehrin, where I lossed all I had there, to the value of about 700 rubles, I have received but 200 rubles more as my comorads who were in the army, and not only not lost any thing, but had great gaines by booty and other wayes.

The other generall persons have great advantages beyond me, living in garrisons where they have profit, & in peace, and have diverse {75} children graced in very yong yeares with honourable charges.

Two of my sonnes³²⁰, who in ordinary and by his Tz. M. of gracious memory approved & allowed yeares were graced with ensignes places, were carceered or exautorated; so that being destitute of meanes to give them subsistance and breeding, I was forced to send them to my owne countrey to my parents to be maintained and educated.

Albeit I am always at service in great danger, paines & labour, yet am I forced to strugle with wants & necessities.

Being by many wounds, labour & yeares become valetudinary, I would gladly be at a resting place in my owne countrey, where I may looke to the ordering of my effaires, the education of my children and the care of my health.

Frequent sicknesses being, as it were, summonsees & warnings from death, the often use of the Sacraments are the mor needfull, and here all occasions of such spirituall helps and comforts are taken away.

Being always strugling with wants and not being able to provide any thing for my wyfe and children, it cannot but grieve me to think of leaving them upon my death in poverty among strangers.

{75v} In a tyme of generall peace with all their Tz. Ma-ties enemyes, being denied my pass or liberty to go to my owne countrey without giving me any reason for it, I do not know what to think of it, or imagine in what condition I am.

Redresses:

Nevertheless, if it be not their Ma-ties pleasure to let me of to my

³²⁰ Gordon's eldest sons John and James.

Native Countrey for good & all, I humbly desire that the underwritten poincts may be taken in consideration.

I am so farr from desiring to live in ease or eat the bread of idleness, that I am willing to stay here or in any place where my service may be acceptable to their Ma-ties, or where I may have occasion of doing their Ma-ties service.

Liveing here among strangers, where I must buy all things at a dear rate, even wood & hay, my expences in keeping servants, horses and many things extraordinary ar greater then my pay.

Therefor, that I may serve cheerfully and live in some manner according to my quality & charge, it is requisite that I have such a constant pay or other helps for my maintenance that I may subsist & not be in necessity.

In tyme of necessity and once or twice in the year at the principall feasts, it may be free for a priest of my religion to come to Kiow out of the nearest townes of Polland, so long as the peace or truce continueth with them.

{76} Because of my frequent sicknesses, that a doctor or any other understanding person may be entertained and remaine here in Kyow with medicines, which will not only be necessary for me but for the Governours and all sorts of their Ma-ties subjects.

I have here few souldiers under my command, and no wayes conforme to my charge or other generall persons, so that I have not attendants nor watches equall with a colonell.

There must be more souldiers sent hither, which will not only be necessary, but very advantageous for their Ma-ties service.

If it shall be their Ma-ties pleasure to continue me still in Kyow, and that warrs be, and ane expedition against their Tz. Ma-ties enemyes, and that there be no fear of the enemyes advancing to attact this garrison, that I may be employed in the fields with a command agreeable to my charge.

In the meane tyme that their Tz. Ma. would be pleased, in such a tyme as the neighbour armyes are retyred into their quarters, & when no attempts or attacques of enemyes ar to be feared, to give me licence to go to my owne countrey for the tyme of six months, that I may order my effaires there”.

May 16. I received letters from Mr. Vinius & Mr. Daniell.

{76v} May 17. Wee heard of people dayly going over the Dneper to the Polls to take service there.

18. The water of the river began to fall.³²¹

19. I did writt to Shewsky to Leonty Rom., to the Colls. Ham[ilton] & Roonaer, to Biallygrod to M. Gen-ll *Conte*³²² de Graham, sending a letter for Coll. Junger to Coll. Hamilton. Sent also 30 *altins* to Coll. Ronaer.

20. Wee heard by people come from Chorostoshewa that on Fridday last the Cosakes rendevouzing, about 3,000 strong with many waggons & much provision, were marched towards Nemerow; that Coll. Paley had about 6,000 Cosakes to horse very well accoutred, each whereof had received from the King 9 lyon dollers³²³ & two coats.

I bought 600 quarts of brandy at 6 *altins* the *span*³²⁴, all amounting to 10 r[ubles] 8 *grivnees*.

21. Wee were informed of 2 merchants men killed going from hence not farr from Biallygrodka on Tuesday last.

I had letters & avisoes from Mosko by post.

24. A great fireflaught & thunder, which break in my yard by ye gate and claved in six oaken stakes & so into the ground.

26. Wee heard of some Tartars haveing been neer Bially Czerkiew and taking away of people.

27. Diverse families came running out of Polland, saying they were forced by the great dearth (a tunne cornes of that measure which is less as this being at 13 flor. shillings³²⁵), as also by the great oppression the Cosakes did them.

28. Being Ascension day, wee dined by the *okolnitse*.

29. Being our deceassed King of glorious memory his birthday, in stead of mirth, wee had a sad commemoration.

Wee had notice of a *stolnick* come to Kosselsky.

³²¹ *still at a stand* crossed out.

³²² Count (French & Italian).

³²³ These coins were first minted in the Netherlands (*leenwendaalder*), then in Germany, and had wide circulation in eastern Slavic lands, where they were called *levki*.

³²⁴ *Zhban* (Russian), can or jug.

³²⁵ *Floren*, or *złoty polski*, equalled 30 silver *grosze*; 1 *grosz* = 3 *szelagi* ("shillings").

30. The worke at the Petshursky gate finished.
31. Greeks went with horses to Polland to sell.

{77} June 1. I went to the illand to my horses and found all in good condition. In the evening a litle after sunsett, towards the west appeared in the heavens a firy serpent, which at first shott like a rokett, thereafter growing paler & still moveing, in halfe an hour vanished.

2. A merchant comeing from Lvova reported that the Polls *Seym* was ended 2 weeks ago; that it was resolved to go with their armyes and besiege Camieniets, and to prosecute the warr against the Turkes with all vigour; that the Rom[an] Emp[eror] about 5 weeks ago had beat a great convoy of the Turks comeing to Buda; that the Venetians had good successe against the Turks in the Mediteranean, and that the *Morlaks*³²⁶ with the assistance & the conduct of the Venetian generalls were making great progress, and ruining the Turkish countrey very much.

This evening came *Stolnik* Simon Protas[yevich] Nepluyuf.

3. Wee convoyed the Boyar to the Petsharsky Monastery, where he tooke his leave, after wee had heard devotion & dyned.

4. The Boyar, *stolnik*, Masepa & the *bunshbushnik* with many others dyned by me.

5. Masepa & the *bunshbushnik* being sent by the Hetman for receiv- ing of all the jewells, cloaths, money and other goods, which he had given with his daughter, according to their Ma-ties order, they gave in a large register wherein all the moneyes, which had been given & sent to them from tyme to tyme, & even that which had been sent to distribute amongst the poor was reckoned up, amounting in all to 7,714 rubles, 2,500 whereof had been given for a house in Mosko, w-ch by their Ma-ties order was also to be delivered to him. In the register were also all the gifts, which the coll-s & others at the wedding or afterwards had given, and many more things, which the Boyar could not remember; the *Stolnik* Simon Protas. being to receive & deliver of all to them & receive an acquittance, the Boyar being to receive ane authentick copy thereof,

³²⁶ *Morlaci* (Serbo-Croatian), *Morovlacchi* (Italian), *Morlacken* (German), i.e. "Sea Vlachs", inhabitants of Dalmatian mountains. At least in part they were Bosnian Serbs who moved westward due to the Turkish onslaught and won fame as brave warriors and seamen.

that he might know what his son should have when he comes to age.

The Boyar gave of all the plate, being 100 pund weight; {77v} the pearle & jewels & 19 rings to the value of 760 rubles; cloaths with fures to the value of 1,000 rubles; linnens & other houshold stuffe, which he or she had gotten from the Hetman. But the gifts given them by the colonells & others (which they had on the register also and desired) he did not give of, it being against reason. The money, which amounted to 5,214 rubles, he said was spended.

June 5. I receaved letters from Colls. Hamilton & Roonaer by my trowpers.

6. In the morning ane end was made of giving of all to the Hetmans deputies. Wee dined all afterwards by the Boyar, where the Boyar & *okol-nitze* did fall out.

I did writt to the Holl. res[ident], Mr. Vinius, Mr. von Troyen, to *Kniaz* Vasily Vasil. with a petition to be let of for a tyme; to Peter Vas. the lyke; to Leonty Rom., justifying my Remonstrance after this manner, in their style:

“I thank you for your great favour in takeing care of my businesse in Mosko.

My desires being look’t upon favourably and with discretion, will not be found unmeasurable, because I ask & desire only what others have had & have, and being nothing else but what is necessary for my soules salvation, my bodily health and a livelyhood in some measure conforme to my charge.

In the 1669 year of God, as it was declared to us that wee should receive but a third part of our pay, it was told us thereby & many tymes afterwards that who would not serve for the 3d part should have liberty to go out of the countrey.

I only am unfortunate, who have desired many tymes, & cannot as yet obtaine my liberty.

I came in of free will to serve their Ma-ties for a tyme, being neither bought nor taken prisoner, and not to let me go out of the countrey at least for a small tyme I see neither justice nor reason in it.

{78} If it were possible to get my effaires done in my absence, I would not hazard upon such travel & expences as so long a jorney will cost me; but it is impossible, my business being with my brothers, & my children

yong [and] not capable of such things, and no stranger or other will meddle betwixt us, and also for many other reasons too tedious here to writt.

It would be but reason & justice, that my losses by my detention here should be refounded.

It cannot be but that in such a condition as I am in now, grieffe & vexation will breed sicknes, and if I dy, it will be some expences to their Majestyes to feed & maintaine my wyfe & children, who being yong will in a long tyme not be able to serve nor be worth their victuals.

I writt confidently to you, trusting to your friendship & kindnes, entreat you to writt yet once in my behalffe, that I may have one end or another of my business, for really in this uncertaine condition I ame even surcharged with grieffe”.

To Colls. Roonaer, Hamilton & Skott³²⁷.

June 7. The Boyar about 12 aclock sent for me and all the colls. and went into the Office, whither the *okolnitsze* came. The Boyar delivered to him the keyes, *raspisny spisok* & instructions, & went together afterwards to the church and delivered of the two pictures³²⁸ & the Emperours collours, which wee had first convoyed thither; and after a short prayer tooke his leave, and being agreed with the *okolnitsze* went & dined with him. Thereafter wee all went & convoyed the Boyar over the Czartorey, where wee were entertained with carousing and afterwards tooke our leave. Wee went all home with the *okolnitsze* & there gott what wee wanted.

The Kyowish Colonell Gregory Korobshenko sent a letter to the Cosakish Hetman Mohila, perswadeing him to leave the Polls service, which received no answer, he sending it to the King.

{78v} June 8. The Selected regiment of souldiers³²⁹ marched into the towne. Wee sent out 400 men & 10 collours to make a shew of two regiments being come. They [are] 700 men.

9. I received notice that the Boyars son had been sick at Prawary &

³²⁷ George Scott (“Yury Andreyev Shkot”), Scots colonel who served the Tsar in Sevs; progenitor of a Russian noble family whose members survive to this day.

³²⁸ Probably, icons.

³²⁹ Two Moscow regiments “of Selected soldiers” were raised in 1656–58. In January 1687 Gordon assumed command of the second one, the Butyrsky (see fol. 155 and ff.).

gott twice the convulsion fitts.

The number of my regiments sent to Mosko are: trowpers 123, souldiers 149, *streltsees* 287, constables 35; in all 594.

10. Officers comeing from Biallygrod brought me letters from the Maior Gen-ll *Graffe* de Graham.

I did writt to Mosko to the Boyars *Kniaz* Nikita Sem. Urusuf, Alexey Petrovitz, the *Dumny* Fiod[or] Andr[eyevich], the writer Ivan Birin, & to the Chancellour Andrew Vinius by Fiod[or].

11. I did returne ane answer to the Lord Graham by Lt.Coll. Angler, excuseing my not being able to furnish him with 70 rubles, the lend whereof he had desired.

I made an end with Odovern³³⁰, giving him 50 dollers & getting an acquittance of all intromission.

12. From Mosko wee had that there were many regiments ordered to go to the borders towards the Crim & the Don, which was only done to please or amuse the Roman ambassadour, in makeing him beleeve that they would make a strong diversion of the Tartars, whereas some weekes befor they had dispatched the Tartars ambassadour with two yeares pension or tribute and many gifts with assurance of not breaking with them or the Turkes. With these armyes were men of good birth, but meane condition to be sent, as the *stolniks* *Kniaz* Michael Fiodorovits Shaydakuf & Ivan Yuriovitz Leontiuf with others for their assistants & comorades.

13. Wee had notice of the death of the Starodubs Colonell Simeon, eldest son to the Hetman, who dyed the 7th instant, and that he was to be brought to Kyow to be buried.

14. Wee had notice that Coll. Paley was gone towards the Crim, and as was said with 20,000 men, intending to divert the Tartars from invadeing of Polland.

{79} June 16. A Greek come from Polland reported that a gentlman had assured him that the Polls intended to make peace with the Port³³¹, and fall upon the Moskoviters, but without ground or likelihood.

I caused measure the outward wall of the great & litle townes of Kyow; that of the Sophia being 987 fath.; that of the lesser towne being

³³⁰ Colonel Odovern, who served in Pskov, appears in the Diary in 1666–67. It is probably a form of the Irish surname O'Davoren.

³³¹ The (Sublime) Porte, i.e. Ottoman Empire.

380, of the Michalofsky 210, and that of the Petsharsky 575; in all with the bulwarks, besides the outworks, 2,152 fath. The crosse-wall betwixt the Sophiaes & Petshar[s]ky townes being [...] fath.; the inwards walls of the castle or lesser towne [...] fath., & that of the Michalofsky [...] fath. I divided the posts, and the three utmost ports being reckoned for 6 day-posts; in the Sophiaes towne are 25 day & 15 night-posts or sentries; in the lesser 13 day & 3 night-sentries; in the Michalofsky 4 day & 5 night-posts; in the Petsharsky are 14 day & 8 night-posts or sentries; and this reckoned according to the small number of people now in garrison, whereas when there shall be more people there must the posts & sentryes be more & closser.

17. I had letters from Mosko from *Ruim-r* Zachar Babin of the 5th instant, but no newes.

I had a letter from my son in law that the Boyar Fiod. Pet. Seremetuf was to be in Baturin the 14th early, & that the Hetman was to go to the River Desna to take leave of his son, the Boyar being to stay till his returne.

Our intelligencer Ivan Filonuf *sin* Variluf returned and reported that the Polls *Seym* was dissolved by the senators (a ly!); that the King with the *Woywoda* Krakofsky³³² are to go to the assistance of the Emperour to Vienna; that the Cavalier Lubomirsky is to come to Camieniets to deale with the 3 *bassaes* & the Chans son who are to be shortly there; that the Tartars Chan is to joyne with the *primo vezier* {79v} against the Roman Emperour; that the King of Polland was gone from the parliament non knew whither; that the Polls were very jealous of him, yet that he was said to be in Yavorow; that the Littawish army were conveened at Beresteczko; that they will not go to assist the Emperour except the King give them money; that the Moskoes tunne of corne is at ten rubles (a great ly!) whereby great hunger is among the poorest people. All this he had from a gentleman called Yuri Popara dwelling not farr from Lvova.

June 18. Merchants comeing from Polland assured that the *Seime* was ended, warr concluded against the Turks to prosecute it with all vigour; that Camieniets was furnished with necessary provisions by a convoy of Tartars & three Turkish *bassaes*; that the *bassa* of Silistria is to have the chiefe command over the Turkish forces, who are to act this year against the

³³² Feliks Kazimierz Potocki (1630–1702), *Wojewoda* of Krakow from 1683.

Polls, with whom the Chans son is to be; that the Tartars from Camieniets were ranging and falling by stealth upon the villages in the Ukraina, killing & taking away the people and all what they had; that the *regimentars*³³³ with his forces was at Zaclaw; that the tunne of ry (which of this wanteth a third part) is sold at 6 florens shillings, being 3 in good money.

19. I did writt to Mr. Vinius, Zachar Babin & Ivan Birin by a *strelets* of Simon Kapustins regiment.

In the evening I receaved letters from our p[riest] and Mr. Guasconi.

20. The Colonell Bitagofsky came.

17. A *strelets* for calling himself a gentleman of the Emperours bed-chamber was brought out & laid downe to be executed, but pardoned & knuted.³³⁴

{80} June 21. Wee sent Michael Susluf for intel[ligence].

22. I divided the bridge amongst the regiments, myne being 432, the Selected now 830, Bochin 478, Oserow 498, Goloftshin 409, Kapustin 409; in all 3,056 men.

23. Being St. John eve, wee walked out into the fields.

24. The *Dummy* Ivan Stephan. Telepneiuf came, and in the evening the two chancellours, Nikita Fiod. Polunin & Lew Mikif. Neczayuf.

25. The Hetmans two sonnes & diverse colonells with about a 1,000 horse in all came hither, most whereof lodged in the Petshars towne.

26. I rode to the illand to see my horses.

27. The Hetmans deceased son Simeon, Coll. of Starodub, being brought by water through the bridge & to this syde, where his brothers & the colonells with many others mett the corps & convoyed it up the Chrestziatsky Iswose, wher the abbot with the priors & clergy did attend, as also 800 musketiers with 8 collours 4 on each syde, betwixt which the procession went to the Petsharsky Monastery, where after masse, sermon and the office for the dead he was buried by his sister, a son of his deceased lately {80v} being caryed all the way befor him and buried with him, being about 4 yeares old. The castellan³³⁵ with the colonells & other

³³³ *Regimentarz* (Polish), commander, i.e. Polish Colonel Lazinski.

³³⁴ This entry was added at the foot of the page.

³³⁵ Gordon occasionally applies this term to *okolnichy*, which here clearly means Prince V.F. Zhirovogo-Zasekin, who was left in charge of Kiev after the departure of *Voyeroda* F.P. Sheremetev.

officers from hence went to the *panafide*³³⁶, w-ch is the remembrance of the dead; & having convoyed the corps to the grave, were entertained in the Hetmans house by his sonnes.

I had w[ords?] with the cast[ellan].

June 29. Being the [day] dedicated to the Apostle[s] St. Peter & St. Pawl & the yongest Emperours name- or birthday, a feast was by the *okol-nitze*, 23 piece of cannon being twice fyred at both the Emp-rs health, 12 at the remembrance of the rest of the Imp. progeny, & 6 twice at the Hetman & ministers of state their remembrance. I gott a colick this day & was not present. The Hetmans sonnes & colonells with other of their mushrome grandies being there, being well f[ull] went from hence & lodged in Bravary, 4 colonels with the generall adjutant³³⁷ taryng to be assessours (but without votes) at the election of a *Metropolite* of Kyow.

30. Wee [...]

{81} July 1. The *dumny* came & gave me a visit and diswaded me from pet[it]ioning], promising to procure satis[action] acc[ording] to my mynd.

I gott my letters from Mosko.

2. The clergy of the adjacent places began to conveene to the election of a *Metropolite*.

3. My son in law came.

4. My servants came from Mosko.

My letters were from Mr. Meverell, London, 24 Feb. 1685; from Mr. Daniell, Riga, 26 March & 2 weeks befor 2d April; from Coll. Gordon, Hannover, the 12th of December '84; from Mr. Hartman, Mosko, 21 May '85; from Mr. Guasconi, Mosko, 29th *Aprilis* & 11 *Junii*; from Mr. Vinius, 2d *Junii*; from the Holl. resident, 20th May & 5th *Junii*; from P[ater] Schmidt, 29th Apr. & 20 *Junii st[ilo] n[ovo]*; P[ater] de Boy³³⁸, 10 *Junii st. v.*; Coll. von Meng[den], 10 *Junii*; Mr. Sclater, 12 *Junii*; Mr. van Troyen, 11 *Junii*; from Coll. Hamilton, Shevsky, 26 *Junii*; Coll. Roonaer, 26 *Junii*, & from many Rush. noblemen, complements of diverse dates; M[ajor] Ham[ilton], 11 *Junii*.

³³⁶ *Panikbida* (Russian), memorial service in the Orthodox Church.

³³⁷ General *Osavul* Ivan Mazepa.

³³⁸ The Jesuit Albert de Boy(e) of Olomouc in Moravia on 12 May 1685 came "with Papal letters" to Moscow, where he remained as a Catholic priest and died at the beginning of 1686.

5. Wee were at a feast by the Coll. Sergey Fiod. Gol[ovchin].

7. I rode to the meadowes.

Wee caused take up the anchors & lett them fall againe.

{81v} July 8. Some sessions haveing been concerning the election of a *Metropolite*, at last the votes did fall unanimously on the Duke of Czartorinsko³³⁹, Bishop of Lutzko.

This bishop some months ago fled out of Polland, pretending that he was persecuted for his religion, and that they would be forcing him to the conformity & union.³⁴⁰ He brought his best houshold stuffe & goods with silver & furniture along with him, with an ordinary traine of attendants. After some stay in Kosselsko, he makeing addresses to the Hetman, & he to Mosko, was licensed to come to Baturin, where getting a slender (yet by the givers a high esteemed) allowance for his entertainment, and in a manner being obliged them by taking his refuge to them, to furnish him with a competent place & charge, it was projected that he should be made *Metropolite* of Kyow, which hitherto had been alwayes subject to the Constantinopolitane Sea [*sic*], & by them used to be installed & receive the benediction. The bishop or *wladika*, as they call him, pretending humility, pretended only the free exercize of his religion, without ambition of any preferment or great charge; yet at last being perswaded or so consenting, he acquiesced, yet upon that condition that he should be installed & receive the benediction from the Patriarch of Mosko {82} & not from him of Constantinople, alleading many reasons, yet not publishing them, because of scandall & offence; as that, that Patriarchate had been a long tyme & was now altogether become simoniacall; that it was under the power of the hereditary enemy of Christendome to whom no safe or free recourse & addresse could be made. At last he knew that the *Celinsky*³⁴¹ Patriarchs at their being in Mosko *An. Dni* 1666 & 1667 had given plenipotentiary letters to the Moskoes Patriarch or rather to the Emperour, that in installing & giving the benediction to all spirituall persons & offices

³³⁹ Prince Gedeon Sviatopolk-Chetvertinsky (see fol. 31 v.).

³⁴⁰ In 1596 the Council of Brześć (Brest) approved the union of Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches in Poland-Lithuania with the Pope as their head, but some Orthodox prelates and many of the faithful rejected this act.

³⁴¹ *Vselensky* (Russian), Ecumenical.

in cases of necessity & *ne quid detrimenti Ecclesia capiat*³⁴², the Patriarch of Mosko without writeing or acquainting him of Constant[inople] should install & give the benediction.

Notwithstanding all these & the earnest desires & solicitation of the Hetman, it stuck a long tyme in Mosko, & now at last being condiscended to, a convention or synod was called. Yet besides the abbot & priors of this place, few of such quality from other place[s] were called or came, only a good number of parsons & parish priests. The Archbishop of Czernichow being sent to, his comeing nor answer was not waited for³⁴³, and that by the importunity of the Hetmans deputies. The Abbot or *Archimandritt* of the Petsharsky Monastery protested that this subduction from the {82v} Constantinopolitan Sea should be no prejudice to the priviledges, or inferr the subjection of the Abbacy of the Petshursky Monastery to any other as it had been formerly; which protestation was not only registred but in the writt of this pageant election warranted; after which the writt of election was subscribed & sent to the Hetman, & the clergy went to their respective charges.

July 9. Traffickers comeing from Polland informed that Paley, the Cosakish coll[onell], was come to Bially Czerkiew with 300 horsmen to guard & skoure the places thereabout; that he had sent the rest of his people to Rokitna & the places on the passes; that Mogila the Cosakish Hetman had manned all the passes & was himself in Nemerow.

I did writt to Mosko to all the ffrriends who had written to me, according to the copies in my other journall, as also to Shewsky by the Chauncelour Ivan Stepan. Shapkin; Mr. Hartmans & the forreigne letters not answered.

To John Baltus & Maior Hamilton.

{83} July 11. By diverse persons comeing from Labuin, Polon[n]e & other places wee were informed that the Hetman Yablonofsky³⁴⁴, *Woywoda* Rusky, was come to Lemberg & had sent orders for the army to convene at Glinian.

³⁴² "Lest the Church suffer any detriment" (Lat.).

³⁴³ Lazar Baranovich (1616–1693), Archbishop of Chernigov, a rival of Gedeon Chetvertinsky.

³⁴⁴ Stanislaw Jan Jablonowski (1634–1702), eminent Polish commander, from 1683 Great Crown Hetman.

14. I rode to the meadows.

15. Being a day dedicated to Duke Wlodomir, the first Christian Prince of this countrey³⁴⁵, a holy day was kept in the Lower towne in the Bratsky Monastery. His head was carryed about in procession round the Upper towne & castle so long as there was any fear of the Turkes, but now since peace omitted.

16. The Chancelour Ivan Steph. Shapkin went from hence.

17. Wee heard that the Polls haveing order to rendevow at Glinian, the Cosakes were to go thither also, & to begin their march on Tuesday next.

{83v} July 18. Al. Bitag[ovsky] came & caused lay downe his timber on the Sil. Str. *pristane*³⁴⁶ by force. I sent hereupon a writeing to the castellan, being a remonstrance showing the injustice & wrong hereof, & that by the Maior Cornelis Coret.

Received letters from Mosko.

19. A petition given in to this purpose. I had w[ords] with the castellan about it.

A feast by the castellan, being his son Dey his name-day.

20. Michael Susluf his relation given in.

A Dominican priest out of Czenstochowa came hither & was permitted to stay in the Petsharsky.

21. The worke at the Kyovish gate begun.

A *Igumen*³⁴⁷ or prior, being run away from Lutzko, came hither.

22. A post sent to Mosko with the relations of our intel[ligencer] M. S[uslov], Peter Silinko & the Dominican priest, all agreeing that the Crowne army was rendevouzing at Glinian, & the Littawish at Berestetsko; that 4 *bassaes* with the Chan were to act against Polland this summer; that the Republick³⁴⁸ had not consented to give all the revenues of the Ukraina to the Kosakes; that the Littawers were discontented & asking³⁴⁹ money; the *wojwod* of Posna³⁵⁰ with others were to come pleni-

³⁴⁵ St. Vladimir († 1015), Grand Duke of Kiev, who converted his people to Christianity in 988.

³⁴⁶ *Pristan'* (Russian), pier or quay. The abbreviation is undeciphered, presumably some place on the Dnieper in or near Kiev.

³⁴⁷ *Hegumen* (Greek & Russian), superior of an Orthodox monastery.

³⁴⁸ *Rzeczpospolita*, Poland-Lithuania.

³⁴⁹ *demand* written above in MS.

³⁵⁰ Krzysztof Grzymultowski (ca.1620–1687), *Wojewoda* of Poznań from 1679.

potentiaries to treat of a perpetuall peace with Russeland; that Lasinsky, the Polls *regimentars*, with a *corpo* had entrenched by Lechovits; that the Cosakes had orders also to draw towards Mezeboze, where they should receive pay & cloaths.

{84} July 23. I was at the medowes, and made them to desist from mowing any more for me, I haveing 13 *baydakes*, 15 men haveing mowed 1,500 *kopen*³⁵¹ or heapes.

24. A Russe holy day called Boris & Chleb.

25. One of the Princesses name-dayes, the spirituality conveening to the St. Sophiaes church as usuall for makeing supplications & praying for her health.

26. The castellan and all the ppl persons of the garrison by me at dinner. Wee were merry, the ladies also being present.

27. I was sick of *pochmiele*³⁵².

28. Great heat.

29. Extraordinary great heat.

{84v} July 30. Two priests come from Polland related that the Polls armyes were conveened by Glinian; that their intentions are to attacque Barr & Mezeboze; that there are no more Tartars or Turkes come into the Ukraina, the Chan with all the *bordaes* being gone to Hungary.

31. My letters written the 5th May to my ffriends in Scotland and sent by merch-ts to Dantzick returned, the merch-ts upon notice of the *yuffs*³⁵³ or barked leather giving better price in Silesia as in Dantzick, turning of to Silesia.

A wolfe did kill a yong mare colt of myne on the illand.

I rode to the illand to my horses.

Brought in of money out of the *cabak* for brandy, mede & beer 274 rubles.

{85} August 1. Wee heard of our pay being come to Shevsky.

On every 3d pair of *baydakes* an anchor cast out below.

2. Coll. Evanitsky desired the Dominican priest to be permitted to come to Kyow to baptize his sonne, which the abbot did not permitt, say-

³⁵¹ *Kopna* (Russian), haycock.

³⁵² *Pokhmele* (Russian), hangover.

³⁵³ *Yuffi'* (Russian), leather, originally treated with tar.

ing he had written to the Hetman about him, and untill he had answer, he would not let him go any where.

3. Two Zaporogich Cosakes come from thence informed that the Dons Cosakes, haveing received many injurys from the Assovish Turkes & Tartars, whereof they complained & remonstrated often in Mosko, and not only not received any redress, but strict inhibition not to medle with them nor use any hostility against them upon the highest paines, not being able to containe themselves any longer, had gone out in their small vessels into the Palus Meotis & Euxine Sea³⁵⁴ and fallen into the Turks & Tartars provinces & done great harme; to revenge which the Tartars had fallen in by Tor & taken away 500 prisoners. The Chan also had sent two persons to the Hetman to expostulate about the breach of peace.

4. The *voys* brother, Gerasim Fiod. Tadrina, brought Coll. Ryters pawne by me & desired it to be valued, & that it might stay by me, it being cloaths all moth-eaten.

{85v} August 5. M.B.D. had a contention with the *okolnitse*.

6. Forbidden that the l[t.] c[olonel]s should not ride into the *okol[nichy's]* yard.

7. An order read to them that they should keep watch at the gates.

8. I did writt to Mosko to the Hol. res[ident], Coll. von Mengden, the P.P. Schmidt & de Boye, Mr. Vinius, Mr. Sclater & Mr. Podwin; as also to Benedict Andr[eyevich], Yemelian Ignat[yevich] & Birin; to Shewsky to Coll-s Ham[ilton] & Ron[aer], Leonty Rom[anovich] & Simon Protas[yevich]. A petition given up by the sojors that their coll[onel]s house should not be broke of.

9. Lt.Coll. Guild³⁵⁵ went from hence to Mosko, whom wee convoyed alongst the bridge.

10. I had a letter from the coll. of Hadits, Michael Vasil[yev], by whose servant wee had the confirmation that the Tartars had burnt Tor & ruined the castle, taking away many people. I sent a writeing for an order, for breaking of the great stove, they haveing broken downe the oven befor.

11. Wee heard that Coll. Paley was gone to the King.

³⁵⁴ Ancient names for the Azov and Black Seas.

³⁵⁵ 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 lieutenant colonel in Moscow in 1685.

I gave up the sojors petition, that the great roome of their coll-s house should not be broke of or, then, that they might be payed for it out of their Ma-ties Treasure, seing they had built it for their regiments collected money. Hereupon the *dummy* came into the *okolnitsees* house and had high words with Coll. Livistoun & me.

{86} Aug. 12. Wee gave up a petition to the *okolnitse* upon the *dummy*.

14. Wee gave up the same petition on the *dummy* with our hands at it, desiring that it should be sent to Mosko.

15. Being Assumption day, a great confluence of people in the Petsharsky Monastery.

16. I had a letter from the governour of Pereaslaw by a captaine.

17. The rey sold at 18 *altins* and the oats at 5 *grivnees*, the *hirse*³⁵⁶ at 60 *altins* a tunne.

18. The Kyowish Cosakish colonell ordered to remaine here for take-ing notice that no cornes should be let pass to Polland.

19. Wee had notice from Mosko that the Boyar Ivan Michaelovitz Miloslavsky dyed the 2 of July.

{86v} Aug. 20. I did write to the governour of Pereaslaw by a trowper of mine.

21. I had a letter from Mosko from Zachar Babin.

23. Capt. Cosmus his relict dyed, haveing poisoned herself, as the report went, some mercurius being found by her, which she had that morning stamped in a morter. She dyed very suddainly and was buried two dayes thereafter.

26. Being the Empress Nataliah Kirilovna³⁵⁷ her name-day and a recess from worke, I rode to the illand to see my horses.

27. The *okolnitsee* went round the wall & tooke observations of the ruined places thereof.

28. A skinner come from Polland related that the Crowne army was encamped by the r. Dnester not farr from Podhayets; that the Littawish were marching thither; that no fresh power of Turks or Tartars were come as yet into the Ukraina; that the King was said to be in Varshaw.

³⁵⁶ *Hirse* (German), millet.

³⁵⁷ Tsaritsa Natalya Kirillovna Naryshkina (1651–1694), second wife of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich, mother of Peter the Great.

{87} Aug. 29. Being the Decollation of St. John Baptist and the eldest Emperours name-day, publick prayers were made for his health, and all the spirituality as well as the other ppl persons were feasted by the governour; three vollies out of 15 pieces of artillery being discharged at the drinking of the Emperours & Imperiall progeny their healths, and afterwards 2 out of 16 pieces.

A gentlman detained at Oster with letters from the Polish to the Cosakish Hetman. He told that the Polls were makeing of bridges over the Dnester with intention to go against the Tartars & ruine Valachia & Moldavia.

30. Wee were informed that the Hadits colonell & the *bunshushnik* were sent by the Hetman to seeke up & enquire into the business concerning the death of his sonne Simeon, & that they by strict *examinatio* were finding many guilty, who had bewitched him.

{87v} Aug. 31. The river began to encrease againe.

Wee had notice from Shewsky that that governour was marched out the 21 in order to his march to Valuka³⁵⁸, to the treaty or exchange of prisoners with the Tartars, & carryed with him the *honorarium* for two yeares, which the Tartars according to the agreement were to have; that he was not well content with this employment, or rather instructions, all being referred to his owne managment & discretion, which may prove dangerous.

{88}³⁵⁹ Sept-r 20. Jacob Fiod. Borzikowsky with his wyfe, and other ffriends dynd by me & were merry.

My returnes to Mr. Meverell, Hartman, Coll. von Mengden, Colls. Ham[ilton] & Roonaer dated [...]

21. I received letters with avisoes from Mosko w[i]t[h] notice that the rebels in Scotland & England were beat, the chieffe taken prisoners & executed.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁸ Valki is meant. *Pererlosbna* is crossed out here.

³⁵⁹ There is a gap in the MS from 1 to 19 September 1685, although the (later) pagination is uninterrupted.

³⁶⁰ Rebellions against King James II (VII), led by Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll, in Scotland, and James, Duke of Monmouth, in England, were quelled by gov-

I received letters from my eldest sonn, unkle & brother John, dated the 4th & 5th of June '85, & from my second sonn James from Dantzick, 30 *Junii*, by Mr. Adies convoyance to P[ater] de Boy p[e]r post.

Money for the last halfe year brought hither for us.

I had letters from Shewsky, giveing notice of my father in law his extreme sicknes.

The new chosen Metropolit of Kyow, Gideon Swiatopolk Duke of Czartoreisko, sometymes B[isho]p of Lutzko, went from Baturin to Mosko to receive the benediction of the Moskoes Patriarch.

22. I made a visitt to the *Archimandritt*, and was very kindly welcomed & entertained by him.

A capt. dispatched to Mosko.

23. Wee began to lay on the storme-pales³⁶¹ at the worke of the Kyovish Gate.

24. I sent my Shewskyes letters by Miron.

{88v} Sept-r 25. By diverse come from Polland wee had that Coll. Paley had routed a party of 5 or 600 Tartars, killing & takeing many of them; that the Imperialists were victorizing over the Turkes; that the Cham with his Tartars was gone against the Roman Emperour into Hungary.

A holy-day dedicated to [St.] Sergey.

26. Merchants comeing from Polland reported that the Polls army was marched from Usty to Sniatin; that the Littawish army were on their march thither; that a great party of horsmen were to be detached, but whither & upon what designe non knew. They confirmed also that Coll. Paley had beat the Tartars, as befor.

I did writt these newes to Mr. Vinius, & in his, a letter to Mr. Adie & my son James in Dantzick, desireing him to forward it by the first post.

{89} Sept-r 29. The worke at the Kyowish [Gate] on the left hand finished.

The cantor went from hence towards Mosko.

30. Merchants comeing from Polland confirmed the march of the

ernment troops in May–July 1685. Argyll and Monmouth, who proclaimed himself king, went to the scaffold in Edinburgh on 13 June and London on 15 July respectively.

³⁶¹ *Sturmpfähle* (German), a defensive palisade, tilted outward.

Polls & Littawish army, saying more over that the Roman Emperour haveing *totaliter*³⁶² beat the Turks, was resolved to march further into Hungary & winter there; wherefor he had written to the King of Polland that he should order his armyes to march in through Moldavia and make an impression on that syde of Hungaria; conforme to which they were now marched. They said also that Coll. Paley after he had beat that party of the Tartars betwixt Lechovits & Janpolia, so that of about 600, 40 were only taken prisoners & 30 escaped, the rest being all killed on the place & in the flight, he had joyned with some companyes of the Polls cavallerie, & was marched towards Camieniets to hinder the excursions out of that place whilst the army was absent.

{89v} I had a perfect acco-t of the defeat of the Earle of Argile in Scotland & Duke of Monmouth in England, & their executions, with the following verses, & the first to be read back as forward:

*Sat se jam erutam tenet mature Majestas.*³⁶³

And further:

Rex, Argile ambit Scotus, Monmutius Anglus,

Esse perit, Regem qui petit ense suum.

Eruta maturo Majestas Angla periclo est,

*Scote tuo Regi, plaude Britanne tuo.*³⁶⁴

Epitaphium Ducis Monmutii

Mutius ense petit Regem, & Monmutius; errant,

*Hic caput invitus, sponte dat ille manum.*³⁶⁵

³⁶² Totally (Lat.).

³⁶³ "Majesty is already aware of its timely deliverance" (Lat.).

³⁶⁴ "O King, Argyll the Scot and Monmouth the Englishman surround you. / He shall perish, who threatens his King with the sword. / English Majesty is timely delivered from danger. / Praise your King, O Scot, and you, O Briton, yours!" (Lat.).

³⁶⁵ Epitaph to the Duke of Monmouth: "Mucius and Monmutius threaten the King with the sword; they are mistaken— / One gives up his head unwillingly, the other his hand, eagerly" (Lat.). Gaius Mucius Scaevola was a legendary hero of Ancient Rome; in 508 BC, during the siege of Rome by Etruscans, he made his way to the enemy camp in order to kill their King, Porsena; having been seized and showing his scorn of death, he thrust his right hand into the fire and held it there.

Epitaphium Comitis Argile

*Ecce sub argilla jacet hic Argile cruenta,
Non oculis Argus, sed fraude Argivus Uliesses.*³⁶⁶

{90} Oct-r 1. I received letters from Shewsky by the trowpers who were sent thither 3 weeks ago.

A holy-day called by the Russes *Pokrow*.

2. I was sick of the former dayes excess.

3. I did writt to Coll-s Roonaer & Hamilton, to Mr. Vinus & Simon Protas. Nepluyuf.

4. Capt. Kristy went from hence, by whom I sent letters to the Holl. res[ident] & to L.Col. Guild, dated the 13 past; to Mr. Meverell, Mr. Hartman & Coll. von Mengden, dat. 20 *7bris*; to my sonne James, Mr. Adie & Mr. Vinus, dated 26; to Mr. Joseph Wulffe, dated 28 *7bris*; to many of the Russe boyars & ffriends, desiring their intercession to their Ma-ties to be lett of for a small tyme to Mosko.

5. Wee had notice that in all the Polls townes they shott out of the cannon & rang the bells for joy of the victory of the Emp[eror] against the Turkes³⁶⁷; and that the Polls army was marched to intercept the Chan with his Tartars returning from Hungary; that the two *bassaes* who stayed by Czczora upon notice of the Turks army being beat, and of the Polls army advancing towards them were retyred; that the Imperialists had taken Newhausell³⁶⁸, & as some said Buda also.

{90v} The *voys* wyfe, being jealous of her husband with one of the towns servants, whom the *voyt* had lately given in marriage, and on Sunday morning missing him out of the church on Sunday at morning prayers, she went to that house, & seeking for the *voyt*, but not finding him (for he was in the church, albeit she did not see him), she caused two servants so beat the woman that she dyed; and when as her husband was going to bury

Impressed by his bravery, Porsena let him go and offered peace.

³⁶⁶ Epitaph to the Earl of Argyll: "Here, under bloody clay, lies Argyll, / He is no Argus with his eyes, but he is Ulysses the Argive with his deceit" (Lat.).

³⁶⁷ In August 1685 the Imperial forces, led by Duke Charles of Lorraine, liberated Neuhäusel (Érsekújvár) from the Turks and beat them off at Esztergom in Hungary.

³⁶⁸ Nové Zámky, Slovakia (German: Neuhäusel, Hungarian: Érsekújvár).

her, the Cosakes getting notice hereof would not permitt, but setting a guard to the corps untill justice were done upon the murtherers, they sent to the Hetman. Whereupon the *voyt* came above and desired a guard from the governour, lest the Cosakes should use some violence in his absence, for he did go to the Hetman also, his wyfe in the meane tyme absenting her self; he said she was runaway.

Oct-r 6. The Bially Czerkovish Colonell Chariton or Charko, haveing been at the King desiring that the Cosakes might be exeemed of all tenths and other contributions and exactions, returned with a gracious answer & order that they should not give any thing to any body.

{91} Oct-r 7. It being reported that about thirty families of Valachians were building below the Jordansky Monastery on the ground of the Kirilofsky Monastery, by the permission of that prior, as also that the copper coine called shillings were at 12 & 15 for a penny, letters were directed & sent to the Hetman with notice, & to know his pleasure.

8. I did writt to Scotland to the Earle of Aberdeen, to my unkle, brother John, to my sonnes, addressed to Mr. Adie, as also to Mr. Meverell & the Rector of the Jesuits Colledge in Scotland-Syde³⁶⁹; all which w[i]t[h] 300 florens for my sonne James maintenance in Dantzick at the Jesuits Colledge I sent by a Kyovish merchant called Martin Seyts.

I sent also my letters dated the 5th May to Scotland, to Lt.Gen-ll Drummond, Lt.Coll. Hamilton & Mr. Thomas Gordon, with W-m Gordons letters to the Marquesse of Huntly³⁷⁰, the Lady Pitfoddells³⁷¹ and the parson of Rothemay.

10. Being the day whereon my dear bedfellow dyed³⁷², I lamented her memory with deep & just regrates.

³⁶⁹ The Scots quarter in Gdańsk.

³⁷⁰ The Marquis of Huntly was the Chief of Clan Gordon. George, 4th Marquis (1643–1716), was created Duke of Gordon in 1684.

³⁷¹ Captain William Gordon, who served under General Patrick in Kiev, was a nephew of Colonel Paul Menzies of the Tsar's army (son of his sister Margaret), from the family of Menzies of Pitfodels.

³⁷² Patrick Gordon's first wife, Catherine von Bockhoven (1650–1671/72). She was a daughter of the Netherlandish colonel, who served in Britain, later the Tsar's Major General Philip Albert von Bockhoven, and her mother belonged to the Welsh family of Vaughan (A. Gordon of A[u]chintoul, *The History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia* (Aberdeen, 1755), vol. I, p. 138). She died and was buried in Sevsb.

{91v} Oct-r 11. L.C[olonel] Al. Czapl[in] in the 4th houre of the night did fall upon the capt. with the visiteing guard & beat them.

12. I caused begin to bring up a great stacke of hay.

13. The last of the hay brought up, being in all 63 waggons.

14. I caused bring in the horses from the illand.

Being our Kings birth day, wee kept it with the usuall solemnity, drinking his Ma-ties & the other usuall healths in wyne out of my owne wineyard.

15. The merchant Martin went from hence to Dantzick.

This night our intellig[encer] M. Susl[ov] came and brought the following newes: that the Polls army was marched into Moldavia; that there being some dissension betwixt the two Crowne Generalls³⁷³, they marched with their divisions apart; that the Great Crowne Generall had taken 18,000 of the best men and marched towards the enemy directly, whom the Tartars haveing encountred, after some skirmishing the Tartars were forced to retyre, & fled; the Polls persuing them very hotly, killing & taking many, following them many *werszts*, untill at last the Tartars brought them on upon an army of the Turkes ready in battell aray, who entertaining them with cannon & musquets, put the Polls to a retreat, whom the fresh Turkes & Tartars persued to their *leaguer*, & so besieged them and {92} in the meane tyme the Great Crowne Gen-ll sent to the other Generall & to the Littawish army for succours; but the Tartars coming unexspected under the Field Crowne Generalls *tabor*³⁷⁴ or *leaguer*, had driven away most of their horses; that in Reusse Lemberg & other townes it was blowne out with sound of trumpet, that all gentlemen should be ready and draw together to march with the King to the releefe of the Crowne Generall. This being glad tythings here, was dispatched by a post to Mosko befor day. These newes Susluf said he had in Labiun from Col. Lazinsky his ser[van]ts, who were come thither from the army for provisions, they haveing it from Lemberg.

Oct-r 16. A Cosake come from Nemerow in 8 dayes related that the Hetman Mogila was marched with his Cosakes, being about 5,000, out of

³⁷³ The Polish (Crown) army was usually commanded by two Hetmans, known as the Great (*Wielki*) and the Field (*Polny*); at this time they were Stanislaw Jan Jablonowski and Andrzej Potocki.

³⁷⁴ *Tabor* (Russian & Polish), camp.

Nemerow towards the army on the 4th instant, and that he heard not any thing of Suslufs newes. Alex-r the merchant of Bially Czerkiew came and told the same.

17. Cosakes come from Polonna reported the same.

{92v} Oct-r 18. A mistake mended.

Cosakes come from Osterog reported that two Valachians come from Reusse Lemberg had overtaken them by the way, and lodging with them two nights said that whilst they wer in Lemberg, the trumpet was sounded for all gentlemen to sitt up & draw together & march to the releeffe of the Crowne Great Generall, who was beleaguered by the Turks & Tartars in Moldavia.

Susluf being a good bairne, as bringing good wares for their money, was dispatched againe for more, and to attend the event of businesse.

19. Wee tooke up some floats and made preparation for takeing of the bridge the next day.

20. Wee tooke of the bridge and gott out all the anchors except one.

21. Many Kolumey³⁷⁵ waggons came, who heard of none of Suslufes newes.

I caused draw up the anchors in the Czartorey. In the bridge were this year 44 anchors; besides these 101 anchors & 7 halfe-anchors the hookes being broken of; in all 141³⁷⁶ and 7 pieces of anchors.

{93}³⁷⁷ *No-ris* 16. Maior Koret caused christen his child and kept the pat[er] to dinner. Received letters from Mosko from the Hol. resident & Mr. Vinius with gazets.

17. Coll. Ivanitsky his sonne christened, and wee all dined there.

18. Wee dined by Coll. Leviston.

19. The p[ater?] in the Petsharsky.

20. According to the new stile being St. Andrewes day, wee celebrated it with the ordinary solennity.

22. Wee confessed and received the blessed Sacrament. All dined by me.

³⁷⁵ I.e. from Kolomyia.

³⁷⁶ Should be 145.

³⁷⁷ Entries from 22 October to 15 November 1685 are missing in the MS, although the later pagination is unbroken.

{93v} *No-ris* 23. Wee heard devotion. Breskyes child christened.

24. The paters dined by me and then went away. I sent 4 horsmen along, who convoyed them on their way about 5 miles. From Pater Makovius I had the true relation of the Polls businesse w[i]t[h] the Turkes & Tartars, he being present at all, as that:

Whilst they stayed at Ustcie Wielky, where in three weeks they made ready a bridge, and expecting the comeing of the Littawish army, who haveing good dayes in the Volhinia made no great hast, they received advice from the King of the great victory the Imperialist[s] had over the Turks by Strigonium³⁷⁸ & the takeing of Niewhausell, and that the Tartars could not come with any great power out of the Crim, because of the Dons Cosakes haveing broke with them and threatening to fall into the Crim; and that they would do well to march into the Valachia, whereby to make a diversion of the Turkish forces. The Valachians also sent diverse messages, with assurances to the Polls Generalls that the Tartars were not above ten thowsand men; that the *Seraskier Bassa* had but a thowsand or two with him; that they were at Czecora, and durst not adventure neerer Camieniets; that they would willingly {94} submitt & joyne their forces with them to resist and ruine the common enemy; the allyed also by their often messages urged them to do something, and not to ly in their countrey idle, whilst the other allyes were triumphing.

These reasons moved the Crowne Generall to a resolution of marching into the Valachia, or rather Moldavia. And so sending for the Littawish army, which was now come into the Podolia, and leaving Lasczs³⁷⁹ with 18 companies of Polls horsmen to guard the countrey, so haveing marched to Sniatin, the Field Generall Potocky, Castellan Krakovsky, began to show aversenes from marching further & at last refused absolutely. So the [Great] Crowne Generall Yablanofsky marched through the Bukowina, which is a great wood or wildernes lying all along the River Prut to the south-west thereof; which haveing passed, they left their foot & baggage and marched forward with the cavalierie; but had not marched farr, when on the 1st *Octobris st[ilo] no[vo]* they were encountred by the Tartars, whom they routed & followed, but not farr, for the Turkes comeing up, the Polls

³⁷⁸ Latin name for the Hungarian city of Esztergom.

³⁷⁹ Possibly, Aleksander Michał Łaszcz († 1720), *starosta* Grabowiecki, *rotmistrz*, later *kasztelan* and *Wojenoda* Belski.

perceiving their numbers retired to the foot, at the syde of the wood; and haveing understood by prisoners and {94v} some others that the Chan himself was there with 60,000 men & the *Seraskier* with 20,000; that the Chan had sent in all hast to recall his sonne, who was on his march to Hungary with 20,000 horse & that he was exspected dayly; that they had good intelligence of the Polls march; that they had sent to gather all the cuntry people to fall upon them and hinder their passages in the woods.

Wherefor the Polls seeing their errour, & themselves in a manner betrayed, resolved nevertheless to march of in a *waggonburg*³⁸⁰ in order and with as much speed as possible; which they did with a great deale of courage and good conduct in their retreat. The Turkes & Tartars persued them very hard and gave many fierce onsets thinking to breake them, but were alwayes repulsed by the valour of the foot, the cannon filled with cartouches doing them exceeding great harme. Twice at severall passes they had almost broke them, for at the one, the foot falling upon some merkat-tenters or sutlers waggons and the generalls also, did fall to drinking and would not be hindred by their officers, untill some Polls horsmen came up and staved the barrells. Yet some hundreds were gott so drunk that the Polls haled many of them away betwixt {95} them, and the Turkes at the same tyme giving a furious onset, break in upon that quarter, so that if a speedy releefe had not been sent, they had undoubtedly been ruined; yet of these drunken sojors above a hundred were killed.

At another passe the Cosakes, straying too farr, were engaged and left that quarter they were on bare, so that the Turkes setting upon them put them to the rout; and if they had not been tymely succoured by some Littawish companyes, they had been all lost; yet they lost their Coll. Griska, who was taken, and near 200 killed.

Two weekes they were in continuall fight together, where the losse on the Turkes & Tartars syde was farr greater as that on the Christians, who keeping themselves on their guard and most within their *waggonburg* had good occasion to offend their enemyes with cannon, granadoes & musquets. Within three miles of Sniatin being thus convoyed, these who stayed behind came out & meet them. The Polls army in all was not above 15,000 strong, and 3,000 stayed at Sniatyn with the Field Generall, inclu-

³⁸⁰ *Wagenburg* (German), a temporary, moveable fortification made of army waggons.

deing some Littawish companies, who comeing too late stayed here also.

The Chan sent his sonne with 20,000 Tartars to ruine the Volhinia & Polesia, who beginning at Osterog drove all the people out of the {95v} villages in that tract along with them, as also all the horses, neat & sheep, leaving only swyne, which they make not use of; the Polls armyes without more going to their quarters.

I was informed also that the Polls Ambassadour, the Palatin of Posna, with another of Littaw³⁸¹ and one from the Roman Emperour were on their jorney to Mosko with their last & utmost reasons for a conjunction of armes against the common enemy of Christendome.

This day being the Russe St. Katherines day, and being invited to the *okolnitsee*, I went thither and came d[runk] home.

No-ris 25. I lay all day, being exceeding sick of the former nights excesse.

I received letters from Shewsky by my trowpers from the gov[ernor], L.R. N[epluiyev], S.P. N[epluiyev], Coll-s Roonær, Hamilton, Yonger & Skott.

{96} *No-ris* 26. The souldiers gott their halfe-yeares pay.

The Judge of the Cosakish army with the Kyovish coll. came hither for trying the complaints against the *voyt* & his wyfe.

27. The Judge with all the magistrates sate, heard & examined the complaints, and found both the *voyt* & his wyfe guilty, yet ordered only her confinement, which the *voyt* tooke on himself, & so remained in the tolbooth or *rahthouse*³⁸² under a guard of Cosakes.

28. About 5 houres befor day a *strelets* of myne came from Mosko with an order for me to come to Mosko. I had notice also of Lt.Coll. Guild his death, who dyed on the 14th and was buried on the 20th *Octobris* with all the pompe the Slabod³⁸³ could afford.

29. In the evening the governour, haveing been out in sledge, came with the colonells by me, and was merry.

30. I rode a hunting and had excellent sport.

³⁸¹ Krzysztof Grzymultowski (ca.1620–1687), *Wojewoda* of Poznań, and Prince Marcján Aleksander Ogiński (1632–1690), Grand Chancellor of Lithuania.

³⁸² *Rathaus* (German), town hall.

³⁸³ *Inozemskaya* (*Nemetskaya sloboda*), the Foreign suburb of Moscow.

{96v} Dec-r 1. I rode and tooke leave of the *Archimandritt* of the Petsharsky Monastery, heard devotion, dyned and was very well entertained by him.

2. I made a visitt to the Kyovish colonell, and to the *voyt* in the *rahthouse*.

3. I had kind letters from the *Dummy* Abraham Ivanovitz Chitry³⁸⁴.

The following dayes I tooke my leave of ffriends, and some came and tooke leave of me.³⁸⁵

{99}

1686

Ja-ry 1. I stood godfather to a child of Maior John Daniel Strasburghs and dyned there.

I received an answer from the Boyar³⁸⁶ and ane order to the chancelours to give respite to our priest for 8 dayes.

4. I received by order from Alexey Czaplin 24 loads of hay, and thereafter 17 loads of wood and 3 bushells of oates, whereof haveing occasion to writt to my wyfe & son in law b[y] his ser-ts I informed them, requiring them to recompence him there accordingly.

This weeke I made visits to the boyars whom I had not seen.

{99v} Ja-ry 6. The great solennity and procession to the river³⁸⁷, which I went not to see.

I dined by L.Coll. le Fort³⁸⁸.

³⁸⁴ A.I. Khitrovo, *vojevoda* in Pereyaslav.

³⁸⁵ There follow blank folios (97–98 v.). No entries until 1 January 1686, in which time Gordon travelled from Kiev to Moscow.

³⁸⁶ Prince V.V. Golitsyn, head of the Tsars' government.

³⁸⁷ Blessing of the water on the Orthodox feast of the Theophany (Baptism of Christ).

³⁸⁸ François (Franz) Lefort (1656–1699), Swiss officer from Geneva, later famous as a favourite of Tsar Peter the Great. 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.

10. The Boyar returned. I with Coll. Menezes waited his returne from above³⁸⁹ untill the 6th houre, and then haveing supped with him spoke to him about our priest. He told us that he would bring the business above.

I dined with Colonell von Treyden.

11. I dined with the Boyar, but had no answer concerning our priest, being told wee should have patience.

{100} Ja-ry 13. I did writt to Shewsky to my father in law, & to my wyfe by a Shewsky *strelets*.

15. Wee did meet and writt over Lt.Coll. Guild his goods.

I did writt to my ffriends in Kyow & Shewsky by the *dummy* his servants.

I dined by the new Kyovish governour, *Kniaz* Yuri Semenovits Urusuf.

16. I should have mett with James Cooke about Lt.Gen-ll Drummonds business, but was disapointed.

{100v} Ja-ry 17. I dynd by Coll. Gulits and made some visitts at night.

18. Mett & concluded the business of James Cooke, getting a composition only of 400 rubles.

I sollicitd the Boyar about my going out of the countrey and was bidd bring a petition.

19. I gave up my petition to be lett out of the countrey for a tyme, and had orders to be lett of, my wyfe & children staying in Mosko in pledge.

20. I gave up petitions concerning my yeares meanes and *podwode*, which were ordered to be written out.

21. Dyned by Mr. Vinius and in the evening went to the wedding of Coll. von der Weyden.

{101} Ja-ry 23. Wee mett and valued & sold some of Lt.Coll. Guild his goods.

25. Dyned by Mr. Wulffe; stood godfather to Lt.Coll. le Forts child Daniell; essayed to agree Coll-s von Mengden & Roswerme, but in vaine.

Gott orders to receive my yeares meanes, and my wyfe to stay in Kyow.

26. Was at their Ma-ties hands, receiveing a *charke*³⁹⁰ of brandy out of the yongest his hand, with a command from him to returne speedily.

27. I was at the Princesse her hand, who required me to returne speedily and bring at least one of my sonnes with me.

³⁸⁹ I.e. from the Tsars' palace.

³⁹⁰ *Charka* (Russian), cup.

28. I went to Czarny Grash³⁹¹ and tooke my leave of the Boyar, who desired me to returne speedily, & not to drowne him, my cationer, and to writt to him by every post.

{101v} I tooke my leave of Lt.Gen-ll Trawrnicht, Coll. Sheale & many others.

Jan-ry 29. I did writt to Lt.Gen-ll Drummond & Mr. Meverell by post under Mr. Wulffe his *coverto*, informing them of my being dismissed & going from Mosko the next day; and the L.G. of my transaction with Mr. Cooke, and because no exchange could be had, of my having given the money to Mr. Wulffe to be remitted from Archangell, hoping to gett it done ten *p[e]r cento* better as now.

I dined with Mr. Boetenant and diverse others, and afterwards in the towne tooke my leave of the Secretary of Estate³⁹², and Mr. Vinius, from whom I received a verball comission, by order from the Chieffe Minister of Estate, concerning their Ma-ties effaires.

In the Slabod I tooke my leave of the Hollands resident³⁹³ and others my nearest ffrinds.

³⁹¹ Chornaya Griez'.

³⁹² *Dummy Dyak* Ukraintsev.

³⁹³ On 5 February the Dutch Resident, Baron van Keller, reported to his government from Moscow: "Last week Mr. Patrick Gordon, Lt. General of Their Tsarian Majesties, departed from here on his way through Holland to England. For a pretext of this journey he pretends the necessity to spend some time in Scotland in order to settle his private affairs there; but from what I was able to learn, Mr. Gordon has recently received letters from his friends, who have influence at the court of H.M. the King of Great Britain, informing him that very soon in England something extraordinary would happen with military offices, and it is mainly for this reason that he decided to make the journey. Mr. Gordon was once of the Reformed faith, but after his arrival in Poland on the instigation of the Jesuits he has changed his religion, so that he has now become a most zealous Papist, who strongly opposes Protestants, and succeeded in bringing many Scots and other officers to share his belief. As a consequence, it is to be feared that upon coming to England and Scotland he would render no good services to the Protestant Church there. They say that Mr. Gordon is one of those who invented false accusations against Protestants here, and that it was by his solicitations that the Jesuit, who had already been expelled, obtained permission to stay here for a while and to sing mass as before" (Archive of St. Petersburg Institute of History, Coll. 40, opis' 1, no. 58, fols. 62–3). However, rumours of Gordon's part in the defamation of Muscovy Protestants are not supported by other sources, while the statement on his change of creed is certainly false, for he was born and brought up in a Roman Catholic family.

{102}³⁹⁴ Feb. [4.] ... [customs officers in Novgorod declared that they had orders to v]sitt persons of all quality, charge & condition. I told them that that was to be understood as to merchants & others, & not to military person[s], especially of such quality as my self, and instanced them diverse examples of late. They pretended an order of some few dayes old, and I referred my self to the governours verdict, who declined to medle into it, yet gave me his dispatch as to what concerned himself. I visited him at night; he was exceeding kind & repeated what is said befor.

5. I sent againe to know the governours pleasure, who told as befor, that I might go for him, haveing full dispatch from him, and upon my desire granted me two *streltsees* for a convoy. But hearing that the customer was getting all his catchpoles together, and resolving either not to let me out of my quarters, or to stopp me upon the way, I sent againe to the governour, desiring to know if this was by his order, or if he would authorise such force. He sent me word that he did not, yet that he could not medle in the customers businesse, they haveing their commission immediately from Mosko, and that I might do as I thought fitt.

So haveing dined, I gave orders to make {102v} ready, resolving to force my passage through the towne maugre of all opposition. The customer haveing notice hereof, came to me and desired that since I would be gone and not suffer my baggage to be visited, I would let them be sealed and put in a church or some secure indifferent place untill order should come from Mosko; w-ch indeed, rather as be detained, I had offered at first. But now being encouraged, or rather connived at by the governour, I declined, and haveing sent a petition under my hand to the governour, complaining upon the customer & his fellows for affronting me in putting a watch to my baggage & me, & detaining me from my journey to my great losse & prejudice, desiring it to be written in here & sent to Mosko; which being accepted, I marched out, and without offering or haveing any violence offered to me, I passed through the towne, alongst the bridge on the Volcha³⁹⁵, and so on my journey. And the horses being a

³⁹⁴ Entries from 30 January to 4 February 1686 are missing from MS, although the later pagination in another hand is unbroken. In those days Gordon left Moscow for his native country and reached Novgorod, where customs officers insisted on inspecting his luggage.

³⁹⁵ Volkhov river.

little weary, they baited in a village, 25 *v.*, & in the night to Mpsiaga³⁹⁶, 25 *v.* I payed in Novogrodt *progon*³⁹⁷ for 10 horses 25 *altine*, and here for the same 1 ruble 3 *alt.* 2 *dengies*.

I did writt from Novogrodt to Mr. Vinius, Coll. Menezes & my wyfe.

Feb-ry 6. About 3 houres befor day I went from thence and by faire daylight came to Solnitsa³⁹⁸, 15 *verst*, where by a gentleman come out of Novogrodt {103} in the 4th houre of the night [I was informed] that the customer with the ppl persons belonging to that office had with great importunity obtained of the governour an order with a writer and a number of *streltsees* upon *podvods* to follow me & either search my goods upon the place, and if any merchandize were found, to fetch it back; or in case I should not permitt, then to fetch me back with all or at least to stopp me where they should find me. Which hearing and haveing good horses, I promised the *yempshiks*³⁹⁹ drink money and so drove on like Jehu⁴⁰⁰, and came to Opochy, 35 *verst*, where baiting not above halfe an houre, I came to Zagoria, 40 *verst*, about the 3d houre of the night, where changing horses & giveing 5 *kopikes* for each horse, I came to Plesko⁴⁰¹ befor day, 35 *verst*.

Feb-ry 7. The Governour *Kniaz* Michael Gregorievits Romadanofsky⁴⁰² received me very kindly, and ordered my present dispatch, and that when I was ready I should come & take my leave of him. I hired horses from the borders to Riga, giveing for each horse 1 r. 8 *alt.* 4 *d.* and hired in all 6; and so in the evening, {103v} haveing taken my leave of the governour and the ffrinds with him, about 10 aclock at night I went from thence; and without my knowledge, I being asleep, the *yempshiks* being drunk went into a house, about 20 *verst*, & rested, but I awakeing, awaked them with sound stroakes and made them drive on,

³⁹⁶ Mshaga.

³⁹⁷ *Progon* (Russian), payment for post-horses.

³⁹⁸ Sol'tsy.

³⁹⁹ *Yamshchiki* (Russian), coachmen.

⁴⁰⁰ Jehu, King of Israel (9th century BC), who was an impetuous charioteer (2 Kings 9, 16–20).

⁴⁰¹ Pskov.

⁴⁰² Prince M.G. Romodanovsky, boyar and *voyeroda*. Gordon knew him well since the Chigirin campaigns of the 1670s.

Feb-ry 8. and so in the first houre of the day came to the Petsharsky⁴⁰³, and a litle befor midday to Newhausell⁴⁰⁴, where the commendant, being a lievt-t and named Erich Geth, after I had given him notice in his house in the castell what I was, gave me a note or pass—10 miles.

Haveing baited the horses a litle and returned these from Plesko, wee passed by diverse alehouses; this place or countrey being famous or remarkable by nothing, and for 3 miles or 15 *verst* a very hilly or rather, hillocky countrey, and lodged in Roughes alehouse or *kron*⁴⁰⁵; the villages, wch are rare, haveing their denominations, as also the alehouses from the gentlemen they belong to—5 miles.

9. At cockcrowing wee set forward and crossing the Black River dined by it—5 m. Then crossing the R. Gavia⁴⁰⁶, lodged in ane alehouse standing alone in a wilderness—5 m.; and resting here about 3 houres,

10. wee came by day light to a alehouse, 6 miles, & here only feeding the horses a litle, & crossing the R. Aa wee dined in the alehouse befor Wolmar⁴⁰⁷, 2 miles, and lodged in ane alehouse—3 miles.

{104} Feb-ry 11. A litle befor midnight wee marched, and comeing by many *krowes* to Rubina, 3 miles, and by day light came to Bresla, one mile, where baiting with badd way, the snow being most consumed, wee came about 3 miles further & baited; and a mile further crossing the R. Gavia againe, wee lodged in Hilkins *krow* a mile further & three miles short of Riga. Here hard by in a *Hoffe*⁴⁰⁸ called Sarankova liveth the Baron von Mengden.

12. I gott our landlord to conduct us through bywayes where the snow was not quite consumed, and going from thence at cockcrowing, with great difficulty I came to Riga about 8 aclock, and lodged in the Sandstreet by a barber called Harder.

I did writt the same evening to my wyfe, Coll-s von Mengden & Menezes, Mr. Vinus & Guasconi, & to the *Boyar Kniaz* Vasil[y] Vasil. (& sent keyes, w-ch I had forgott, to Mr. Guasconi)⁴⁰⁹ by the Apothecary

⁴⁰³ Pechory.

⁴⁰⁴ Neuhausen.

⁴⁰⁵ *Krug* (German), inn or tavern. Below also *crue*.

⁴⁰⁶ Gauja.

⁴⁰⁷ Valmiera, Latvia.

⁴⁰⁸ *Hof* (German), country estate.

⁴⁰⁹ Words in brackets written above the line.

Christian Egler, whom I did meet here returning to Mosko, and who came to visitt me with Marcus Luys, a merch-t, to whom I delivered diverse tokens from Mosko.

13. I did writt to the governour of Plesko *Kniaz* Michael Gregor. Romadanofsky, and to Joachim Voght, a merch-t, who there were very kind to me, so could not but returne thanks.

{104v} Feb-ry 13. Friends comeing to visitt me would needs have me to come in and stay in the towne, so I went & lodged in the Jacobs street in widdow Bevermans house.

Afternoone Mr. Richard Daniell sent his sledge for me, desiring me to walke on the R. Dwina; so with diverse other English men & women wee fuired a great way downe the river on the ice, & then was invited into a suburb house and passed the tyme 2 or 3 houres.

The customers sent to know if I had any merch-s goods along, & tooke notice of my trunks, saying they must be searched.

14. I dined by Mr. Daniell and was very kindly entertained.

15. I dynd by Mr. Frazer⁴¹⁰ & supped with Mr. Watson.

16. Hired *fuirmen* to Memel⁴¹¹ at the rate of 9 crosse dollers a waggon with 2 horses.

17. I did writt to Mr. Boetenant, informing him how that because I had a specification of the things in his trunk with me, they let it passe paying 2 1/2 pr cent for *portorio*⁴¹², & the other two {105} belonging to Mr. Hartman & van Sowme were taken into the *portorio* to be kept there untill a specification should be brought and then to be opened, sighted & valued, w-ch they did not to Mr. Boetenant his; payed for *portorio* 13 1/4 R. dollers. Payed for dyet halfe a doller a day & for ser[van]ts 10 stuivers.

After dinner I went from Riga, being conveyed with Mr. Daniell & Mr. Frazer to the other syde of the R. Dwina, and lodged all night in Shrudens *krue*, 3 miles from Riga, and payed 1/3 doller & 4 *poltoraks*⁴¹³ to the maides.

Feb-ry 18. Wee came to Mittaw⁴¹⁴, 3 miles. Here is the residence of the

⁴¹⁰ George Frazer, prominent Scots merchant in Riga, Gordon's friend and correspondent.

⁴¹¹ Klaipėda, Lithuania.

⁴¹² *Portorium* (Lat.), customs duty; just below also used for the custom-house proper.

⁴¹³ *Póltorak* (Polish), silver coin of Poland-Lithuania equal to 1.5 *grasz* (German: *Dreipöller*).

⁴¹⁴ Jelgava, Latvia (German: Mitau).

Duke of Curland⁴¹⁵ in a castle fortified with an earthen wall & a moate, having a decayed horne-worke upwards on the river [...]. The towne is pretty bigge, with a decayed earthen wall about it. (Writt from hence to P[ater] Mako[vius] by P. Sturms convoyance.)⁴¹⁶ Here wee payed for our dinner 32 pence or *poltorakes*. Wee passed over 3 litle rivers & lodged in Duplins⁴¹⁷ *kerue*, 3 miles, & payed for bier 7 *poltorakes* & 4 for hay which wee lay on.

19. Wee crossed a litle river and came by [St.] Annes church, & dined in Blydens *kerue*, about 3 miles, paying for bier 8 pence, and went {105v} 3 miles further & lodged in Fronbergs *kerue*, where payed in all 9 pence.

Feb-ry 20. Wee came & crossed the R. Wenden and dined in a house, being 4 miles. Here is a stone house belonging to the Duke of Curland, environed with a tetragon. Payed here for beer & egges 12 pence. Wee went 2 miles further & lodged in a *kerue*, where payed for beer 7 pence & for hay to ly on 3 p.

21. A great snow falling out, wee came to a *kerue* by a gentlemans house, where I bought a litle sledge, giving a doller for it, two miles; payed here for beer 11 pence. Wee travailed with greater speed, and crossing a litle r. by Christburg wee came to Barta River, which crossing on a floate, wee lodged in a good house, being 5 miles; here wee payed for bed & bier 18 pence & to the maid a penny.

22. Wee came to Rutzen *kerue*, 3 miles; all the snow being gone, I was forced to leave my sledge, neither could I gett any thing for it, and all by the juglery of a piece of a merch-t, which came along with me from Riga, who as in other things made his advantage {106} of me. Here payed for bier & egges 18 pence. Wee came nearer the sea coast and crossing the R. Heyligen-Agh by a float, wee lodged hard by in a good house, being but 2 miles & a litle more from the place where wee had dyned. Here wee payed for fyve persons & my two boyes for supper, bier and bed 2 florens, & to the maid 4 pence. Here wee were on Polish ground, this being the *Starosty* of Polanga⁴¹⁸.

Feb-ry 23. Wee travelled to Polanga, a litle towne inhabited most

⁴¹⁵ Friedrich Casimir Kettler (1650–1698), Duke of Courland from 1682.

⁴¹⁶ Phrase in brackets written on the margin.

⁴¹⁷ Apparently, Doblen (Latvian: Dobeles).

⁴¹⁸ Palanga, Lithuania (Polish: Poląga, German: Polangen).

by Jewes, 2 miles. Here toll is gathered by these Jewes, who pay a yearly summe for it. Here I caused tell and said I was a Polnish colonell, yet was forced according to the custome to give a discretion, viz. a doller & 12 pence to the two tolners, 12 pence to each of their assistants, and it cost for brandy & white-bread 13 pence.

Wee went on to Memell 3 miles, 2 1/2 mile[s] whereof⁴¹⁹ on the Elector of Brandenburg⁴²⁰ territories. Here all along the sea, especially in a storme, throweth out amber, {106v} which on the Polnish coast every body hath free[dom] to gather that live there, but on the Brandenburgish coast none but these ordained to gather it. At the mouth of the R. Heiligen-Aagh the English have obtained a priviledg of tradeing free for 10 yeares, they promising to make a safe harbour there, whereof litle hopes as yet, there lying great banks of sand befor that river, and it being an open sandy coast, can hardly be gotten kept clear.

In Memell being required to tell what I was, I told the guards that I should satisfy them in my quarters; whither being come, I did writt a note & sealed it, addressing it to the commendant, Lt.Coll. Krygher, giveing notice what I was, & desireing not to be knowne. The commendant sent me immediately notice by an officer that he would give me a visitt, and came accordingly about ane houre thereafter, welcoming me with great respect, and invited me to take a part of a sojors dinner the next day; at his going away there was a pikeman from the maine guard sent to stand sentry at my doore.

{107} Feb-ry 24. The commendant haveing sent an officer in the morning to invite me to dinner, at eleven aclock sent his coach for me and a capt.lt. called Chappell, an Englishman, to conduct, there being also halfe a dozen of well cloathed fellows besides my owne about the coach. I was well entertained and reconducted in his coach to my lodging, but without other attendants as the capt.lt. I gave to the coachman halfe a doller, & a doller to the watch in the coach, and caused feed those who stood sentry at my doore, and gave them halfe a doller drink money when I went away. I payed of the Rigaes *fuirmen*, they haveing received in all 27 hard dollers for 6 horse & 3 waggons, besides beer on the way.

⁴¹⁹ *one* written above the line.

⁴²⁰ Friedrich Wilhelm Hohenzollern (1620–1688), Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia from 1640, known as the Great Elector.

I hired a waggon with 5 horses for 10 dollers, Yury Powlson & the apothecary being to bear a share, I haveing but one servant thereon & my baggage. I hired two rideing horses for myself & a servant, paying 3 dollers for each, & feeding them and the guide with a third on the way {107v} to Konigsberg, being wearying of tossing upon a waggon. I payed here for dyet, wine and feeding the sojors 12 florens includeing Yury Powlson.⁴²¹ I gave to the maid 15 pence, and bought ane amber crosse, a *charke* & 3 bracelets for 4 1/2 dollar.

This Memell is a very strong place, especially the castle, which is to be fortified yet better according to a draught which the commendant did show me, most of the materials being already provided. The souldiers have duly allowance of 6 florens a moneth, for two whereof they are provided of bread, two ar given them to buy beer, kitchin meat & extraordinaries, and two is preserved by their officers for furnishing them with shooes, stockings, shirts & other necessaries. A captaine hath 32 dollers a month, a lt. 18 & an ensignie 12.

{108}⁴²² March 5. Haveing hired a coach at the rate of a Reichs dollar a day, I rode in it to Scotland Syde and in the Jesuits Church heard devotion. In the afternoone the Rector of the Jesuits Colledge gave me a visitt, to whom I declared my resolution of takeing my son⁴²³ along with me, for perceiving that they had here infected him with Calvinisme; I was afayed lest he should be altogether subverted.

I repayed the visitt to Mr. Browne and Mr. Forbes, and consulted with the doctor concerning the boy Daniell.

6. Being invited, I dined by Mr. James Browne, where with many of our countrey men I was very kindly entertained.

I did writt to my wyfe, son in law & Coll. Leviston in Kyow, to the Boyar *Kn. Vas[ily] Vas.*, Mr. Vinius, to Lt.Coll. Kruger in Memell & Mr. Georg Gray in Konigsberg, the former in a *coverto* to Mr. Georg Frazer in

⁴²¹ Crossed out above the line: *Feb-ry 25. A litle after midday wee were...*

⁴²² Entries from 25 February to 4 March 1686 are lost, but the non-original pagination runs on. In the interim Gordon arrived in Gdańsk (Danzig).

⁴²³ James Gordon, General Patrick's second son, was studying at the Jesuit College of Gdańsk.

Riga.

I hired a shease with 3 horses to Stetin⁴²⁴ for 80 florens.

{108v} March 7. Haveing been at devotion by the Jesuits in Scotland-Syde and taken leave of them, I dined by Mr. Forbes and was very well entertained.

8. I made preparations to be gone, haveing gott medicines for Daniell, the ffrriends sending me wyne & provisions on the way in abundance. I went & tooke my leave of Mr. Browne, Mr. Forbes & others.

I changed here 40 ducats for currant money.

{109} Money disbursed in Dantzick:

For 2 paire of shooes 5 flor.; for a clock to my son 9 doll. 2 flor.; for dyet & wine 10 doll. 2 fl. 10 pence; drink money to the maides 1 dol. 1 fl. 14 pence; coach hire 4 doll.; drink money to the coachman 2 fl.; to the inspector 3 doll. 16 pence; linnen washing 1 fl. 13 pence; to Mr. B[rowne's] maid 12 pence; to the doctor 1 dol.; medicines 4 doll.; apothecary 1 fl. 4 pence; postage of letters 14 pence.⁴²⁵

{111} *Martii* 4. My father came to Dantzick.⁴²⁶

9. We began our journy. Wee ware convoyed by the cheif Scotsmen in Dantzick to Harmans and was interteaned their by them, being a pleasant place, from Dantzick a half mylle, and lodged in Sagorski, 2 myll and a half from Putsky, hawing the Heall on the right hand, and hawing past through Oliwa wee left the Carthusiane monastery one the left hand. Payed for 5 and a half stoup of bear 16 and a half *grosse*; for beddeng 6 *grosse*; for brandiewyn and wages 3 *gross* and a half.

10. Through a little toune called Neu-Stat, a myll. This is a little open toune with many churches and holy places; and 2 mylles further baited in a *crue*. Then 2 mylles further to the toune of Lawenburg⁴²⁷, which is

⁴²⁴ Polish: Szczecin.

⁴²⁵ Blank pages follow (109 v. – 110 v.).

⁴²⁶ From this entry onward the Diary is continued in James Gordon's hand, evidently from his father's dictation and with corrections and additions by the latter.

⁴²⁷ Polish: Łębork.

the judiciall city of this country; it hath a brick wall furnished with many qwadrat and round toures, and a river running on the wast syde of it, which could be brought round the toune, bot the hill on the east near it hinders it from being any considerable fortrese. {111v} With the whole destrict it belongeth in former tymes to the Croune of Polland, bot by the treatie of Oliva⁴²⁸ it came to the Elector of Brandiburg, whose territoris being 2 myll and a half eastward of this toune. Wee rod 2 mylles further and ludged in a *crue* belonging to the Generall [...]

Martii 11. All this and yesterdayes journey being through a lou walley, barran sande and stony ground with hills in both sydes, cloathed with firre, oaken and other trees, yet on the left hand better furnished. Wee crossed only 2 or 3 hills which interrupted the walley passege. Given out at mide-day 9 *grosse* for 3 stoup of bear and 13 *grosse* be the way for bear. Ludged (by the R[iver] Lupow)⁴²⁹ in the neu rid *crue* belonging to Cornall Grunku, being 4 mylls from Stolpa⁴³⁰. Payed here for bear, eages and bedding 22 *gross* and 1/2.

{112} *Martii* 12. By day light tooke journey to the river Russa, where a gentillmans house, willage and mill, 1 myll and a half, and dynd in Stolpa (by a r[iver] of the same name)⁴³¹, a small toune, which is accounted from Dant[zig] 18 mylls, and from Statin, 24 myll. Payed here for bear and boyling of fish 17 *grosse*, and then for fish 3 *grosse*. Then through a bair countrie to a little toune called Slage⁴³², 4 mylles (this is in the Dukedome of Butow)⁴³³, here round this toune runneth a pairt of the river called Wipper, and many pleasent woods and groves; this toune has more larg priwiledges then any toune has. Payed here in our ludging 2 gilders and 6 *grosse*, and to the maides 3 *grosse*. This toune hath a ruinus brick wall, the touers or flancks therof are altogether decayed.

13. We trawiled through a more fertill and better inhabited countrie, and diwers willages wherin churches to a little toune Zanaw (this is called

⁴²⁸ The peace of Oliwa, which concluded the Northern War between Poland-Lithuania and Sweden, was signed on 23 April (3 May) 1660.

⁴²⁹ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴³⁰ Polish: Słupsk.

⁴³¹ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴³² German: Schlawe, Polish: Sławno.

⁴³³ Added by Patrick Gordon. Polish: Bytów.

Wenden)⁴³⁴, 2 mylles, having crossed a marishe passe with a drau bridge on the streame (called Grabow river)⁴³⁵. Wee were informed that towards the sea syde, from whence the 2 or 3 mentioned tounes are {112v} bot about 2 mylles distante, the countrie is more fertill, and that all along from Putsky ther lives boures called *beekell boures*⁴³⁶, who are rich, and lives so as in the Werder⁴³⁷ with their feilds inclosed. At this a toll is collected by the Ellectors officers. It is an open place.

From thence wee rod ower the hill called Goldenberg, from whence a very fair and large prospect over all the countrie round about; and then came doune to the lou ground to the toune Keshlin (Coslin)⁴³⁸, a pretty weall build toune, having on the van syde a river, and on the other syde a marish, environed with a brik wall in some places decayed, and without that a decayed earthen wall, which might be made with ease strong, & that rather a *fassey bray*⁴³⁹, then anay thing els. (This countrie is called Cassubia.)⁴⁴⁰ All these tounes except Slage are called *ampt*⁴⁴¹ tounes, and are Electorall judiciary tounes, having castells or rather Electorall houses, where are officers called *ampt-men*, who have inspection and goverment over the tounes and lands as well over the revenues and contribution as matters of justice. Payed at dinner for egges, bear and milk 13 *grosse*.

{113} We came to a little toune Kerlin (Corlin)⁴⁴², a large mylle, lately burned off, where a castle or Electoriall house, and crossing the river (Persant, at the mouth whereof Colberg)⁴⁴³ rigged under the castel and toune, & all along (the R. Krumwater)⁴⁴⁴ on our left hand wee traviled 2 mylles. Hereabout in the willages on the road and on both sydes are many gentelmens houses pleasantly situated, the countrie being barren.

⁴³⁴ Added by Patrick Gordon. Polish: Sianów.

⁴³⁵ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴³⁶ Apparently, from German *Hecke* (fence) and *Bauer* (peasant).

⁴³⁷ Island, especially on a river (German).

⁴³⁸ Polish: Koszalin.

⁴³⁹ *Fausse braie* (French), in fortification, an additional low wall between the ditch and the main wall.

⁴⁴⁰ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁴¹ *Amt* (German), a judiciary district or its office.

⁴⁴² Polish: Karlino.

⁴⁴³ Added by Patrick Gordon. Polish: Kołobrzeg.

⁴⁴⁴ Added by Patrick Gordon.

Wee dynd in a *crue* belonging to the Landrat Mandewill⁴⁴⁵, which place is 3 mylles from Colberg, a sea port on the right hand, and Treptow, a *kester*⁴⁴⁶ and head of a dstrict, 2 mylles, on the same hand; and payed here 12 *grosse*.

Wee came from hence to Platt⁴⁴⁷, a small toune with 2 ducall houses in it, (haveing on the right hand Griffenberg, & on the [left] Regenwald, 2 pretty townes)⁴⁴⁸; and it [is] invironed with a decayed brick wall, a river [Rega] running by it with milles on it; & lodged a great mylle further in the village Great-Sabow (haveing the towne Quarkenbergh on our right hand)⁴⁴⁹, where payed 1 flo[ren] 3 *grosse*, & to the maid a penny.

Here I turned of from the Stetins road, agreeing with my *fuirman* to give him 10 R. dollers more to carry me to Berlin.⁴⁵⁰

{113v} *Martii* 14. To Neugarten⁴⁵¹, a small toune with a decayed brick wall & a castle on the north, environed with a moat & earthen wall with flanks, but altogether decayed towers. To Marsaw⁴⁵², 2 myles, a little toune with a decayed brick wall & in most places a double earthen vall, belonging to a countess; & from thence to Starragard, 2 mylles, the choicest and best toune in Pomeran, which is distant from Statin 5 mylles, from Berlin 17 mylles & from Posna 15 mylles. This with Stolp, Slauch & Keslin are governed by a townes counsel, & not by *ampt-men* as others. On the north syde it is exciding strong, having a brick wall with touers & without that y[e]t aerthen, the River Jena making as it were a double ditch, and running through the toune also, wheron milles; on the other syde is a dry moate. This river falleth in the Dams Sea, & that in the Oder. Wee payed for dinner and bear 1 flo. 2 *grosse*. Traviled further, where very many not great but churche villages, & lodged in a *crue* by the water {114} Strema, 2 mylles; payed here for bear 5 stuivers & one to the maide, for fish and milk 5 *grosse*.

Martii 15. Wee went over a marishy passe (w-ch the R. Plone maketh)⁴⁵³,

⁴⁴⁵ Probably, Manteuffel. *Landrat* (German), assessor of district court.

⁴⁴⁶ Possibly a slip or distortion of *Kloster* (monastery). Treptow is Polish Trzebiatów.

⁴⁴⁷ Plathe (German), Ploty (Polish).

⁴⁴⁸ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁴⁹ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁵⁰ This phrase was written by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁵¹ Naugard, Polish: Nowogard.

⁴⁵² Apparently, Massow.

⁴⁵³ Added by Patrick Gordon.

where the ruines of 2 forts, & crossing the bridges made over the brookes, wee uent to the right hand to Great Rishau (Riseow), a village; & so kept to the right hand of Perits⁴⁵⁴, a little toune lying in a fertile soyle, the ground here about being very fruitfull and mellou. This Pirits is distant from Stargard 3 mylles & from Bon or Banen, a small toune, 2 mylles.

Wee came through many willages to Banen, which hath ane altogether decayed brick wall, & the signe of a double earthen wall, on the wast syde a lake & marsh. Wee vent a great mylle further to the village Marien-Thale, where dyned & payed 8 *grosse*; for fish at Banen 4 *grosse*.

Passing over the borders of Pomeran, a mylle and ane half, wee came unto {114v} (the towne of Klein Konigsberg in)⁴⁵⁵ the Mark of Brandebergh, which is distant from Berlin 10 mylles; this is the chieffe toune of the Neu Mark, which beginneth a half mylle short of this. This is a vell scituated place environed with a brick wall ruinous in many places. I payed here a dear discretion of a Rex doller.

Martii 16. Wee trauiled 3 mylles & dyned by the R. Oder in Kustrineken, & payed for fish, bear 17 st. & service 18 stuivers; & then along the r[i]ver through sandy feilds & a wood to the ferry, which wee crossed, being a 4t of a mylle, & lodged in Freyeenwaldt, a small toune with stone gates bot no walles, where a healing well, gold and silver mynes lattly found. Here we lodged and payed for bear, candle, eages and butter 16 stuvers. {115} It is 6 mylles from Berlin and from Kustrin⁴⁵⁶ as much.

Martii 17. Wee dyned in Wenrichen⁴⁵⁷, 3 great miles, and payed 9 stuvers. To Berlin, 3 mylles, wher payed for 2 meales for me & people a doller and 12 good *grosse*⁴⁵⁸ and to the maide a floren; to the barber 2 good *grosse*; to the Dantzick *fuirmen* 48 florens and 2 florens drink mony; to bring me out of the toune 2 flor.

Here meeting with a Hamburger merch-t comeing from the Frankfurts *Mis*⁴⁵⁹ or market, he perswaded me that wee should travell together, promising to bring me a day sooner to Hamburg as by the land-coach, & better

⁴⁵⁴ Pyritz, Polish: Pyrzyce.

⁴⁵⁵ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁵⁶ Polish: Kostrzyn nad Odrą.

⁴⁵⁷ Werneuchen.

⁴⁵⁸ *Gutergroschen* (German) was 1/24 of a thaler, while *Mariengroschen* was only 1/36.

⁴⁵⁹ *Messe* (German), fair.

cheap, he having 2 ser-*ts* with him, so that wee were 7 persons on a waggon. I went out of Berlin in the shese which brought me from Dantzick, & being a litle without the towne, climed up into a great open waggon, which was something uneasy for us.⁴⁶⁰

{115v}⁴⁶¹ 18. Over the River Spree, 2 mylles, where bridges & tolle, & a mylle further where wee rested 2 houres in a *kron*, where wee all payed 10 good *grosse*.

19. To Linum, 3 mylles, where the Swedes lost a battel to the Brandiburge[r]s *anno* 1680⁴⁶²; to Haklenberg and the little toune Ferbelin, where toll is taken; we crossed a bridge & a long passe, and {116} leaving Ruppin, the head touene of a countie, a mylle, on the right hand, wee came by Rutzen, a gentelmans village, where a vynyard, and dynded in Manker, a village, which is a mylle from Ferbelin. Here wee hyred fresh horses, having payed for those from Berlin 8 dollers; payed here for denner 9 good *grosse*. From a little hill hard by can be seen 36 churches. Wee traviled through the willage Wildberg (on a small brook)⁴⁶³, which hath been fortified, and through Canser, another willage, wher a fort hath been without bullwarks, to Usterhuisen (Wusterhausen)⁴⁶⁴, in all two mylles; payed her 3 good *grosse*. This is a decayed toune (& scituated in an illand)⁴⁶⁵, having the remnants of a brik wall. To Kirits, 1 mylle; here wee payed for bear and butter and bread 6 good *grosse*; here wee tooke fresh horses, having payed for the other 2 dollers and a halfe.

Martii 20. Wee rod all the night, and came to Perlberg, a good considerable toune, 4 mylles, where getting fresh horses, we rod 3 mylles and {116v} crossed the river Mean, which is the borders of the Elector of Brandiburg his dominions; and half a myll further dynded in a village called Korlous⁴⁶⁶, where payed 14 *grosse*, and leaving Lents[en] on the left hand,

⁴⁶⁰ This paragraph was written by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁶¹ At the top of this page there is a crossed-out phrase which ends: *et Laus Deo* ("and praise be to God").

⁴⁶² Probably Gordon means the famous battle won by the Elector of Brandenburg against the Swedes under Field Marshal Count Wrangel at Fehrbellin, mentioned in the same entry, but it was fought on 18/28 June 1675; by 1680 peace was already concluded.

⁴⁶³ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁶⁴ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁶⁵ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁶⁶ Probably, Gorlosen.

wee crossed the river Elle by bridges. Wee came to a gentelmans house and willage called Binug (by the R[ive]r Elve)⁴⁶⁷, and to Tripko, a village (payed here for bear, bread and to a midwif 13 *grosse*), being 3 mylls, where getting fresh horses, wee came to Neuhausen (by the R. Elve)⁴⁶⁸, a village, 2 mylles, where taking fresh horses again, wee passed in the night tyme through a little toune called Bitsiburg⁴⁶⁹ (where a r[ivule]t)⁴⁷⁰, belonging to the Deuks of Saxen-Lawenburg, being 2 mylls,

Martii 21. and by day light came to Lauenburg, 1 myll. This toune giveth titll to a brench of the Saxonian family, who have a palace here; then a myll further wee changed horses in a village. Wee {117} went 3 mylles further to a toune called Barsdorffe, a little towne belonging to the cities of Hamburg and Libeck, but now the Deuk of Luneburgs people had by force taken posession of it and lived upon free quarter. Her I was stopped untill I had shouen my passe. Then passing thorou wee came to Hamburg, 2 mylles. In this passege wee see many pleasant houses and gardens belonging to the toune of Hamburg, as also the small fort where the Duik of Lineburgs people and the Hamburgers had lattly a bloody rencounter.

This Hamburg is most pleasantlie scituated one the River Elbe, most convenient for traffick, as being in the very center of the North parts of Europe, and wanteth no convenience bot good neighbours.

{117v} *Martii* 22. This day a man and a women, (for murthering)⁴⁷¹ a burger of the toune, (being the womans master)⁴⁷² were carted from the prisone to the house where the murder was comitted, and there before the house with hotte pinsers the flesh was torren out of their armes, and from thence var carted to the place of justice without the toune and there broken and layed one wheelles.

This evning I was plentifully feasted by Mr. Nathaniel Cambridge, wher vas the English resident⁴⁷³ and the principalle merchants of the English Companie.

⁴⁶⁷ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁶⁸ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁶⁹ Boizenburg.

⁴⁷⁰ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁷¹ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁷² Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁷³ Sir Peter Wyche (1628–1699), British resident in Hamburg. In 1669 he was envoy extraordinary to Russia.

23. Having bespok a coach at the rate of a doller a day, I took coach and rod to Altenow⁴⁷⁴ and from thence to the river syde, and went aboard of an English ship, which was bound for London. I gave to {118} bring me abuid a mark *Lips*⁴⁷⁵ and to the sea men drink mony a half a doller.

I receved from my son in law and Mr. Vinus letters, the first dated from Kyou and the other the 7 February from Musco.

Martii 24. Being invited, I supped with the English recident, where ware the principalle merchants of the English Companie, and ware plentifully entertained. Mr. Cambridge agried with the schipper for fraught, meat, drink and use of his cabben for me and 3 persons to London for 10 lib. sterlin.

25. Being Annu[n]ciation day, I vent by coach by Altenow and heard dewotion.

{118v} *Martii* 26. I did writ to Musco by post to the Boyer *Kniaz* Vasily Vasiliovitz, to Mr. Vinus, to Mr. Hartman, to C-ll von Mengden and to my vyffe, all under the *coverto* of Mr. von Sowme addressed to Mr. Vinus.

Wrott also to Madam Craufuird⁴⁷⁶ in a *coverto* to Mr. Gray addressed to Mr. Edie in Dant[zig].

27. I supped by Mr. Robert Jolly and was very kyndlie and neatlie entertained.

28. Being invyted I was at a cristning feast by Mr. Foster, wher were the English resident and the principalle English men and women, where was plenty and variety.

{119} *Martii* 29. Being impatient to stay for a faire wind, I resolved to travel by land, and tooke boat in a very stormy day; and not being able to go doune the river to Blankness, wee went to Harburg, being reckoned a large mylle, and having Mr. Jolly in company. I payed to the ferry men 4 mark Lipshes, and here fore wyne and bear a mark Lipsh. Wee hyred a vaggen to Buckstehude, being 3 mylle, paying for each mylle a half a doller according to the ordainance in those places for a vaggen whithe [*sic*] 2, 3, 4 or 5 persons. This Harburgh is an open toune, yet a decayed walle from

⁴⁷⁴ Evidently, the Hamburg suburb of Altona.

⁴⁷⁵ Lübsch, i.e. of Lübeck.

⁴⁷⁶ Apparently, Mary Crawford, widow of the Scot Daniel Crawford († 1674), who was major general in Russian employ, Gordon's friend and one-time regimental commander.

the land syde, a castle being by the river weall fortified with a wall, bastions & moats, and belongs to the Duke of Luneberg.

Wee traveled through a very barran country to Buckstehude, where at ane old monestrie without the toune wee hyred horses to bring us forward, and ware cheated by the *fuirman*; for he pretending bad way {119v} said he could not bring us speedily forward, nor carry us thorow with 1 waggan, bot would neads have another, desiring for that only a discreation. So wee agried with him for 3 dollers and a half to Closter Seven, being 4 mylls; whither wee came about 11 a cloack at night, having payed in the old *Closter* for bear and eages 10 Lipsh shilling. In Sewen wee had nothing, yet for sitting be the fyre I payed for each person a Lipsh shill. and to the waggan master here for each person 2 *grotte*⁴⁷⁷.

Here wee ware forssed to take 2 waggens, and therafter at Ottersberg, thay drauing the practise of the Buckstehudes *fuirman* unto a consequens, and so payed double fraught to Bremen, to wit for each mylle a doller.

{120} *Martii* 30. A little befor 7 a cloack wee came to Ottersberg, which is 3 mylle, and payed there for wyne, bear and eages a mark, and getting fresh horses, wee passed by the castle which is pretty weall fortified, and crossing a river by bridge and a long marishe passe, wee came to Bremen, being 3 mylles, & payed for each of these stages 3 dollers.

Bremen is a toune very pleasantlie situated on the River Weser and well fortified, yet not thriving so well under the Swedish yoke as before. Her I was kyndly entertained in the wyne seller⁴⁷⁸ by Mr. Spense, and then took waggan and came in the ewning to Delmenhorst, being a long mylle, for which I payed a doller & ane half according to the ordinance, which is to be seen and read every where in the common innes. This is a little open toune with a large pallace or castle by it, and belonged formerly to the Dukes of Oldenburg, bot nou by hereditary right is possessed by the King of Denmark⁴⁷⁹.

About 10 a cloack getting fresh horses wee {120v} trawiled all the night and

⁴⁷⁷ *Groten*, Low German for *Groschen*. In 17-century Bremen a *Reichsthaler* was equal to 72 *Groten*.

⁴⁷⁸ The famous wine cellar (*Ratskeller*) under the Bremen Town Hall, established in 1405.

⁴⁷⁹ King Christian V of Denmark and Norway (1646–1699), reigned from 1670.

Martii 31. about 6 a cloack wee came to Oldenburg, a toune pretty well fortified on the River Hund, the Dukes pallace being also fortified with a moat and drau bridges. Here I payed for this stage, being 4 mylles, for 4 persons 160 *grutt* (or 2 doller and 16 *grutte*) and to the *fuirman* drink monny 8 *grutte*. I payed here for brackfast 33 *grutte*, which is 22 Leape shilling.

Wee traveled through a pretty pleasant country, and baiting half-way to Apen, where payed for bear 6 Lipsh shilling, we came to Apen, being 4 mylls, and payed the same fraught as at the other stage, and for bear here 4 Lipsh shilling.

Wee passed by a castle and little further a small fort, being the borders of the Dutchy of Oldenburg, and then came unto East-Freaseland by a little fort to ane open toune Detteren, being a mylle, for which I payed fraught a doller and for bear here 4 Lipsh shilling. (At the 4 forts on the borders drink money 16 Lip. shil.)⁴⁸⁰ And then passing by another castle environed with a moat and earthen wall without bullwarks, haveing on the east syde a horn work with a motte; then passing allong by {121} the Riwer Eems through very bad watery way we came to the open towne Lier (being a mile)⁴⁸¹ latte in the night and payed fraught a doller and 10 steavers; wher I did meet Mr. Leslie and Mr. Wood. Here I stayed all night and payed for 2 kans of bear and lodging 18 steavers & 2 steavers to the maid,⁴⁸² & 4 st. to the postm-r.

Apr. 1. Wee mounted our waggon and passing along the Eems by the fort Lier-oort, where crossing the ferry over the Eems, which is by the fort & a quarter of mile from Lier, where I gave drink money only 6 stuivers, and came to Pando⁴⁸³, a mile and a halfe, and then to New Skonse, a halfe mile, the first garrison of the Hollanders on that syde, where by a late inundation many houses & fields are drowned. I payed here for fraught fyve florens. Spent at Pando & Niew Skonce 9 stuivers, drink money to the *fuirman* 3 st.

From hence to Winschotten, a Hollands towne, 1 1/2 mile; payed

⁴⁸⁰ Added by Patrick Gordon on the margin.

⁴⁸¹ Added by Patrick Gordon.

⁴⁸² From here onwards Patrick Gordon continues his Diary in his own hand.

⁴⁸³ Probably, Bunde.

*fuir*⁴⁸⁴ a doller, drink money 2 stuivers; spent there for beer 6 stuivers. Here wee took boat & went to Groeningen, being 6 houres as they call it here, & payed fraught for each person 11 stuivers, drink money 2 stuivers, for bread 2 stuivers, to bring our baggage on a sledge through the towne to the other boat 12 stuivers. Albeit it was evening, yet wee went into the boat & came to Strowbush, 3 1/2 houres, paying fraught 9 stuivers a man and for carrying my baggage to the other boat 4 stuivers. From hence to Dockum, 4 houres, & payed fraught 9 stuivers apeece and for carrying my baggage to the other [boat] a st. a man; here & in the night extra for drink & cakes 16 stuivers.

2. From hence to Leewarden, 4 miles; payed fraught for us fowre 40 stuivers, for transporting baggage 6 st., for bread & bier 6 st., to the boy a stuiver. From hence to Bolswaert, 4 houres; payed for fraught 40 stu., for baggage 6 st., for bier 2 st., to the boy halfe a stuiver. From hence to Workum, 4 howre in the common boat; payed fraught 16 st., for bringing over the baggage 6 stuivers, bier 2 stuivers. From hence wee hired {121v} a large vessell, and payed all of us 10 florens, being the ordinary fraught, my share coming to 3 fl. 14 st., drink money 6 st., toll for us 2 st. each, for bringing my baggage to my lodging 8 st.

April 3. Wee came to Amsterdam in the morning early, being 12 houres from Workum. Payed here for trimming 8 st.; payed a[t] the Doll⁴⁸⁵ for seeing pictures & wyne 12 st.; at the Swane for wine 30 st.; for a trunk 7 fl. 6 st.; for a lock 9 st.; for a hatt 3 fl. 18 st.; for dyet in two dayes 9 florens; drink money to the maid 12 st.; for washing some linnings 14 stuivers.

4. Being Easter, I heard devotion. After dinner went and saw the Doll, the ships, the Old Church, the *Rhatdhouse* and the ppill streets and buildings of the citty.

5. I went early to boate & came to Harlam, Leyden and to the Hague, paying the ordinary fraught, and for supper & breakfast 7 flor. 8 st., for coach hire 24 st., wages 12 st. in the signe of the Scots Armes.

6. I went by boat to Delft & Rotterdam and lodged in the signe of Dundee⁴⁸⁶. Here I did meet with many good ffriends & stayed 2 nights.

⁴⁸⁴ *Fuhre* (German), waggon.

⁴⁸⁵ Apparently, *Doel*, hall of the Amsterdam “Shooters” Guild (*Schuttersgilde*), where their large group portraits were displayed.

⁴⁸⁶ This Rotterdam tavern named after the Scottish burgh is another example of how

(Fraught to Delft 10 st., to Rot. 20 st. for 4 per[sons].)⁴⁸⁷ Bought lace to kravates & rufles for 54 flor.; payed in my lodging 8 flor. 12 st., wages 12 st., extra 26 stu., for

7. 11 bookes 28 st., for wine on the way a doller, for other provisions & necessaryes 4 fl., for breakfast & that day 26 st., & for fraught 30 shil. sterl., for bed 5 shil., wages 5 shil.

8. Wee sacked downe the River [Schie] and anchored anent Delft sluis.

9. Wee anchored befor the Briell, where and at the Delft sluis it cost me 38 st.

10.

11. Wee weighed anchor and went out with the morning tyde, with difficulty getting over the flattes; and then with a pretty gale of wind made towards the Eng[l]ish coast,

12. a sight whereof wee had the next day, called Lands End, which {122} is reckoned to be 48 leagues. Aboord this ship were many passengers, most whereof French, fleeing as they said for their religion.⁴⁸⁸ At night wee cast anchor in the rivers mouth not farr from Margat.

Aprill 13. Seeing small hopes of getting up the river in hast, I with some other gentlemen caused our selves be put on shoare, and so did go on foot about 3 miles to Margat, where & for putting on shoare I payed 2 shil. 6 pence. Here I hired two horses to Canterbury, paying for them 9 shil. & to the boy 6 p., it being 15 miles; for wine 6 p., for post horses to Sittingbourne, being 12 miles, 8 shil., dr[ink] money 6 pence. At Sittingbourne an old w[oman] gave me retour horses, for which I payed but 5 shil., & to the hostler 4 pence. I had not ridden 4 miles when one [of] the horses wearyed, so that I had enough ado to gett him driven to Rochester, where I was forced to lodge, paying for lodging, bier & brandy 16 pence, for horse 16 pence, drink money 10 pence.

14. I rode away befor day and with great trouble gott the wearyed horse brought to Gravesend, being from Rochester 5 miles & from Sittingbourn 13 miles. Payed to a youth who showed us the way 6 pence & for breakfast

Gordon came across his countrymen wherever he went.

⁴⁸⁷ Author's note on the margin.

⁴⁸⁸ Half a year before, in October 1685, King Louis XIV of France revoked the Edict of Nantes, which provided French Huguenots with substantial religious freedom and toleration.

15 pence. I bespoke a paire of oares & payed for my self, son & a litle boy whom I found in the boate & had nothing to pay 6 pence a peece. I went into the Mitre taverne in Gracious street⁴⁸⁹, & calling for a bottle of wine & some bread, I sent to seeke Mr. Meverell & Mr. Wulffe & Mr. Spence, but none of them was to be found. Wherefor paying 16 p., I tooke up my lodging in the same street. All these I sent for came to me in the evening, and my cousin Alex-r Gordon, from whom I had the present transactions. Here I payed for mending my ken⁴⁹⁰ a groat, for a gazet 1 p., for supper & lodging 8 shil. 7 pence, drink money 5 pence.

{122v} April 15. Mr. Meverell & my cousin Gordon coming to me in the morning, I tooke coach & road to Yorke Buildings⁴⁹¹ & tooke my lodging by John Hayes, whom I employed to make a suite of cloaths for me according to the fashion. Generall Drummond & other ffriends came to visitt me. The G-ll told my Lord Melfort⁴⁹² of my being come, who haveing showne the King thereof, His Sacred Ma-tie ordered me to be brought to him the next morning about 8 aclock. I furnished my self this day with severall necessaries, & haveing received from Mr. Meverell 72 pounds sterling, I payed for a periwigg 7 pounds st., for a hatt 2 pund 10 shill., for silk stockens 12 sh., for shooes 4 shil., for a pair of sleeves & handkerchieffe 10 shill., to a barber for trimming 1 shil., for overgilt buckle 1 shil., for dinner 5 shil. 6 pence, for 3 swords 14 shil., for 3 wast-belts 6 shil., for one to my self 5 shil., for makeing some kravats, ruffles & small lace to the ruffles 10 shil., for coach hire 18 p.

16. About 8 aclock G-ll Drummond gave me notice that it was tyme. I tooke a chaire and went downe to his lodging & with him to Court to my Lord Melforts lodgings, who after halfe an houres stay introduced me to His Ma-tie in the coming out of his bedchamber, who was pleased to receive me very graciously. And haveing kissed His Ma-ties hand with the usuall ceremonies and a short complement w-ch I made, His M. asked me

⁴⁸⁹ Gracechurch Street. Anent Gordon's sojourn in England and Scotland I have made use of Joseph Robertson's commentary in *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries* (Aberdeen, 1859).

⁴⁹⁰ Cane.

⁴⁹¹ On the Strand, at the site of York House, the Duke of Buckingham's palace demolished in the 1670s.

⁴⁹² John Drummond, Viscount, later Earl of Melfort (1649–1714), Secretary of State for Scotland. In 1689 he followed King James II (VII) into exile in France.

many questions concerning the Tzars, the countrey, the state of affaires, the militia & government, as also of my jorney, & many other particulars. His Ma-tie going in to the Queens⁴⁹³ syde, I hade occasion to be welcomed by the Scots nobility who were there, and afterwards whilst I attended His Ma-tie walking in the parke, he was pleased to tell the Prince Georg⁴⁹⁴ of me, to whom also I was addressed. I dined in a Dutche house in the Pell Mell. Expended this day drink money to the taylors journeymen 2 shil. 6 pence, chaire-hire 1 shill., coach hire 3 shil., to ser-ts 8 pence.

{123} April 17. I tooke a chaire in the morning & went with Lt. Gen-ll Drummond to Court, and waited upon the King in the park at his walke, as also in the evening, haveing this day payed my respects to some noblemen at their lodgings. Expended this day for chaire-hire 18 pence, for dinner w[i]t[h] wine 4 shil., to my ser-ts 12 pence, coach hire 18 pence, to ser-ts at night 12 pence.

18. Being Sunday, I went to St. Jameses & heard devotion, and dined with other gentlemen at Mrs. Crosses, and payed for dinner & wine 5 shil. for my self & son; to ser-ts this day 18 pence & at night a shil.

19. It being very inconvenient & expensive to stay in the lodging where I was, because of hiring chaires or coaches to and from the Court, I tooke up a lodging in the Pellmell at the signe of the Crowne, paying for a dineing-roome, chamber & a roome for my ser-ts 11 shil. a weeke. Here I had the convenience of a lane & gate into St. James his parke, which was both pleasant & saveing. This day I recovered my baggage from the shipp, which cost me in all 8 shil. 4 pence; payed also for shooes to Shenka⁴⁹⁵ & Daniell 6 shil. 4 p., for buckles to both 1 shil., to a sick Scotsman 1 shil., for chaire-hire 1 shil., for dinner 2 shil., to ser-ts 2 shil. 6 p., tea 4 pence.

20. I went to Lincolne Inne Fields, haveing with S[i]r James Kenedy⁴⁹⁶, James Lindesay & Capt. Seton hired a coach to convoy the Duke of

⁴⁹³ King James' consort, Mary of Modena (1658–1718).

⁴⁹⁴ Prince George of Denmark, husband of Princess Anne, the future queen.

⁴⁹⁵ *Sen'ka*, Russian diminutive of Simon. It seems that at least one of two servants who came with Gordon was Russian, and perhaps both. Prior to the 18th century Russians in Britain were an exceptional sight indeed, even if we include members of infrequent diplomatic missions, and hardly any of them made it to Scotland as Gordon's servants did.

⁴⁹⁶ Conservator of the Privileges of the Scottish Nation in the Low Countries, virtually consul general.

Hamilton⁴⁹⁷, Gen-ll Drummond & S[i]r Georg Lockart, the President of the Session, who haveing been sent for by the King to prepare them for the ensuing Parliament, returned this day. Wee convoyed them to Barnet, being 12 miles, & dined there, and towards evening returned to London. Expended this day for trimming 1 shil., to sonne & ser-ts 2 shil. 6 p., for tea 6 p., coach hire & wages 5 shil. 6 p., dinner 4 shil., for trimming of garters & gilt buckles 15 pence.

21. Attending His Ma-tie at his walke in Arlington Gardens, he was pleased walking up & downe the alley to speake with me about halfe an houre, enquireing particularly of our manner of government, our gar-risons, souldiery, armes, & manner of warring, the business of Czegrin⁴⁹⁸ and many other things. Expended this day for dinner 3 shil. 6 p., to ser-ts 2 shil., at night 14 pence.

{123v} April 22. According to my ordinary custome, I went and waited on the King at his walking in the parke. The King caused try the new invention of the pompe made by Sir Robert Gordon, but some things breaking therein, it tooke no effect.⁴⁹⁹ Expended this day for tea 4 p., for dinner 3 shil. 8 p., to the ser-ts with my sonne 2 shil. 6 p. I went and saw Westminster Abbay & the monuments in King Hary ye 7ths chappel.

23. Being St. Georg his day, wee heard devotion and a[n] elegant sermon in St. Jameses. The Queen, being somewhat recovered, walked to Hide parke through St. James Parke in her coach, attended by 5 others & a troope of guards. Expended this day for dinner 4 shil. 4 pence, at night 19 p., to my sonne & ser-ts 2 shil. 6 p., being a shil. to my sonne & 6 p. to each ser-t.

⁴⁹⁷ William Douglas, 3d Duke of Hamilton (1635–1694). In March 1686 he was summoned to London by King James for being opposed to religious toleration of “Papists”. In 1688 he betrayed the king and joined William of Orange.

⁴⁹⁸ In 1676–78 Gordon played a crucial part in Chigirin campaigns, distinguishing himself in the valiant defence of that Ukrainian fortress against enormous Ottoman forces, which earned him the rank of major general. See *Diary*, vol. III.

⁴⁹⁹ Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, Bart. (1647–1704) due to his skills in chemistry and mechanics acquired a “magical” reputation. “He contrived a curious machine or pump for raising of water, which was tried in the fleet and highly approved of, and found far to exceed any thing of that kind then known, both for the facility of working and the quantity of water it discharged”, but as the inventor was not sufficiently rewarded, it remained a family secret (Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie, Bart. *The Baronage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1798), pp. 8–9).

24. I went by water to London, and spoke with my ffriends upon the Exchange, who entertained me with a glasse of wine in the Ship & Castle. Expended for tea 2 pence, for oares a shil., for coach hire back againe 18 pence, for ser-ts 2 shil., at night 5 pence, for trimming me 6 pence.

25. Heard devotion at St. Jameses, where was the King and Queen, who dined publickely this day with musick, at which I stayed, & was forced to dine alone afterwards, all my ordinary company haveing dined already. Expended this day for dinner w[i]t[h] sonne & ser-ts 6 shil. 8 p., at night to the ser-ts a shil., for my self 5 p.

26. Hearing that the King intended to go to Chattam, I procured a note from my L-d Melfort to be taken aboard of one of the Kings jachts, and so accordingly went in coach to Billingsgate, the King being at dinner in the Towre by my L-d Dartmouth⁵⁰⁰, and hireing a boate wee came to Detford, and was received aboard of {124} a jacht, which wee could have done without a note, there being 6 jachts and very few attendants with the King. Being come to Tilberry skonce over against Gravesend, the King went ashoare and went round the fortress, takeing a view of every thing, and asked my opinion concerning the fortifications & appurtenances, which as reasonable I extolled. The King made hast⁵⁰¹ to the jacht, and was saluted from the fort by all the cannon as also from all the ships, comeing downe the river, & the Tower at parting; but the jacht wherein I was being gone farr downe, wee recovered another, and was taken in, and so sailed downe till within some miles of Sherness. This day expended for breakfast 2 sh. 6 pence, for coach hire 18 pence, for oares to the jacht 1 shil., for oares from Tilberry to the jacht a shil.

April 27. About 6 aclock the King went ashoare to Shirness and went round the fortifications, and being on the top of a tower asked me what I thought of the fortress. I answered that it was exceeding well contrived & well furnished, and that I wondered how the Dutch durst adventure up towards Chattam⁵⁰², haveing such obstacles in their way. The King said, “No, you are mistaken, there was no such thing as this then, only a small skonce and ill furnished”. I replied that it gave me greater cause to won-

⁵⁰⁰ George Legge, 1st Baron Dartmouth (ca.1647–1691), English admiral.

⁵⁰¹ *back againe* crossed out.

⁵⁰² In June 1667 the Dutch fleet made a devastating raid into the mouth of the Thames and Medway.

der that such a considerable station for ships should have been in such a tyme so ill secured. The King replied, "You say well. Indeed, they have learned us witt". & being come into the governours house, and taking a standing breakfast, he asked me many more things, as, what armes wee used in Russia & what discipline; as also, of what {124v} family of the Gordons I was of, if of Aberdeens⁵⁰³ family, and many other things. The King made hast aboard, and our jacht boat being gone, I hired a pair of oares, who because of the contrar wind could not gett rowed up to the jachts who were all under saile; w-ch the King seeing, sent the boat himself was brought aboard in to take me in, which put me aboard of one of the jachts, which cost me 5 shillings.

Wee plyed up the river Medway to Chattam, where going ashoare the King was saluted as at Shirnesse by all the cannons from the forts & shippes. The King wiewed the shippes which were a building, & then see 5 companies of Coll. Kirks regiment exercized; the Lt. coll. who exercized them being on horseback & the King with all his attendants on foot. The King missed 6 men out of the company of granadiers, w-ch the Lt. coll. excused. The King haveing dined here, went aboard of his jacht, which in comeing up had broken her bogesprit on one of the great ships, whereof many lay in this river. And all the forts were now so well furnished with cannon that neither Dutch nor D. dare adventure againe.

I walked on foot to the towne a litle, and being 4 wee hired a coach for 8 shil. to Gravesend, where after supper, wee haveing hired a boat for 6 shil. to London. Expended this day: at Shirness for the boat 5 shil., for breakfast in Chattam 18 pence, coach hire to Gravesend 2 shil., where wee tooke coach 6 pence, supper in Gravesend 2 shil., oares to London 18 pence.

April 28. It being a great storme on the river, wee gott to London about 4 aclock in the morning. I went immediately to bed, and rising about 9 aclock, went to Court and waited on the King at privy staires, {125} who came in his barge & landed about 11 aclock. I dynd with my ordinary company and expended this day: for dinner 2 shil. 2 p., to sonne & ser-ts with the tyme I had been away 7 shil., for a booke 2 shillings, for makeing of some krawats lace to ruffles 10 shil., for a krawat 17 shil., for 3

⁵⁰³ I.e. Lord Aberdeen's (see fol. 24 v.).

travelling kravats 9 shil., for washing of my linnens, sonnes & ser-ts 3 shil. I payed also the taylors bill, being 26 pund, for house-meale by him 6 shil., for stockens to the page 2 shil., for shooes to him 3 shil. I sent a paire of sables to my Lady Melfort.

Aprill 29. I went by water to London, & haveing done my busines upon the Exchange, I returned about 8 acloake at night & went to Court; & about 10 meeting with Mr. Marr⁵⁰⁴, he told me that the shipp wherein my sonne should go to Dunkirk in was gone downe to Gravesend, and that by 4 aclock next morning he must be gone. So that the tyme being pressing, I came home & albeit late, I bought some linnens for him & made all things ready. Expended this day: for oares to London 6 pence, for wine there 2 shil. 2 p., for a ken with hand 9 shil., for coach hire to returne 18 pence, for sonne & ser-ts 2 shil., for two shirts to my sonne 7 shil.

30. About 4 aclock haveing sent for Mr. Marr, wee went & tooke oares at Yorke Buildings. I convoyed my sonne neare the bridge & then returned to foot, being early and no coach to be had. Expended this day: to James on the way 5 pund st., to Gravesend for him 7 shil., for 2 bookes 1 shil., for dinner 3 shil. 2 pence, for wine at night 2 shil. 2 pence, for tea 8 pence, to ser-ts 2 shil.

{125v} May 1. Haveing promised to visit my good ffriend Mr. Meverell & his family at Chersey, I went in coach to Stanes, 15 m., and walked from thence to Chersey on foot, being two miles, where I was cordially welcomed. Expended this day: for washing of linnens 3 shil. 2 p., for a red trimming 5 shil., for boots & spurrs 17 shil. 6 p., for breakfast 8 p., for coach hire for myself & ser-t 7 shil., drink money to the coachman 1 shil.; spent in Stanes 3 p., for a guide 6 pence, for triming 6 pence.

2. I passed the tyme in reading & walking, and seeing the great multitudes of sheep which were brought thither to the market, which was to be there the next day.

⁵⁰⁴ Pseudonym of Father James Forbes, who in 1679 headed a Jesuit mission to Scotland, and in November 1686 was appointed one of the King's chaplains at Holyrood, where the abbey-church was soon converted to the Roman Catholic Chapel Royal and the Chapel of the "revived" Order of the Thistle. After the "Revolution" Forbes became Rector of the Scots College at Douay. He had to conceal his name because Jesuits were persecuted in Britain.

3. I bought a horse from Robin Jacobs for 7 pund sterling and a jewell for 10 pund st. and a mare for 3 pund 10 shil., and giving drink money 3 shil., after breakfast I rode to London, intending to take my leave of the King as soone as possible, which I was perswaded to delay upon the acco-t of nothing being heard from the Scots Parliament.⁵⁰⁵

4. I dispatched my ser-ts with such baggage as I had by me (my trunks from Amsterdam not being come) to the shipp which was already at Gravesend. This day the English Parliament conveened and was prorogued to the 23d of the ensuing November. I went to the Citty and by the way did meet the Scots Batallion marching through the Citty well cloathed, armed & disciplined. I tooke my leave of ffrriends in the Citty & of Esq-r Hebdon in the Fleet; and returning saw the tragedy of *Hamlet*, *Prince of Denmark*, acted in Whitehall in the presence of the King, Queen & all the Court.⁵⁰⁶ Expended this day: for fraught & meat for two servants to Scotland 40 shillings, on the way to them 12 shil., for my two ser-ts dyet whilst I was at Chersey 4 shil., for dinner 8 p., to ye ser-t 6 pence, tea & ale 6 pence.

{126} May 5. I received from Mr. Meverell money, which made up his acco-t to me of 145 p. st. This night the letters came from Scotland of the Parliaments actions, and how it was scarcely carryed, that in their answer to the Kings letter they should call the Kings ffrriends Rom[an] Catholicks⁵⁰⁷. I payed this day for dinner 13 1/2 pence, for tea 1 penny, for wine 2 shil., & visiteing a woman in childbed it cost me wages 3 shil. I writt letters to Russia to my ffrriends accord. to ye copies.

6. I began to looke about for furniture, & Maior McDougall bought for me a sadle with furniture & sadle cloth for 17 shil. 10 pence, gave to a poor widdow 2 shil., to Shenka 4 pence, for trimming 6 pence, for dinner wt wine 2 sh. 6 p., to the boy at ni-t 4 pence, for carying things to the boate 1 shil. I saw the Scots Battalion exercized in the Hide-parke befor the King & Queen, & saw the comedy *The Rehearsal*⁵⁰⁸ acted.

⁵⁰⁵ The Scottish Parliament met on 29 April, but adjourned until 6 May, when there began "the great debate" on toleration of Roman Catholicism.

⁵⁰⁶ This is the earliest known reference to Shakespeare's works made by an inhabitant of Russia, as was pointed out by M.P. Alexeyev (*Russko-angliyskiye literaturnye sniazi* (Moscow, 1982), p. 66). Whitehall Palace was destroyed by fire in 1698.

⁵⁰⁷ Instead of "Papists".

⁵⁰⁸ Well-known farce written jointly by the Duke of Buckingham, Samuel Butler and

7. I gave to Mr. Marre 20 pund sterling for my sonnes maintenance at Doway⁵⁰⁹ & 3 pund more for his first suit. Spent for coffy this day 6 pence. I hyred another more private lodging at a brasiers in Pelmeil, paying for a chamber 5 sh. 6 pence a weeke and a bed for my servant 1 sh.⁵¹⁰

8. I removed to my new lodging, paying for house hyre and some bookes which I bought 2 punds 18 shil. 3 pence, for dinner 2 sh. 6 pence, for a trunk maile 7 sh. 6 pence, wages to the maid 2 shil. 6 pence, for 2 paire of stockens 8 shil., for candle 6 pence.

9. I heard masse & sermon at St. Jameses, & payed for dinner 2 shil. 3 pence, & at night 8 pence.

10. I bought some necessaries as a cover to a sadle, bosses and rings thereto 4 shil-s, for combes & inkhorne 1 shil. 6 pence, for fyre 3 pence, for dinner 2 shil. 2 pence, to my ser-t 6 pence.

The English Parliament did againe meet & was againe prorogued to the 22 of November by the L-d Chancellour, there being in the upper house 24 & in the lower 130 members.

11. I spoke to the Secretary of State⁵¹¹ that he might informe His Sacred Ma-tie that I desired to take my leave; who told me the same day that the King said I should have private audience befor I went. The King touched many persons diseased with that called “the Kings evill”⁵¹², in the first chamber of presence. Payed this day for coffy 8 pence, for dinner 2 shil., {126v} at night 1 shil. 6 pence, to my ser-t 6 pence, for a booke 4 pence.

May 12. I dined in the Dutch house by St. Jameses & payed for dinner 1 shil. 6 pence, for a booke 2 shil., for ale 4 pence and for coffy 3 pence. This day Prince George with his princesse & family went for Windsore, and much of the Kings plenishing or furniture sent thither.

13. Newes came from Windsore that the Princess the evening befor was delivered of a daughter; wherefor the King, who intended not to have gone thither befor Saturneday, prepared to be gone the same day. I

Martin Clifford. It parodied bombastic English tragedies of the period. The premiere took place in London in December 1671.

⁵⁰⁹ James Gordon was sent by his father to study at the Scots Roman Catholic College of Douay in French Flanders.

⁵¹⁰ In the MS this sum is barely legible.

⁵¹¹ Evidently, the Earl of Middleton (see fol. 54 v.).

⁵¹² According to an old superstition, a king's touch could cure scrofula.

thought to have gott audience, but the suddaine departure of the Kings hindred; wherefor I resolved to ride the next morning to Windsore, where I promised to my self the better convenience. And haveing had this day heard devotion at St. Jameses, & about 3 aclock attended the King at his departure, I went about my other businesse, and bought a sadle for 8 shil-s. Gave to the ser-t 6 p. and at night 8 p.

14. I rose early and haveing payed the ostler for eleven nights at the rate of 1 shil. 6 p. for each horse *p[e]r diem*, and given to the ostler 16 pence wages, I mounted & rode to Windsore through the ordinary roade, it being deep way. About 10 aclock I came thither & haveing shifted my self, I {127} went to Court and found the King walking in the parke & ready to returne. His S[acred] M[ajesty] was graciously pleased to tell to the Earle of Feversham⁵¹³ what I was, and then asked me if I had ever been there befor, & what I thought of the place. I answered to His M. satisfaction. In going through the roomes His S.M. told me that in the evening he would speake with me. So haveing heard devotion, and seen the King dine, I went to my lodging and dined, and about 4 aclock went to the Court againe, and passed the tyme in wiewing the large & well decored roomes of the palace; and went afterwards into the parke & wiewed all the walkes and conveniences of it, this being a most delightfull place, and haveing a most delicate prospect.

About 6 aclocke the King with the Queen came to walke in the parke accompanied with Prince Georg, and after ane houres divertisement returned. In the evening about sunsett, the King being in one of the great chambers, called me to a corner of the roome & entered in a large discourse with me, enquireing where & how long I had served abroad, and many other things relateing to military effaires, to all which I answered as well as I could. His M. was graciously pleased to tell me that I should make hast to returne, and that he would have a care of me, & do for me what he could; which discourse lasted above halfe ane heure. And then dismissing me, about halfe ane heure thereafter, I seeing His M. going towards his closet, went & sitting downe on my knee, His M. graciously gave me his hand to kisse. And haveing not seen any

⁵¹³ Louis de Duras, 2nd Earl of Feversham (1641–1709), French aristocrat with the title of Marquis de Blanquefort, a Huguenot naturalised in Britain; member of the Privy Council and colonel of the King's Life Guards.

of our Scots nobility or any acquaintance to address me to the Queen, I begged of His Ma-tie the honour to kiss the Queens hand. Whereat His M. smileing was pleased to conduct me to the Queen, who was sitting at a table with some ladies at {127v} cardes; and the King acquainting her, beckened to me to come nearer, where I had the honour to kiss Her M. hand; w-ch gave occasion of discourse to the nobility & courtiers, some saying, "This gentleman hath gott a fine introductor indeed!" The King in passing by was pleased to say to me, "You must not stay long there, & wee shall write to the Tzaars about you". Prince Georg being in the same roome, I went & tooke my leave of His Royall Highnes in a short complement, first in Dutch & then in English, to the which he made litle answer.

I went to my lodging, & haveing payed for my horses & my self 6 shil. 6 p. & wages 2 groats, and slept about 4 houres,

May 15. I tooke horse & returned to London, and made ready to be gone, and the same day tooke my leave of my Lord Melfort and diverse other noblemen. Payed for dinner 19 pence, for coffy 4, to my ser-t 6 pence, & at night 2 shil-s.

16. I tooke my leave of my Lord Middleton & diverse others.

I heard devotion at the Venetian Ambassadors, & dined with many ffriends at the Dutch house by St. Jameses, & were soberly merry, where it cost me 11 shill.

At night wee did meet with some ffriends at a tavern and were merry, where contrar to expectation Sir Robert Gordon payed the shott.

{128} May 17. I rose early and payed in my lodging for lodging 6 shil-s, wages 2 shil., for horse meat 9 shil., for ale 14 p., wages to the ostler 1 shil. & so takeing leave of the kind people of the house, I with the Laird of Lochyiell called Sir Ewin Cameron⁵¹⁴ tooke coach & went to Smithfield, where wee fitted our selves with some small things, for which I payed here 3 shil. 10 p., for breakfast with my cousin Alex-r 2 shil-s 4 pence, & for horse meat a shil.

⁵¹⁴ Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel (1629–1719), Chief of the great Clan Cameron. In the 1650s he was one of those who long resisted Cromwell's invasion of Scotland, and supported the Stuart cause. In 1686 he visited London anent some lands in Lochaber contested between the Camerons and the Gordons (*Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochell, Chief of the Clan Cameron* (Edinburgh, 1842)).

About midday wee tooke jorney, and came to Waltham Crosse, 12 miles, where wee rested and payed for our selves & horses 2 shil. 6 pence.

It is needles to make a description of all the particular places by & through which I passed in this jorney, which can be seen at full & large in printed bookes, as in Cambden⁵¹⁵ & others. Let it suffice once for all that it is a most pleasant & fertile countrey, and scarcely any poverty to be discerned in the meanest cottage, but every where plenty & chearfulness.

Wee rode 8 miles further to Ware, where wee lodged in the posthouse, & the next morning payed for supper 4 shil. 6 p., for our three horses 4 shil. 6 p., for a pint of sack in the morning a shil., wages 8 p., for stuffing a sadle 8 p. and for a horse-shoe 6 pence. Here is the rivers Leo & Ware.

18. The morning being somewhat misty, through deep and strait way wee came to Roiston, being 14 miles, and then 5 mil. further through worse way to a village called Aringtowne, where wee dined. Here I perceived the trunke-male had sitt downe upon my horse back & navelgalled him, for which I could find no remedy nor a horse to hire; so that paying for our selves & horses 2 shil. 7 pence, wee travelled to Huntingtowne 11 miles, haveing near the towne passed through Godmanchester, a fine towne with the most industrious {128v} inhabitants for husbandry in all England. And truly here in passing through I saw the most, in such a place, handsome & beautifull women that ever I saw in my lyfe-tyme. The River Ouse runneth here, w-ch wee crossed by a faire stone bridge of 4 bowes. Wee lodged here, and my horse being spoiled in the back and Lochyell his horse likely to faile, wee were forced to think of swapping;

May 19. and the next day many horses being brought to us, but most of them lame, wee were a long tyme befor wee could get condiscended on any bargaine. At last my comorade gave 40 shil., & I 3 pund 1 shil. in boot with our horses for others by farr not so good as ours when wee brought them from London. But so are travellers preyed upon every where! Wee payed here for our selves 6 shil. 2 p. and wages 10 pence, for beer extra 6 p., for stuffing the pillion & sadle 10 pence, for a iron barr to the pillion 6 p., for horse-meat 4 shil-s, and I payed to a coach man to bring the trunke-maile to Doncaster 4 shil-s. In the evening wee rode to Stilton, 9

⁵¹⁵ William Camden (1551–1623), English antiquary. His celebrated “*Britannia*”, first published in Latin in 1586, appeared in Gordon’s library in 1667 (*Diary*, II, p. 279).

miles, where lodged & payed for our selves 20 pence, for our horses 3 shil. 6 pence, wages 6 p.

The Prince of Denmarkes last borne daughter christened & named Anna Sophia; E. of Feversham godfa-r, L[adie]s Roscommon & Churchill godmothers; christened by the B[isho]p of Durham.⁵¹⁶

20. Wee rose early and came to Stamford, 12 miles, crossing here the R. Welland by a stone bridge, and rode 10 miles further and dined in a village called Kolsfoot, where wee payed for victuals 20 pence, for horses 15 p., wages to the ostler 2 pence. Then wee rode through Grantham, 6 miles, & a mile further wee had a delicate prospect of a fertile valley with a ancient place called Beavoir Castle on o[u]r left hand. Wee passed through the valley & lodged in a large long village called Great Billingtonne⁵¹⁷, which is 5 miles from Grantham, where wee payed for {129} our selves 29 pence, for horses 3 shil. 6 p., wages 7 pence.

May 21. Wee came to Newarke, 5 miles, where wee passed the River Trent & at the ferry payed 6 pence. Wee came further through a low-countrie & dined in Tuxfoord, 10 miles from Newarke, where wee had a sight of Lincolne on the right hand. Here wee payed for our selves 32 pence, for horses 15 pence, wages 2 pence. From hence wee rode through Shirwood Forrest, the old haunting place of Robin Hood, to Barnby on the Moor, 8 miles, & to Skribtree, 3 miles, where wee lodged & payed for our selves 2 shil-s 6 pence, for horses 3 shil-s, wages 6 pence.

22. Wee came to Doncaster, being 6 miles, where I received my trunk maile by the Yorke coach. Being afrayed to spoile my mare as I had done the horse with the maile, I bought a portmantle or bagge and put in the linnens & such other things as could not be the worse of being pressed, & caused fitt the maile-pillion better. And refreshing our selves, wee payed for our selves 3 shil., for horses 15 pence, wages 4 p., for the bagge 2 shil. 6 p., for dressing the pillion 1 shil. 6 pence, for footsocks 12 p. Here crossing the River Done, wee came 4 miles further to Robin Hoods well, & by the old Roman causey way to Wentbridge, 3 miles, and to Ferrybridges, 3 miles, very stony & strait way, & then to Aberfoord, 6 miles. All this way wee had a sight of Yorke forward on o[u]r right hand. Here wee rested

⁵¹⁶ This entry was added later, when Gordon learned of the christening.

⁵¹⁷ Probably, Long Bennington, Lincolnshire.

& payed in all 13 pence; and rideing 6 miles further, wee passed the River Wherf by a stone bridge at Wethersby, where wee lodged.

{129v} May [23]. Being Whitsonday, wee rested till midday, passing the tyme in the morning by wiewing the pleasant fields & course of the river. Haveing dined, wee payed for our selves 4 shil. 6 pence, for our horses 2 shil. 9 pence, & wages 6 pence. Wee tooke horse & rode to Borrowbridges, 10 miles, where wee crossed the R. Ouse, rested & payed 2 shil-s 6 pence in the Red Lyon; & rode 4 miles further to Topcliffe, where wee lodged & payed for o[u]rselves 2 shil. 1 pence, for our horses 3 shil-s, wages 5 pence.

24. Wee rode 8 long miles to Northallertowne, & 5 miles to Smittowne⁵¹⁸, where wee dyned & payed for our selves & horses 3 shil. 4 pence. Then to Darneton⁵¹⁹, 5 miles, where a great faire, where payed for a flaggon of ale 4 pence; and rideing 4 miles further to Yakcliffe⁵²⁰, where wee rested a litle & payed 13 pence; and it being a great raine, wee could gett no further as Ferryhill, being 5 miles, where wee lodged & payed for o[u]rselves 32 pence & horses 3 shil., wages 5 pence.

25. Wee came to Durham early, being 5 miles, where great preparations for a faire, and then 12 miles to Newcastle, where dyned upon good fish, paying for our selves 2 shil-s, for our horses 21 pence & wages 3 pence, for rings to a sadle 4 pence; and then 12 miles to Morpeth, where wee lodged & payed for o[u]rselves 2 shil. 1 1/2 pence, for our horses 3 shil. 2 p., wages 6 pence.

26. Wee rode to Fermlington, 8 miles, and over a great hill to Whittinghame, 6 miles, where dyned & payed for our selves 1 shil. 2 pence, for horses 9 pence, wages 3 pence.

{130} Wee lodged this night in ane inne called Haughhead, a mile short of Woller, and payed for o[u]rselves 33 pence, for o[u]r horses 2 shil. 6 p., wages 6 pence & at parting 2 1/2 p. for brandy.

May 27. To Wuller a mile; to Newtowne, where a fort, 4 miles; to the Scots borders, 4 miles; to Kelso where wee crossed Tweed at a foord, 4 miles, where wee dyned & payed for our selves & horses 4 shil. 3 p., wages 6 p. From hence wee rode through the pleasant countrey of the Merse to

⁵¹⁸ Smeaton.

⁵¹⁹ Darlington.

⁵²⁰ Aycliffe.

Lawder, 10 miles, where wee lodged & payed for o[u]rselves 2 shil. 6 p., for o[u]r horses 2 shil. 4 p., wages 6 p.

28. Wee rode to Gingle kirke⁵²¹ 4 miles, to Sotry⁵²² 2 miles, to Falaw one mile, to Dalkeith 5 miles, where dined & payed for o[u]rselves 2 shil. 3 p., for o[u]r horses 10 pence & wages 2 pence. About 3 aclock afternoone wee came to Edinborgh, 4 miles, where I tooke up my lodging in the foot of the Cannongate, at the signe of the Kings Armes.

About two houres after my arrivall the Duke of Gordon⁵²³ came to see me, & welcomed me very kindly; afterwards diverse other particular ffriends gave me the honour of a visitt.

{130v} May 29. I went in the morning & payed my respects to His Grace the Duke of Gordon, who was exceeding kind, and offered to conduct me to His Grace the Lord Commissioner⁵²⁴ and to the other grandees, desireing me to make no address by any other person but himself. So taking me into his coach, I went to Court and was addressed to His Grace the Lord Commissioner, who received me very kindly. After some stay wee went to the Lord Chancellour⁵²⁵, who was yet a bed. Afterwards I went & gave a visitt to the Earle of Aberdeen, and dynd with my cousin Mr. Thomas Gordon, Clerk to the Justice Court⁵²⁶. Afterwards wee went to a chamber opposite to the Crosse and see the ceremonies at the Cross by the Provost⁵²⁷ & magistrates in drinking the Kings health, and remembering the late Kings birth day & happy restauration, which was followed by some volleys of shott & thereafter by many bonefyres all along the streets.

⁵²¹ Channelkirk. In medieval sources it is called Childeschirche, in accordance with the legend of St. Cuthbert, to whom that church was consecrated (*Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh* (Edinburgh, 1847), p. 131).

⁵²² Soutra.

⁵²³ Alias Marquis of Huntly, Chief of Clan Gordon (see fol. 91). At this time he was Governor of Edinburgh Castle.

⁵²⁴ Alexander Stuart, 5th Earl of Moray (1634–1701), from 1680 Secretary of State for Scotland. In 1686 he was appointed the King's High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament.

⁵²⁵ James Drummond, 4th Earl, later Duke of Perth (1648–1716), Lord Chancellor of Scotland. He was elder brother of Lord Melfort, cousin and brother-in-law of the Duke of Gordon, and head of the Catholic party.

⁵²⁶ See fol. 12.

⁵²⁷ The Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, to the east of the High Kirk of St. Giles. The Lord Provost of Edinburgh was Sir Thomas Kennedy of Kirkhill (in 1685–1687).

30. Being invited to devotion & dinner by my Lord Chancellour, I went thither in the morning with the Duke. At dinner were the Duke, the Earles of Erroll, Airly, Dumferling⁵²⁸ with some ladyes & gentlemen. After dinner I went with the Earls of Erroll & Dumferling & had with some more company a merry collation.

31. I visitted the Dukes of Hamilton & Queensbury⁵²⁹ and the Marquess of Athole⁵³⁰, being brought to them by the Duke [of Gordon].

{131} June 1. I went along with the Duke and waited upon the Lord High Commissioner, and then with the Duke in his coach went to the Parliament house, & satt at the foot of the throne below the Duke, and afterwards dined in company with the Duke & many noblemen in Krombies⁵³¹, and went downe the street with the Duke in his coach. I received the visits of many noblemen & gentlmen, and had notice that my trunks from Dantzick were come to Lieth. I sent my horses to be fed in the parke. I did writt to the Earle of Middleton, the Viscount of Melfort, to the P[aters] Dumbar⁵³² & Marr, & to Alex-r Gordon.

2. I received some visitts in the morning, and dined in my lodging. Afternoone I gave a visitt to the Earle of Aberdeen and had much discourse with him concerning my owne particular. I agreed with my landlady to pay for three servants dyet 18 pence a day. I did writt to my brother to send me some papers to Edinburgh & the necessary charters of the business betwixt my Lord Erroll & me.⁵³³

⁵²⁸ John Hay, 12th Earl of Erroll († 1704), Lord High Constable of Scotland and General Gordon's feudal lord. James Ogilvy, 2nd Earl of Airlie (ca.1615–1703), Chief of Clan Ogilvy, to which General Gordon's mother belonged. James Seton, 4th Earl of Dunfermline († 1694) was forfeited in 1690 for his loyalty to the House of Stuart.

⁵²⁹ William Douglas, 1st Duke of Queensberry (1637–1695), like his namesake Lord Hamilton, was one of the leaders of intolerant Presbyterians, for which he was deprived of his offices of Lord High Commissioner and Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.

⁵³⁰ John Murray, 1st Marquis of Atholl (1631–1703), Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland.

⁵³¹ Edinburgh tavern kept by Alexander Crombie.

⁵³² Father William Dunbar († after 1714), Jesuit. In November 1686 he was appointed King's Almoner in Scotland.

⁵³³ General Gordon held his estate of Auchleuchries of Lord Erroll in feu-ferme for an annual payment of 12 pounds Scots. "The business", no doubt, had to do with

3. I was in the Parliament, and dined in Blaires⁵³⁴ with some noblemen. In the afternoone I payed some visitts to the noblemen who had done me the honour. In the evening meeting with some noblemen, wee went and tooke a merry collation.

4. I dined in my lodging, and afternoone went & visitt my cousin Mr. Thomas, where I received letters from my sonne James from Doway dated [...] May.

{131v} June 5. I dined in my lodging, and afternoone went into the parke to walke. I gott up my trunks from Lieth, which came from Dantzick, and found all safe.

6. Having been invited by my Lord Chancellour to dinner, I went & heard devotion, after which in my Lord Chancellours packet came in a *coverto* of Mr. Cambridge of Hamburg, a letter from o[u]r chieffe Minister of State⁵³⁵ acknowledging the reseate of some of myne on the way, and giving me power in their Ma-ties name to bring along some officers of inferiour quality, as also some enginiers, fireworkers & minirers, and to promise them yearly pay according to their quality, and liberty to go out of the countrey, when their occasions required. Afternoone I went downe to Lieth with the Earles of Airly & Dumferling.

7. I sent in the morning some cavear & 40 ermines to the Duke of Gordon, & as much to the Lord Chancellour. I dined in the towne with some noblemen, and in the afternoone did writt letters to Russia, London & Hamburg.

8. I dated & dispatched my leters to our chieffe Minister of State⁵³⁶, to

this relationship.

⁵³⁴ Edinburgh tavern of note.

⁵³⁵ Prince V.V. Golitsyn. On 5 June Baron van Keller, Dutch resident in Moscow, reported to his government: "Mr. Patrick Gordon., who has departed hence to England, during his absence shall be appointed general of infantry in order to assume command against the Crimean Tatars, so that his recall here is to be expected soon" (Archive of St. Petersburg Institute of History, Coll. 40, Opis' 1, No. 58, fol. 72 v.).

⁵³⁶ "Mr. Patrick Gordon... has written from London to the [Tsars'] Court to report that he had had a conversation with the Secretary of State whereat he informed him: at the Russian Court they deemed it very strange that no one had arrived from H.M. the King of Great Britain to offer condolences to Their Tsarian Majesties on the occasion of the demise of their most illustrious predecessor, as well as congratulations on their succession to the crown. At first the said Secretary of State answered him in very unconvincing terms, but, after renewed insistence

my wyfe, Mr. Vinius, Mr. Cambridge in Hamburg, my cousin, Mr. Meverell & Maior McDougall in London.

{132} June 9. I payed some visitts to those I had not seen, and intending to have gone North, I was by my cousins perswaded to stay untill my writings should come.

10. The Duke of Gordon tooke me up to the Castle, & shew me all the places worth the seeing therein. I gave two dollers to the keeper of the magazine and 4 dollers to the guards. From thence I gave a visitt to the Lady Marquess of Huntly⁵³⁷.

11. I dined in my lodging, & in the afternoone passed the tyme in the parke.

12. Father Lesly⁵³⁸ came to me in the morning & gave me a letter from my sonne James and another from the Rector of the Colledge of Doway called Gilbert Inglis. I dined in the towne with some noblemen, and was in company this evening, our dinner costing us ordinarily about halfe a crowne, & our collations 2 or 3 shil-s a peece.

{132v} June 13. I heard devotion in Lady Lucy Hamiltons⁵³⁹, and being invited I dined with the Earle of Airly, and afternoone went to Lieth & passed the tyme there. In the evening the Duke came by me, to whom I gave a Turkish cimiter; then wee went & walked in the parke.

by Lt.General Gordon, has declared that H.M. the King of Great Britain may well resolve, when Mr. Gordon would be ready to return to Russia, to send an embassy to that country at the same time. If this embassy does occur, it cannot but lead to harmful consequences for the good and loyal subjects of Your Most Potent Lordships, who are trading here, for the ancient pretensions of the English are too well known" (Baron van Keller's dispatch from Moscow to the States-General, 3 July 1686—Ibid., fols. 73 v.—74).

⁵³⁷ Mary Grant, widow of Louis, 3rd Marquis of Huntly, then wife of James, Earl of Airlie.

⁵³⁸ William Aloysius Leslie (1641–1704) sprang from the same branch of Balquhain in Aberdeenshire as Russia's first general, Sir Alexander Leslie of Auchintoul († 1663). In 1666 he became a Jesuit, and in 1674–1683 was Superior of the Scots College in Rome. In 1673 he obtained the sanction of Pope Clement X for the universal Catholic veneration of St. Margaret of Scotland, and was the probable author of her Life (*Vitae Antiquae Sanctorum Scotiae* (Romae, 1675), p. 308), as also of the detailed genealogy of his own clan (*Laurus Lesliana Explicata* (Graecii [Graz], 1692)). On return to his homeland in 1685 he laboured there as a missionary until his death.

⁵³⁹ Third daughter of James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn. At the "Glorious Revolution" her house in Edinburgh, with those of other Catholics, was plundered by a mob.

14. I was in the towne at dinner with diverse noblemen, where the Earle of Eglintowne desired me to take his sonne M-r John along with me to Russia.⁵⁴⁰

15. Diverse acts were ratified in the Parliament. I went and saw Heriots-worke⁵⁴¹, and in the evening were very merry with the Earls of Arroll & Marshall & the Lord Collington⁵⁴², haveing dined this day by Gen-ll Drummond. The Parliament being adjourned to the 17th of August next, the L-d Commissioner made preparations to be gone.

16. I dined in towne, sent my trunks a shipboord with my ser-t Daniell, and in the evening past the tyme with Sr Thomas Dalyell⁵⁴³. The Earle of Aberdeen went North.

17. The Lord High Commissioner went from Edinburgh, being convoyed by most of the nobility, and with many volleyes of great & small shott. He lodged in Haddingtowne all night, & I tooke up my lodging with the Viscount of Kenmoir⁵⁴⁴.

{133} June 18. In the morning I went & visited the Duke of Lawderdale his tombe⁵⁴⁵, & afterwards waited on the Duke [of Gordon],

⁵⁴⁰ John, third son of Alexander Montgomery, 8th Earl of Eglinton, did not make it to Russia. He entered the army at home and rose to the rank of major, when he died unmarried.

⁵⁴¹ The majestic George Heriot's Hospital (later School), erected in Edinburgh in 1628–1659.

⁵⁴² George Keith, 8th Earl Marischal († 1694), whose lands adjoined those of the Gordons; as a young man he served in the French army, and fought for the Royalists at Worcester in 1651. Sir James Foulis of Colinton († 1688), Lord Justice Clerk.

⁵⁴³ Sir Thomas Dalyell of The Binns, Bart. (ca.1640–1702), eldest son of Gordon's old friend, General Thomas Dalyell (1615–1685). He is apparently identical with the captain of the same name in the Tsar's army, mentioned in Vol. II of Gordon's *Diary* and Russian documents (on 16 September 1665 "it was ordered, if he remains outside the regiments, to let him go to Moscow" (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Moscow. Fond 233, opis' 1, kniga 130, fol. 118)). He thus served in Russia somewhat longer than his father, who had set out thence for Scotland in January 1665. There is a fine portrait of him at The Binns, West Lothian.

⁵⁴⁴ Alexander Gordon, 5th Viscount of Kenmure († 1698). He was to follow King James VII (II) into exile in France.

⁵⁴⁵ John Maitland, 1st Duke of Lauderdale (1616–1682), Secretary of State and virtual ruler of Scotland under King Charles II. On Gordon's contacts with Lauderdale during the former's mission to London in 1666 see *Diary*, II. The Duke's imposing monument is found in an aisle of St. Mary's, Haddington.

from whence I went & tooke my leave of my Lord Commissioner, who gave me a very high complement. After breakfast wee returned & visited the pallace of Seaton, & were merry in Preston, & came in good tyme to Edinburgh.

19. I tooke my leave of the Dukes of Hamilton and Queensbury, the Marquesse of Athole & other noblemen, dined at home, & in the evening were merry with some noblemen.

20. I dined by the Lord Chancellour & tooke my leave of his L^p, and then made a progresse in takeing my leave of other noblemen & ffrriends; & in the evening were merry with my L^d Dumferling, Lt.Coll. Buchan & Coxstowne.⁵⁴⁶

21. I went early & tooke my leave of the Duke, who excused his not conveying me to Lieth as he intended, by reason of his indisposition. And so, takeing coach, was convoyed by many ffrriends to Lieth, where breakfasting & takeing leave of ffrriends, I tooke boat & {133v} crossed to Burnt-Illand, where hyreing a horse for one of my servants with a guide, I rode to Da[l]lgatie, 4 miles, & there tooke my leave of the Lady Dumferling⁵⁴⁷, who tooke it exceeding kindly. I rode from thence to Kirkaldy, where I hade notice that the ship wherein my trunks were had this day weighed ankor from the roade. I lodged in Kennoway.

June 22. I came to Cowper⁵⁴⁸ in a very rainy day, & crossed the ferry at Dundee, where I made no great stay, haveing dined on the other syde, & came to Ardbroath, where I rested & baited the horses. At the Redhouse S-r Georg Skeen & Baily Adie⁵⁴⁹ overtooke me, and wee lodged together in Montrose.

23. Wee crossed the Northwater⁵⁵⁰ & through Bervy by Steenhave⁵⁵¹, & dined in Cowy, it being all the tyme a deluge of raine. At the bridge of

⁵⁴⁶ Thomas Buchan († after 1721), from 1686 colonel, from 1689 major general and one of Jacobite commanders in Ireland and Scotland. Alexander Innes of Coxtoun was a member of the Scottish Parliament for the Shire of Elgin.

⁵⁴⁷ Lady Jean Gordon, daughter of the 3rd Marquis of Huntly, and sister of the 1st Duke of Gordon.

⁵⁴⁸ Cupar.

⁵⁴⁹ Sir George Skene of Fintray (1619–1707), Lord Provost of Aberdeen in 1676–1685 and representative of the city in Parliament. Bailie George Adie in Aberdeen was one of those who supported the repeal of anti-Catholic laws.

⁵⁵⁰ The North Esk.

⁵⁵¹ Stonehaven.

Dee wee drank a glasse of wine & about 4 aclock came to Aberdeen, and lodged in Katherine Raes. Many ffriends came to see me. I dispatched a post for my sonne.

{134} June 24. My unkle⁵⁵², brother John & my sonne⁵⁵³ came, and many ffriends in the towne came to see me.

25. Haveing dyned and hearing my trunks were come from Edinburgh, I tooke horse and rode to Kelly⁵⁵⁴, where I was kindly welcomed by the Earle of Aberdeen and the Lord Haddo his sonne. Wee had large discourses of many things and spoke at length of my owne particular; & having perused the charters & writeings of the lands of Achluichries, wee found it convenient not to sell it, it being both well holden & well worth the keeping.

26. After breakfast I tooke horse & passed Ithan water by boat, & it being a very great raine, I made a visitt to the Laird of Shivees⁵⁵⁵ & then to the milne of Drumwhendill, where the River Ebry being greatly encreased & overflowing the banks, I was forced to stay at the milne about three houres untill the water did fall a litle, and then rode the fuird with great hazard & danger. *In passanto* I made a visitt at Coldwells⁵⁵⁶ and another at Dudwick⁵⁵⁷, and takeing a standing-drink at the Bony-Wyfes, in the evening I came to my brother John his habitation.

{134v} June 27. I rose up early and walked up to the kairne & to the Karnywinke & then downe to my unkle & about some part of the fields thereabout, which I beheld to my great satisfaction & contentment, and dined by my unkle. After dinner my sister with her husband⁵⁵⁸ & diverse ffriends came to see me. Towards evening wee went over and supped by my brother John.

⁵⁵² James Gordon of Westertoun (of Auchleuchries), Patrick's paternal uncle and one of his factors in Scotland.

⁵⁵³ John Gordon, the general's eldest son.

⁵⁵⁴ Seat of Lord Aberdeen, which was later called Haddo House.

⁵⁵⁵ George Gray of Schivas, a Roman Catholic laird.

⁵⁵⁶ Another Gordon residence, of a branch which gave birth to John Gordon (1644–1726), the last Bishop of Galloway (Episcopal) in 1688–9. He joined King James VII (II) in his French exile and became a Catholic.

⁵⁵⁷ Then possessed by the Fullartons.

⁵⁵⁸ Patrick's sister Elizabeth Gordon (1644–after 1698) was married to William Hay of Ardenrit.

28. Nethermuir⁵⁵⁹ being come, wee consulted & spoke wt my brother John about his acco-ts. He gave in a long reckoning of expences for my children & effaires, wherewith I was no wise satisfied. So being to go downe to Crowdan, wee deferr'd all to the next day. Having visitted diverse gentlmen in the parish, I dined wt my sister and was very merry, and afterwards visiteing others I returned at night to my brothers.

29. In the morning I walked and tooke a view of some places which I had not seen, and after long discussing with my brother about his acco-ts wee scarcely came to ane agreement, & some ffrinds being come to see me, wee tooke breakfast, and afterwards horse and rode to New Deer parish, some ffrinds meeting {135} me by the way. I first touched at Barak, then Knavin & so Achmunyell⁵⁶⁰, and befor evening I came to Dalgaty, where I found my Lord⁵⁶¹ but newly come home. He made me very welcome; wee supped merrily with good company.

June 30. Haveing walked untill about 9 aclock, afterwards wee did fall upon our particular, and after litle scruples & difficulty wee gott an end, my Lord very nobly condescending to all wee desired. Wee dined wt my Lord very merrily among the most excellent discourses of a compleet well bred Lady⁵⁶²; and indeed, all the civilities imaginable were showed me by both those worthy persons. Haveing with great satisfaction taken my leave, I made a visitt at Achry⁵⁶³, who was in company with us in Dalgatie; and being nobly entertained, I rode to Achmunyell, Achridy and Nethermuir⁵⁶⁴, where I made short visitts, and came to Barak, where I lodged.

{135v} July 1. After breakfast I rode to Ellon, some ffrinds haveing mett me by the way, so that wee were about 30 horse. Here I spoke with the Lairds of Rothemay⁵⁶⁵ & Watertowne⁵⁶⁶ about my owne particulars,

⁵⁵⁹ John Gordon of Nethermuir, Patrick's cousin.

⁵⁶⁰ All three Gordon places.

⁵⁶¹ The Earl of Erroll, of whom the general held his estate.

⁵⁶² Lady Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll, sister of Lord Chancellor Perth. She wrote "An Account of Buchan, and what is remarkable therein" (*Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff* (Aberdeen, 1843), pp. 94–7), and corresponded with some noted British figures of the period.

⁵⁶³ William Cuming of Auchry, whose first wife was a Gordon.

⁵⁶⁴ All seats of Gordons.

⁵⁶⁵ John Gordon of Rothiemay, whose brother Captain William served under General Patrick in Russia.

⁵⁶⁶ Thomas Forbes of Watertoun, nephew of the Earl of Aberdeen.

the last whereof I visited in his house; and being returned to Ellon, I by a notar gave him a warning concerning the wedsett of the Muirtacke⁵⁶⁷, against which he protested. After some large discourses, & received the visitts of very many gentlemen, who were here at a meeting, and at our going from hence drinking the Kings health at the Towstone or Tollstone, and being convoyed a part of the way by many ffrriends, I came in the evening to Aberdeen, where I received letters from the Duke of Gordon & from my cousin Mr. Thomas wt ane enclosed from Mr. Meverell.

2. Businesse being not well accorded with my brother in reference to his acco-ts, albeit I condiscended to all & more by farr as was reasonable or exspected, I was forced to writt to my unkle, desireing him to come in and help to conclude the businesse.

{136} July 3. I received some visits, and in the evening my unkle came. The shipper told me that it would be Wednesday or Thursday next befor he could gett out for nipping, whereat I was not well pleased, seing I could have spent the tyme better in the countrey makeing visitts to my ffrriends, and ordering my business, in greater solitude.

4. After devotion I dined with my ffrriends, and in the afternoone made a visitt to my Lady of Aberdeen, and afterwards to the Lady Wartle.⁵⁶⁸

5. This day ffrriends were very busy concludeing business with my brother and at last brought it to a period, he giving me a bond for 400 merks, & ane assidation for 300 merks a year for the west syde of Westertowne, I haveing allowed him a large sallary, all the expences he could pretend, and my childrens maintenance to the rigour.

6. I caused draw up a register or list of all the charters & papers I have on the lands of Achluichries, beginning from A.D. 1423 to this present year, of 45 peeces, besides small. I was at the buriall of old Craige, {136v} who was buryed in the Snow kirke⁵⁶⁹ in the Old Towne; the magistrates & many gentlemen convoyed him. From thence wee went to the master

⁵⁶⁷ An outlying farm, or “pendicle”, of the general’s estate of Auchleuchries.

⁵⁶⁸ Anne Lockhart, Countess of Aberdeen, and either Anne Gordon, wife of Alexander Elphinstone of Meikle Wartle, or Elizabeth Gordon, wife of Alexander Leslie of Little Wartle.

⁵⁶⁹ Francis Gordon of Craig was buried in the Roman Catholic cemetery (part of which survives) of Our Lady of Snow, the ruined parish church of Old Aberdeen. His wife was Elizabeth, sister of the Scots Colonel Paul Menzies of the Russian army, a close friend of General Gordon.

of the Musick Schoole his house, & with excellent musick⁵⁷⁰ and many ffriends were very merry.

July 7. I went & see the Colledge⁵⁷¹ in the Old Towne and was very well received, and showed all worth the seeing there. I went to the Linkes afterwards. In the evening the Earle of Aberdeen came, to whom I payed a visitt.

8. I was invited to a collation by the Lord-Provost⁵⁷² and magistrates, where with my ffriends I was heartily entertained, and all my relations who were there made burgesses.⁵⁷³ My sister & sisters in law being come into the towne to see me, wee made very merry with good musick.

9. I did writt to the Duke of Gordon & to some ffriends in Edinburgh, and made some visitts in the towne. My ffriends tooke their leave & went home. In the morning I went over Dee & to St. Fiacres church.⁵⁷⁴

{137} July 10. The Laird of Watertowne being come to towne, wee did fall to talke of a composition concerning the Muirtacke, he desireing a tollerance of mosse for his lyfe-tyme, and I being perswaded by Aberdeen, promised it for 7 yeares, whereof he not allowing, wee broke of.

11. This afternoone I made some visitts & walked in the evening, & at night passed the tyme with the Earle of Aberdeen.

12. The Earle of Aberdeen with my Lady went from hence. In the

⁵⁷⁰ Aberdeen has an ancient and proud musical tradition. It was there that the first printed collection of secular music in Scotland was published by John Forbes in 1662 (*Songs and Fancies: to Thre, Foure, or Five Partes, both Apt for Voices and Viols*), reprinted twice with additions in the next twenty years (See A. Dhu McLucas, "Forbes' *Cantus, Songs and Fancies* Revisited" in J. Porter (ed.), *Defining Strains: The Musical Life of Scots in the Seventeenth Century* (Bern, 2007), pp. 269–98). At this period Old and New Aberdeen had Music Schools of their own.

⁵⁷¹ King's College in Old Aberdeen, one of the oldest universities in Northern Europe, established in 1495.

⁵⁷² In 1686 the office of Lord Provost of Aberdeen was held by George Leslie.

⁵⁷³ According to the *Burgess Register* of Aberdeen, on 7 July 1686 this rank was granted to John Gordon in Westertoun of Auchleuchries (Patrick's brother), John Gordon, Patrick's eldest son, and James Gordon, second son of the former. The expenses for parchment and wax were £1 4 s., while the banquet with wine (on 8 July, according to the *Diary*) cost £31 12 s. 6 d. (Aberdeen City Archives, *Burgess Register 1632–1694*, p. 761; *Guildry Accounts*, Vol. III, 1680–1700, p. 8). Patrick Gordon himself became a freeman of Aberdeen on 6 May 1670 (*Burgess Register 1632–1694*, p. 486; *Guildry Accounts*, Vol. II, 1660–1680, p. 16).

⁵⁷⁴ The parish church of Nigg on the south bank of the Dee was dedicated to St. Fithak or Fiacre, Irish hermit of the 7th century.

evening the Earle-Marshall came to towne, whom I visitted, he comeing over to my lodging where supped & were merry.

13. In the morning I tooke my leave of the Earle Marshall, who went North. In the afternoone Nethermuir elder & yonger went from hence, I haveing given a factory for my effaires to my unkle & the yonger Nethermuir.⁵⁷⁵ I went thereafter to the Links & passed the tyme with inexpressible contentment.

14. I went with some ffriends to the bridge of Dee, and dined in a taverne upon excellent fresh salmon. Returning, wee see our ship gone over the barr. I went & took my leave of these neerest ffriends I had reserved till last. In the evening I received letters from London {137v} and from the Duke of Gordon. In the letters from London was the copy of the Kings letter, which was to be sent in my favours, and was written so:

“James the Seventh, by the Grace of God King of Scotland, England, France & Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c., to the Most High, Most Potent & Most Serene, Our Most Dear Brothers, the Great Lords, Czaars and Great Dukes, Ivan Alexeowich, Peter Alexeowich of All the Greater, Lesser & White Russia Self-upholders, of Moscovia, Kiovia, Wlodomiria, Novogardia, Czaars of Casan, Czaars of Astrachan, Czaars of Siberia, Lords of Plesko and Great Dukes of Smollensko, Tweria, Ugoria, Permia, Vatkia, Bolgaria and others, Lords & Great Dukes of Novogardia of the Lower Countreyes, of Czernichow, Rezan, Rostow, Yaroslaw, Beloozersky, Udorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and Commanders of all the Northern Coasts, Lords of the Lands of Iveria⁵⁷⁶ and Grudzinia, Czaars of the Lands of Cabardinia, Czirkassia & the Dukes of the Mountaines, and of many other Dominions & Countreyes, East, West & North from Father & Grandfather Heirs, Lords & Conquerours, sendeth greeting, and wisheth all happiness & prosperity.

⁵⁷⁵ This document, signed by Patrick Gordon in Aberdeen on 9 July and registered in Edinburgh on 13 July 1686, is preserved. It appoints the general's uncle James Gordon of Westertoun and John Gordon of Nethermuir as his factors in Scotland, to be advised by the Earl of Aberdeen (National Archives of Scotland, RD 2/66, pp. 1062–3).

⁵⁷⁶ “Kartalinia” is here omitted from the Tsars' title.

Whereas Wee are informed that Our trusty & well-beloved subject Patrick Gordon hath served Your Imperiall Majesty[es] many yeares & now serveth in the quality of Lievtennant-Generall; who now by the deceass of his father is to inherit lands, for which he is to performe personall service unto Us. And Wee haveing use for the service of such Our subjects as have been bred up in military employments, Wee do therefor desire of Your Imperiall Ma-tie[s] that You would dismiss the said Patrick Gordon with his wyfe, children, {138} family & effects out of Your Dominions, which Wee rather desire, because Wee know that Your great vertue hath procured from God the blessing of an universall peace with all Your neighbours. The doing this will be an encouragement for men of honour to repaire to Your service, whenever You shall have occasion for them. And whenever the opportunity is given Us of doing You the lyke pleasure, Wee shall heartily embrace it. And so Wee pray God to have Your Imperiall Majesties into His holy protection. Given at Our Court at Windsor the twenty ninth day of May, one thowsand six hundred eighty six yeares, in the second year of Our Reigne.

Yo-r affectionate Brother
James R.

Melfort⁵⁷⁷.

With the letters from the Duke of Gordon was a letter from His Grace to *Kniaz* Vasily Vasiliovits Golitzin, Chieffe Minister of State in Russia, the copy whereof followeth:

⁵⁷⁷ This letter has duly reached Moscow and survives in the original (RGADA, Fond 35, opis' 2, no. 113). Remarkably, precedence is given to King James' Scottish title; accordingly, in the rich border decoration the heraldic symbols of Scotland appear in the most prominent places. Textual variations with Gordon's copy are insignificant and mostly have to do with spellings in the Tsars' title. Below there is a Russian note which translates: "Letters written to the Great Lords, Tsars and Grand Dukes Ioann Alexeyevich, Piotr Alexeyevich of All the Great, Lesser and White Russia Autocrats from the English King James by post, and these letters were delivered to the Near Boyar and Guardian, Prince Vasily Vasilyevich Golitsyn by the Dutch resident Johan Wilhelm von Keller in the present year 195 [1686] on the 15 day of September. Anent the release of Lieutenant General Piotr [for Patrick] Gordon from Moscow to his land".

“Illustrissime ac Excellentissime Domine,

Divulgata per orbem Excellentiae tuae perillustris fama, atque singularis omnium de tuis animi dotibus existimatio, praecipue vero illa tua praeclara gesta mihi a cognato meo, vice praefecto Gordon relata amicitiae tuae me cupidissimum reddiderunt. Dicti autem vice praefecti tanta ad Excellentiam tuam redeundi, atque honoris et amicitiae, quam et dignatus es illi tribuere, fruendi cupido, quae {138v} de tua Excellentia disseruerit, quam maxime confirmat. Cum itaque Regi nostro Serenissimo notus atque ab illo in honore habitus sit, nec non ab aliis qui non mediocrem animi illius magnitudinem, integritatem atque fortitudinem mirandum in modum suspiciunt, eundem cognatum meum tutelae tuae, fidei, amoris et benevolentiae non verebor commendare. Si qua occasio se offerret praestandi in his borealibus mundi plagis, quod tuae Excellentiae gratum acceptumque foret, avide arriperem. Dum interea temporis, Excellentissime Domine, tot ac tanta Imperii Russiae negotia tibi comissa ac demandata sustines, his successum maxime prosperum tuaeque Excellentiae summum honorem atque faelicitatem peroptat

Exc[ellentiae] v[est]rae

Geo. Dux de Gordon

Gordon Castle

12 *Julii* 1686

Superscriptio

Serenissimorum Dei Gratia Potentissimorum Dominorum Imperatorum et Magnorum Ducum Johannis Alexiades, Petri Alexiades totius Maioris, Minoris et Albae Russiae Autocratorum, multorum Dominorum et Terrarum orientalium, occidentalium et septentrionalium Dominorum, Haeredum, Successorum, Imperatorum et Possessorum, Imperialis eorum Majestatis Proximo Boiario Duci Basilio Basilidis Golitzin, augustioris {139} Imperii sigilli custodi et supremo magnarum legationum et rerum Imperii Directori et Novogrodiensi Locumtenenti”.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁸

“Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord,

Your Excellency’s brilliant fame is made known to the world, so is everyone’s special esteem of your spiritual merits, but it was mostly those eminent deeds of yours, related to me by my kinsman, Lieutenant General Gordon, that made me so

July 15. I arose early and tooke my ordinary walke in the Links, and takeing my leave of these pleasing places, I returned and haveing heard devotion, dined sooner as ordinary. The magistrates about 12 a'clock came to me and called me. They convoyed me to the boat, where I tooke my leave of them and others my ffriends; & with my sonne, brother & Walter & W-m Gordons went aboard our ship. The shipper & merchant coming, our ffriends tooke leave, and wee hoised saile and with a fresh gale of wind held on our course; yet wee kept sight of Scotland till neer night, and with sadd hearts bidd it farewell.⁵⁷⁹ I went immediately to bed, being not well by reason of the great tossing, which continued all night, the next & third day, and the 4th litle better, albeit wee entred by the Juttshe riffe & passed the illands of Lesow, Anout⁵⁸⁰ & the dangerous rock called the Trindle. The shipp was called the *Christin* of Borrowstownness⁵⁸¹, shipper Robert Cumming.

desirous of your friendship. The said lieutenant general's desire to return to Your Excellency and enjoy the honour and amity which you have deigned to grant to him, and which he would deserve from Your Excellency, he confirms all the more. And since he is known to our Most Serene King, and is held in honour by him, as well as by others, who respectfully regard his uncommon magnanimity, integrity and admirable courage, I do not hesitate to recommend that kinsman of mine to your patronage, trust, love and benevolence. If some occasion offers itself in these northern parts of the world to provide you with whatever is pleasing and acceptable to Your Excellency, I shall gladly seize it. In the meantime, while you, Most Excellent Lord, attend to so many affairs of the Russian Empire entrusted to and demanded of you, the greatest success therein and Your Excellency's highest honour and happiness are the best wishes

to Your Excellency from

George, Duke of Gordon"

Inscription:

"Of the Most Serene, by God's Grace, and Most Potent Lords, Emperors and Grand Dukes Ioann Alexeyevich, Piotr Alexeyevich, of all Great, Lesser and White Russia Autocrats, of many Dominions and Lands Eastern, Western and Northern Lords, Heirs, Successors, Emperors and Possessors, to Their Imperial Majesties' Near Boyar, Prince Vasily Vasilyevich Golitsyn, Keeper of the August Imperial Seal, Supreme Director of Great Imperial Legations and Affairs, and Lord Lieutenant of Novgorod" (Lat.).

⁵⁷⁹ Patrick Gordon was not to see his homeland again.

⁵⁸⁰ Laesø and Anholt.

⁵⁸¹ Full name for the Scottish port of Bo'ness.

19. By day light wee had a sight of the Kole, but by contrary winds were kept farr to the north of it, so that wee {139v} passed this whole day *lavireing*⁵⁸² till in the evening, haveing reached the point, & the wind more favourable, and pilots comeing aboard, wee sailed forward and a litle after midnight let our anchors fall in the road befor Elsonure.⁵⁸³

July 20. Wee went ashoare very early and called at Mr. Melvills, where haveing bespooke our dinner, wee walked out into the ffields. Here I received a letter from Mr. Cambridge & returned ane answer thereto. Haveing dined, I payed our skipper Mr. Cumming for fraught for my self & 4 more 20 dollers; it cost me lykewise drink money and other expences here & on the ship 4 dollers. And haveing notice of an English ship going for Riga, wee bespoke him, & though he would not come to ane agreement with us for our fraught & victualls, yet about 2 aclock afternoone wee went aboard of him, haveing first taken o[u]r leave of our kind Scots ffriends. Wee hoysed saile & with a moderate gale came so farr as the road of Copenhaven, where being a great calme wee anchored. This shipp called the *Paradis*, the skipper W-m Buck belonging to Yarmouth.

21. By day light wee weighed anchors and set forward, and with a ordinary wind passed by the illands Amach⁵⁸⁴ & [...], being in company with some other ships who were bound to diverse places. Befor evening wee passed by Falsterboom.

Haveing a pretty gale, wee passed by the illands Borne- & Erdholme, but in the evening the wind proveing easterly, wee were forced to hold over to the Pomers {140} coast, and so continued some dayes *lavireing* too and againe without any memorable accident, untill the

26. when wee had a sight of land, which by calculation wee judged to be the sands by east of the Memell and the place called Pologna & Heiligen Aa.

27. Wee *lavired* up along the coast of Churland without being certaine how farr wee were.

⁵⁸² *Lavieren* (German), to tack or beat against the wind.

⁵⁸³ Helsingør, Denmark. Every major port on the Baltic route had a sizeable colony of Scots. Already in the mid-16th century they constituted nearly 14% of the population of Helsingør (T. Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot...*, Vol. I (Odense, 1988), p. 155). See next entry.

⁵⁸⁴ Amager.

28. Wee had a sight of land, which wee thought to be Wendaw, but towards night found it to have been Libaw.⁵⁸⁵

29. Wee passed by the Wendaw & so in by the Domesnesse with a good gale, haveing Oesel on o[u]r left hand, and so holding

30. within the riffe, wee unadvisedly turned of to the right hand, & so in a bought of land were becalmed all the next day.

Aug. 1. With a slow wind wee made towards the road and about 1 aclock gott into the harbour within the river. Wee went ashoar & gave acco-t what wee were, which was needles, & better wee should have expected aboard their asking of us. Wee went along up the river with a slow gale, & in the evening anchored within a large halfe mile of Riga.

{140v} Aug. 2. At sunriseing wee tooke boate and landed at Riga, going in at the Water Gate. I came to my former lodging without being questioned by the watch, which was I think because my ser-ts had the same livery, blew & yellow⁵⁸⁶, as the Sweds have. Within halfe an houre an officer came to my quarters, enquireing what I was & at what gate I came in, whereof haveing received satisfaction, he departed. Payed for dyet & victuals to the skipper at the rate of 20 shil. st. for each person, masters & ser-ts.

4. I did writt to the Earle of Perth & Viscount Melfort in a *coverto* to Alex-r Gordon, to the Earle of Middleton & Esquire Cooke, all in a *coverto* to Mr. Meverell by Mr. Philes convoyance *p[e]r mare*⁵⁸⁷. Writt also to the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Aberdeen & Erroll, & to Nethermuir in a *coverto* to W-m Gordon in Ab[er]d[een]; to my unkle, brother & Mr. Thom., all by my nephew James Gordon.

5. I did writt to my wyfe, Coll. von Mengden & Mr. Vinio p-r post, Ro-t Gordon, Ja. Adie & Bayly Adie in Dantzick p-r post, as also to Madam Crawford. And not thinking it fitt to take my nephew into Russia, I sent him back by sea to Scotland. This night I supped by Mr. Holst & was

⁵⁸⁵ Ventspils and Liepāja, Latvia.

⁵⁸⁶ These are the Clan Gordon colours. The ancient coat of arms of their chief, the Marquis of Huntly: azure (blue field), three boars' heads coupéd (cut off) or (in gold), langued gules (with red tongues). Patrick Gordon bore the same with a crescent in fess point for difference, but described the heads as *erased* (torn off, i.e. with a jagged edge).

⁵⁸⁷ By sea (Lat.).

entertained most magnificently.

{141} Aug. 7. I did writt to Mittaw to P[atri] *Ernesto Sturmio residentiae superiori*.⁵⁸⁸

8. I dined by Mr. Frazer & was nobly entertained.

9. I supped by Mr. Watson & was kindly entertained, and the rest of my abroad I passed the tyme every day almost with walking & shooting.

I payed for dyet for my self & another a doller a day and for 4 ser-ts at the rate of 10 pence for each with lodging.

12. I did writt to the Earle of Middleton & Mr. Meverell p-r post; and haveing hired 2 Rigish fuirmen for 8 dollers a peece with 2 horses, & 2 waggons of retour of a Russe with one horse, at 5 dollers for both, I tooke jorney, and being convoyed in a coach a large halfe mile without the towne with kind ffriends, wee made merry with good liquor, which the ffriends brought along with them. And at New Mills⁵⁸⁹ crossing the R. [...] and the R. Aa, wee lodged in a inne hard by, being 4 miles from Riga.

{141v} Aug. 13. Wee jorneyed 3 miles & dined in Rosembems *kerow*, and going 2 1/3 miles further, wee lodged in a *kerow* by a morass.

14. Wee dined a mile short of Wolmar, & passing that towne and 3 miles further haveing passed over the r-t Bresla by a bridge & by the two castles Great & Litle Ropen, betwixt w-ch the fors-d river runneth, lodging in a *kerow* or inne wtin a wood.

15. Wee passed 4 miles & dined in a small village, and this afternoone the way being better, wee came six miles further & lodged in a pleasant village in a inne by the Black River. From Wolmar wee had nine miles, all wood.

16. Crosseing the Black River on a float, wee came through a litle more pleasant countrey, 4 1/2 miles, & dined in Roughts *kerue*, where a litle church; then a countrey full of litle pleasant hills, about 4 miles. Wee lodged in a inne, a mile & a halfe short of Newhausen.

17. Wee passed by Niewhausen unquestioned, & dined in the towne Petshure, being 4 miles, & lodged in Peshky, 4 miles.

⁵⁸⁸ To Father Ernst Sturm in his high residence (Lat.).

⁵⁸⁹ Neuermühlen.

18. Wee came to Plesko, 4 miles, about 7 aclock, and gave the Governour immediately notice of my comeing, who excused himself from seeing me this day; the Governours name, *Kniaz* Michael Gregoriovits Romadanofsky, my old acquaintance.

19. I dined by the *woynod*, and haveing gott post horses & provisions from my old ffriend the chancellour, about 5 aclock wee tooke jorney, & about 15 *verst* wee supped in a small village called [...], and travelling all night wee came in the morning early to Zagoria.

{142} Aug. 20. Getting fresh horses, wee marched & dined 25 *verst* further in a village called Putilowa, and travelling 15 *verst* further, wee supped in the fields; & then travelling the whole night about 15 *verst* wee crossed the River Shitnia.

21. Wee came 15 *verst* further & dined in Soltsee, and in the evening comeing to Mpsiaga, 15 *verst*, wee went by boat downe the River Mpsiaga, and in the night tyme had an extraordinary great storme, so that with much ado wee could gett into a creek, where wee stayed about 5 houres, untill

22. being calmer, wee lunched out againe and so with a pretty gale sailed in the lake, & in the evening came to the Monastery of St. Georg, where wee lodged. This monastery hath ane abbot & 700 *pawres* to maintaine him & his monkes. Here hard by is the bottomless pitt called Pierun, which was in the heathenish tymes the tutelar God of this place, & was by the Christians conjured into this pitt, wherein they now cast malefactors, who are lost in it without any notice what becomes of them; yet when great raines are, there is water to be seen in it. By Novogrod is a monastery called Pierunsky Monastery, where the chieffe temple of this tutelar God did stand. This lake is called Ilmien, into which 70 rivers fall, being in breadth in some places 20 or 30 *verst*, & in length 40, and at last maketh the River Volcha, which runneth by Novogrod.

23. In the morning I came to Novogrod, and gave immediately notice to the Governour, who promised my dispatch without delay. I dined by the translator Hutner, and in the afternoone visited the Governour Peter Vasiliovits Seremetuf, who gave present orders for my dispatch. And so getting another boat, in the evening wee set forwards up the River Msta, and being all night on the river.

{142v} Aug. 24. Wee came about sunriseing to the village Brunets⁵⁹⁰, being 30 *verst* from Novogrod by water; and getting horses, wee went from hence about 11 aclock, & comeing 5 *verst* further wee crossed the R. Nissia, w-ch runneth to the south & falleth in the lake Ilmien. Then through woods, the most part of the way being bridged, 10 *verst* to the village Krasny Stanky; then to the village Podlitovia & to Sayontskova⁵⁹¹, where hath been formerly a stage. Here wee supped & about midnight set forward, and

25. by day light wee crossed the R. Moshna, haveing fed the horses, & then haveing the R. Chotilewa⁵⁹² on o[u]r left hand all the way, the way likewise haveing been most bridged, wee came in the morning to the village Krest[sj]; where dineing & getting fresh horses, wee travelled in better way through a pleasant countrey; & crossing the River Cholowa diverse tymes, to the village Rekin⁵⁹³, [...] *v[erst]*; and through woods with lakes on each syde. Wee fedd the horses by the R. Poluma⁵⁹⁴, which crossing, wee passed through the village Yesselbitza in the twilight; and travelling the whole night, befor day wee passed through the village Balday, where most Littawers live. Here in a lake is a monastery called Iversky, which hath large lands in this tract belonging to it.

26. About 3 *verst* further wee came to Ziemna Gora, where getting fresh horses & paying for each [...], about sunriseing wee set forward & came through a hilly stony countrey to a lake called Shidorowa with a village of the same name. Then 12 *verst* further to the village & river Bereosa[yka], where dineing & crossing the river by a bridge, where a litle chappell, wee came 25 *verst* further to the village Chotilowa, which hath been formerly a stage, & 10 *verst* further wee fed {143} the horses in the fields by the village Columna, here haveing rested the most part of the night.

Aug. 27. Wee travelled 20 *verst* & crossed the River Slina by the village B[o]rosda, and 5 *verst* further wee crossed the R. Tzna at Visnogo-

⁵⁹⁰ Bronnitsa.

⁵⁹¹ Zaytsevo. The first Slavic language which Gordon mastered was Polish, and even after many years spent in Russia he sometimes polonises Russian placenames.

⁵⁹² Kholova.

⁵⁹³ Rakhino.

⁵⁹⁴ Polomet'.

Vloczka⁵⁹⁵, where wee dined and gott fresh horses, paying for each [...] Wee came 10 *verst* further & by a litle monastery dedicated to St. Nicolaus wee crossed the R. Twerets⁵⁹⁶ the first tyme through woods, the most part of the way being bridged, to the village Cholochol[ion]ka through w-ch runneth a brooke of the same name. And haveing the R. Twerets on our left hand, wee went 4 *verst* further & baited in the fields; & 6 *verst* further wee crossed the R. Twerets againe by the village Widropusk, which belongeth to the Iversky Monastery. Here is the border of the Dukedome of Novogrodt, & beginneth the Novotorsky district. Wee travelled all night.

28. About 7 aclock wee came to Torshok, where wee dined. This is a very pleasant country. Wee had excellent way, 17 *verst*, to the R. Logovisha, w-ch wee crossed at the village Marina, and 13 *verst* further wee crossed the R. Twirets the 3d tyme, at the village Medna, where wee supped. Here endeth the Novotorsky district & beginneth the Dukedome of Twere. Wee tooke jorney about midnight and befor day fed our horses by a monastery 5 *verst* short of Twere & 25 from Medna.

{143v} Aug. 29. About sunriseing wee came to the ferry and crossing the R. Volga, wee breakfast in the Yempsyky Slabod, where getting fresh horses, paying for each [...], and with good weather came & baited by village Gorodisha⁵⁹⁷, which is from Twere [...] *verst*. Here hath been a fort for preserving the passages on the R. Volga, which wee had here all along on o[u]r left hand. 15 *verst* further wee crossed on a float the R. Moshna⁵⁹⁸ by a village of the same name, and 15 *verst* further to the village Zavidowa, and about 5 *verst* further fed the horses in the fields.

30. By day light wee set forward by the village Spass and dined by the R[ivule]t Zamoga⁵⁹⁹, & then to Klin, w-ch is 90 of the old *verst* from Mosko, & of the new but 39. Here wee crossed the R-t Sustra and through very badd way & crossing the same r. againe 3 *verst* further wee came to Moshn[its]a, a village, 12 *verst*, & so on to Peshky, where wee rested till midnight.

⁵⁹⁵ Vyshny Volochok.

⁵⁹⁶ Tvertsa.

⁵⁹⁷ Gorodnia.

⁵⁹⁸ Author's slip: evidently, Shosha river is meant.

⁵⁹⁹ Yamuga.

31. Being good weather & indifferent way, wee set forward & dined 5 *verst* short of Czirkishewa, and so on came to the Stranger Slaboda about 5 aclock afternoone.

{144} Sept-r. 1. Being the Russes new yeares day, I went into the towne, was very kindly welcomed by the Boyar *Kniaz* Vasily Vasiliovits Golitzin, and afterwards see the eldest Czaar & the procession, convoyed the Boyar home & wished him a good new year, and dined in the Slabod, received some visitts, & went to another quarter.

2. I stayed and put my house in some order, and did writt to my wyfe p-r post.

3. Being in towne, I dyned by *Kniaz* Vas. Vas. Golitzin, made hast home & received visitts.

4. Haveing gott some stitches & a sort of a bastard pleurisy, I gott some ease by letting of blood.

5. I tooke in some spirit of harts horne, about 30 drops, & yet gott no sweat.

6. I tooke in a strong dose of pills, which had ordinary operation.

7–8. At home.

{144v} Sept-r 9. I was in towne and made some visitts to the neerest boyars.

10. I went to Czarny Grasse to the B. K. Vas. Vas., dined with him, and after dinner had much discourse, yet nothing of carrying on the warr⁶⁰⁰, only of my jorney & my effaires. Wee went to hunting af[t]erwards, & I tooke my leave in the fields.

11–12. At home.

I did writt to the Earle of Middleton, Mr. Mev[erell], S-r Pet[er] Wych & Mr. Frazer.⁶⁰¹

13. I was in towne, & should have been at the Emp-rs hand, to which end I stayed long above. Being come home, Mr. Munter⁶⁰² brought me the

⁶⁰⁰ By the terms of “Eternal Peace” with Poland-Lithuania, concluded on 21 April 1686, Russia undertook to reopen hostilities against Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman Empire.

⁶⁰¹ This line is crossed out in MS. Gordon wrote to the Earl of Middleton on 17 September (see fol. 148).

⁶⁰² Apparently, Heinrich Münter (“Andrey Nikolayev Minter” in Russian sources), rich merchant from Riga, Swedish subject active in Russia from the 1660s onwards,

Kings letter to the Czaars in my favours.

14. The Kings letter was delivered by the Hollands resident, Mr. van Keller, to whom it was recommended by the Holl. Ambas. Mr. Citters in London.⁶⁰³

I was at the Czaars hands, who only asked me of my health by a boyar. Being brought to the Princess hand, she said, "God reward the[e] for keeping thy word".

15. The Kings letter was interpreted by a Dutch⁶⁰⁴ man, who understood but litle English.

{145}⁶⁰⁵ Oct-r 24. I dyned by Maior Generall Bilts.

and an old acquaintance of Gordon.

⁶⁰³ "Mr. Gordon was expecting letters from H.M. the King of Great Britain, addressed to Their Tsarian Majesties and written in his favour, wherein his discharge shall be requested. These letters have arrived, and he recommended to me by means of His Excellency Mr. Aernout van Citters, Your Most Potent Lordships' ambassador at the English Court, since here in Moscow there is no English envoy now, that I be pleased to deliver these letters myself to the First Minister of State. I have fulfilled this commission, and Lieutenant General Gordon is now doing everything possible to obtain a favourable answer" (Baron van Keller's dispatch from Moscow to the States-General, 25 September 1686—Archive of St. Petersburg Institute of History, Coll. 40, opis' 1, no. 58, fols. 81–81 v.).

⁶⁰⁴ By *Dutch* Gordon usually means "German".

⁶⁰⁵ There is a gap in MS from 16 September to 23 October 1686, although the later pagination is unbroken. We have important evidence from the well-informed Swedish diplomat J.G. Sparwenfeld, who lived in Moscow just then: "On the 14th of September 1686 the resident from Holland gave Prince V.V. [Golitsyn] a letter from the King of England in favour of Lt.General Patrick Gordon, our friend, in which the King asked the Tsars to be good enough to allow the release and leave of his subject Gordon, whose case he was busy dealing with at that time. Apart from this letter he [Gordon] has now and then delivered requests about his leave, but has not achieved anything other than incurring the displeasure of the boyars and the Tsars. So on 23 October he received a ukase from the council through Prince V.V.G. stating that he should not be released, because it was well known that he had gone to England only for the purpose of receiving such a letter from the King, which he had paid for, and in doing so he had cheated the Tsars, which made him unworthy of their good graces, unmindful as he was of their favours. They said that he estimated the King of England more than the Tsars, that the King would not start a war on his behalf, that the only thing he had to do was to set out for Kiev, where he had served before, but now in the function of a major, which was the function he had had when he arrived in Muscovy from

25. I made ready a larger remonstrance⁶⁰⁶, wherein I put many things not written in my former.

I received letters from Riga and dined by Commissary van Kocke⁶⁰⁷.

26. My remonstrance given in the 23d, being translated & read above, received no answer.

28. I did writt to my wyfe, to Coll. Livingston & to my sone in law p-r post.

29. Haveing had notice from Riga that my things sent from England were forwarded to Plesko, I did writt thither that they should be sent forward to Mosko.

30. I gott Eustachius to translate my remonstrance in the Slavonian language.

{145v} No-r 1, Moonday. I stayed at home & heard devotion, and afternoone made some visitts.

4. I did writt to my wyfe p-r post.

5. I spoke to the Boyar about sending for my wyfe, who gave me a dubious answer.

6. I notwithstanding resolved to send for my wyfe, and so did fall to writeing of letters.

8. I stayed my servants going in hopes of getting Maior van Bockhoven to go along, but⁶⁰⁸

9. I dispatched my servants to Kyow for my wyfe, giving them three horses along, and to 4 persons three rubles on the way.

{146} No-r 10. I agreed for cutt dry birch wood at halfe a ruble the fathom.

Poland. And this notwithstanding the protests of Gordon that he was the King's subject and had his property in England, which he needed to account for, and that the King was his legitimate King, and he was born a subject to the King, and there was no way to change that" (J.G. Sparwenfeld, *Diary of a Journey to Russia, 1684–1687*, p. 227).

⁶⁰⁶ Against the refusal of Russian authorities to discharge him, despite Gordon's repeated petitions and the official request from the King of Great Britain.

⁶⁰⁷ Christoph von Kochen (or Koch), Swedish "commissary" (resident) in Moscow in 1683–1689.

⁶⁰⁸ *but* crossed out.

12. I did writt to my wyfe by a surgeon who went to Baturin to the Hetman.

14. I dyned by Coll. Wibergh, where were a whole housefull of company.

15. The Russes began to forme their regiments and joyned some of the *strelets* regiments two in one.

16. I was told by some Russes, who pretended to be my ffriends, that if I did not petition for favour or grace, some severe methods were resolving on, as to send me with my family in some remote place of their empire.

{146v} No-r 17. I was by the Hollands resident, who altogether declined to medle in my business, telling me that the Russes had from the avisoes conceived an evill opinion of o[u]r King as favouring the Turkes too much.

18. I was by some of the great persons, some whereof told me that the Princess was very much incensed against me for my obstinacy, as it had been represented to her, and that she was enclined to have a harder sentence put upon me.

19. I made another remonstrance ready, which I gott rectified by M.V.⁶⁰⁹

20. I gott the remonstrance written over by another hand.

{147} No-r 21. I was advertised by diverse ffriends that if I did not by confessing my fault and craveing their Majesties pardon make hast, a sud-daine sentence was to be executed upon me; wherefor they advised me to make what hast I could to prevent the ruine of my self and family, which if prolonged, their teares would not be able to help me. The thoughts of this so perplexed my mynd that I could not gett slept the whole night; and the worst was I had no body whom I durst trust with my mynd, all being ballanced⁶¹⁰ by interest or careless of another mans estate, or then not capable of affoording any help or counsell.

22. The Emperour & Princess being in Ismailow, I went thither in the morning early, and to the Boyars lodging; where after a while stay the Boyar did fall out in great passion against me, and because I vindicated my self the best way I could, and had the great advantage of reason upon my

⁶⁰⁹ Initials undeciphered. Perhaps some *podtyachy* or other official from the *prikaz*.

⁶¹⁰ *byassed* written above.

syde, he was the more incensed, so that in great heat he ordered me to be writt in for an ensigne & sent away the next day. Some noblemen comeing in, and hearing the contest, did fall all to the Boyars syde & in his favour, though even against reason & their owne judgment began to lay a great deale of blame upon me, & urged me to take other measures. The Boyar {147v} also with very high words & threats, and reasoning without all reason or the least show of uprightness, nor valuing or considering any thing I said, insisted still that I should acknowledge my error & crave pardon, and promise to serve in future. So that knowing his power, and that all things were caryed according to will & not to reason or justice, & fearing the ruine of my family, I with much reluctancy consented to what they would have me; & so caused writt a very circumspect petition, acknowledging that seing by my petitioning to be out of the countrey I had offended their Ma-ties, I desired pardon & promised to serve as formerly. This petition being read above, was not thought sufficient, as not being penned in humble enough tearmes, so that being forced & threatened to be sent with my family to the remotest places of their Empire, I told them, they should sett downe or give a copy of such a one as they desired. And so parting, I came to the Slabod, haveing seen in the way the glasse hutts⁶¹¹.

No-r 23–24. I stayed these two dayes at home, being much grieved at the great injustice & wrong done to me.

25. I went to the towne, where in the Office the *Dummy Diack* Yem. Ignat. Ukraintzuf gave me the copy of a petition, which I should cause transcribe & subscribe. Haveing read it, I {148} found some things in it not fitt, wherefor blotting out these, I caused writt it over, and put my hand to it, albeit it was conceived in as submissive tearme & expressions as could be done to God Almighty. When it was read above, there was a great silence, neither did the Princess say any thing, all knowing it to be forced from me by threats & compulsion.

No-r 26. Haveing ane occasion, I gave notice of what I had done to my ffrinds in Shewsky.

27. I did give the same notice to my ffrinds in Smollensko.

28. I did writt to Coll. Hamilton in Shewsky at large.

⁶¹¹ Probably greenhouses. The Tsars' estate of Izmaylovo was famous for its advanced farming.

29. I received by post a letter from the Earle of Middleton, one of his Sacred Ma-ties of Great Brittainē pp̄ll secretaries of state for England; the copy whereof is this:

“Whitehall, 25 Oct. ’86

Sir,

I have the favour of your letters of the 12th of August from Riga, & of the 17th of Sept-r from Moskowe. I would have sooner acknowledged the first, had I been sooner instructed with the Kings pleasure there-upon, which I am now to tell yow, is, that his Ma-tie thinks fitt to honour your self with {148v} the character of his Envoy Extraordinary to their Czaarish Majesties, & to that end your credentials & instructions shall be forthwith prepared & sent to you to Riga, where I hope this may meet you, & where you are to stay till your dispatches do arrive. In case you be further advanced towards us, I hope you will give me notice of it, that I may know whither to [write] you. I am,

Sir,

Yo-r most faithfull humble servant,
Middleton”⁶¹²

With this letter I was very much surprised. I went & consulted with the Hollands resident⁶¹³ & the Chancellour Vinus, who gave me dubious & uncertaine advice.

No-r 30. I went early to the *Dummy Diack* Yemelian Ignat. Ukr[aintsev] and told him and gave him the letter. Wee went together to the Boyar, who told me that I should translate it into Latin & give it into the Office

⁶¹² The copy of this letter is preserved in the British Library (Add. MSS 42823, fol. 89).

⁶¹³ Outwardly a good acquaintance of Gordon’s, Baron van Keller was his dangerous political and religious opponent, and on 3 December wrote anent his new appointment as British envoy: “This move appears very suspicious to me, because, if he [Gordon] were admitted to such a position, the most negative actions could be expected of him regarding commerce as well as other respects. We now have the malignant and damaging Jesuits on our necks. I shall do everything I can to see which steps can be taken in this case” (Quoted in T.Eekman, “Muscovy’s International Relations in Late Seventeenth Century, Johann Van Keller’s Observations”, *California Slavic Studies*, Vol. 14 (1992), p. 50).

to be translated into Russe, and this because they had no English translator. I gave in also a particular remonstrance with the letter, which was also translated.

{149} Dec-r 1. The Emperours & Princess went to the countrey in pilgrimage, the chieffe Minister of State went along & promised to make relation of my business on the way.

3. I did returne an answer to the Earle of Middleton⁶¹⁴, which I sent in a *coverto* to Mr. Sam. Meverell, & that to Mr. Frazer in Riga, desiring him to address it to Sir Peter Wyche, his S[acred] M[a]jesty's] resident in Hamburgh, under whose *coverto* it had come to him. From Mosko it went in Mr. John Sparvenfelts *coverto*; the copy hereof in my other booke.

4. By vexation & grieving I contracted a sicknes, which turned to a ague whereby I was forced to keep my bed for the most part for some dayes.

{149v} Dec-r 8. Their Ma-ties returned from their progress in the countrey.

9. The Earle of Middletons letter and my remonstrance being read above, had no other effect, but a confirmed deniall of letting me go.⁶¹⁵ The ordeer was written so: "The Czaars and Princess with the boyars have heard these writeings above in the Privy Chamber, and have ordered that L.G. P. Gordon cannot be Extraordinary Envoy from the King to the Tzaars, because he is to be in the great army in this expedition against

⁶¹⁴ This letter has survived (British Library, Add. MSS 41842, fol. 150), and was published in S. Konovalov (ed.), "Sixteen Further Letters of General Patrick Gordon", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XIII (1967).

⁶¹⁵ "Here at Court they have utterly refused to acknowledge Lt. General Gordon in the quality of the Envoy of England, pointing out that it would have been absurd and contrary to all the rules to accept as an Envoy representing a foreign Sovereign the person that remains in the service and subjection of Their Tsarian Majesties. To support his request and maintain his right, Mr. Gordon affirmed that something similar took place at other Courts, and especially under Your Most Potent Lordships with regard to the late Mr. d'Estrade, colonel in the service of the States [General]. But this objection was denied, and if there be still others offered by the same person, these would be likewise rejected" (Baron van Keller's dispatch from Moscow to the States-General, 21 January 1687—Archive of St. Petersburg Institute of History, Coll. 40, opis' 1, no. 58, fols. 93 v.—94).

the Turks & Tartars; and that he, P.G., shall writt to the {150} Earle of Middleton, that if the King to maintaine the brotherly love & amity with the Czaars will send any Ambas. or Envoy, he shall be received graciously & with favour”.

Dec-r 10. I was called for, but was not in towne, not being able to come.

11. Being in towne, I was sent for to the Boyars house, who told me that the Czaars had graced me, & had remitted my fault, and ordered me to be in my former charge. & so thus ended this stage play. The justice & equity which I had on my syde may appear from the many remonstrances, which I gave in, which because they could not answer, they passed all over, & told only all were tales or fables. The copies of all my remonstrances are apart.

{150v} Dec-r 13. I insisted to have a copy of the order on the Earle of Middletons letter & my remonstrance, pretending not to understand the true sense of their words, saying that I would send the copy of their order, & fearing that if I wrote any thing of my self, it might disagree wt their Ma-ties order. But the incongruity of a word or two in the order letted, that they would not give me a copy of it, and with much ado I recovered the originall of the Earle of Middletons letter.

16. The Boyar being at his village, I went & insisted for the copy of the order, which he promised me. I came late home.

{151} Dec-r 18. I did writt to Coll-s Hamilton, Ronaer & Menezes and informed them of the progress of my effaires.

20. I received letters from the Earle of Melfort, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Meverell, & ano-r letter from the Earle of Middleton to the same purpose, as also from my cousin Alex-r & my sonnes from Doway.

24. I returned answer to my sonnes letter, ordering James to stay there as he had been ordered befor, & telling John that seeing he had no mind to learne, I had ordered his going to Edinburgh to stay at the latterne some tyme, to gett some knowledge in the lawes.

25. Being Christ-masse, Fetka Mieln[ikov?] came & told me of my wyfes being on the way, & that she would be here on Moonday.

{151v} Dec-r 27. I went and did meet my wyfe & children in

Semenofsky & came to the Slabod with them about midday.

29. I gott orders to writt to the Earles of Middleton & to show it in the *Prikase* or Office first.

30. I show the letter into the Office in Latin, which being transl., was approved of, & I ordered to send it by the first post.

31. I sent the forsaid letter, a copy whereof in my other copy booke of letters, by post in a *coverto* to Mr. Frazer.⁶¹⁶

{155}

1687

Jan-ry 1. I was in the Hollands Church, being godfather to Coll. Barthol. Ronaer his sonne, and dined by him.

3. Being in the *Prikase*, it was told me solemnly by their Ma-ties order, that I was to command the Selected regiments of the 2d division.

4. Had notice of Vasil[y] Timof[eyevich] Poshwinikuf⁶¹⁷ being ordered Envoy Extraord. to his Ma. of Great Brittain & to Holland.

7. I did writt to the Earles of Middleton⁶¹⁸ & Melfort, to Mr. Meverell & my sonnes with that of the 31th [*sic*] past, to my unkle & Nethermuir by the convoyance of Daniell Hartman, merch-t.

{155v} Ja-ry 9. I received the regiment rolls with the Emp-rs orders relateing thereto.

10. I rode to Butirky & mustered that Selected regiment, being 894 men.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁶ Blank pages follow in MS (fols. 152–154 v.).

⁶¹⁷ Posnikov.

⁶¹⁸ This letter (British Library, Add. MSS 41842, fols. 152 r.-v.) is published in S. Kononov (ed.), "Sixteen Further Letters of General Patrick Gordon", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XIII (1967).

⁶¹⁹ From January 1687 Gordon commanded one of the elite units of the Russian army, the Second Moscow Selected Regiment of Soldiers, which became known as the Butyrsky, being quartered in the Moscow suburb of Butyrki, or as Gordon's Regiment. It was raised in 1657–8, and under Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich usually took part in state ceremonies, escorting the Tsar himself and foreign embassies. For a long time among the officers of both Selected Regiments there were no foreigners and even very few new converts to Orthodoxy. It was the policy of

Some dayes thereafter I was busyed with ordering the regiment business.

13. I was at the wedding of Daniell Hartmans dochter Adelheid with Mr. Pope, where was the Boyar *Kniaz* Vas. Vas., his sonne & some other Russes.

14. I rode to Medivedofka⁶²⁰ to visit the Boyar & was kindly entertained by him; returned by Butirky & so home.

15. I sent my sonne in law to regulate some things by the regiment & to give notice thereof to the Boyar.

I did writt to Coll. Hamilton & to Kyow to James Lindesay.

{156} Ja-ry 16. I entertained the English merchants & was merry with them.

17.

18. I was in the Butirky Slabod & ordered some regiment business there.

22. Writt to my sonnes & P[ater] Rector in Doway, to the Duke of Gordon, the L-d High Chancellour, the Earles of Aberdeen, Erroll, Middleton⁶²¹ & Melfort, Gen. Drummond, to my unkle, Nethermuir, brothers & brother in law, Rothemay, Mr. Tho. Gordon, W-m Gordon, in a *covert*o to Mr. Alex-r Gordon.

To Maior McDowgall & David Lindesay, these with the former in a *covert*o to Mr. Meverell.

To M-rs Watson, Frazer, Browne, Forbes, Adie in Dantzick, M-rs Cambridge, Jolly & Sir Peter Wyche {156v} in Hamburgh, all by Mr. Joseph Wulffe, ane English merch-t.

Tsar Alexey who regarded them as the core of his national army organised along Western lines. Thus, the appointment of a Roman Catholic Scot to command the Butyrsky was a bold innovation, sharply condemned by the Russian Patriarch Ioakim. But Gordon, with his devotion to military matters, his wide contacts in the West, and high professional reputé, proved the ideal candidate for the post. The fact that in the late 1680s and 90s the Butyrsky Regiment was one of the best-disciplined units in Russia is his undeniable achievement.

⁶²⁰ Medvedkovo, Prince V.V. Golitsyn's country estate near Moscow.

⁶²¹ Gordon's surviving letter to Lord Middleton is dated 25 January (British Library, Add. MSS 41842, fol.154 r.-v.). Published in S. Kononov (ed.), "Sixteen Further Letters of General Patrick Gordon", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XIII (1967).

Ja-ry 24. Being ordered to service, I began to prepare and buy in necessities.

I went every day almost to towne, but effected nothing in my petitioning for full meanes, & wherewith to equipp my self to service.

29. I did writt to Nethermuir in a *coverto* to Mr. Meverell, all by Mr. Wulffe, who departed from Mosko this day.

{157} Ja-ry 31. I received by post letters from my sonnes in Mr. Meverell his *coverto*, as also from Mr. Watson & Mr. Frazer in Riga.

Feb-ry 2. Haveing gott orders to march through the Tzar[s'] Court with the Moskoes Selected regiment, I had all ready and this day by day light marched from the Butirky through the city in this manner:

1. My stall master; 2. 6 horses well furnished with saddles, pistolls & compleet equipage with decks or covers over the 5 first saddles of my livery, the 6 horse & last uncovered as ready to be mounted, all led by servants on horseback well mounted & armed; 3. my *Hoffm[eiste]r* or *major domo*⁶²²; 4. servants 2 & 2 in a ranke well mounted & armed; 5. my chieffe page; 6. the pages 2 & 2 in rank; {157v} 7. a handsome yong man in good habite; 8. an officer leading a squadron of 8 files in front, 4 wt halfe-pikes & 4 with very long musquets or guns interlyned; 9. 4 piece of cannon; 10. I marching with 6 halfe-pikes on each syde with my collours on them, and 6 excellent gilded *fusies*⁶²³ befor me equall with the halfe-pikes, I being betwixt the two fift in fyle; 11. a lievt. colonell marching betwixt *bardises*⁶²⁴ or halfe-moones & *fusies*; 12. a capt. lt. 13. 4 divisions of musquetiers with 6 drummers and 12 whistlers in the first division, & in the other, where a officer, 2 drummers; 14. 2 division[s] of halfe-pikes (haveing no whole pikes) led by the eldest captaine; 14[*sic*]. 4 collours followed by 2 division[s] of pikes; 15. befor the 2d esquadron 3 piece of cannon; 16. a lt. coll. & capt. lt. behind him with some led horses befor, & the lt. coll. with *bardises* & *fusies* on each syde of him; 17. 4 divisions of musquetiers; 18. 2 divisions or corporalshafts of halfe-

⁶²² Steward (German and Latin).

⁶²³ *Fužei* (Russian), *fusils* (French), flintlock muskets.

⁶²⁴ *Berdysbi* (Russian), long crescent-shaped poleaxes.

pykes; 19. three collours, followed by other two coporallshaft[s] of pikes; 20. 4 division[s] of musquetiers; the third squadron just as this, the officers being divided in their competent stations, two majors {158} rideing about takeing notice that good order be kept.

Entring within the Court in good order, how soone I came in sight of their Ma-ties, I uncovered (according to the fashion of this countrey); and being come even with the windowes out of which their Majesties were looking from above, I turned to the left with these who caryed my armes about me, and made three deep reverences; neither these who rode nor the sojors takeing any notice, but continued in their march; the collours only at this place were flourished & did obeisance after their ordinary manner.

After my third reverence their Ma-ties, by the chieffe Minister *K[niaz]* Vas. Vas. Golitzin, asked me of my health, which I answered with a profound reverence, and so marched at a slow pace the direct way, through the Court & out at the gate of the Crimlina⁶²⁵ by which I came. Haveing dispatched the regiment to their quarters, I returned & waited untill the Boyar came downe, who gave me many thanks for the good & handsome order I had kept.

I went the same day & dined by Lt. Coll. Le Fort, being invited to a christening there.

{158v} Feb-ry 4. I gave out the cloth for coats to the serjeants & other subalterne officers, being 5 *arsbins* to each man.

7. I received letters from England, adviseing me in what forwardnes my business of being his Sacred Ma-ties Envoy was, and that my credentials, instructions & equipage were all ready.

{159} Feb-ry 10. I received order concerning my Czegrins losses, getting no more as a hundred rubles in zables [*sic*], as also an order to gett a 100 rubles for my equipage.

12. I tooke out zobles for 312 rubles & a halfe, which I delivered to Henry Munter to be sold.

{159v} Feb-ry 17. The Boyar *Kniaz* Vas. Vas. went in pilgrimage to

⁶²⁵ Kremlin.

the Trinity Monastery, and ordered that I should dispatch the regiment on their march befor his returne.

19. I went to the Butirky and convoyed out the regiment, and afterwards came in by the Swedish *commissarius* & others & tooke leave, and received my meanes this same day.

20. The Boyar returned, and wee were all at the Emperours hands & afterwards at the Princess Regent her hand.

{160} Feb-ry 21. I was in towne and dispatched some effaires in the Offices.

{160v} Feb-ry 22. I tooke my leave of the Boyar, and went to the Butirky & mustered all the sojors wywes, because in their husbands absence they were to receive 3 halfe-pence⁶²⁶ a day.

I did writt to Nethermuir, with Charles Gordon his letters to his brother & Rothemay, to my unkle, Mr. Meverell & David Lindesay by the Chancellour Vasily Timof. Poshwinikuf, who was to go shortly Envoy to England.

{161} Feb-ry 23. I did writt to Mr. Meverell with my factory to him attested by Henry Krevet, Mr. Steele & Philip Wulffe, as also to Nethermuir with William Gordon his 2d bill of exchange for 500 merks Scottish money.

{162}⁶²⁷ May 2. The Boyar went over the Merlo⁶²⁸ & wiewed the place where the army should be encamped.

3. I dined by the Boyar with other strangers, who came all by me afterwards.

4. I marched over the R[iver] Merlo & encamped in the station allotted me.

5. This day the Boyar marched over the Merlo. A Tartar prisoner brought from Kyow, who said that many thowsand Tartars were gone out to make ane incursion into Polland, and that 2,000 thereof came to

⁶²⁶ Evidently *dengi*, i.e. half-kopecks.

⁶²⁷ There is a gap in MS from 24 February to 1 May 1687, although the later pagination runs on. During that time Gordon set out with the Russian army on campaign against the Crimean Khanate, and reached the Poltava region in Ukraine.

⁶²⁸ Merlo or Merla, a river in eastern Ukraine.

Kyow to try their fortune, & that 6 of them were taken prisoners. Being Ascension day, o[u]r church tent was sanctified and devotion done in it.⁶²⁹ I had to dinner the colonells, priest & other officers.

I did writt to my wyfe & Mr. Vinus.

6. I did writt to the Duke of Gordon, the Earle of Perth, the Earles of Midleton & Melfort, Mr. Meverell & Mr. Frazer, & to the *Patres* by a ser-t of Colonell Krom⁶³⁰.

7. I received 20 yoake of oxen & gave sixe yoake into each regiment, keeping 8 in the first.⁶³¹

{162v} May 8. Wee marched with a square *waggonburg*, which took up in the front 557 fathome & in the length a thowsand, wherein were about 20,000 waggons⁶³²; I guarding the left wing & a part of the front, Ag[gey] Al[exeyevich]⁶³³ the right & a part of the front, and 5 reg-s of *streltses* in the midle. Wee marched south-west for the most part, over plaine fields, 6 long *verst* & encamped within 3 *verst* of Rublofka.

Below Rublovka, on the west syde of the Worskla a mile, is the towne Opoczna.

⁶²⁹ Apparently, Gordon provided for a Roman Catholic military chapel.

⁶³⁰ Colonel Kondraty Krom of the *streltsy*.

⁶³¹ This is the first mention in the Diary of the tripartite structure of the Second Moscow Selected Regiment under Gordon's command. Further on he records several pay-lists of his soldiers (starting with fol. 175 v.). These show that the bulk of his regiment was formed by the rank and file—privates, NCO's and musicians—permanently based in Moscow's Butyrskaya Sloboda, which belonged to the Tsars. On campaign most of the Moscow soldiers made up the first "regiment" (or "thousand"), while some were distributed between the other two "thousands". During the Crimean campaigns the selected soldiers were joined by military settlers from the Tambov and Vaga regions, and by a limited number of the so-called *datochnye*. Most of those were veterans of the wars waged from the 1650s to the 70s, who in time of peace lived in homes of their own. I am grateful to the historian O.A. Kurbatov for clarifying this point.

⁶³² In another source Gordon has left us a very interesting drawing of the Russian *wagenburg*, inscribed: "Here is depicted the camp commanded by General de Gordon, when during the Crimean campaign he defended the rear of the army in the offensive towards that country, and on return thence" (Johann Georg Korb, *Dnevnik puteshestviya v Moskoviyu (1698 i 1699 gg.)* (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. 284). It is also reproduced in my Russian edition of Gordon's Diary (Patrick Gordon, *Dnevnik 1684–1689* (Moscow, 2009)).

⁶³³ A.A. Shepelev (ca.1623–1691), commander of the First Moscow Selected Regiment of Soldiers, "Duma general" and *okolnichy*.

9. Being St. Nicolaus his day, wee did not march. I rec-d lrs from Mr. Vinius, my wyfe and Pater Schmidt.

10. Wee marched east about 8 *werst* & encamped near the head of Swinkofka, by a brooke called Pedrofka.

11. Did not march, the *Wasinins*⁶³⁴ came. I rec-d lrs from my wyfe, Mr. Vinius & Guasconi.

12. Wee marched over the head of the r[ivule]t Swinkofka & about 10 *werst* encamped by good convenience of wood & water, haveing the r-t Kolomak on o[u]r left hand & the Swinkofka on our right hand.

13. Wee marched & encamped in a low-ground, haveing the R. Worskla on o[u]r right hand & the Kolomak on o[u]r left, being about 8 *werst*, & a mile short of Pultawa.

{163} May 14. Wee marched over the r-t Kolomake & encamped by the river, haveing good convenience of wood, water & grasse.

15. Being White Sunday, I had all the great military persons in the army at dinner.

16. The regiment writer being very sick, I had caused take the reckoning from him of the moneyes in his hands, and received the bookes of his reckoning, wherein were:

Received for oates to the Emperours horses:

In Koluga	7 rubles	13 <i>alt.</i>	2 <i>dengees</i>
In Shewsky		24 <i>alt.</i>	
In Achterk	10 rubles		
In all	18	4 <i>alt.</i>	

Received for wheeles 10 rubles

	<u>rub.</u>	<u>alt.</u>	<u>d.</u>
Disbursed for oates & hay	9		4; remains 19 r. 3 <i>alt.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
For 56 gang of wheeles	20	8	2
For other things	4		2
In all	24	8	4

⁶³⁴ *Vazhane*, soldiers recruited in the Vaga region in northern Russia.

More disbursed	5	3	2
Received by Ivan Sniatkofsky to wheeles	13	25	
For powder sakes	5		
Given to the shoormakers	5		
Payed the above reckoning	5	3	2 <i>d.</i> & remaines 8 r. 21 4
Given to the painter for 7 collours		23	2 <i>d.</i> , remaines 7 r. 31 2 ⁶³⁵

{163v} About midday wee had a false alarum, which continued a houre & halfe with a great [confusion?]

May 17. In the night wee had againe a false alarum, which made a great confusion & lost us many horses. I went the great round.

18. I exercized the regiment and caused them give fyre thrice. Wee sent out on all quarters to seek our lost horses, but found few or none.

19. Wee marched south-east about 2 Czirkasse miles & encamped by the head of the r-t Tomlik, which falleth in the Worskla a long mile & a halfe below Pultawa; here wee had water, but no wood, especially wee in the left wing.

20. Wee marched & crossed two heads of the r-t Lipianka, which falleth in the R. Oriel by Niechorosow-gorod⁶³⁶. This march was most south and 2 long miles, & encamped by the R. Orczik. Here wee placed from each regiment a 100 musketiers 300 fathome from the *leagner*, & with them a piece of cannon; I marched them & enclosed them as they marched with 6 Spanish [*reiters*]⁶³⁷ on the front & rear & four on each flank, the cannon in the midle.

{164}⁶³⁸ June [11]. [...] where wee encamped. Haveing with some difficulty and loss of some tyme passed the brooke, wee encamped in the fields 2 *verst* further. This dayes march was about 3 miles, yet not halfe a

⁶³⁵ The last sum is crossed out.

⁶³⁶ Probably, Nekhvoroshcha.

⁶³⁷ *Spanischer Reiter* (German), *chevaux de frise* (French), defensive anti-cavalry obstacles consisting of a portable wooden frame covered with long spikes.

⁶³⁸ Entries from 21 May to 11 June are missing in the MS.

mile in the right. Here wee had no wood, farr from water, and the grasse but thinne yet sufficient for one night. On the south syde of this brooke wee had also a Mahometan mesquite.

12. Wee marched early, most south. Wee were told of a brooke on our right hand called Kamionka, which albeit I enquired & caused ride to seek it could not find. Wee marched to the brooke Konska-woda 2 large miles & a halfe & by our waggon measure⁶³⁹ 8 1/2 *verst*; here wee had good convenience of grasse, litle wood, & the water very unwholsome. Wee here found the rest of our armyes, and encamped nearer other as wee had done all this march; some of our armyes haveing crossed the brooke Moskofka lower, made a shorter cutt and were here the day befor. This Konska-woda falleth in the Boristenes⁶⁴⁰ 2 miles below the illand Chortica & 7 long miles from the Ssetshy, where the Zaporovish Cosakes have their residence. The illand Tomakovka is above the Ssetschy 2 miles, & Chortica from Tomakofka [...] miles. From this place where wee encamped to the Bolshoy Luge, or great meadow, by the Dneper syde is 3 miles.

{164v} June 13. Wee fitted our passages over the brooke and rested this day to consult about our further marching, for wee did see and had notice that all was burnt befor us, and even then all was in a light flame or smoaking. After much tyme spent by the grandees of our army in consultation, and much argumenting with litle reason, it was caryed to march forward, in hopes to hear something of our messenger w-ch was sent to the Tartars, or that the Tartars would shortly meet us.

14. Crossing the brooke, wee marched over the burnt fields, being very much incommodated with the dust & the noisome smell of it, and even since wee passed the R. Samara wee were very much incommodated by the dust, which was very unwholsome both for men & horses. Wee encamped by the brooke Olba, where wee had plenty of grasse & water, the great meadow being neer. This dayes march was 2 miles.

15. Wee marched over burnt fields to the brooke Anczakrak or Anczikra 6 of our waggon *verst*. Here wee had but bad convenience of

⁶³⁹ In order to measure distances on the march, the Russians used a special waggon with a "measuring wheel", whose diameter probably amounted to one *sazhen'* (fathom).

⁶⁴⁰ Ancient name of the Dnieper.

grasse and no wood. Here were store of wild boares. Our horses began apparently to decay and our people to sicken, and some looked very sad-like, forseeing what would come if wee marched some dayes in such a burnt desart.

{165} June 16. A great raine haveing fallen, which was very great comfort, because it did lay the dust, & wee hoped it would revive the grasse, wee made bridges of fassines over the brooke, which in this place & by reason of the raine was very marishy, so that wee were more as 3 houres in getting over. Wee marched over bare burnt fields to the brooke Karaczakrak, being 6 waggon *verst* or about 2 miles.

17. Here wee were in great perplexity, with great trouble & difficulty getting so much grasse as would keep in our horses lives, and considering if the Tartars should draw near, even that would not be gott; and as it were, our horses were visibly decayed and not able to draw the cannon, yea, even the provision waggons forward. And haveing notice that all was burnt & destroyed befor us, wee could not in any reason promise to our selves any possibility of accomplishing our designs in takeing in the Crim, and even not of going any further wtout a visible & inevitable ruine. Wherefor at a generall counsell of warr it was after much reasoning concluded, to send 20,000 men of the Russes & as many Cosakes downe by the River Boristhenes to ombrage & cover our retreat, and as occasion offered to attact the Turkish forts on the river, and wee with the rest and farr greater part of the army to retire to such place as {165v} wee could gett maintenance for our horses. So the *Okolnitsze* Leonty Rom. Niepluyof with the army of Shewsky, which were about 9,000 men, the two regiments of the *Graffe* de Graham, being 3,300 men, Coll. Westhoffes regiment, being 1,800 men, were with the forces wch Gregory Ivanovits Kosagow⁶⁴¹ had there about 20,000, and the Hetmans eldest sonne with the Pereaslavish, Czernichovich & Preluks regiments, 2 regiments of *serduks* and some trowps of *companshiks*⁶⁴² were sent by the

⁶⁴¹ G.I. Kosagov († 1693), major general and Duma nobleman, who distinguished himself in command of a Russian division in the Chigirin campaigns.

⁶⁴² *Serdiuki* were elite Cossack infantry on regular pay, a sort of hetman's guards. *Kompaneyschchiki* or *kompaneytsy* were mercenary Cossack horsemen recruited from volunteers who usually did not possess land, and so did not serve in return for it; their regiments were called not after Ukrainian cities, but after their own colonels. The Hetman's eldest son was Grigory Samoylovich, colonel of Chernigov.

Cosakish Hetman, which made up about 20,000, effective rather more as lesse.

June 18. Wee marched directly back againe and a nearer way as wee came, and passing the brooke Anczakrak wee encamped on the high ground by the great meadow, from whence wee had water and some grasse but no wood. This dayes march was 10 *werst* or 3 miles; much of our ammunition came late into the *leagner*.

19. Wee rested and dispatched a post to Mosko to give notice of o[u]r returne.

{166} June 20. Wee marched and passed the brooke Olba dry, and encamped by the brooke Konska-woda, where wee had good convenience of grasse & wood & of water also, but not very wholesome. The Hetman with the Cosakes marched over the brooke & encamped on the other syde & wee on this. This dayes march was 2 miles or 8 $1/2$ wag. *verst*.

Here it was resolved to stay some dayes to feed our horses, they being very weak & not able to draw forward the cannon & ammunition. But our stay here helped them litle, the water being very unwholesome, whereof many men & horses dyed.

A rumour being let pass, that the Cosakes, and even that by the Hetmans connivence if not order, had fired the *stepp* & grasse of purpose to hinder our progress into the Crim, some privy grudges began to be betwixt the Russes & them. Neither wanted there probable reasons that it would not be for their interest, that the Crim should be ruined or subjected. For the Cosakes would be faine lookt upon as a people who had by their armes freed themselves from the servitude of the Polls, and had only craved the protection and thereby the assistance of the Moskovite; and upon this acco-t with great heart-sore they writt themselves subjects to the Czaars & not slaves, as the Russes do; and being very jealous that by this perpetuall peace with the Polls whereby the Polls had given the hereditary right they had to them to the Moskovite, the Russes should contrive to have them in such subjection as their other naturall subjects were, and that the priviledges and freedome for w-ch they had spent so much blood should be abridged. {166v} Therefor the wisest amongst them and especially the Hetman began to forsee the consequences if the Russes should subjugate & ruine the Crim.

The Crim Tartars also would have themselves to be lookt upon as a free people and would have that the Grand Signior⁶⁴³ commandeth their Chan after a precarious manner, and both serving their Princes in their warrs without pay, think their Princes in a manner obliged to them, and surely they are the best feather in their wings. So being as it were in one condition as to the superiority of their Princes & priviledges, naturall instinct and the providence of some amongst them, did well forsee that the absolute subjection of the one would make them too formidable to the others. So there began to be discourses betwixt them, first at the meetings for the exchange of prisoners, where it was represented, that it should be conducive for both their estates, that they should entertaine and keep a friendship betwixt themselves, albeit a private. For it would be even to either of their Princes a hinderance from thinking of breaking their priviledges, when they should know or suspect that they were in such understanding together, as to receive help upon such an occasion, which would be connived at by the Princes who out of interest would not see any of these people altogether subjected, lest the other on that syde of them should become too potent.

The Russes perceived this well enough, and used all meanes to have knowledge of what should passe among them, to which purpose they thought it the best way to corrupt some of the trustees about the Hetman, which was done by the meanes of the governour of Shewsky L.R.N[epluiyev], who with faire promises only and assurances of their Ma-ties protection & favour quickly engaged two of his ppll trustees, one of the g[eneral] adj[utants] and {167} another whom he made use of as secretary.⁶⁴⁴ These two being most of all others employed & trusted by him, nothing could be done or said whereof notice was not given.

Yet the Hetman being a wise and wary man, ordered all his actions, that no exception could be taken at any. And for his discontent with the treaty with Poll[and], he openly avowed it, & had diverse tymes written about it to Mosko. And when he saw that it was like to be concluded, he did writt too sharply, touching these too nearly who were at the helme of state and had the managing of that business, and when the treaty was concluded,

⁶⁴³ The Turkish Sultan.

⁶⁴⁴ Apparently, Gordon means General *Osavul* Ivan Mazepa and General Writer Vasily Kochubey.

he could not conceale his discontent, that it was concluded without his knowledge & consent, as at that point in leaving the Ukraina on the other syde (except Kyow & its district) not to be possessed by any, till an after treaty; and in a message which he obtained to send to the King of Polland to congratulate the peace, he proposed & urged that part of the Ukraina to be given to the Tzaars also, which was ill taken in Mosko, and upon that acco-t one sent expressly to reprove him for it, which was the first snip he had gott in all the tyme of his government. And out of the great hatred he bore to the Polls, against whom he was ever perswadeing a warr, he wished no good to the Christian interest; and when the C[h]r[ist]ians had any victory, as the takeing of Buda, he did not only not rejoyce, but shewed him self very pensive, knowing that if the Cr-ians gett an advantagious peace, the Polls would be strengthened with the possession of Camienets & that part of the Ukraina, as also with the allyance of the Roman Emperour, and so be in a capacity one day or other to claime what by the warrs or treaties they had been forced to part with.

These considerations, and the relying on the great services he had done, & the great trust which had alwayes been put upon him, whereby he had gained great authority over the Cosakes & reputation every where, made him keep himself high, and albeit wise, yet not haveing so much art as to dissemble, he was lookt upon as an evill wisher to the present government, {167v} if not to the state. And the Russes had indeed given him so much honour, regard & respect, by relying and referring all to his discretion, judgment & management even when their greatest boyars & noblemen were in the fields, whereby he was growne to such a hight, that it was not thought safe for the government that he should continue so.

Something also added fuell, which few perceived, & was this: there had been from the year 1677 a kind of heart-burning betwixt our favourite & now *Generallissimus* & him [the Hetman]; for then in the emulation & strife betwixt our *Generalliss.* & the Boyar Romadanofsky⁶⁴⁵ he had openly syded

⁶⁴⁵ Prince G.G. Romodanovsky († 1682), one of the principal boyars and *voyerods*, virtual commander-in-chief of the Tsar's army in the Chigirin campaigns of 1676–78. His incompetence led to the fall of Chigirin to the Turks, which was a pretext for his murder by rebel *streltsy* in Moscow. His quarrel with Prince V.V. Golitsyn went so far that they acted separately on campaign and even refused to meet each other (see *Diary*, III, pp. 32–3).

with the last, which might now perhaps be remembred. But that which permitted this mans destruction, was the generall hatred caryed to him by his owne people, upon the acco-t of the *arendaes* or monopolies given upon the brandy, mede, tarr & such like. Many also of the great ones upon the least thought of disaffectednes or disloyalty he had put from their places & squeezed exceedingly; and being by nature covetous & a great niggard, they all grudged to see how he had enriched himself, and yet still *per fas et nefas*⁶⁴⁶ taking, and expending litle, and not keeping a table according as he might & ought, as also doing all things without consulting with any of the great ones about him, whom indeed he kept in great subjection & aw. The *arendaes* were set up by the approbation of the Tzaar, yet he was lookt upon as the author thereof, and he was so cautious that in the businesses of the colonells & others he alwayes gave notice & desired order from the Tzaars, and when their punishments were put to his discretion, yet he alwayes shewed clemency, only squeezed them, as it was thought, in their purses. But leaving this subject at this tyme, I proceed to our march.

{168}⁶⁴⁷ July 8. Marched most N. East and encamped by the same brooke Kilczien, 2 long miles or 9 waggon *verst*. Here my servant John Vittis dyed & was buried, as also many officers more, and multitudes of sojors dyed every day. Here litle wood.

9. Wee marched over the brooke Kilczien & then east, and encamped at the font of the s-d brooke, having marched 7 waggon *verst* or about 2 miles. This march wee were forced to do to have a shorter cut over to the R. Orell, betwixt which was no convenience of wood & water; yet wee were but very litle helped thereby. Here no wood.

10. Wee marched very early over great plaine fields 3 1/2 miles or 14 wag. *verst* and encamped by the R. Oriell, a litle above where the brooke Lipianka falleth in the Oriell. Here wee had good convenience of wood, grasse & water. The same day wee made *gatte*⁶⁴⁸ & passages over the river.

11. Our avantguard marched first over, and a litle befor midday the wings & after them the arrearguard. Wee marched 2 1/2 wag. *verst* or a

⁶⁴⁶ Through right or wrong (Lat.).

⁶⁴⁷ Entries resume on 8 July, which implies another loss in the MS.

⁶⁴⁸ *Gat'* (Russian), causeway.

large halfe mile, haveing good convenience of all things at beter rates as befor, abundance of all sort of provisions comeing every where from the townes.

12. Our interpreter, whom wee had sent to the Chan, returned and brought a letter from the Nuradin Sultan⁶⁴⁹ to o[u]r *Generallissimus* upbraiding us with breach of faith.

{168v} Here wee stayed three dayes, and had notice that the Tartars had some bickering with our people in the Zaporogue. Here came to us the *dummy diake* of the *Strelets* Office called Fiodor Leontovits Shoklovite⁶⁵⁰, a great favourite of the Princesses, who solemnly asked the Boyar & his *towarises* as also all degrees of people after the usuall & most gracious manner of their healths, praised their service and perswaded to continue their best endeavours for the future. The boyars & all the great persons being present at a

July 14. consultation, wherein all was heard what the *dummy* had in *commissis*⁶⁵¹, to witt, what should or could be done this summer further to hinder the Tartars from makeing any incursions into Polland or the Ukraina, the building of forts by the River Samara for the better carying on of the warr for the future. Then he questioned the Hetman, for that as the report went he had caused burne of the grasse; he told also how the Tzaars were very well satisfyed with the Boyar K[niaz] Vas[ily] Vas. his conduct in this expedition as well in returneing with the army, as in sending the forces to the Zaporogue. Short consultations were had on such things as needed, & the Hetman denied his knowledge of the burning of the grasse. All dined by the boyars, when at their Ma-ties healths the whole artillery was fyred 4 severall tymes, and thereafter the boyars and every one according to their quality presented the *dummy* with gifts, I giving a paire of sables worth 5 libs. sterl.

{169} July 15. Marched and encamped by the R. Orczik, being 2 large mile[s]. This day a Polls gentleman called Stepan Gloskofsky and who is

⁶⁴⁹ Nur-ed-din was the title of the next in line in the Geray dynasty after the Crimean khan's heir, Kalga Sultan.

⁶⁵⁰ F.L. Shaklovity († 1689), *dummy dyak*, from 1682 head of the Streltsy Office, from 1688 *okolnichy*. In 1689 he was one of the main conspirators against the young Tsar Peter, which led to his execution.

⁶⁵¹ In commissions (Lat.).

a lievtennant to an Husars company in Polland came to our *leaguer*, whom the Boyar sent immediately to me to be accommodated in my quarters. He had letters of credence from the Polls Generall, shewing the necessity of haveing a resident in the armyes on both sydes and erecting a stage post for the more tymely notice & correspondence, that they may reciprocally regulate & conforme their actions to the progresse & endeavours of one another. The same evening he delivered his letters.

16. Wee marched along by the R. Orczik 2 miles or 7 1/2 waggon *verst* and encamped by ordinary conveniences. The Hetman feasted the Boyar & others with the *dumny*, who haveing gotten his dispatch, went from hence in the night tyme.

17. Wee did not march.

18. Wee marched 5 1/2 *verst* or 1 1/3 miles and encamped by the font of the brooke Orczik, haveing good convenience of wood, water & grasse.

19. Wee rested. I did writt to my Lord Graham & Maior Crawford, & also to Coll. Hamilton.

20. Wee marched to the R. Kolomake, being about 3 miles and 9 *verst* by our waggon, this being 4 miles from the towne Pultava. Here wee had good convenience of wood, water & grasse.

{169v} July 21. Haveing made *gattes* or passages, wee marched over the brooke & encamped in a round *waggonburg* on the other side upon an high ground, haveing the Boyars Al. Semen. Shein & *Kn.* Volod[imir] Dmitr[ievich] Dolgorukoy⁶⁵² on o[u]r right & the Hetman and the Boyar *Kniaz* Constant[in] Osip[ovich] Szerbatuf⁶⁵³ on o[u]r left hand, encamped with their armyes in round *waggonburgs*, being 3 *verst* from o[u]r last campe.

22. The Polnish resident haveing [been] the day befor entertained & received his dispatch from the Boyar, was this day entertained by the Hetman, and returning to our campe was dispatched with a convoy towards Kyow.

The post, who was sent to Mosko with the petition from the Cosakes upon the Hetman, returned and brought order to seize the Hetman & secure him, cause chuse another in his place & send him to some towne

⁶⁵² Prince V.D. Dolgoruky (Dolgorukov) († 1701), *vojevoda*, from 1676 boyar; head of the Investigation and Robberies Office.

⁶⁵³ Prince K.O. Shcherbatov († 1697), boyar, formerly *vojevoda* in Astrakhan.

of the greater Russia till further orders. This was kept very quiet all the day long, only notice given to the Russe colonells who were by the Hetman to come to the Boyar; who accordingly comeing and receiving orders that with as litle noise or show as possible they should close their *waggonburg* & secure the Hetman, who had his tents & baggage within their *waggonburg*, for his more security against any suddaine attempt of the Cosakes, who being an unconstant & wawering drunken people might in their excesse use some violence, he being not {170} well beloved. They had orders also to acquaint the confederates⁶⁵⁴ with all, & haveing secured all, to send notice to the Boyar by a trusty messenger.

Towards evening the Russe colonells by the Hetman with as litle noise as possible drew & placed their waggons closser together, which was not done so crosse but some about the Hetman began to suspect some thing more as ordinary. And when it was darke, the Hetman being advertised hereof by his servants presently conjectured what would follow, to witt the seizing of his person; but not in that way as it happened, for he relyed upon his long, true and great services to the Russes, whereby he hoped at least to have an impariall hearing as to the complaints of the Cosakes against him, and of any other things as treason & other misdemeanours. He doubted not to clear himself, being sure that no clear evidence could be produced against him. He was only afrayed of some violence from the Cosakes, wherefor in the night-tyme he did writt to the Russe colonells, relateing his many services and clearing himself of any thing that he thought would be laid to his charge, and with many protestations declaring his innocency; he desired that they would guard him from violence untill he should be heard. To this nothing war [*sic*] replied, but strong guards kept round the *waggonburgh* and about his tents & baggage, yet at some distance.

About midnight the writer Kutshebey came to the Boyar and informed how all was secured, desiring to know his further pleasure. The Boyar ordered that by day light they should seize upon the Hetman & his sonne and bring them to him, and to secure such others⁶⁵⁵ of {170v} his familiars

⁶⁵⁴ I.e. conspirators against Hetman Samoylovich, headed by General *Osavul* Ivan Mazepa, General *Oboznyi* Vasily Borkovsky, General Writer Vasily Kochubey and others.

⁶⁵⁵ others crossed out.

as they suspected under the Russe guards in their *leagner*, as also to send trusty guards to watch all the wayes round the *leagner* that none should escape to give his eldest sonne in the Zaporogue notice, or into the countrey & townes to stirr up any tumults or sedition.

[23.] All this was very closely caryed, and about day light upon notice given, the Hetman being befor day in his church and at very earnest prayers by their mattins, some of these who were ordained to attend him entered the church and stayed untill these prayers were ended (in which tyme it is thought a very hainous sinne to use any violence) & all being ended, the Hetman offering to go out to his tent, one Voitsa, a Servian & who had been colonell of Pereaslaw & was deposed, took him by the arme & told him, he must go another way. Whereat he was not very much surprized, only looked about him & called for the Russe colonells, who came immediately & with them his son Jacob, whom they had intercepted comeing to his father; for he in the night-tyme it seemes had notice, & had sent diverse tymes to see if he could come to his father, but found all the passages so guarded as no entrance could be had; yet by day light he adventured to break through the *waggonburgh* and was intercepted.

They immediately put the Hetman with a litle boy of his in a slight waggon & his sonne on a lean litle jade & with a strong guard of the *streltsees* brought them to the great *leagner*. Upon notice of their comeing the *Generalissimus* sent for all the boyars of the other armyes & for all the generalls & colonells of his owne division, who all repaired immediately. The Cosakes being come to the great office tent were commanded to leave the Hetman & his sonne there & come to the boyars, who were all set upon stooles in the open place.

The conspirators (if they might be so called) comeing, in a short harangue told how that they haveing a long tyme seene the great oppressions which the late Hetman had done, and now lately his {171} many treasonable actions, could not but out of the duty they owed to their Tzaarish Majestyes reveale the same, and haveing seized on his person, bring him thither and desire that justice might be done upon him. The boyars being all standing, the *Generalissimus* asked them if this delation and action of theirs was not done out of any spleene or particular hatred against his person for particular wrongs done to them, which

could have been redressed after another manner. They answered, albeit the injuries & oppressions which he had done to the generality of the people, & to most of them in particular, were great, yet would they not have offered any violence to his person, if it had not been his treasons, which they could not out of duty passe; and that they had much ado to withhold the commonalty from cutting him in peeces, so odious he was to them all.

Then were orders given to bring the Hetman thither, who came leaning upon a staffe with a silver head, haveing a wett cloth tyed about his head (he being a long tyme troubled with defluctions upon his eyes and a headach). The Boyar in short words told him the complaints & delations of the Cosakes. He answered in few words, denying all and justifying himself, wherewith began altercations betwixt him & Dimitraska & Solonina, deposed colonells & also Gamaley⁶⁵⁶, on[e] of the same ranke; the particulars are scarce worth the takeing notice. And then shortly he was commanded to be taken away, which was done accordingly. The Cosakes offering to beat him, the Boyar inhibited it, & so he & his sonne were given to severall colonells of the *streltsees* to be kept under a safe-guard.

Then were the letters from the Tzaars read, wherein the petition of the Cosakes given in at Kilczien was, & that the Tzaars had ordered that the Hetman should be deposed & sent to some of the townes of the Greater Russia, and that {171v} the Cosakes should according to their custome chuse another in his place. When they brought the Hetman they delivered to the Boyar the *bunshuge*⁶⁵⁷ & the other badges of the Hetmans office; only the Tzaars collours were not brought, wherefor the *Dummy* Yemel. Ignat. Ukraintzuf was with a guard of horse sent for it, which he brought without any stirr.

Then began they to consult about the chuseing of another Hetman, and it was thought fitt to send for the clergy and p[rinci]p[a]ll Cosakes of the nearest regiments to be at the choosing, yet this on the next day; and the same evening was found dangerous, to witt, to stay for them, because about midday the Cosakes of the Hadits regiment rose in a tumult & killed on[e] Kiaska, who had been a colonell, & beat many others, so that our

⁶⁵⁶ Rodion Dmitrashko-Raycha, Konstantin Solonina and Grigory Gamaleya, colonels of Pereyaslav, Kiev and Lubny regiments respectively.

⁶⁵⁷ See fol. 68 v.

horse guards were sent to guard their *leaguer*. The Cosakes also began to runne by companies away, so that it was thought fitt to delay no longer as Moonday the choosing of the Hetman.

The same day a post was sent to the Zaporogue to the *Okolnitsze* Leonty Romanovits Niepluyuf with notice of what was done, and with order to seize upon Gregory the colonell of Czernichow, being the Hetmans eldest sonne, and such others as should be found his partakers, especially the Pereaslavish Colonell Polibut⁶⁵⁸. Yet this was not so closely caryed but that a Cosake posted to the Kudak, where the Nisins regiment & other forces lay, & from thence a Cosake hastened to the Setczy or Zaporogue, where the Hetmans sonne with the Cosakes were, and gave notice of all what had passed.

This same night a post dispatched to Mosko with notice that the Hetman & his sonne were secured, and a gentleman sent with order to the *Okolnitsze* Le. Rom. Niepluiuf {172} to apprehend & secure the Hetmans eldest sonne Gregory and others. Orders were sent at the same tyme to march of with the army & to leave Colonell Westhoffes regiment in the Kaminy-Zatun to strengthen the Generall Gregory Gosagow, who had order to keep that post till further orders.

July 24. The chieffe men of the Cosakes came by the *Generallis*. and heard the articles read, to the which the former Hetmans had sworne, which were most of these agreed upon in the treaty of Gluchow⁶⁵⁹; some were also added and others enlarged to the greater honour, power and authority of the Tzaars government over the Cosakes, to the which they all assented. Then was the former Hetmans estate brought in consideration, about w-ch some hesitation was. Yet the *Generallis*. after his wonted & naturall alacrity told them that albeit all what belonged to the traitour by the law was forfeited to the Tzaars, yet he would, with the hazard of the Tzaars displeasure, take upon him that the Cosakish army should have the one-halfe of the traitours substance, and the other halfe to be brought in to the Tzaars treasure (wherewt all were content)⁶⁶⁰.

⁶⁵⁸ Leonty Polubotok.

⁶⁵⁹ This treaty between the Tsars' government and Ukrainian Cossacks was concluded at the election of Hetman D.I. Mnogogreshny by the Council (*Rada*) of Glukhov (Hlukhiv) in March 1669.

⁶⁶⁰ Gordon's note on the margin.

The chieffe men of the Cosakes quietly & most apart desired to know, who should be most acceptable to the *Generalliss.* to be Hetman, and getting a hint that Masepa was the man, the same evening they all subscribed privately a writeing to that purpose. And those {172v} of the faction had the colonells & other chieffe places divided amongst them, and resolved to displace all such who had been creatures of the late Hetman. This evening were nominated & ordered gentlemen to go to Baturin & other places where the Hetman & his children had their substances, to take an inventory of all; as also three were nominated to go to Mosko with the joviall tiddings, to witt, one from the *Generalliss.*, another from Al. Sim. Shein & the third from *Kniaz* Volodimir Dimitr. Dolgorukoy. The Boyar *Kniaz* Const. Osip. Szerbatuf was very earnest to have one sent from him, but was neglected.

{173} July 25. The Selected regiments & the *strelisees*, haveing gott orders in the evening, marched out into the plaine fields near to the Cosakish *leaguer*, where a church tent was pitched, which they environed 6 man deep round the tent about a 100 fathom from it, the cavalierie being drawne up at a great distance round. About ten aclock the *Generalliss.*, accompanied with the boyars & the ppill persons of the armyes, came marching out of the great *leaguer*, & being come within the guards came to the church tent & caused all the badges of the Hetmans office, which was publickely brought along, to be laid befor the church tent upon a litle table covered with a rich carpet, some stools and benches being set round it. The Cosakes, who to the number of 800 on horseback & 1,200 foot had stood above an houre in the fields, were desired to come into the round or lists; who being come, the ppill of them drew near & jointly with the boyars went into the church, the badges being caryed befor them.

After a quarter of an houre or thereabouts were spent in prayers, they came all out, & the badges were laid on the table againe. Then the *Generalliss.* standing on a bench told to the Cosakes that the Tzaars had given to them, according to their ancient custome the free liberty to choose to themselves a Hetman, and that every one of them should have their free vote in the election, wherefor he desired them to declare themselves.

First was a litle silence, then some neare nominated Masepa, which being taken up went further, so that all in a manner cryed out to have

Masepa for Hetman. Some called for Borkovsky⁶⁶¹, but {173v} were presently silenced. The cryes being reiterated, and the p[rinci]p[a]ll Cosakes being asked by the *Generalliss.* whom they would have for their Hetman, they unanimously answered, Masepa. Then the *dumny diack* or chancellour standing upon a bench read with a loud voice the oath which they were to swear, as also the booke of articles was presented, which they promised to subscribe, as also the Hetman to take the oath; which being administered unto him after the usuall manner, he repeated after the chancellour. Then the booke of articles was brought, to which the Hetman & all the chieff persons present subscribed. The same booke of articles was sent into all the ppl townes & subscribed by all the clergy & magistrates as also the chieffe Cosakes, who were not then present. Then did the Boyar take the *bulava*, *bunczug* & the Tzaars collours (being the badges of the Hetmans office) and delivered them to the new Hetman, who gave them of to some standing by. After congratulations they mounted on horseback. They rode to the *leaguer*, the Hetman convoying the Boyar halfe way.

{174} July 26. Three gentlemen *saiunshiks*⁶⁶² sent to Mosko with an acco-t of what was passed, and the writer Sava⁶⁶³ now made judge from the Hetman.

27. Wee had notice of a skirmish which our people at the Zaporogue hat [*sic*] with the Tartars, which being no great businesse though a great noise of it was made, needs no particular relation. It was on the 17th of July, when Noradin Sultan with about 10,000 Tartars faced the army there a while, and then not being willing to come within the reach of the cannon, marched of. The Cosakes horses were all in the illand Tomakofka, otherwise there might have been some greater action.

28. The new Hetman feasted the boyars and the ppl persons of the armyes, where many healths were drunk, the cannon 5 tymes fyred round

⁶⁶¹ Vasily Dunin-Borkovsky (1640?–1702), from 1685 general *obozny* (head of artillery and supplies, virtually vice-hetman) of the Zaporizhian Host, one of the main conspirators against Hetman Samoylovich.

⁶⁶² *Seunshchik* (Russian), messenger.

⁶⁶³ Sava Prokopovich, writer of the Zaporizhian Host, one of the conspirators against Hetman Samoylovich.

and 13 persons had gifts presented to them, and being all merry and many drunk, rode to their respective quarters.

{174v} July 29. The Hetman marched away with the Cosakes, haveing two regiments of foot (besides the two former) and a regiment of horse belonging to the Smollensko army to convoy him and stay by him till the countrey should be settled.

30. Wee hade notice of much disorder in the Ukraina, that the Cosakes had beat & killed many *arendares* & *shinkers*⁶⁶⁴ and some, who had charge in former tymes.

31. Wee had notice of some disorder among the Cosakes at the Kudake, which however was soone quieted.

Wee received a month & a halfe meanes deducting according to our monthly pay the years salary, w-ch wee received in months, so that of o[u]r due wee wanted mor as a third or thereabout, which was a trick of state.

{175} Aug. 1. A post from Mosko.

2. Forrage for our horses beginning to be scarce, it was resolved to march the next day.

3. Wee marched east along the R[iver] Kolomake about two miles, and then N.W. to the R. Merlo 2 miles, and encamped in a round *waggonburg* over against the village Lobshova betwixt Kalenteyuf & Krasna Kute.

5. Wee had notice that the Cosakes were marched of from the Zaporogue upwards, standing upon their guard, which troubled us not a litle, fearing the late Hetmans sonne should make a party and trouble the Ukraina.

I mustered the regiments.

{175v} Aug. 6. I gott orders to have 200 of the best sojourns in readiness with the Lt.Coll. Neliduf to convoy the late Hetman & his sonne nearer to Mosko.

7. The late Hetman was convoyed out of the *leagner* with the fores-d 200 men for a guard, haveing gott a covered *kollesse* from the *Generalliss.* for his convenience of travelling.

8. Haveing mustered the regiments on the 5th, in order to the giving in a list of officer[s] & sojourns who were present, dead, runaway & not compeered, w-ch were thus:

⁶⁶⁴ *Shinkar'* (Ukrainian), innkeeper.

Not compeered: Mosk. 7; Tambov. 88; Vasen[sky]⁶⁶⁵ 23; in all 118.

Runaway: Mosk. 15; Tamb. 152; Vasen. 2; *datocznies*⁶⁶⁶ 21; in all 190.

Dead: Mosk. 34; Tamb. 162; Vasen. 10; *datocznies* 21; in all 227.

In all, not comp., dead & runaway & the 41 let of –576.

Present: Mosk. serj[eants] 42; fur[iers] & cap[tains *ab*] *ar[mis]* 48; corp[orals] 68; pipers⁶⁶⁷ 53; soj[ours] 578; Vasen. 199; *datocẏ*. 319; Tamb. 2,019; in all 3,326. These besides officers.

9. Wee had notice from the Zaporogue that on the last of July the army removed from Old Shetsche upwards on the other syde of the Dneper; that the souldiers in the Kamine Zatun had mutinied & deserting that post had followed the army; that on the 4th of August the army had overtaken the Cosakish army by the Kudak, where the late Hetmans sonne with the *companshiks* & *serducks* had entrenched themselves for feare of the Cosakes, who haveing mutinied, killed the colonell of Priluk, an old man called Lazar⁶⁶⁸, and diverse others; the colonell they put him yet alive into a hott oven. The late Hetmans sonne, however, upon the first summons rendred himself, pretending not to have entrenched {176} himself for any fear of the Russes or that he intended to resist or defend himself against them, but only for fear of the other Cosakes, who had mutinied and threatened to kill all who had any charge over them. So being sent for, he and the Pereaslavish colonell with others and all their baggage were brought into the Russe *leaguer*. Then was inquisition made concerning the other Cosakes who had mutinied, and some of the ring-leaders laid hold on & secured under sure & strong guards. The Pereaslavish colonells sonne came along with these who brought this notice.

Aug. 11. My sonne in law sent to the Hetman with orders to stay by him for some tyme, and bring a true relation how matters were caryed. He had many things in commission, relateing to the effairs of the Ukraina. The Pereaslavish colonells sonne went along with him.

⁶⁶⁵ I.e. soldiers from the Vaga region.

⁶⁶⁶ *Datochnye liudi* (Russian), army recruits from the peasantry and townsfolk, levied when necessary from a certain number of households, and armed and supplied at the expense of local landlords.

⁶⁶⁷ I.e. fifers, there were no bagpipes in the Russian army.

⁶⁶⁸ Lazar' Gorlenko.

{176v} Aug. 13. Wee made bridges & passages over the River Merlo.

14. Wolodomier Petrovits Seremetuf came and brought orders to dismiss the army. He brought also medalls of gold for the boyars & persons of all quality, which the same afternoone were distributed after this manner. Orders being sent for all to conveene at the office, a great confluence of people came. The *Generallissimus* with the other boyars went thither on foot, a table & stoolls being ready befor the tent or pavilion, round which the great persons ranged themselves & stood. Then a long harangue was read by the *dumny diack*, being extracted out of the letters which had been written from the army with their Ma-ties approbation of all for good service; and indeed, nothing was omitted which made for our advantage. After the solemne and usuall manner of asking of our healths was performed, to the which the yong man needed & had help, the medalls were distributed. The *Generallissimus* had a medall besett with precious stones with a chaine to the value of 300 ducats, the other boyars had each of them medalls to the value of nine ducats. The other great persons had according to their qualities lesse or more; I had a medall given {177} me to the value of 3 ducates, the other persons in publick charge, as also the greatest gentry who have their denominations from the offices of the Tzaars court, had medalls weighing 2 ducats; others of inferiour degree a medall of one ducat as also the stranger colonells the lyke; other officers according to their qualities. The souldiers of our Selected regiments had a gold penny to the value of a shilling sterling; the souldiers as well as the lanciers & horsemen of other regiments had gilded pennyes or *kopikes*, which the gentlemens servants gott also.

Aug. 15. The medalls were distributed to these who had not received the day befor; and a great feast by the *Generallissimus*, where at the drinking their Ma-ties healths all the cannon, being ranged on the open place befor the pavilion, were fyred round thrice, after which the boyars & some few gave giftes to the *Stolnick* Vol. Pet. Sere[metev]. I gave a pretty gift worth 40 shil. st.

The same evening wee received orders to march the next morning, most of the ammution & armes being ordered to be sent to diverse of the bordering townes, and the great artillery to Koluga.

{177v} Aug. 16. Wee marched early, each takeing a severall way according to their orders & their convenience of travelling. I marched directly to

Afterk with all, being 4 long miles. Such as came hither encamped round the towne according to their conveniences.

17. The maiors being busy about givinge of such armes as were here received, I distributed the gilded medalls to the Dambovish sojourns & dismissed them, and then went to take my leave of the Boyar, who staying me to dinner, desired me to let the late Hetmans eldest sonne Gregory, late colonell of Czernichow, be guarded by my regiment to Shewsky. About two aclock afternoone, haveing caused receive the fores-d Gregory, I marched by Afterk on the south syde & crossed the Worskla by a milne damme and encamped on the other syde.

{178} Aug. 18. I marched by day light, takeing the right-hand way alongst the R. Worskla, which albeit hilly or haveing strait ground, I chused because of the directest way. In the second houre of the day our Boyar overtooke me, and gave strict orders for humbling Gregory. I marched by Tristinets, a large village, & halfe a mile further dined; then through Bielke, a small open towne, & Nikitofka, a village & house of the Afterks colonell, directly towards the Saidatskny wade; and then quitting it, wee tooke the Sumes wade to the left, & lodged by a well with good convenience, haveing marched this day 4 long Ukrainish miles.

This night the guards informed that some horsemen came neare to our *waggonburg* & enquired for Gregory the Hetmans sonne, & being enquired what they were, answered they were his servants, which made us keep stronger guards hereafter.

19. I marched through Siratofka⁶⁶⁹, being a mile & a halfe, to Popofk[a] halfe a mile, and dined at Sume, a mile; marched through the towne Sume, which is situate by the R. Psiolla, and lodged in the fields halfe a mile.

20. I marched befor day, and through Aleshinke or rather Sieratofka, a mile, & to Aleshinke another mile, and dined in the fields by Seremetuf Rogue, a mile. Marched further through wast-fields, and crossing a brooke turned to the left hand to Onagotsky⁶⁷⁰, a vill. on the same brooke, 2 miles, came to Agafonova, a mile. It being late, & the ferry here over the river Se[y]m being only two small boats tyed together, which was not able to carry artillery, I caused worke {178v} all night at a floate to cary over the

⁶⁶⁹ Syrovatka.

⁶⁷⁰ Possibly, Yunakovka.

cannon, & in the meane tyme caused the boats to be cleansed, and wag-gons ferryed over; the horses must swimme.

Aug. 21. Haveing dined, I ferryed over takeing a hundred-men along with me and ordering the regiment with the ammunition & artillerie, w-ch was already transported, to follow immediately. I marched over a small brooke up a steep hill, & holding to the right hand through a oaken wood & then plaine corne-fields with villages on each syde, here being a great road-way, yet no convenience of water & grasse, & very litle wood. So I marched to Rilsk, a towne with a castle on the river Se[y]m, and leaving it on the right hand, lodged by the brooke Rilsk, haveing no convenience but water, being 4 good miles from the ferry.

22. I marched by day light & dined in the fields, where wee had good convenience, the water only a litle farr of on our right hand, being 4 miles, & lodged 3 1/2 miles further in the Kalina woods with good convenience.

23. I marched by day light, and dineing by the r-t Lipinka, came about midday to Shewsky, being 14 new *versts*. Not finding the governour here, I sent the orders to the chancellour for receiving of the late Hetmans sonne, who about {179} ane houre thereafter came and received him and two Tartars prisoners more. I went in the evening & visited my mother in law, who would needs go to Mosko with me, which occasioned my stay for two dayes here.

Aug. 25. The regiment with the artillery & ammunition came, and presently began to deliver it of. I gave to the *datishnie* sojors their gilded kopikes and dismissed them.

26. Haveing dismissed the regiment, I tooke only about 30 sojors with me and marching dined at the Shewsky bridge, 5 *verst*, & lodged over by the Ososia⁶⁷¹ R., 15 *verst* further.

{179v} Aug. 27. Marched early and dynd by Wlasofky, 18 *verst*, went through the vil. Krugly & lodged in the woods farr from water, 20 *verst*.

28. Marched early through the oake woods & takeing the left-hand way, & passing a small brooke by a village, dined on the other syde, 17 *verst*; then furthered our jorney through woods & wast-fields. Wee tooke the right-hand way and at a village crossed a brooke because there was no bridge over this brooke on the road, which the inhabitants of this village

⁶⁷¹ Usozha.

had ruined, of purpose that all should travell through their village and buy necessaryes of them. Wee crossed the brooke Krom, which running east falleth in the River Occa 7 *verst* from the towne Krom, by which wee lodged. This is a open towne, ill built, havinge a castle fortified very slightly with a earthen wall in some places & a pallisado; from the place where wee dined 15 *verst*.

29. Marched early & 5 *verst* hence crossed the River Occa by a bridge, & 10 *verst* further dynd by the brooke Golup. Wee travelled haveing the R. Occa still on our left hand to the towne Orel, 15 *verst*. This is a pretty towne, populous & of good trade by reason of the River Occa being here navigable, w-ch runneth through the towne, and hath a bridge, the castle or fortified towne on the north syde of the river, the rest of the towne not fortified. {180} Wee marched further 8 *verst* and lodged, watering our horses at the Occa R.

Aug. 30. Wee tooke journey early & befor day passed the brooke Optucha, 2 *verst*, & over a litle brooke called Voina & another called Lisitsa, 10 *verst*, near which wee should have held the right-hand way; but turning to the left along the R. Occa, and 5 *verst* further dineing at a village called Sterezew, but afterwards haveing steep hills wearyed our horses, w-ch the other way wee had not mett with. Yet a gentlman showing us a way to the left hand, which made us shunne a very strict way whither wee were going, & so in the evening wee came to Msczenesk, 10 or 12 *verst*. Wee passed by the fortified towne or castell, and crossing the river [Zusha] by a bridge, wee lodged in the *yempsky slabod*.

31. Haveing gott *podvod*, wee went not early from hence, and passing divers hills, which because of the raine made badd way, wee dined by the brooke Snisits, 10 *verst*, and marching 8 *verst* further by the same river all east, wee lodged, haveing this day passed 10 hills, yet not so high as steep.

{180v} *Sept-ris* 1. Befor day wee crossed two hills more, and then comeing through a plaine countrey, much of it not manured & without wood & but litle water, wee marched 15 *verst* & dined by a well, 15 *verst*. Wee went 10 *verst* further & crossing the R. Plova lodged; this comeing from the south-east a litle from this receiveth the R. Lochnia comeing from the west, falleth in the R. Uppa by Kropivna.

2. Wee travelled soone and haveing gone 20 *verst* dined by the R. Solova, which 20 *verst* from hence falleth also in the R. Uppa. After noone wee rode 30 *verst* to the towne Tula. Short of it is a large earthen wall long some *verst* to the very towne, fortified with bulwarks but now overgrowne & in many places decayed. About 40 or 50 yeares ago this was the farthest service which the Russes knew this way, and here they encamped till Simon day or the first of September, & then were dismissed, because about that tyme also the Tartars used to quite the fields. This was lookt upon as hard service then, but, in respect of the expeditions which have been since and are still, it is looked upon & talked of as bairnes play befor the doore.

This Tula hath a faire litle towne or cittadell built with stone, the other towne fortyfyed with a wooden wall. Here crossing the R. [Upa] by a bridge, wee lodged on the other syde by the *yempskoy slabod*.

{181} *Sept-ris* 3. Here being many smiths, wee stayed to mend the things broken about our waggons. Then getting *podwods*, wee went forward at every 5 *verst* crossing a brooke almost. Haveing gone 15 *verst* wee dined by a wood in a very pleasant place, and 15 *verst* further lodged by a village & a brooke called Volshane⁶⁷².

4. Wee gott up early & went to the brooke Antonin, 5 *v.*, to the brooke Kamenky 5, to the brooke Moczilis 5, to the brooke Sknigy 5 & to the iron workes 5 *verst*. Here is the brooke Vepreova, on which ar many iron workes, yet they fetch the earth or *erts*⁶⁷³ from about the places near Tula. They are all Germans & Sweds who are the masters & live here; the workes belong to one Marselis come of Danish parents. Here haveing dyned, wee went on and haveing excellent way came befor evening to the R. Occa & ferried over, against Sherpuchow. It was midnight befor wee gott over, & lodged on the fields by the river.

5. Wee went through the base-towne of Sherpuchow haveing some monasteryes & the stone towne on a naturall mount on the right hand of us. Wee marched 10 *verst* & dined by the brooke Moskofky, where {181v} making no long stay, wee marched 30 *verst* and lodged by the R. & village Molodach, whither wee came in the 3d howre of the night, haveing had very bad way for about 10 *verst*.

⁶⁷² Apparently, Vashana.

⁶⁷³ *Erz* (German), ore.

Sept-ris 6. Wee marched 5 *verst* very bad dirty way & 15 *verst* further crossed the R. Pachry by a bridge at a vill. where I dined, and towards evening came to Mosko, comeing by the way of Koluminsk⁶⁷⁴ and crossing the R. Yausa at the powder mills, being 20 *verst*. Note that I have reckoned the *versts* from Shewsky to Mosko after the old rate, and that in the places where wee lodged or baited, by convenience of water, the grasse was bad.

I found befor me a letter from my unkle dated the 2 *Junii*, as also two letters from Charles Gordon & one from Madam Crawford.

{182}⁶⁷⁵ Oct-r 2. I received the most blessed Sacrament. This day also was the Boyars church in Mediwedofka sanctified.

3. I rode to meet the Boyar and convoyed him to Ismahilow.

4. I was in the Butirky to rectify businesses, and dined by the Swedish Commissary. The eldest Tzaar & the Princess were in Mediwedofky to see the new church & dined there.

5. The eldest Tzaar & Princess came to the city. Wee had the honour of being asked of our healths from them both within the Court.

7. I received letters from Col. Menezes.

9. The yongest Tzaar came to the city.

11. The order for my being Generall signed & registred, and in it ordered that every one in the 3d person should call and writt me with a *vitch* in my patronimick, which I not haveing urged or pressed, was so late in doing.

{182v} Oct-r 12. I received letters & some moneyes being debts from Kyow by the writer Dimitre Art. Solofkow.

14. Received letters from the Colonells Galbreth and Pfenningbeer.

I celebrated our most gracious Sovereigne his birth day with the usu-

⁶⁷⁴ Kolomenskoye, the Tsars' grand country estate south of Moscow, now within city limits.

⁶⁷⁵ Entries from 7 September to 1 October 1687 are missing in the MS. On 9 September Gordon was "at Their Majesties' hands" and was granted the rank of full general. On the 16th and 26th he wrote three letters from Moscow to Samuel Meverell and Lord Middleton (British Library, Add. MSS 41842, fols. 159–163, published in S. Konovalov (ed.), "Sixteen Further Letters of General Patrick Gordon", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XIII (1967)).

all jovialty, haveing all his S[acred] M[ajesty's] borne subjects & many descended of them at the feast.⁶⁷⁶

17. Was in towne by the Boyars daughter in law, wishing her good luck with her yong sonne, which cost me a double ducate, where one might have served.

18. My daughter received a letter from her brother James, showing that he had quite the Colledge of Doway & was come to Lublin, with an intention to come into this countrey, desireing her to interceed for his pardon & permission to come to Mosko, where he would willingly be a sojour.

19. The Hetman sent notice that the Chan was resolved with a great power to fall into the Ukraina this winter, and that some janizaries were come into the Crim.

{183} Oct-ris 20. I did writt to my sonne James & the P[ater] Rector of the Jesuits Colledge in Lublin by the way of Kyow, whereby I ordered him to come by the way of Riga into this countrey, no other way being well allowed; which albeit against my will I did, fearing lest throwing him of altogether he should take some desperate course or other.

I had a letter from Coll. Hamilton.

21. I did writt by the way of Riga to my sonne Ja[m]es & the P. Rector by Mr. Frazers address & Mr. Hartmans convoyance from hence.

22. To my cousin Nethermuir, Mr. Meverell⁶⁷⁷ & Mr. Frazer by post, the former two by address of the last.

24. I did writt to Coll. Hamilton.

25. At the wedding of Capt. Herring.

26. Ordered to send a command to execute Griska, the Hetmans eldest sonne, & to send the late colonell of Hadits to Mosko.

{183v} Oct-r 27. Ordered a list to be made of all the officers here and at service, upon the acco-t of compleeting the Byallygrod & Shewskyys armyes with officers.

⁶⁷⁶ This party was recorded by the *London Gazette* whose correspondent Gordon was: "The 14th currant, being His Majesty of Great Britain's Birth-day, the said General solemnized it here, making a great Entertainment for all His Majesty's Subjects" (*The London Gazette*, December 8–12, 1687, no. 2302).

⁶⁷⁷ This letter to Meverell survives (British Library, Add. MSS 41842, fol. 164, published in S. Konovalov (ed.), "Sixteen Further Letters of General Patrick Gordon", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XIII (1967)).

29. I did writt to my L-d Graham, Colonells Galbreth & Pfenningbeer, as also to Colonell Menezes, & in his one to my sonne James, to be sent the safest & speediest way.

30. Hired Ivan for eight rubles a yeare.

{184} No-r 2. Received letters from my sonne James & Mr. Frazer.

4. To Coll-s Hamilton & Menezes, my sonne James & Mr. Frazer.

5. Governours ordered to diverse places.

8. Written to ffriends in Kyow by the writer Demetry Solofkow.

The Boyars nephew christened & called Demetry.

{184v} *Novembris* 10. 16 souldiers sent to convoy money to the neerest townes.

11. A councell above longer as ordinary.

12. Given in a list of these sojourns who are present & had been in the last *campagnia*, to witt 772 & 4 not come as yet, to receive 2 rubles a man according as the *streltsees* had gott at Achterk.

Given in a list of the sojourns to their pay for November as followeth: serjeants 45, furers & foriers⁶⁷⁸ 49, kaprals 73, pipers 53, common sojourns 603, carceered sojourns who have litle sonnes 13, orphans sojourns sonnes 39, litle drummers 10, widdowes who have sonnes children as yet 115.

Coll. 3, lt.coll. 2 & maior 1 *densh*[*chik*].

13. At a feast by Mr. Termond⁶⁷⁹.

15. Gave up a petition for post horses to my sonne James.⁶⁸⁰ Had a letter from Coll. Hamilton.

{185} *Novembris* 16. 4 *podvodes* granted for my sonne and a letter gott to that purpose.

17. Writt to Peter Alex[eyevich] Golovin and the Ch[ancellor] Minia

⁶⁷⁸ *Führer* (German), in Russian 17th-century infantry was a “company sub-ensign (*podz-namenshchik*)”. *Fourier* (French and German) was a company billeting NCO under the regimental quartermaster.

⁶⁷⁹ Apparently, Johan (“Ivan Yermeyev”) Termond, native of Friesland, physician, later chief doctor with Tsar Peter’s Grand Embassy to the West.

⁶⁸⁰ This petition from Gordon and the Tsars’ ukase on 4 waggons (see next entry) are preserved, and published in *Dnevnik generala Patrika Gordona* (Moscow, 1892), pt. II, pp. 225–6.

Ivan. Grobuf.⁶⁸¹

18. Writt to Riga to my sonne James & Mr. Frazer by post.

22. Received a letter from Mr. Frazer of the 10th inst.

24. Received a letter from Coll. Hamilton.

25. Writt to Mr. Frazer in Riga & Mr. Joachim Voght in Plesko with the Tzaars letter for *podvod* for my sonne, & letters of recommendation to the governour & chancellour.

{185v} *Novembris* 26. I did writt to the Hetman of the Cosakes, my Lord Graham & Coll. Hamilton. I was with the Boyar in the Granade *Hoffe*⁶⁸², where two new cast cannon were tryed. I told the Boyar to cause cast 2 new pieces for shooting of granadoes directly forward wherewith he was well pleased & ordered the makeing of them according to the modell which I should give.

27. I received a letter from the Hetman.

28. Voitza, the generall adjutant of the Cosakes, havinge been sent with a 1,000 light horsmen, each haveing a spare horse, to recognosce under Kasa-kermin, returned haveing effected litle & lost some men. He advertised that the Turks had brought materialls and were providing for the fortifying of Kasakermin, intending to enlarge it with outworks.

{186} *No-ris* 29. I did writt to the Hetman. This day the yongest Tzaar went a pilgrimage to the Savinsky Monastery.

30. The Boyar followed the Tzaar to the fores-d monastery.

{186v} *Dec-ris* 1. Received a letter from Coll. Hamilton.

2. Another from him of a later date.

I was in Butirky and ordered business in the regiment, heard complaints & decided their differences.

5. The yongest Tzaar returned.

6. St. Nicolaus day.

⁶⁸¹ P.A. Golovin († 1694), in 1687–9 *vojevoda* in Pskov, from 1693 *okolnichy*. M.I. Grobov († 1692), *dyak* who mostly served in Pskov, but in 1681–2 also in Kiev, along with Gordon.

⁶⁸² *Granatny dvor*, Moscow works where grenades and artillery shells were made.

7. Received a letter from Madam Crawford and another from Mr. Frazer.

My *wipisky* for my meanes sygnd and 120 rubles a months [*sic*] allowed me.

29,000 R[eichs] dollers of the late Hetmans goods haveing been ordered to be sent to Mosko, & being brought so farr as Koluga, upon the Hetmans writeing that the Cosakes were murmuring hereat, it was ordered to be stopt & sent back; yet about the same tyme a particular great b[ribe?] to a g[reat?] person sent.

{187} *Dec-ris* 8. At a feast by Doctor Dresher.

9. Writt to Mr. Frazer concerning the bringing out of masts out of the Smollensko Dukedome.

10. The Polls resident called Youry Dominick Domut⁶⁸³ came & the same day also Le. Ro. Niepluyuf.

13. Gave in a petition concerning a place to build on, & some help for building.

The Boyar went to Czarny Grase.

{187v} *Dec-ris* 14. I went to Czarny Graise, was very kindly entertained by the Boyar & came home late.

15. Being Christmasse after the new stile, wee had extraordinary devotion. The Boyar returned.

16. In towne, sent Prokofe to the horses.

17. The Polls Envoy had his first audience.

18. The Jesuit by the Polls Envoy came and gave me a visitt.

19. Order for a 100 rubles to my building.⁶⁸⁴

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1688

Januar 1. The Polls resident gave me a visitt.

2. Being in towne I dined by the Boyar and was afterwards by Benedict

⁶⁸³ Jerzy Dominik Dowmont, first Polish resident in Moscow from 1687 to 1694.

⁶⁸⁴ This is the last entry for 1687. Blank pages follow in MS (fols. 188–192 v.).

Andr. Ismeyow.

Received a letter from Mr. Frazer.

4. I went to Medywedofka and was very kindly entertained by the Boyar.

5. I did writt to Coll. Menezes concerning the business of the masts.

7. I did writt to Lt.G-ll & Maior Gen-ll Zweykowskyes⁶⁸⁵ concerning the business of the masts and answered Mr. Frazer both his letters.

I dined by *Kniaz* Boris Alex. Golitzin⁶⁸⁶, was merry & came late home.

{193v} Januar 8. *Kniaz* Pet[er] Alex. Golitzin & *Kniaz* Boris Fiod. Dolgorukow dined by me. I received a letter from Mr. Frazer of the 29 *passat*.⁶⁸⁷ adviseing that my sonne came thither the 21, and one from my sonne dated 7th Ja-ry *novo stilo*⁶⁸⁸.

9. In towne, & in the evening by Mr. Houtman.

10. At home, newes of the Chans being come out of the Crim with his Tartars.

I did writt to my L-d Graham.

11. In towne, gave of the order for our meanes into the Great Treasury.

Such a roll given in to the Office 7,196⁶⁸⁹ [1688] year for the pay of the month of Januar:

45 serjeants, 50 furiers & foriers, 73 corporalls, 53 pipers, 614 sojors, *emeritt*⁶⁹⁰ 14, 114 widdowes, 42 orphans, 4 litle drummers.

Money taken out for the months of No-r & Dec-r & given in againe to the Office 5 rubls 16 *alt*.

12. Newes that the Chan with his *bordaes* were gone out of the Crim with ane intention to fall into the Ukraina.

The writers of the Office by me at dinner and a place measured of for me to build on.

⁶⁸⁵ Presumably they served Poland-Lithuania, which recently became an ally of Russia.

⁶⁸⁶ Prince B.A. Golitsyn (1654–1714), Tsars' carver (*keravchy*), from 1689 boyar, head of the Kazan' Palace Office. Tutor of the 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.

⁶⁸⁷ Last [month] (Lat.).

⁶⁸⁸ New style (Lat.).

⁶⁸⁹ Prior to the 18th century years in Russia were counted from the presumed Creation of the World.

⁶⁹⁰ Merited (Lat.), i.e. veteran soldiers no longer on active service, but keeping their pay and quarters with the regiment.

- {194} Jan-r 13. In towne, the Boyar went into the countrey.
 14. In towne & nothing done.
 15. Rec-d letters from Mr. Frazer that my sonne was gone from Riga the 5th curreant.
Kniaz Peter Alex. Gol[itsyn] & *Kniaz* Boris Fiod. Dolgor[uky] were in o[u]r church & dined by me.⁶⁹¹
 16. I dined by the Holl. resident with the Polls envoy.
 17. I visited Andre Artemonovitz⁶⁹².
 18. I dined by Andre Arte.
 19. And. Arte. came to me & moved me to go with him to the Holl. resident.
 20. A place to build on denyed.
 22. My sonne came, by whom rec-d letters from the P[ater] Rector of Lublin, M-r Thomson & Mr. Frazer.
 {194v} Ja-ry 23. I was in towne.
 24. In towne; the Tzaars went to the Virgin Monastery.
 At the wedding of Thomas Fadomrecht⁶⁹³.
 25. A councill day wherein did sitt both the Tzaars & the Princess, the yongest Tzaar the first tyme.
 26. In towne; the Tz[ars] went to the church, being the eve of⁶⁹⁴
 27. Being the eve of the *panafide* or annuary remembrance of the Tzaar Alexey Michaelovits of blessed memory, the yongest Tzaar went to all the Offices & gave money to some prisoners & released others.
 Writt to Mr. Frazer, *Kn.* Pet[er] Sem[ionovich] Pros[orovsky]⁶⁹⁵, Peter Alex. Gol[ovin] & Minia Grobuf by post.
 28. In towne, spoke with Sr Boetenant about the business of Christian

⁶⁹¹ This entry is crossed out in MS. Cf. fol. 193 v.

⁶⁹² 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, from 1715 count. In his memoirs he mentions Gordon with great respect.

⁶⁹³ Russian sources of that period make mention of the Netherlandish merchant Thomas van den Recht.

⁶⁹⁴ *eve of* crossed out.

⁶⁹⁵ Prince P.S. Prozorovsky, boyar and *voyeroda* with whom Gordon served in Kiev in 1682–3.

Marselis by desire of his mother, & had this day a letter from Coll. Menezes to the same purpose.⁶⁹⁶

29. Rec-d a letter from Mr. Meverell dated London 23th [*sic*] *Dec-ris*.

30. In towne.

31. At Capt. Hayes wedding.

{195} Feb-ry 1. At the wedding.

2. In towne & at devotion.

3. In towne; went & wiewed the house I intended to buy.

4. At home. Bought the house from Jonas for 120 rubles.

5. The Tzaars went to the Virgin Monastery.

Received a letter from Madam Crawfuird.

6. In towne; agreed for the house for 120 rubles.

To my L-d Grahame by L. Coll. Baine.

7. In towne. Rec-d a letter from the Hetman. Writt to the P[ater] Rector of Lublin P. Albertus Wloszynowsky & to Mr. W-m Tomson & Mr. Robert Gordon by the convoyance of the Polls resident.

8. Given in a list of the sojors, widdowes & orphans for the pay of Feb-ry, as followeth:

45 serjeants, 49 furers & foriers, 73 corporalls, 52 pipers, 612 sojors, 13 *emeriti* who have male children yong as yet, 112 sojors widdowes who have yong male children, 43 orphans, 4 litle drummers.

{195v} Feb-ry 9. A ground-plate of a towne to be built at the confluence of the R. Samara into the Dneper ordered to be made.

My sister in law contracted to L. Russwurme.

10. The severall modellis or syzes of ground-plates showed, and whereas it was ordered to make a towne of 2,000 fath. in circumference, it taking up a great space, I offered to consideration the makeing of a lesser & so one of 1,200 fath. in circumference. Yet this being in myne opinion too large, I caused make one of 5, another of 6 and a third of 7 bulwarkes, according to the dimensions of the small Royall, and a 4th of nine bulwarkes according to the great Royall.

11. At the buryall of Coll. Le Forts child.

⁶⁹⁶ Colonel Paul Menzies was married to the widow of the rich merchant and entrepreneur Peter Marselis, Margaret, née Becker von Delden.

12. At home & by Mr. Guasconi about church businesse.
- {196} Feb-ry 13. In towne; order for punishing the sojour who had caryed about the coffins to some houses, and for my entry to the house I had bought.
14. The sojour punished, the Boyar went to his village.
15. Writt to the Hetman. Had o[u]r ffrriends at dinner.
16. Leonty Rom. Niepluiuf went from hence in the night-tyme, he being to command the army that was to build the citty by the R. Samara.
17. Gott the order from the Ambassy Office to the Ziemsky Office⁶⁹⁷ for giving me an entry to the house & garden which I had bought.
- {196v} Feb-ry 18. Gott of pay 270 rubles, payed out of it 120 for the house.
19. Rec-d letters from Pater Sturme & Mr. Frazer.
20. Gott order for a 100 rubles for building.
21. Rec-d the 100 rubles. M. Gen-ll Bilts dyed. At dinner by the Polish resident. Being their Shrove Tuesday, cannon shott & fyre-workes burnt before the yongest Tzaar at Voschrestshenskoy⁶⁹⁸.
22. A evening feast by Sr Boetenant, whither I let my children go.
24. By Sr Boetenant about the business of chuseing another tutor for the yong Marselis; I being nominated thereto, declined it, yet was perswaded to accept of it for a short while.
- {197} Feb-ry 25. At the buriall of Maior Gen-ll Billts.
26. Maior Crawfuird contracted to Coll. R.⁶⁹⁹ daughter.
27. In towne; by Coll. Menezes his lady about the business of the tutorship, which Sr Boetenant had refused; wee viewed also the paper consisting of 3 points or articles sent to her by Sr Boet[en]ant.
28. I did writt to Scotland to the Duke of Gordon, the Earles of Erroll & Perth, to my unkle, sonne, cousins Nethermuir, Mr. Thomas & W-m Gordon, with a bill of factory to my sonne, 2 bills of exchange upon Rothemay from his brother W-m, one for 500 merks, the other for 1,700 merks, as also Charles Gordon bond for 200 merks, for which W-m Gordon is cationer, the said 200 m. being included in the bill of 500

⁶⁹⁷ *Zemsky Prikaz* was a Russian government office responsible for the administration of Moscow and some other cities.

⁶⁹⁸ Voskresenskoye.

⁶⁹⁹ Possibly, Colonel Ronaer or Rossworm.

merks. Writt hereby also to Rothemay, dated the 3d of March, with the bill of 1,700 merks, & W-m Gordons letter of advice to his brother.

Writt also to England to the Earles of Middleton⁷⁰⁰ & Melfort, Mr. Meverell, Lindesay & cousin Alex-r; the copies of the most whereof in copy-booke of letters.

At the buriall of the widdow Maasin.

{197v} *Martii* 1. In towne, by Mr. Kenkell at dinner, thereafter by Mr. Hartman, to whom I payed 30 dollers my sonne had taken up in Riga at 55 kop. pr dollar. I went afterwards by Doctor Kellerman⁷⁰¹.

2. My wyfes stepmother of a fright sickened.

3. Writt to my unkle & cousin Nethermuir, & in theirs a letter to Rothemay with his brothers bill of 1,700 merks. This with the former p[e]r address of Mr. Thomas Loftus to Mr. Meverel.

A fire in the Slabode.

4. A letter came from the King of Polland, desireing particular notice from hence of & how [*sic*] the Tzaars intended to cary on the warr this [year], and what meanes they intended to use for the diversion of the Tartars, with a monitory to them to behave themselves according to the treaty, as also desireing a speedy answer, that it might be communicated to the parliament now sitting in Grodno.

Not being well, I stayed at home.

Given to Ivan with his wyfe 6 rubles.

{198} *Martii* 8. The Boyar went a progress to Nikolay Saraisky⁷⁰².

The widdowes mustered in the Slaboda.

10. Coll. Hamilton went to Shewsky.

My wyfes stepmother dyed. At the buriall of Colonell Rigemans child.

⁷⁰⁰ This letter to Lord Middleton survives (British Library, Add. MSS 41842, fol. 165, published in S. Konovalov (ed.), "Sixteen Further Letters of General Patrick Gordon", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XIII (1967)).

⁷⁰¹ 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.

⁷⁰² The revered Orthodox icon of St. Nicholas in the town of Zaraysk.

11. Sr Boetenant by me, when much discourse about the business of yong Marselis.

14. The ruleing elders of the Lutherans church by me concerni[n]g the difference, who should preach the funerall sermon, whither P[astor] Fockerat or Shroder.

15. My stepmother in law buried.

{198v} *Martii* 16. Writt by officers to Kyow to the Colls. Evanitsky & Rubkow, the Lt.Colls. Zimmerman & von Bockhoven, and to Shewsky to Coll. Hamilton.

Given to Prokofey 3 rubles.

17. Writt up all the goods belonging to my deceased stepmother in law, in presence of Colls. Rosworme, Livingston, Maior Crawford & Capt. Rosworme & myself.

18. Delivered three trunks into Mr. Howtemans keeping, wherein were the ducats, plate, jewels, cloaths & linnings with writeings belonging to my stepmother in law. In the evening the children came to my house to stay by me, which vexed others who intended to have made benefitt by them.

19. Writt to Coll. Menezes.

At the buryall of Maior Balk his daughter.

Wee had notice that Nuradin Sultan with a great power of the Belagrods and Crim Tartars were fallen into the Volhinia & Podlassia, & had as farr as Dubna, Olika, Broda & near Leopold⁷⁰³ taken all the people, about 60,000 person[s], with all their goods.

{199} *Martii* 20. The place which I had bought measured, 90 fathome in length & 47 in breadth.

22. Taken out 305 ducats of the childrens.

23. Exchanged them at 142 kop. a piece.

24. Received letters from Mr. Meverell with the acco-t of the new mortar pieces, & from Mr. Frazer.

26. In towne by *K[niaz]* I.B. Repenin.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰³ Latin name of Lviv (Lvov).

⁷⁰⁴ Prince Ivan Borisovich Repnin (1617?–1697), boyar, head of the 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).

27. Renewed the *pamet* in the *Ziemy Dvor*.⁷⁰⁵

29. Given to Mr. Kenkell 400 r. upon interest at 6 pr cent, 2 for my wyfe & 2 for my brother in law; renewed also or rather reimbursed the 50 rubles to Sr Kenkell.

The *Okolnitse* Leonty Romanowits Niepluiuf went to the Hetman, where they consulted about the carying on of the warr this yeare, and concluded to send to their Tzaar. M[ajesties] with their opinions that it would be fitt to attacque Kasa-Kirmien, which if approved, then they desired that I might be sent thither to have the command there, with the title of *Ischodny Towaris*⁷⁰⁶, and to have the command of the Belagrods regiments who should be in the army.

{199v} *Aprilis* 3. In town, tooke my sables; invited to dinner by the Hadits colonell.

4. I had a letter from the Hetman.

5. The ecclipse of the moone, w-ch begun at halfe ane howre past seven at night, the midle at a q-t past nine, the end at 3 4ts past 10; which how much it differs from what Voight hath written this year will be knowne by wiewing his kallender⁷⁰⁷.

6. For 4 brewings of beer in all 21 rubles 9 *alt.* 2 *den.*, each brewing kosting 5 rubles 10 *alt.* 4 *dengees*.

Voikowits the Judge Generall of the Cosakes came hither with the Chancellour Michael Isyedinuf, concerning the conclusions taken by the Hetman & L.R. Nepluiuf, and urged vehemently that I should be sent to the army.

{200} *Aprilis* 10. I removed to the other house.

11. I did writt to the Hetman & to Coll. Hamilton.

12. I communicated.

⁷⁰⁵ *Pamiat'* (Old Russian), an official writ or document. *Zemsky Dvor*, same as *Zemsky Prikaz* (Office).

⁷⁰⁶ *Skhodny tovarishch* (Old Russian), commander subordinate to the chief *voyeroda*.

⁷⁰⁷ Johann Heinrich Voigt (1613–1691), German mathematician, astronomer and compiler of calendars.

13. A fire in the towne, which consumed 90 houses.

15. Easter.

16. In towne; spoke with the Judge Generall of the Cosakes and the chancellour, by whom I understood that the business of Kasa-Kirmien was at a stand, and scarcely like to be concluded or resolved on.

{200v} *Aprilis* 17. At the hands of both the Tzaars.

18. At the Princess her hand.

The Judge Generall of the Cosakes dispatched, and the attacting of Kasa-Kirmien not resolved on.

19. The colonells & officers at the Princess her hand.

The Boyar went to the Bogaroditse⁷⁰⁸.

20. In towne, by Sr Boetenant, Doctor Summer⁷⁰⁹ & Madam Menezes.

The Judge Generall of the Cosakes came and gave me a visitt, and told me some secrets of the effaires of the Ukraina, & regrated that some factions were ariseing among the Cosakes who were not well satisfied with the Hetman.

22. Writt to Col. Hamilton by Coll. Georg Lima⁷¹⁰.

{201} Being indisposed, I stayed at home.

About this tyme in England such a list was published:

In the Diocess of the Archb-p of Canterbury were numbred 2,123,362 members of the English Church, 93,151 non-conformists, 21,878 Roman Catholicks.

In the Diocess of Yorke 355,892 Protestants, 15,525 non-conformists & 1,978 Rom. Catholicks.

Aprilis 28. Writt to the *Conte* de Graham by Lt.Coll. Mitchell.

30. Writt to the Hetman & Coll. Hamilton by the chirurgion Mr. Peteling.

⁷⁰⁸ *Bogoroditsa* (Russian), Mother of God, i.e. one of the many revered Orthodox icons of St. Mary.

⁷⁰⁹ Siegmund Sommer, one of the 'Tsars' doctors, a native of Silesia.

⁷¹⁰ Giorgio ("Yury Stepanov") Lima, "master miner" from Venice, who moved to Russia in 1678 and became colonel of the 'Tsars' army, then vice admiral in the navy. He served under Gordon in Chigirin and Kiev.

{201v} May 1. My sonne James petitioned to go out of the countrey.

Given in a list of the Reg.: 41 serjeants, 46 furiers & furiers [*sic*], 73 corporalls, 52 pipers, 624 sojors, *emeriti* 9, 110 widdowes, orphans & a litle drummer 44.

2. Gott order and a letter to that purpose ordered to be written.⁷¹¹

3. Had notice of the death of Generall Drummond, who dyed on the 2d of Aprill.

4. The under *ottoman*⁷¹² of the Dons Cosakes Kirey pined, but confessed not any thing, nor his comorad who was pined with him, though both most pittifully rackt.

I did writt by post to Riga to Mr. Frazer wt an enclosed to Mr. Meverell & another to Madam Crawford & in hers one to Mr. Tho. Gordon.

5. Those who were sent to the Don for other accused persons, being returned 2 dayes ago with an answer that the Dons Cosakes would deliver none of them, as standing upon their priviledges; yet upon second thoughts they sent them hither themselves; so Samuell & the rest, in all 12 persons, were brought. Their fault was, that a priest reading some parts of the Scripture mentioning an eagle, these Dons Cosakes presumed to make an interpretation thereof, and putting it in writeing dispersed it. In it were many things derogatory to their Ma-ties honour. This being gott notice of, & the priest laid hold on & pyned, he confessed, and told of these others.

{202} May 6. It was said of these Dons that they were guilty of some thoughts of raising some rebellion like to that of Stenka Razin.

7. The Dons Cosakes [pardoned?], & their pension augmented a 1,000 rubles & a 1,000 tunne or measures of corne.

8. Gott a promise to have my sables changed.

9. The eldest Tzaar & the Princess went from Mosko towards the Savinsky Monastery.

10. I exercized the regiment, & dined by the Sweds Commissarius. The Boyar went from hence. The Dons priest with Kirey & another old Cosake executed on the market place and 3 more on the *Blott*⁷¹³.

⁷¹¹ Anent the departure of James Gordon.

⁷¹² I.e. deputy *ataman* in command of the Don Cossacks.

⁷¹³ Boloto (literally, marsh), historic part of Moscow across the river from the Kremlin.

Writt to my unkle, Nethermuir & sonn John with a blank factory to my sonne & 2 bills, one for 500 and ano-r for 1,700 merks; to cous[in] M. Tho[mas], to the Earles of Middleton⁷¹⁴, Melfort, Murray⁷¹⁵, Perth & Arroll, to the Duke of Gordon,⁷¹⁶ Mr. McDowgall, Mr. Lindesay, Mr. Meverell, cous[in] Alex-r.

11. Borrowed a 100 f. of Mr. Kenkell.

12. Payed 50 to Mr. Wulffe.

{202v} May 14. Began to digg at the pond.

17. My sonne James went from hence, whom I with some ffriends convoyed to the Twersky Yempsy⁷¹⁷.

{203} May 18. The Pereaclavish Colonell Dimitraska came hither upon the acco-t of a blind project, was well received and notably dissembled with, but in counsell debateing had for keeping him here, lest being a active fellow and not well affected to the Hetman, he might make a faction & occasion stirres.

19. Payed this day what had been detained this weeke from the hire of the workmen by the day, they being hired at 4 kopikes *p[e]r diem*, this week amounting in all to two rubles 21 *altins*.

21. The Tzaar returned from the progress.

22. I did writt to Coll-s Hamilton & Ireland.

23. My brother in law went from hence to Shewsky.

{203v} May 25. I did writt to my sonne James pr post, and received a letter from him from Twere dated 21 May.

Some more Dons Cosakes executed to death & the tongues cut out of others for the former business.

26. I did writt to Mr. Frazer in Riga & Mr. Meverell in London by Mr. Munters ser-t to Riga.

31. I removed in to my new house.

⁷¹⁴ This letter to Lord Middleton survives (British Library, Add. MSS 41842, fol. 167, published in S. Kononov (ed.), "Sixteen Further Letters of General Patrick Gordon", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XIII (1967)).

⁷¹⁵ Apparently, Alexander Stuart, Earl of Moray.

⁷¹⁶ These three titled names are crossed out in MS.

⁷¹⁷ Tverskaya Yamskaya, part of Moscow on the road to Tver' and the north-west.

{204} June 2. I did writt to Coll. Menezes by his servant; his lady came by me & brought me a letter from him.

I payed to the *plotnikes*⁷¹⁸ what was owing, they haveing now done their worke.

Given in a list of the Reg.: 41 serjeants, 46 furiers & furers, 73 corporalls, 52 pipers, 623 sojors, carceered 9, 111 widdowes, orphans 45.

5. At the christening of Coll. Le Forts sonne Alex-r.

6. I received a letter from my sonne James, dated from Novogrod the 28 May, wherein he showeth that he was to go from thence the next day.

{204v} June 7. I did writt to Lt.G-ll Graham & to Coll. von Mengden by Lt. Brink. I was in towne.

8. Letters from the Gen-ll Greg. Gosagow, complaining of Leon[ty] Rom[anovich] not haveing given him cannon enough, and of haveing made the 7 regiments which he was to have into ten.

9. The eldest Tzaar & the Princesses went to Ismailow.

10. I had notice that the *Okolnitse* Leonty Roman. was removed from Rilsk and encamped 25 *verst* from thence, & that the Cosakes were ready, but not as yet removed from their houses; that the Belagrods army was not marched either, which is lyke to make a late *campagnia*.

11. I rode to Ismailow. The post returned from the Zaporogue with notice that the Cosakes there were well satisfyed with the justice done upon their comorades in Mosko, which was good newes here.

12. In towne. I received the letters I had sent to my sonne by the way of Kyow.

{205} June 13. Jan Negri decessed.

14. At the solemnity of Corpus Christi.

15. Wee had notice that the Polls were makeing but small and slow preparations for the *campagnia*, to the which wee were conforming, intending to move together; which is not best for the common good, but jealousy & *ratio status*⁷¹⁹ preponderate all other reasons.

16. In Ismailow and dined by the B[oyar] K[niaz] Vas[ily] Vas[ilyevich].

⁷¹⁸ *Plotniki* (Russian), carpenters.

⁷¹⁹ Reason of state (Lat.).

18. I rode to Ismailow. Wee had the confirmation of the rendition of Alba-Regalis⁷²⁰.

The annuary of o[u]r returneing from Kara-Czakrak.

I did writt to Coll. Hamilton by Stephan Pogarelsuf.

{205v} June 19. The Colonell of Pereaslaw Dimitraska dismissed, against expectation, the Hetman haveing written, that for avoiding & preventing of stirrs in the Ukraina, he should under one pretence or another be detained here; but using the Court fashion, made way for his returne by [...]. And here it is found convenient to make & have as many of the Cosake colonells as possible independent, in a way, of the Hetman, and not to let any Hetman grow to such authority & greatness as the former.

20. I rode to the towne & gratulated *Knias* Jacob Fiodorowits Dolgorukoy⁷²¹ (who had been Ambassadour in France & Spaine) his safe returne. I was also by K. Ivan Boris. Repenin & Madam Menezes.

21. My wyfe delivered of a daughter betwixt sixe & seven aclock afternoone.

{206} June 23. I caused christen my daughter by our priest called P. Johann Schmidt, the Hollands resident Johann Wilhelm van Keller being godfather, Mrs. Guasconi & Mr. Hartmans yongest daughter being god-mothers. She was named Johanna.

The Tzaar Peter Alexeiovits returned to Mosko.

24. The Tzaar Johan Alexeiovits & the Princess with all returned to Mosko. My wyfe sickened in the night-tyme of the fitts of the mother.

25. I was in towne. Wee had notice how that the Polls under 25 colours going near Camieniets were totally routed, the most killed & taken, very few escapeing; as also that the Lipky Tartar[s]⁷²² were makeing daily excursions from Camieniets, and takeing away many people & much booty; that the Polls army was to rendewow at Uscie on the R. Dnester; that Nuradin Sultan with many thowsand Tartars & much provisions was

⁷²⁰ Latin name for the Hungarian city of Székesfehérvár, which was liberated from the Turks by the Imperial forces.

⁷²¹ Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky (Dolgorukov) (1639–1720), *stolnik*, then boyar. In spring 1687 he was sent as ambassador to France and Spain to secure the support of these powers for the anti-Ottoman alliance. Later he took part in the Azov campaigns, spent 1700–1711 in Swedish imprisonment and after a bold escape became a senator.

⁷²² *Lipkany*, Lithuanian Tatars.

expected to come to Camieniets.

{206v} June 26. I was in towne, but stayed not long.

29. The yongest Tzaar his name-day, a long devotion in the ppll church. All the boyars & ppll persons received brandy from his Ma-tie & a *bakall* of wine from the Tzaarevna⁷²³ Dowager, his mother.

30. The Tzaar Peter Al[exeyevich] went to Pre[o]brasinsky⁷²⁴ in order to his progress to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity.

Had notice that the wood cutt at Obrensko for building the fort at Samara could not be brought downe the R. Desna because of the lownes of the water.

{207} July 2. I was in Butirky, mustered & exercized the regiment.

3. I did writt to my sonne James, Mr. Meverell⁷²⁵ & Mr. Tho-s Loftus in Narva, & to Ensignie Charles Gordon in Holland by the Hollands schoolm-r, a christened Jew.

I was at the Worobeuf Gory⁷²⁶.

5. I did writt to Mr. Frazer in Riga & Madam Crawford by Buntius the tailor.

Given in a roll of the regiment: 41 serjeants, 46 furiers & foriers, 72 corporalls, 52 pipers, 623 sojors, 9 *emeriti*, 109 widdowes, 44 orphans, 1 litle drummer.

6. A *sotnik* come from Charkow informed of a rencounter that regiment had with the Tartars, as also another with the Mirogrods regiment.

7. I had letters from R[ui]m[aste]r Strausberg, dated 10 *Junii* by the R-r Inogost⁷²⁷, where the Russe army lay then encamped; ano-r letter also from Coll. Lima, dated 5 *Junii*, from the same place.

8. The Polls resident gave me a visitt, and much regrated and complained of the small assistance the Russes give them, being nothing

⁷²³ Her title was *Tsaritsa*.

⁷²⁴ Preobrazhenskoye, Tsar Peter's favourite residence north-east of Moscow, which Gordon was to frequent.

⁷²⁵ A fragment of this letter to Meverell seems to survive (British Library, Add. MSS 41842, fol. 169, published in S. Konovalov (ed.), "Sixteen Further Letters of General Patrick Gordon", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XIII (1967)).

⁷²⁶ Vorobyovy Gory, south of Moscow.

⁷²⁷ Possibly Snagost'.

conforme to the treaty, and told me that the Russes did so neglect them, that they even have scarcely compassion of them, or their losses.

A letter from Coll. Hamilton, dated Shefsky 22 *Junii* 1688.

{207v} July 9. In towne; desired to have 4 hogsheads of French wine, one of Spanish, and one of French brandy brought up from Archangell toll free, w-ch was ordered to be written out according to the fashion.⁷²⁸

10. I did writt to my L-d Graham, to the Colonells Galbreth, von Turnier & von Pfennighbeer.

The Prince of Wallis borne in the morning betwixt 9 & 10 & 15 minutes; christened James.⁷²⁹

11. A *pamet* brought for Affon[asy] Neliduf to be colonell under me.

12. At a feast by Elias Tabort, where much discourse about our Kings haveing set fast the Archb[isho]p of Canterbury & 6 other b-ps in the Tower⁷³⁰, w-ch I maintained to be reasonable & just.

13. I was by the Holl. resident.

I did writt to my L-d Graham, to ye Colonells Galbreth, Turnier & Pfenighebeer.

{208} July 16. Wee had the joyfull newes of the birth of the Prince of Wales, whom God preserve, who was borne *Junii* 10 betwixt 9 & 10 houres & 15 minutes in the morning at St. James.

I did writt to Coll. von Mengden.

17. I rode to Columinska, and being invited, dyned by Mr. Boetenant with much company. I rec-ed a letter from my sonne James from Narva, dated 20 *Junii*, & another from Mr. Loftus dated 19.

18.

19.

⁷²⁸ This petition from Gordon, officially inscribed “In the year 196 on July 9th to write out”, is preserved and published in *Dnevnik generala Patrika Gordona* (Moscow, 1892), pt. II, pp. 223–4.

⁷²⁹ Prince James Francis Edward Stuart (1688–1766), heir to the British throne, was soon to follow his royal father into exile. This entry was added later and misplaced, as the prince was born on 10 *June*; Gordon amends his mistake below (fol. 208).

⁷³⁰ The famous process of seven Anglican prelates who were arrested and put on trial by King James II (VII) for their open defiance of his religious toleration policy. They were acquitted, and James was soon overthrown by his son-in-law William of Orange.

20. I rode to Columinsk.

21. The eldest Tzaar & Princess by *K[niaz]* Vas. Vas. Gol[itsyn] in Czarny-Griase at dinner. I did writt to Colls. Hamilton & Lima.

22. The boyars dined at Czarny Griase.

23. The Boyar came to towne & went againe a progress to his villages. I payed for the house I bought 40 rubles.

25. At a feast by *Kniaz* Boris Alex. Golitzin at his countrey house, where with much company merry.

{208v} July 26. Some Cosakes come from the Don reported that a party of a 1,000 Cosakes being sent to persue the shismatics⁷³¹, did overtake some of them & cutt them of; others fortifyed themselves in a towne not farr from the River Volga, and with the help of one Ivan Saitsuf who with some loose people who roamed by the R. Volga were become considerable numerous, so that without greater assistance they could not force them; that 2,000 of the Turkish forces from Assow were gone to make incursions into the Tzaars countrey; that Frol the *ottoman* of the Dons Cosakes⁷³² was gone with 2,000 Cosakes to observe the motions of these.

27. In towne; gott my *wipisky* for my wyne ready.

28. Rec-ed letters from the *Conte* de Graham, dated the 9th of *Junii* 1688.

I received letters from the P[ater] Rector of Lublin, Albertus Wloszinowsky, dated the 25 *Aprilis* 88, acknowledging the reseat of 816 *tymfi*⁷³³, which he disbursed for my sonne James whilst he was there; another letter from W-m Thomson, dated 19 Apr., showing that at my desire he had contented the P. Rector desiring the s-d 816 *timfi* & 40 fl., which he had given to my sonne on the way, to be payed to Mr. Patrick Forbes merch-t in Dantzick, the value of all in Dantzick currant money being 513 fl. 18 g.; a letter also from P[ater] Georg Makovius *S.J. miss. a S.S. Ap. ad castra S.R. Poloniae* {209} *datae Leopold.*⁷³⁴ 25 May 1688. The letters from the P. Rector & W-m Thomson to my sonne James I sent for London.

⁷³¹ This term is first met with in the Diary, apparently meaning Russian Old Believers (*staroobriady*).

⁷³² Frol Minayev, *ataman* of the Don Cossack Army in 1680–1700.

⁷³³ *Tymf*, Polish billon coin with face value of 30, but really worth just 12 to 18 *groszy*.

⁷³⁴ Probable translation: “of the Society of Jesus, sent by the Most Holy Apostolic See to the court of the Most Serene King of Poland, dated in Lwów...” (Lat.).

Aug. 5. Gave in a list of the sojors for this month.

9. Wee had notice of a party of Turkes & Tartars being beat by the Dons Cosakes, and some prisoners taken, amongst whom a *bassaes sonne*.

10. I did writt to Coll. Hamilton, informing him that he was graced with his full meanes.

{209v} Aug. 11. I gott the letter for my provisions, but not so much as I desired.⁷³⁵

12. A post came with notice that the towne by Samara was finished.

I did writt to Coll. Hamilton and sent the powder from Doctor Sommer by *Ruitm-r* Shitnitsky.

13. I did writt to Mr. Guascony and sent him my letter for provisions; to my sonnes John & James in a *coverto* to Mr. Meverell, & that in one to Mr. Philip Wulffe by Mr. Howtmans convoyance to Archangell p[e]r post. I did writt also to the Hetman in answer to his rec-d two dayes ago.

15. Wee heard of some stirrs among the Dons Cosakes, and that they were like to rebell upon the acco-t of religion, many of them haveing retired themselves towards the Volga.

John Gordon⁷³⁶ came & brought letters from Robert Gordon of Chielmnick⁷³⁷.

{210} Aug. 17. I did writt to Mr. Patrick Forbes & Mr. Frazer pr post,

⁷³⁵ The relevant Tsars' ukase runs: "In the year 196 on August 9th the Great Lords...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 *pogrebtzy* of *vodka* [brandy]..." (*Dnevnik generala Patrika Gordona* (Moscow, 1892), pt. II, p. 225).

⁷³⁶ "In the year 196 on August 16th in the Sovereign's Embassy Office...appeared a foreigner, and upon interrogation did say: he was born in the Scottish land., and his name is Ivan [John], called Gordon; his father serves in gentlemanly employ of the English King, and his father is named Piotr [probably Patrick]. And 3 years ago he departed from the Scottish land for Poland to learn the Polish language and customs... On July 6th he set out from Lvov through Kiev to Moscow to learn the Russian language and see his kinsmen, namely General Piotr [Patrick] Gordon... And he came to Moscow, staying in the Foreign *sloboda* with his kinsman Piotr Gordon, and may the Great Lords grant and command him to stay in Moscow to learn the Russian language" (*Dnevnik generala Patrika Gordona* (Moscow, 1892), pt. II, p. 232).

⁷³⁷ Chmielnik, a town in southern Poland.

giving the first notice of my intention to send sables to Dantzick for defraying of the Lublins debt.

Mrs. Akersloot departed this lyfe.

The Boyar went to Troitza⁷³⁸.

19. Their Ma-ties at Koluminsk.

20. About midnight a fire broke out in the midst of the upper rowes of shops whereby all these rowes and many other houses were burnt downe.

22. I did writt to Mr. Patrick Forbes, Ro-t Gordon at Chmielnick and W-m Thom[son] concerning the Lublins debt, and sent 6 paire of rich sables by our P[ater] John Schmidt, who went from hence this day, whom wee convoyed over the Moskoes River to the village Drogomile.

24. A great *tabowne*⁷³⁹ of 17,000 horses came.

26. The Empress Natalia Kiril[lovna] her name-day, w-ch not being kept because of another holy day, it was kept the next day.

I was godfa-r to Daniell Cowper his sonne.

{210v} Aug. 27. All were ordered to go & wish the Empress good health on her name day; the nobles and some out of every regiment of the sojourns & *strelets*es did receive a *charke* of brandy out of the Empress her hand, & were entertained with a dinner thereafter.

28. About midday a fyre began in the howse where the ambassadours were used to be lodged, which continued burning till ten aclock at night, when about 10,000 houses were consumed, being the north-east quarter within the Kitay, & the Kolishny⁷⁴⁰ within the white-wall, & the Yawes⁷⁴¹ bridge a regiment of *streltsees* & the Rogosky Slabod.

29. The eldest Tzaar his name-day.

I had a letter from Mr. Loftus from Narva dat. 24 July 1688 by Mr. Peter Baldus.

30. I was in Koluminsk & dined by the Boyar, when the Boyar said to me, “Wee could well agree well enough with your Kings father & brother, but wee cannot come to right with this; he is prowed beyond all measure”. I making as if I understood only his not sending any hither, answered

⁷³⁸ Trinity-St.Sergy Lavra, the most famous monastery in central Russia, north of Moscow.

⁷³⁹ *Tabun* (Russian), herd of horses.

⁷⁴⁰ Probably, Kulishki.

⁷⁴¹ Yauza.

that the King because of his great troubles in his owne dominions had not leasure to think of business lying so farr of, as I thought. He said moreover that the English could not subsist without their commodities as leather, hempe, potash, tallow & masts, to the which I gave a dubious complying answer.

31. A fire in the night againe whereby some houses were burnt.

{211} Sept-r 1. By S-r Boetenant at dinner where much disc[ourse].

2. Given in a list of the regiment for this months pay: 41 serjeants at 9 *dengees* a day, 46 furiers & foriers a ruble 10 *alt.* a month, 72 corporalls at 8 *dengees* a day, 52 pipers, 642 sojors *altin* a day, 9 *emeriti* 4 *deng.* a day, 106 widdowes 3 *denge* a day, 42 orphans a kopik a day.

8 persons of the sojourns taken to be *potiechny konuchs*⁷⁴² to the yongest Tzaar.

3. Antony, a experienced Cosake being sent to recognosce towards the Crim, returned and reported that all the way to the Precope⁷⁴³ he had found places where water was to be had, either in wells or in digging an ell deepe in the ground; which gave great encouragement to our credulous & halfe-witted people to undertake another *campagnia* the same way wee went befor.

5. Wee had notice of a party of Tartars come into the Ukraina, & that the Hetman & Leonty Rom[anovich] were gone upwards on the River Samara in search of them; but they comeing towards Balakleyow, tooke some people & retired.

Prince Lewis von Baden with 3 or 4,000 men beat 15,000 Turks in Bosnia neer the vil. Trivenits, killed 4,000 & tooke 50 collours.

6. A fire breake out in the night in the Crimlina, w-ch consumed all the *saborny popes*⁷⁴⁴ houses & the covers of the Stranger & Casansky Offices.

Belgrade castle & towne after 27 dayes siege taken by sturme; 12,000 of

⁷⁴² Tsar Peter's famous *poteshnye* (playmen), used for his military games, but later to form the elite Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky Guards. The fact that Gordon's seasoned and well-disciplined Butyrsky soldiers were enlisted for the young Tsar's troops indicates a new phase in his "games" and stresses the importance of the Scot in Russian history.

⁷⁴³ Perekop.

⁷⁴⁴ *Sobornye popy* (Russian), Cathedral priests.

all sorts killed, Christians 1,000; Gen-ll *Graffe* von Sherfen be[in]g [...] ⁷⁴⁵, having been Turkish 167 yeers 6 da[ys].

{211v} Sept-r 7. Great appearance & rumors of an insurrection amongst the *streltsees*.

The Tzaar Peter Alexeiowits having sent by an expresse for 5 *fluitsbiks* ⁷⁴⁶ & 5 drummers of my regiment, the Boyar *K[niaz]* Vas. Vas. was very angry that they were sent without acquainting of him; the litle drummers sent for also, & 5 sent in Dutch habite. The Tzaar ordered to give every one of the pipers & drummers a ruble & cloth to a suit of cloaths.

8. The Tzaar sent againe to the Boyar for the *fluitsbiks* & drummers, whom he ordered to be sent with a captaine with great aversenes.

10. There was a generall intimation of service with a proclamation for all suits of law to ceass against those who were ordered to service. It was also intimated that on the 15th it should be told which boyars & assistants should go, & on the 19th it should be told the particulars of every one, in which army they should be.

This night the stables of the Patriarch were burned, & was timeously quenched, otherwise there had been great danger to the Tzaars house. I rode the same day to Butirky and caused give a months meanes viz. of July to the sojourns.

11. I had letters from P[ater] Schmidt by Martin, who convoyed him to Kadzin.

{212} Sept-r 13. Wee had notice that the Hetman was returned to Baturin & the *okolnitse* to Shewsky, having built the towne by Samara & christened or named it Bogaroditsa ⁷⁴⁷, it having in circumference 916 fath. of 3 *arshin* fath.

15. I dined at Colonell Le Forts, where Russes & the ppll strangers. In the evening *Kniaz* Boris Alex. Golitzin, who had dined with us, came to my house but did not stay.

17. A fire in the night in Prebrosinsky, where the lodging of *Kniaz* Boris Alex. burnt downe.

⁷⁴⁵ The bottom of this folio is burnt through and cut, and some words are lost or illegible. This entry was clearly added later, when Gordon heard of the liberation of Belgrade from the Turks, which occurred on 6 September.

⁷⁴⁶ *Fley(t)shchiki* (Russian), fifers.

⁷⁴⁷ Properly, Novobogoroditsk.

The Princess Sophia Alex. her name-day, when wee were ordered to attend to come to the hand & receive a *charke*, but she sickening, it was excused.

In the afternoon the yongest Tzaar comeing from Prebrozinsko, I did meet his M. & was honoured with a kiss of his hand, and enquired of my health.

{212v} Sept-r 19. It was intimated to the gentry of the Tzaars house & others to be ready for service, which was done with a great prologue of all the good newes & victories of the Christians against the Turkes in diverse places.⁷⁴⁸

21. I was in towne. The pilgrimage to Troitza or the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, where the body of St. Sergius lyeth, & the commemoration of him kept yearly on the 25 of Sept-r, because of the Princess sickness was put of.

22. I rec-d letters from Mr. Meverell dated London [...] *Junii a[nno]* 1688 & from Mr. Guascony dated Archangell 7 *Sept-ris*.

{213}⁷⁴⁹ *Sept-ris* 23. The yongest Tzaar sent for a drunken writer⁷⁵⁰ Ankudin & enquired of him whether the serjeants or company writers were in greatest esteeme & pay, & some other petty things, which was not well taken by the other party.⁷⁵¹

The Boyar K. Vas. Vas. Golitzin went to Troitza to supply and partake of the ceremonies in place of their Ma-ties.

25. At a counsell above it was ordered that the *Dummy Dworarin*⁷⁵² Fiodor Leontiwits Shoklovity with the Chancellour Lubim Olfer[yevich] Dumnin should go to the Hetman & consult about the futur expedition, and bring his advice along with them.

{213v} Sept-r 27. Wee had newes of a great defeat given to the Polls by the Turks & Tartars near Camieniets.

⁷⁴⁸ See the ukase on summons for the Second Crimean campaign, dated 18 September 1688, in *Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii*, vol. II: 1676–1688 (St. Petersburg, 1830), no. 1313, p. 946.

⁷⁴⁹ Slip in folio number in MS: 113.

⁷⁵⁰ Gordon's usual term for *pod'yachy*.

⁷⁵¹ The Miloslavsky party headed by the regent, Tsarevna Sophia, who strove to keep the young Tsar Peter under control and to remove from power the Naryshkins, his relations on his mother's side.

⁷⁵² Duma nobleman.

28. Wee had newes that the Polls army had beat of the Tartars 3 severall tymes, who set upon them in open field as well as by stealth, being 60,000 strong; that 14 *mursaes* were killed & taken, 80 of the Polls killed & 600 wounded; that the provisions for furnishing of Camieniets with the *Seraskier* & 6,000 Turkes were expected daily, & more forces out of the Crim to assist the Nuradin, because the Moskovites makes them no diversion; that the King was at Zloczow on his way to the army.

My child Joanna sickened.

29. I dined by Elias Tabort, where was the Boyar *K[niaz]* V.V. and most of that party.

30. T [*sic*]

{214} Oct-r 1. In the 3d houre of the night a fire began by the Iliinsky gate, which encreasing by the wind continued to day light and consumed all within the White wall from the Kolisne to the Neglin, except the armamentary & waggon row, as also the *slabodes* without the White wall at the Stretinsky & the Pansky Slabod.

The *Dummy Dworanin* Fiodor Leontiwits Shoklovite the 2^d favourite & the Chancellour Lubim Alferiovits Dumnin sent to the Hetman to conferr about the ensuing expedition, & went this day.

2. I rode to Ismailow.

Had wonderfull newes from England & Holland.⁷⁵³

Given in a list of the regiment: 41 serjeants, 46 furiers & foriers, 72 corporalls, 52 pipers, 631 sojors, 9 carceered, 15⁷⁵⁴ widdowes, 41 orphans.

3. All the colonells & Lt.colonells who were at the quenching of the fyre received a *charke* of brandy from the Princess her hands.

I did writt to P[ater] Schmidt & sent him a testimony of his good behaviour here.

4. Wee had notice that the Hetman had sent all the *companshikes* with others to the number of 4,000 towards Oczakow to observe the Tartars.

{214v} Oct-r 5. I did writt to my sonne James, Mr. Meverell, Mr. Frazer & Mr. Loftus.

⁷⁵³ Evidently, preparations by Prince William of Orange for his invasion of Britain with Dutch and mercenary troops. *Wonderful* does not express Gordon's admiration of this plan, given his loyalty to the Stuarts.

⁷⁵⁴ Author's slip: judging by figures listed above, it should be 115.

In towne. I petitioned for a 100 rubles out of the Treasure upon the acco-t of this yeares pay, which was excused upon the acco-t [of] the great fyre, whereby the Treasure was emptied by bestowing on all sorts of persons to assist them to build, & I desired to have patience for a weeke or two.

6. The Boyar Ivan Fiodorovits Volinsky went to his government in the new towne Bogaroditsa by the R. Samara, and was convoyed out of the towne by [...]

8. Rec-d a letter from my unkle, dated 28 May Ab[er]d[een] 1688; ano-r from Mr. James Rob, dated Riga 20 Sept-r 1688; one from Mr. Georg Frazer, dat. Riga 27 Sept-r 1688 wt an enclosed to Capt. James Carnegy yonger of Cookestowne.

{215} Oct-r 9. In Slaboda; mustered the regiment, choosed out 20 pipers or whistlers to be learned and 30 litle drummers.

10. Anniversary of the deceass of my deare wyfe.

11. I had my christening feast⁷⁵⁵, being delayed upon diverse occasions & for diverse reasons till now.

12. I did writt to my unkle, Mr. Thom. Gordon, James Rob & Mr. G. Frazer.

“Don Pedro by the Grace of God King of Portugall and the Algarbi on this & the other syde of the Sea in Africa, Lord of Guinea & the Conquests, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India etc.”⁷⁵⁶

13. In towne.

{215v} Octo-r 14. Wee celebrated the Kings⁷⁵⁷ birth day with those of his Sacred Ma-ties subjects who were here and others of the best quality, among whom was the Polls resident, & were all merry. At parting the resident said that that King was happy who had subjects to remember him so cordially at such a distance.

⁷⁵⁵ In honour of Gordon's daughter Joanna (Jean), born on 21st and baptised on 23 June.

⁷⁵⁶ Pedro II (1648–1706), from 1668 regent, from 1683 King of Portugal. The reason for his title's appearance here is unclear, but since Gordon closely followed the events all over Europe, he could have extracted it from books, diplomatic correspondence or gazettes.

⁷⁵⁷ King James II (VII).

15. In towne; the Tzaar & Princess to Ismailow.

17. I rode to Ismailow and returned with Leonty Rom[anovich], with whom much discourse about the secrets of the tymes.

18. In Ismailow; the new church in the court sanctified. Notice from Shewsky that Fiodor Le[ontyevich] went from thence the 11th towards the Hetman.

Six sojourns sent for to Prebrasinsky.

19. The maiors ordered to go to the places where the artillery, ammunition & armes were left last year, to repaire all & provide what should be found wanting, being to receive halfe a yeares pay befor hand.

20. I received a letter from the Lord Graham.

{216} *Oct-ris* 21. The Tzaars came to Mosko.

22. The great festivall of Casanskoy *Bogaroditza*⁷⁵⁸.

23. I did writt to Kyow to Coll-s Evanitsky & [K]rupkow⁷⁵⁹, L.C. von Bockhoven & Lt. Crawford.

Had notice of the Hollands fleet gone for England upon the acco-t (as is said) of forcing the King to hold a free parliament, & the preservation of religion.

Had notice of the Turkes ambassadours being come to Presburgh, to give notice of their new Sultans attaining to the crowne⁷⁶⁰ & to treat of peace with the Emperour & allies.

At the christening feast of Coll. Livingstons daughter Ludovina.

{216v} *Oct-ris* 24. In towne; by Kenkell. A fire at the Harbatsky; by B[enedict] Andr[eyevich] Zmeyov].

Writt to Kyow to the Coll-s Krupkow & Evanitsky, to Lt.Coll. von Bockhoven & Lt. Crawford.

25. At the contract of Coll. Roonaers daughter.

26. A great councill, nothing concluded, where the Patriarch inveighed against me and said that their armes could not prosper nor have any good progress, for, said he, “a heretick hath the best people in our Empire

⁷⁵⁸ Orthodox feast of the icon of Our Lady of Kazan’.

⁷⁵⁹ Krovkov.

⁷⁶⁰ In November 1687 the Turkish Sultan Mehmed IV was deposed by the janissaries and succeeded by his brother Suleiman II (1642–1691). Pressburg–German name for Bratislava.

under his command".⁷⁶¹ But he was taken up smartly by all the nobility, & even laught at.

27. Another counsell, how to proceed for money, what forces to send, & whither; they beginning to apprehend some danger by the making of a peace, which in this juncture of tyme the Rom. Emperour would be forced to by the French invadeing the Empire & breaking the truce⁷⁶², and doubting that their actions and expeditions would not be well interpreted, as not done sincerely & cordially; which they perceiving, and reason prompting them to beleve that at the making of a generall peace the allyes would not include them, they began to cast about what was fittest for them to do.

Rec-d lrs from Archangell from Mr. Meverell & Alex-r Gordon.

I did writt to Coll. Hamilton.

{217} *Oct-ris* 28. The boyars & *towarises* ordered to be ready for service, viz. the Boyar K. Vas. Vas. Golitzin & with him the Boyar Ivan Fiodorovitz Volinsky, *Okol[nichy]* Benedict Andr. Ismeyow, the *Dummy* Yemel. Ignati. Ukraintsow for the great Moskoes army; for the Novogrods army the Boyar Alexey Semenovits Shein & with him [...]; for the [...] army the Boyar *Kniaz* Volodimir Dimitr. Dolgorukoy & with him [...]; for the Shewsky army Leonty Rom. Nepluyow [...]; and the *Ok.* Ivan Yuriovitz Leontiuf with the Low Countrey⁷⁶³ people.

Letters also ordered to be written to all the towns to the governours to send out all the gentlemen, officers, horsemen, lanciers, sojourns & all the military persons to the generall rendezvous at Sume against the 1st of Feb-ry, the next terme being the 10th & the last the 25th, with a warning that whosoever should not appear at the last terme, their lands should be taken from them for their Majestyes.

{217v} *Oct-ris* 30. In the morning about 6 aclock my daughter Katherine was delivered of a sonne.

31. I presented a petition for a 100 rubles upon reckoning, and was told to have patience for 8 days.

⁷⁶¹ Ioakim (Saviolov) (1620–1690), Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia from 1674, known for his extreme hostility to foreigners and other creeds.

⁷⁶² The aggressive policy of King Louis XIV led to the French invasion of the Holy Roman Empire (War of the Palatine Succession, or of the League of Augsburg, 1688–1697). This distracted the Imperial forces from south-eastern Europe and halted the successes of Russia's allies against the Ottomans.

⁷⁶³ Middle and Lower Volga regions.

I did writt to Lt.G-ll *Graffe* de Graham, to the Coll-s van Mengden, Galbreth, Pfennigbeer, Tornier & Ireland by Lt.Coll. Gast.

The list of the regiment for the next month: 41 serjeants, 47 furier[s] & foriers, 72 corporalls, 52 pipers, 630 s. sojors, 9 *emeriti*, 105 widdowes, 42 orphans.

{218} *No-ris* 1, Thur. Wee celebrated the feast of All Saints with vocall & instrumentall musick.

Lt.Coll. Gast went from hence.

2. And that of All Souls after the same manner.

Some (5)⁷⁶⁴ Tartars brought who were taken in the Black woods beyond Czehrin, who being examined related th[at...]

3. Fiodor Leont. Shoklovite returned.

4. My grandchild christened, & called Theodorus because borne on the day of that Saint. Godfa-rs the Polls resident Georg [...] Demunt.

5. Wee had Holl. gazettes of the 19th *Oct-ris st. novo*.

6. To Coll. Hamilton by my Major John Menezes.

7. A letter haveing been sent from the Roman Emperour to the Tzaars, with notice of the takeing of Belgrade and the victorious progress of his armyes, a returne was ordered conforme, and thereby that they could not any wayes mistrust or expect that from his Imperiall {218v} Ma-ties justice as to make a peace with their common enemy the Turkes, not includeing their Tz. Ma-ties; especially considering that for the common interest & at his Imp. M. desire they had entered in the quarrell, and by their numerous armyes, expencfull & hazardous expeditions, as also by their vigilancy & continuall excursions made a powerfull diversion. This letter was sent by post to our resident in Polland⁷⁶⁵, and ordered that he should deliver it to the resident of his Imp. Ma-tie there.

No-r 8. The *Dummy Dworarin* Fiodor Leontiovitz Shoklovitoy returned, haveing been sent to the Cosakish Hetman upon three acco-ts: first, to consult about the ensuing expedition; 2dly, to try and sound the

⁷⁶⁴ Number added above the line.

⁷⁶⁵ Prokofy Bogdanovich Voznitsyn († 1703), noted diplomat, *dyak* of the Embassy Office, Russian resident in Poland, later *dummy dyak*, in 1697–8 he was third of Tsar Peter's "Grand Ambassadors" to Western Europe; in 1698–9 Russia's representative at the Congress of Karlowitz.

Cosakes concerning the bearing of some burthen for the maintenance & defence of the Empire & them; the 3d, privately to search & learne of the fidelity of the Hetman, the affection and inclination of the Cosakes, & the constitution of the effaires. Who returning, gave a favourable relation of the Het[man], yet mixed with some surmizes of jealousies of him upon the acco-t of his nation (he being a Poll), and upon that acco-t, perhaps, a well wishing if not a secret correspondence with that people. The 2d was thought fitt to be delayed till after this expedition. {219} As to the third, nothing of certainty could be learned, but that there were some discontents & dissaffections among them, yet nothing appearing of ripeness in any thing to extremities as yet. And that in relation to the first, and the ensuing expedition, they expressed a willingness and conformity to their Tz. Ma-ties commands & designes, yet insinuated that the methods should be taken with mature advice, which was as much as that they could judge best of the wayes, & so their counsell should be asked.

No-ris 10. I received letters from Byallygrod, from Lt.Gen-ll *Graffe* de Graham, informing that the Tartars had been at our new built towne, taken away some people & horses, had been at Pultava, and had burnt (& consumed) all the hay (provided at the R[iver] Columeck for the ensuing expedition)⁷⁶⁶.

11. Wee had notice from Germany that a doctor [of] medi[cine] was on the way hither, as also a pater in place of P[ater] Schmidt.

12. I received a letter from Mr. Frazer informing that the Hollanders “great designe”, as they call it, was now awowed against England; that they were gone with a fleet of 500 saile at least; {219v} that there were aboard of the fleete 100,000 men of all sorts; that the Prince⁷⁶⁷ went aboard on the 17th *st. veter*. In the gazetts of the 28th wee had the same.

No-r 13. All the drummers of my regiment called for by Tzaar Pet[er] Al. & 10 chosen out to be horse-keepers, as they call them.

⁷⁶⁶ Words in brackets crossed out in MS.

⁷⁶⁷ Prince Willem (William) of Orange (1650–1702), from 1674 ruler (*Stadhbouder*) 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.

14. St. Philips day with the Russes, from whence the great fast befor Christmass is called Philips fast.

15. I hired the servant Yury Valachian for ten rubles a yeare.

The Tzaars went to Ismailow.

Gott from Mr. Kenkell 10 rubles.

16. Rodion⁷⁶⁸ ordered to go to Dambow to bring out the souldiers belonging to that place.

17. I was in Ismailow, where nothing of consequence passed.

18. Wee had by express from the Hetman that the party of the Pereaslavish Regiment & the *companshiks*, who were sent to recognosce towards Oczakow, had fallen in to the towne, plundred & fired it and had {220} gott great booty, with the loss of few or no people.

No-r 19. Wee had currants or gazetts of the 4th of No-r.

20. I received a letter from the Cosakish Hetman with a relation of the business of Oczakow, as also of his haveing sent partyes over the Boristenes to lay in wait for the Tartars, with other particulars.

21. I did writt to Coll. Menezes with an enclosed from the pater.

I went to Ismailow, where wee were told that it was ordered to give our pay 3 part money & the 4t in sables. I dined by the Boyar, where passed [...]

I did writt to Coll. Hamilton by L.C. Snivins.

22. I was in towne and had much discourse with the 2d favourite⁷⁶⁹ & some of the councellours concerning the Hollanders designe upon our King, where I told them the truth.

My sonne in law went from hence to Dambow.

{220v} No-ris 23. I did writt to Mr. Meverell, desireing to know the state of effaires there, & what is become of my sonne, by the convoy[ance] of Dan. Hartman. I writt also to Sir James Kenedy, Lord Conservator of the Scottish Priviledges in Holland, to the same effect, & to Georg Frazer in Riga, to whose care the former addressed.

The Tzaar Peter Alexeovitz went in pilgrimage to the Savinsky Monastery; our Boyar, being patron of that Monastery, went along with his Ma-tie.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁸ Colonel Strasburg, Gordon's son-in-law.

⁷⁶⁹ Shaklovity.

⁷⁷⁰ A closely similar entry is crossed out at the top of this page.

24. The Tartars brought hither prisoners related that the Chan was gone towards the Budziack with intention to fall upon the Moldavian⁷⁷¹, for haveing rendred himself to the protection of the Ro[man] Emperour.

25. The Polls resident dyned by me, where much discourse about state & other effaires.

{221} *No-ris* 26. Wee had Holl. gazets of the 11th of November *st. no.*, where the notice of Philipsburgh⁷⁷² being taken confirmed, & the elements fighting against the Hollanders designe upon England.

27. Tzaar Peter Alexeyowitz returned and went directly to Prebrasinsky. I did writt to Coll. Hamilton by Dimitre Klimuf.

28. In towne, gott J[ohn] G[ordon] his passe.

29. Writt to Lt. Gen-ll Graham.

30. St. Andrews day, at devotion.

The eldest Tzaar and Prince with the f[amily] went to the Sav[vin] Mon[astery] & Iswinogrod⁷⁷³.

The list of the regiment for Dec-r month: 38 serjeants, 46 furiers & foriers, 69 corporalls, 52 pipers, 608 s. sojors, 9 *emeriti*, 105 widdowes, 42 orphans.

{221v} *Dec-ris* 1. I did writt to Ro-t Gordon at Chmielnick, to Tho. Gordon at Lvova, addressing 9 paire of sables to them at 20 or 30 R. dollers a paire by John Gordon, & by him to Coll. Menezes.

2. John Gordon went from hence. Dined by Mr. Kenkell.

I receiued letters from the Duke of Gordon dat. London 2 July 1688, from Pater Dumbarr 21 July, from my unkle dat. Aberdeen 21 July, from Mr. Meverell dated London 5 *Septembris*, all *per mare* to Narva.

Wee had notice of Philipsburgh being taken by⁷⁷⁴ the Dauphine⁷⁷⁵ the 29 of October; of the Pr[ince] of Orange put to sea againe with a great fleet & land army.

3. The H.B.⁷⁷⁶ discovered himself and appeared in his owne collours.

⁷⁷¹ Constantin Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia (ruled 1685–1693).

⁷⁷² This town in Germany (Baden) was taken by the French on 29 October.

⁷⁷³ Zvenigorod.

⁷⁷⁴ Written above: *or rendred to*.

⁷⁷⁵ The Dauphin Louis (1661–1711), son and heir of King Louis XIV of France.

⁷⁷⁶ The initials are undeciphered, but may well refer to the Prince of Orange. *H.* could stand for *Hollands*; *B.*, given Gordon's views, is perhaps *bird*, *beast* or even *bastard*.

4. I was by the Hol. resident & heard the relation of all.

5. In towne; ordered that Prokofe Vosnitsa, our resident in Polland, shall go to Wienna, & take care that, if a peace be concluded with the Turkes, wee be included therein, as also a commission sent to a Greeke monck gone some tyme ago from hence to Venice & now there⁷⁷⁷, to have a care of the Tzaars interest there to the same purpose.

{222} *Dec-ris* 6. Wee had a meeting with Coll. Rosworme about the airship of the deceased Coll. Roonaer, where it was concluded that every one of the other children receiving 400 rubles or the value thereof, being so much as is written in the deceaseds testament that my wyfe hath received, the superplus to be dealt in 4 parts.

7. I did writt to Patrick Forbes in Dantzick with the note of John Gordon for the 9 paire of sables & 15 dollers for a horse, and notice also that he had at parting received 40 florens good money, all which I desired when recovered to be sent to Narva to Mr. Thomas Loftus; this in a *coverto* to Mr. Georg Frazer in Riga. To Mr. Thomas Loftus in Narva with notice of my haveing ordered money to be remitted from Dantzick to him; this by Mr. Kenkels convoyance.

8. The Prince of Arange [*sic*] his declaration dated the 10th of October, & the addition to it the 24th.

9. I received letters of the 29th *No-ris* from Mr. Frazer & Mr. Rob in Riga & an extract of a letter from London of the 6th of November, giving notice of the Pr[ince] of Orange his arrivall & landing at Torbay, Dartmouth & Exmouth; he landed the fourth *st. vet.* & the next day had all his forces on land.

{222v} *Dec-ris* 10. I caused translate the extract of the letter from London, which being read befor the Tzaars & counsell, gave great satisfaction.

11. The Polls resident gave notice to the Boyar that he had received letters from his King, informing that he was to send an express to Vienna with propositions for a peace or rather conditions, being thereto desired by the R[oman] Emperour.

⁷⁷⁷ This Greek monk was Ioannikos Leichoudes (1633–1717), a noted divine and scholar. In 1685 he came to Russia with his brother Sophronios and taught at the newly founded Moscow Hellenic-Greek Academy. In 1688 he was sent by the Russian government to Venice.

12. I received letters from the Coll-s Galbreth & Pfennighebeer.
 13. The Boyar went to Medivedofka.
 I had a letter from Smollensko from Coll. Menezes of the 8th instant.
 My da-r Joanna sickened.
 14. In the morning betwixt 7 & 8 aclock a fire in the Slabod, w-ch
 consumed Coll. Andrew Gulits his stable with a horse & a cow.
 I did writt to Mr. Frazer in answer to his last of the 29th *No-ris*.
 I had letters from Dambow from my son in law of the 4th, 5th & 6th
 instant.
 15. The third meeting of the ffrriends, when wee proceeded to dealing
 or parting the goods of the deceassed Coll. Roonaer my father in law.
 {223} *Dec-ris* 16. The Pols resident dyned by me, when wee had much
 discourse about the nature of the tymes.
 17. The Holl[anders] were very jolly over the newes of their Princes
 progresse in England.
 I had letters from Kyow of the 4th & 6th instant.
 18. I rode to Pokrofska and dyned by the Boyar with the 2d favourite
 & diverse, where much discourse about the effaires of England, where I
 told the truth & even passionately.
 19. In towne; writt to my sonne in law, and againe at the desire of
 Alex[ey] Yur[yevich] Lutochin⁷⁷⁸.
 21. In towne. St. Peter Metropolit of Kyow, both the Tzaars went to
 the *Sabor*⁷⁷⁹. L[eon]ty R[omanovich] made boyar.
 22. Writt to Coll. Hamilton.
 {223v} *Dec-ris* 23. I received letters from my sonne James dated
 London 20 *No-ris* in Mr. Meverells *covert* of the 23 *ditto*.
 24. In towne; B. An.⁷⁸⁰
 26. In towne; had a letter from my sonne in law dated Tambow [...] *Dec-ris*.
 27. Writt to Coll. Hamilton & my sonne in law.
 {224} *Dec-ris* 28. I went to Butirky and caused distribute the new armes
 to the souldiers. At C. v[on] Wer[den?] ⁷⁸¹ his mo[the]r in lawes buriall.

⁷⁷⁸ Probably, son of *Stolnik* Yuri Lutokhin.

⁷⁷⁹ *Sabor* (Russian), cathedral.

⁷⁸⁰ Perhaps, Venedikt Andreyevich Zmeyov.

⁷⁸¹ Possibly, Colonel (later General) von Werden.

29. Gave 5 rubles in money for to buy in timber for an addition to the church.

30. In towne; the regiments divided.

31. Gazetts from Holland of the 14th *Decembris*.⁷⁸²

{227}

1689

Januar 1. At home. In the evening by Mr. Guasconi.

List of the regiment for this month: 36 serjeants, 45 for. & fur., 71 corporalls, 52 pipers, 610 s. sojors, 9 carceered, 105 widdowes, 42 orphans, 71 corporalls, 52 pipers.

2. In towne.⁷⁸³ The Boyar went to Cz[ornaya] Graze to lett go and dispatch his horses. I gave to my servants lately hired their halfe-yeares pay.

3. In towne; by *Kniaz* Ivan Borisovitz Repenin, spoke about our sables.

4. Writt to my unckle in answer to his of the 21 July; to my sonne James in answer to his of the 20 *No-ris* in a *coverto* to Mr. Meverell wt an answer to his of the 5th of September & 23 *No-ris* by Mr. Wulffes convoyance by post; that from the Duke of Gordon dat. 2d July London, & that from Pater Dumbar dat. Lon. 21 July unans-rd.

{227v} Ja-ry 6. Had letters from my son in law of the 28th & last of Dec-r from Tambowa.

7. Had letters from Dantzick from P[ater] Jo. Schmidt of the 8th *Oct-ris*; from P. Jan Francisco Hacky (*post abbas in Oliwa*)⁷⁸⁴ of the 25 *Oct-ris*; from Mr. Pat. Forbes of the 28th *Dec-ris*; from Ro-t Gordon of Chmielnick [dated] at Varso 24th *Dec-ris*—all in a *coverto* from Mr. Geo. Frazer, dated Riga 27 *Dec-ris*.

8. Ma[jor] Bilts his wedding & Frans Snits. Lt.Coll. Schults shott by S. de Roullie.

9. Rec-d a letter of the 12 *Dec-ris* from my son in law.

A B. grip. the Gr. B.⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁸² Blank folios follow in MS (224 v.–226 v.).

⁷⁸³ Crossed out in MS.

⁷⁸⁴ Later abbot in Oliwa (Lat.)—added above the line.

⁷⁸⁵ Undeciphered. Perhaps this entry has to do with events in Britain.

10. Writt to my son in law.
The Polls Extr. Envoy Ledinsky was received.
12. Writt to Lt.Gen-ll *Conte* de Graham, Coll-s Galbreth & Pfennighbeer by Capt. Richeson.
{228} Ja-ry 13. Rece-d letters [from] Mr. Tho. Loftus dated Narva 3d Ja-ry & from Mr. Geo. Frazer dated Riga 3d Ja-ry, with the lamentable newes of the King his haveing been forced by the infidelity [*sic*] of his unnaturall English subjects to flee, & that he was safely arrived at Dunkirk.
14. In towne.
15. At Butirky; gave out the 2 rubles which the *streltsees* had gott in Achterk. The q[uestion?] about the *grivnee*. I did fall sick and all the night had a great colick.
16. Tooke phisick, which did not worke.
17. Gave a *skasky*⁷⁸⁶ concerning the *grivnee*.
Tooke a laxative, vomited & gott a hott feaver.
18. Had a intermitting hott feaver.
19. I received a letter from my sonne James of the 12th in a letter from Mr. Meverell of the 14th *Dec-ris*, as also certaine newes that the King was safely arrived at Ambleteuse, a new harbor betwixt Calais and Boloigne in France.
The unfortunate Brabander Everard Floritius de Rulley executed in the Slaboda for killing Lt.Coll. Shults in his owne defence.
20. The Tzaar Peter Alexeyovits married to Eudoxia Fiodorovna Lopuchin⁷⁸⁷.
21. My feaver continued remitting.
22. I desired a doctor; a reseat sent me from Doctor Sig. Sommer.
23. P[ater] Philip de Aurill received orders.⁷⁸⁸ De Ruille buried wt the ordinary ceremonies. The Polls Envoy, resident with all the paters gave me a visitt.

⁷⁸⁶ *Skazka* (Old Russian), notification or report.

⁷⁸⁷ Tsaritsa Evdokiya Fiodorovna Lopukhina (1670–1731), first wife of Tsar Peter.

⁷⁸⁸ 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).

{228v} Ja-ry 25. Writt to Mr. Meverell & my sonne James in a *coverto* to Mr. Geo. Frazer pr post.

I grew somewhat better.

26. Our Boyars daughter made sure to one of the Odoiowsky.

My pay brought, being 405 rubles in money.

28. The B[oyar] went to Troitza.

29. Finding my self better, I arose.

I did writt to Coll. Hamilton, Maior Menezes in Shewsky & to Lt.Coll. von Bockhoven in Kyow.

{229} Feb-ry 1. I did writt to the D[uke] of Gordon, the Earles of Arroll and Aberdeen, my unkle, Nethermuir, sonne John & W-m Gordon in Scotl[and]; to Mr. Meverell, my sonn James, cous[in] Alex-r in London; to Mr. Forbes, Ro-t Gordon in Chmielnick & Pater Schmidt—all by Mr. Steels.

2. I went to the church, communicated, catched cold and almost a relapse.

5. I went to towne; by K. Ivan Boris. Repenin concerning my sables.

6. I dined by our yong boyar with the publick ministers.

7. The Boyar came, had w[ife?] wt him. The wedding feast at Court.

8. Gave up a petition for *podymie*⁷⁸⁹, w-ch was lost.

9. Gave up another petition. Fireworkes at Chorosowa.

10. At their Ma-ties hands, graced with 50 rubles.

11. Gott out the money & my sables for 135 rubles.

{229v} Feb-ry 12. The Boyar *Kniaz* Nikita Ivan. Odoyofsky⁷⁹⁰ dyed.

Being Tuesday, I went & tooke my leave of the Boyar & came home at 2 a'clock afternoone. At three I went from thence, the Polls resident conveying me; I went to Semenofsky, 7 *verst*. I wrott to my wyfe.

13. To Deshonka, where dined & writt to my wyfe, 18 *verst*; from hence writt to my wyfe. Lodged in Pachry, 10 *verst*.

⁷⁸⁹ *Podym* (Old Russian), allowance for official travel or military campaign.

⁷⁹⁰ Prince N.I. Odoyevsky († 1689), boyar from 1640, *voyevoda*, diplomat and influential member of the Russian government. He headed the Kazan' and Siberian Offices in 1643–6 and supervised the compilation of *Sobornoye Ulozheniye*, Russian legal code promulgated in 1649.

14. Dined in Spassuf, 25 *verst* (from hence to my wyfe writt), & lodged in Niarra Taratutina⁷⁹¹, 15 *verst*.

15. Dined in Vofczina Slaboda, 20 *w.* (writt to my wyfe) & lodged in Niediela, 13 *w.*

16. Dined in Guriewa, 20 *w.*; to Koluga, 20 *w.* Lodged in K.M.G.⁷⁹² vill[age], 3 *w.* Sent my letters from Spassuf & Vofczin by the *prikashik*⁷⁹³ Ivan Fadeyufs conveyance.

17. To Premisle⁷⁹⁴, where dined, 20 *ver.*, and lodged well in Alopova a mon[astery] village, 8 *verst* from Premisl.

18. Dined in Kosselets⁷⁹⁵, 20 *verst*, crossed the R. Sisdra at Volchonets & lodged in Kolosova⁷⁹⁶ well, the first village of the Dudinsky district, being 20 *verst*.

19. Dined in Duderowa, 15 *w.*; this vil. belongeth to gentlmen. Lodged well in Axina, 10 *w.*, haveing crossed the R. Reshota 3 *verst* short of it; which r. hath its fountaine 20 *verst* to the west of Chwastowicze, falleth in the R. Sisdra 20 *verst* to the west of Kolosowa.

20. Marched about midnight & dined in Mileva well, 20 *verst*, baited in Chwastowitze, 5 *verst*. Went in the evening and about midnight baited at the R. Reshota, 15 *verst*, which crossing, came about 7 aclock in the morning to Karatshova⁷⁹⁷, 25 *verst*.

21. Lodged in Reczita, 22 *verst*.

{230} Feb-ry 22. Marched early, dined in Bobrik⁷⁹⁸, the 2d village of the Komaritsky district, 30 *verst*, & lodged in Luboshowa, 25 *verst*, crossing the R. Nerusa by Loket.

23. Marched a litle after midnight & came the morning early to Shewsky, crossing the R-s Ososa & Shew, 35 *verst*. Dined by the Boyar; gott 6 load of hay & 3 *podwods*.

24. Dined by Coll. Hamilton, ordered my businesse and

25. writt to my wyfe & Capt. Crawfuird in Kyow. Went from thence &

⁷⁹¹ Apparently, Tarutino on the Nara river.

⁷⁹² Possibly, *Kniaz* Mikhail Golitsyn.

⁷⁹³ *Priказчик* (Russian), clerk or steward.

⁷⁹⁴ Peremyshl'.

⁷⁹⁵ Kozel'sk.

⁷⁹⁶ More likely, Volosovo, which lay on Gordon's route.

⁷⁹⁷ Karachev.

⁷⁹⁸ Probably, Dobrik.

lodged in Pogreby, 10 small *verst*s.

26. Dined in Podoll, 20 *verst*, & lodged in Ladogina, 10 *v*. Writt from hence to the Boyar Iv[an] Fiod. Volinsky & to Coll. Hamilton for my staffe, w-ch was forgott.

27. Came to Rilsk, 10 *verst* (wher the R. Se[y]m), halted, & to Puskarska Slaboda, 10 long *verst*, where dined by Coll. Barruf and lodged in Koroneva, 5 long *verst*. This is called 15 *verst* from Rilska & 30 from Sume; here the R-t Krepna runneth by & falleth in the R. Se[y]m halfe a mile from hence.

28. Marched & dined in Kulbakina, 12 *verst*, and marched over the fields 10 long *verst* to a new village on the brooke Olshanka.

{230v} March 1. I came to Sume (here the R. Vorskla⁷⁹⁹), 8 or 10 *verst*, and haveing seen the *okolnitsze*, went to my regiments a long mile in the Lower Serivatka.

2. I went to Sume in a tempestuous day and returned. Writt to my wyfe, P[ater] David⁸⁰⁰, Mr. Vinius, Mr. Wulffe, my children Katherine, Mary, Theodorus, & sister in law by Coll. Alexey Czaplins ser-ts.

3. Dispatched to the wood 85 souldiers & 10 wrights for the following materials:

210 Sp[anish] or Frisish *ryters*.

280 pikes, 100 axe-trees, 18 axes for cannon.

46 paire of *holobles*⁸⁰¹, 100 shuffles & spades.

4. Mustered the regiments and found of officers: 4 maiors, 11 kapi-tains, 22 lts, 28 ensignies present; of the Mosk. 31 serjeants, 41 fur. & for., 57 corporalls, 51 pipers, sojors 572, in all 752; Vaganins 177; *daticznies* 125; of these 2–302; in all of these 3–1,054; *Tamboftsies*⁸⁰² 1,984; in all 3,038.

Coll. Le Fort came. Rod[ion] went to meet the Boyar.

Writt to L.G. C[onte] de Graham, Coll. Livingston & Maior Menezes.

5. Dispatched 10 waggons of my baggage to Afterke with 12 of ammunition & 5 belonging to my son in law, and 50 men to the guard.

⁷⁹⁹ A mistake: the town of Sumy lies on the river Psiol.

⁸⁰⁰ Jiří David (1647–1713), Czech Jesuit who lived in Moscow in 1686–9 and left an account of his sojourn (J. David, “Sovremennoye sostoyaniye Velikoy Rossii ili Moskovii”, *Voprosy Istorii* (1968), no. 1, pp. 123–32; no. 3, pp. 92–7; no. 4, pp. 138–47).

⁸⁰¹ *Oglobli* (Russian), shafts.

⁸⁰² I.e. soldiers from Tambov.

Maior Menezes came, writt to him & to the *woyowod* in Achterk (Gur[y] Rodion. Ukrayentzuf) about a quarter.

{231} March 6. About midnight the *Graffe* & Coll. Livingston came, & in the morning wee went together to Sume, and about halfe a mile beyond the towne did meet the Boyar, who received us all very kindly. Wee dined in the towne on what wee tooke along, & the Boyar denying to speake of any particular, wee returned to my quarters.

7. The *Stolnik* Fiodor Matfeovitz Puskin being sent from Mosko with the gracious word or a commendation for makeing such hast to the appointed rendevous, this day the Boyar, his *towarises* & all of all sorts being conveened, he solemnly with the usuall ceremonies discharged his message. The Boyar & ppl persons dynd by the *Okolnitsze* Benedict And. Ismeyow.

8. I rode to Sume & spoke with the Boyar about diverse things belonging to the regiments.

The *stolnik* was feasted by the Boyar & received gifts from him & comorads.

{231v} *Martii* 9. Sent in a list of the sojourns as followeth: 31 serjeants, 41 furiers & for[iers] & capt[ains *ab armis*]⁸⁰³ & wagonm[aste]rs, 59 corporalls, 51 pipers, 574 [soldiers]; of these of Waga 177, of the *datitsbnies* 130; 2,003 *Tambofskies*.

The Embrio of a Memorandum concerning considerations on our present expedition.

1. Every 4th dayes march, whereon it is usuall & fitt in such long marches to rest, at least from the R. Samara, in commodious places at the passes over rivers and in places so near the R. Dneper as possible, to entrench a place (with a citadel)⁸⁰⁴, and therein to leave some hundreds of men with a cannon or two, which will be usefull for the following cases.

1. It will be a great fame & report among all nations that this whole syde of the Dneper is guarded with their Ma-ties forces.

2. It will breed a great terror to the enemy to hear of & see so many fortified *leaguers* as so many severall armies.

3. It will be acceptable & agreeable to the treaty with the Polls and

⁸⁰³ See fol. 16 v.

⁸⁰⁴ Words in brackets crossed out.

maintained that the passages of the Tartars over the Dneper are guarded.

4. These forts will be usefull to leave sick men in, as also any baggage or heavy thing that shall be found unnecessary or any thing that may happen to be broken or spoiled.

{232} 5. They will be a comfort for our owne people in their returne to know & have so many safe places of retreat, refreshment & rest.

6. The people left here may provide hay, wood, digg pitts for water, to refresh the army in their returne, and repair any thing spoiled or broken.

7. These forts must be made according to art with redouts without & a cittadell in the most convenient place for a refuge in case of a powerfull attact.

8. It will be necessary to have with us some quarter cartowes at least and pieces shooting 8 & 6 pund ball, in case wee be forced to batter their fortifications.

9. It will be necessary to have boats for transporting of men over and also some boats of larger syze fitt for carrying light cannon & whereon brestworkes may be made, in case of opposition in landing.

10. Some folding bridges of 4 or 5 fathome length & one or a litle more as a fathome broad.

11. Some neat & strong scaleing ladders of 3 or 4 fathome length.

{232v} 12. If the takeing of Aslan Kirmien will give us a free passage for our boats downe the Dneper, it were fitt in the passing by to take it & garrison it.

13. It will be fitt to take it upon the acco-t of takeing from them a landing-place on this syde of the Dneper, from the other side & forts, with greater forces.

14. To have by every regiment a company of exercized granadiers, which may cast hand-granadoes, & these must be of the nimblest fellowes & sojors.

15. To have by the artillery & elsewhere light carts on two wheels for speed and expedition.

16. To try if hand-granadoes can be shott out of the *drobovicks*⁸⁰⁵ or cut-throat pieces.

⁸⁰⁵ *Droboviki* (Old Russian) are described by Gordon himself as “short pieces for small shott”.

{233} *Martii* 10. The army of the Boyar Alexey Semenovits having received orders to march to Rublofka, some of them went by to day.

11. I divided the regiments, giving to everyone of the colonels 1,001 Tambovish sojourns & 21 of the Moskovish. I divided also the first regiment, being 1,032 men, in companies. Coll. John Gulitz lodged with me.

12. Writt to Achterk; sent 50 men thither for a guard to the ammunition & 20 men and 4 wrights to the woods by Aleshna to make 40 waggons.

Sent the sojourns also to Sume to receive provisions and the books with them.

The sojourns returned without bringing provisions, the deliverers being busied with giving to the *streltsees*.

13. I did writt to my wyfe, Mr. Vinus & Mr. Guascony by Mr. Termonds conveyance.

I rode to Sume, received orders to march on Fridday. The sojourns waited for provisions. A tempestuous day & strong frost.

{233v} The souldiers could not gett their provisions for throng of others.

Martii 14. I made preparations to march and sent an officer with the quarterm-rs to divide and order the quarters in Oleshna.

In the night some provisions brought from Sume.

15. I marched by day light with indifferent good sledge way. Dined in the woods; came to Tristinets, three long miles, & a litle further lodged in Bielka, a countrey towne.

16. I sent three load of keet-hay and a tunne of beer to Achterk, who with difficulty gott thither in the evening, being three myles. Wee marched early, and with great difficulty & trouble because of the multitude of waggons & narrownes of the way gott to Oleshna, being two large miles.

{234} March 17. I sent near 400 horses & sledges to Sume & Sirovatka back againe for provisions.

The other regiment of the first regiments & my third came.

18. Given orders to make three Spanish *riters* for every corporallship of 4 *arsb.* length, and in the other regiments for 15 waggons in each.

19. I rode to Achterk. The Boyar came, would heare of no businesse till the next day. I lodged there, and wrott to my wyfe dateing it from Aleshna the 20.

20. I gott orders upon all I desired, and orders to march as soon as possible. I returned to Oleshna & caused give out provisions & money to all the sojourns.

21. Being thaw weather, I could not march as I intended; caused distribute provisions to those who had not gott, and money {234v} to the Tambofsky, Wasinins & *datitsbnies*.

March 22. I marched, being a faire day & with great difficulty passed the brooke Igruina⁸⁰⁶ a mile & a halfe, & halfe a mile further lodged in Ig[r]uin, a confused countrey towne with a cittadell, the wall & the woodden wall⁸⁰⁷ thereon decayed.

23. I marched in a rainy day, and with much trouble gott over a small brooke hard by the towne, and came to Kushemin, another rible-rible towne, where the bridge over the River Worskla, by which wee intended to have passed, was overflowed & carryed away by the flood of the river, so that wee were forced to stay all night.

24. Being Sunday, I dispatched Maior Palmer with letters to the Boyar, *okolnitse* & the maiors, informing them of the causes of my stay, and Capt. Roonaer to the Hetman, desiring an order to the elders of this towne to assist my passing the river. In the afternoone [...] ⁸⁰⁸ and caused bring all the vessells [that] could be found, and gave them under the guard.

{235} In the evening I was by the *Stolnik* Vasily Semenovits Toloczanuf, who had been by the Boyar and Hetman with orders to make what hast they could.

March 25. I caused repaire the vessells & because of the great shills of ice could not gett any transported over the river, yet in the evening gott Vasily Sem. transported.

Received a roll or list of my 3d regiment, being to their pay for March: 1 serjeant at 9 *dengies* a day, a forier at a ruble & 10 *altins* a month, 4 capt-armis at 8 *dengies pr diem*, 2 corporalls at 8 *dengees pr diem*, 4 confirmed, 277 old soldiers, 695 new written in, 11 Samarish absents—in all 995.

26. The water encreased & the ice came downe so thick that the vessels could not go.

27. The river being cleared, and haveing gott 8 great boats, I began to

⁸⁰⁶ Grunia.

⁸⁰⁷ This word is crossed out.

⁸⁰⁸ No visible gap in the MS, but an omission is apparent.

transport with great speed. In the evening I had notice of two new boats comeing downe the river, and sent for them.

28. I gott this day more as the halfe of the two regiments transported.

{235v} *Martii* 29. The last esquadrons of the two first regiments transported, and I sent to all places above & below to seek out the most convenient places for swimming the horses.

30. From midnight by reason of the great storme nothing could be gott transported, neither great nor small vessell being able to go, which continued till the evening, and then wee continued transporting the whole night.

I did writt to my wyfe by Mr. Termonds convoyance.

31. Being Easter, wee rested the tyme of devotion & dinner, & then began to transport the waggons on the great & small vessells.

Given money for this month in Oleshna: 752 Moskoes, 177 *Vaganins*, 142 *datishnies*, 1,974 Tambovish; came afterwards 10 Moskoes & 91 *datishnies*.

{236} Aprill 1. Befor day I caused give of the vessells to the third regiment, and in the evening went over with the collours my self.

2. I stayed & caused swimme the horses.

3. In the morning Gr. Iv. Kosagow came with a written [...] order for our makeing hast.

I marched by Kotelva halfe a mile and lodged in a oaken wood by the Achterks way about two miles from Kotelva.

4. I marched to Krasna Kute 1 1/2 mile & passed the River Merlo by the bridge, and encamped apart befor the *leagner*, haveing from the Boyar [...] & supped with him.

A list of officers & sojourns present given in to the Office: 2 coll-s, 4 maiors, 14 capt-s, 26 lts, 34 ensignies, 31 serjeants, 41 furiers, 59 capt. *arm.*, 51 pipers, 577 Mosk. sojourns, 177 *Vag.*, 139 *dat.*, 1,977 Tambovish.

5. I dined by the *Gr[af]* de Gr[aham] and in the evening rece-d letters from Mosko from Mr. Vinius dat. 26 *Martii*.

Given in a list of the waggons in all the three regiments, being with ammunition & officers waggons in all 1,143.

6. Most of my sojourns who stayed behind came up. I sent for hay but gott none.

{236v} Aprill 7. My third regiment came, and after dinner wee marched about 3 *verst* into a formed *leaguer*.

8. Wee marched about a mile & a halfe or 6 *verst* and lodged by the brooke Gruskoy.

9. Wee marched about 3 miles (about 11 wag. *verst*) to the R. Kolumek and encamped on the same place where two yeares ago.

I did writt to my wyfe & Mr. Vinius by Ph. Divuf his convoyance & to Coll. Scott.

To bineger & *isbitna*⁸⁰⁹ the 3d reg., 980 Tambovish.

10. Wee marched over the R. Kolumek by three bridges, 2 1/2 *verst*, first the van & great artillerie, then the wings.

A Tartar being brought from the Hetman the day befor related that the Tartars intended to meet us at the R. Samara, & if the[y] could not get us hindred from going into the Crim, then they would turne of & go into Russeland; that the Polls were treating a peace with them.

Horses given into the regiments: 208 from Oleshna, 18 from Mosko, 18 bought, 10 in Achterk, 25 of the 10th horses, 40 oxen, in all 279.

{237}⁸¹⁰ May 7. I did writt to my wyfe by Ph. Divufs convoyance.

Given in the day befor a list of the Moskovish sojors: 31 serjeants, 40 fur. & for., 59 corporalls, 50 pipers, 567 sojourns, in all 747.

Wee marched early and most west-south-west 17 waggon *verst* & encamped by Bieloozerko, by good convenience of grasse & water, but no wood.

8. Wee stayed here till near midday & then marched 13 waggon *verst* to the Rohaczik, a brooke.

In the morning all the generall persons and colonells & *ruitm-rs* of the *tzarodwortzees*⁸¹¹ were consulted with how upon occasion to draw up the regiments in battalie & fight.

9. Being Assension day & St. Nicolay, wee rested. All the boyars with

⁸⁰⁹ *Sbilen'*, traditional Russian drink made with water, honey, herbs and spices, and served either hot or cold.

⁸¹⁰ There is a gap in the MS from 11 April to 6 May, in which time the Tsars' army has reached the Lower Dnieper.

⁸¹¹ *Tsaredvortsy* (Russian), courtiers.

tovarises & Hetman being convened, wee consulted which way to hold, along the Dneper to the Turkish castles (Kerikermien)⁸¹² or directly to the Crim, w-ch last because nearer, though less convenient, prevailed. The boyars with the Hetman dined by Al. Sim. Shein.

{237v} Here was grasse & water but no wood.

May 10. Haveing made wayes the day befor over the brooke Rohaczick, wee marched, and after near 10 waggon *verst* wee rested 3 houres & then marched 7 1/2 *verst* & encamped near the Dneper by good convenience of wood, water & grasse. Here wee provided stakes & strauch for gabions.

11. Wee marched after dinner over the first branch of the brooke Kair called Meczet-Kair, wherein was no water, yet the strait ground hindered our marching a couple of houres or more. Our march was about 7 vaggon *verst*. Wee encamped hard by the Hetman near the Dneper by good convenience of wood, water & grasse.

12. Wee rested this day, expecting the boats which were made at Samara, and these comeing towards evening, wee dismissed a post to Mosko. I did writt to my wyfe by Andr[ey] Lisuf⁸¹³ his convoyance. By order I gave in a draught how the left wing of the army should be drawne up in battell & fight.

{238} May 13. Wee marched early and after some turnings & windings and difficulties in passing some strait stony ground wee encamped near the Dneper, haveing marched most south-west & by south, 11 waggon *verst*, haveing passed the last Kairke.

Given in a roll or list of sojourns for May months pay: 157 *Waganins*, 162 *datiecznies*; Tambovish: 3 serjeants, 3 foriers, 8 corporalls, 4 gentlemen, 1,789 sojourns, 29 Samarsky *nitshiks*⁸¹⁴, in all 1,836.

Here wee had good grasse & wood & water, though farr of.

In the evening a party of 2,000 men were sent towards Aslan-Kirmin, being near 2 miles from us; another of 60 horse was sent to the left hand to recognosce. The Turks in Aslan Kirmin fyred the houses without the castle.

⁸¹² Added on the margin.

⁸¹³ Andrey Ivanovich Lyzlov (ca.1655–1697?), from 1676 *stolnik*, took part in the Crimean and Azov campaigns. He was also a translator of Polish chronicles and a historian himself. In 1692 he finished his “Scythian History”, whose written copies were fairly well-known in Russia (A.I. Lyzlov, *Skifskaya istoriya* (Moscow, 1990)).

⁸¹⁴ *Netchik* (Old Russian), deserter.

14. Wee marched southwest & by south over plaine even fields. About 8 aclock wee had a false alarum of the Tartars, & the nearnes of the armyes brought us in great confusion. Our party from Aslan Kirmin returned without acting any thing, & not going neerer the castle as within a *verst* & a halfe. Our other party returned & brought notice that they had seen 5 great troupes of Tartars marching two miles of from us towards the Perecop.

Wee marched 8 waggon *verst* & then halted 2 houres; afterwards about 5 *verst* further wee came to an extraordinary green even valley, about 5 or 6 English {238v} miles broad, where extraordinary plenty of good grasse & water. Here wee encamped.

A Tartar brought in prisoner told that the Chan was come the day befor; that he was at Kalentzack; that their army were in Czarny Dolina; that 4,000 Belagrods Tartars were come with the Chan.

May 15. Wee marched. About 7 aclock the Tartars began to shew themselves at o[u]r right hand, the Boyar Alexey Simonovitz Shein giving us notice thereof. They comeing near his army, he fyred some pieces of cannon at them, & then from him & from our army the horsemen & voluntiers went out & *pickiered* wt them, some of both sydes killed & wounded & some taken from us. (They did fall on the army)⁸¹⁵; afterwards they marched of towards the Kasa-Kirmins high road, & wee following them came to the Czarna-Dolina, where wee had plenty of good grasse, & had had water enough if it had not been our multitudes disorder, irregularity & confusion with disobedience. Our march this day was 10 waggon *verst*, most south-west & by south.

{239}⁸¹⁶ May 25, Sat. Notwithstanding in the evening horses and men were indifferent well refreshed with water, as was thought, yet in the morning every one almost complained of not being well satisfyed. So wee stayed till midday, and then marched from the Dneper, the Tartars showing themselves in farr greater multitudes as befor, and firing the

⁸¹⁵ Added above the line. Apparently, Gordon's division did not take part in this action, since the Tatars were easily repulsed.

⁸¹⁶ The description of the outcome of the Second Crimean campaign, inglorious for the Russians, is lost, because from 16 to 24 May there is another gap in Gordon's Diary. On the 20th the Tsars' forces approached the fortress of Perekop, but did not hazard to storm it, and opened negotiations with the Khan, but when these got stuck, turned back on the very next day (21st).

grasse in the fields every where round us. The sandy ground and so heavy way, the horses faint, & sojors wearyed; small hopes of sufficiency of water at night made many looke very demure or rather sad, which a rumour of the Chans being come in person with all his forces to attack us did exaggerate. Yet wee marcheing in good order at great leasure, the Tartars did not very much infest us. As for our weake horses, which wee were forced to leave behind (being a reason, as was said, that the Tartars followed us), wee killed them all. Wee marched 6 (4 1/2)⁸¹⁷ *verst* and at night came to stand on sandy bare uneven ground, without grasse, wood or water, save some pitts or wells, which they in the front had.

{239v} May 26, Sund. Wee marched early W.N.W; the fields being in many places on fyre, especially on our right hand & befor us; haveing our ordinary convoyers⁸¹⁸ with us, yet without being very troublesome to us at any neare distance. Haveing marched 6 *verst*, wee rested & dined without wood or water.

In the after-noon wee marched 5 *verst* and lodged with our rear over against the Turkish castle called Aslan, from whence some Turkes extraordinary well mounted came out to skirmish, but not without reach of their cannon. Some of our horsemen rideing near were shott at from the castle out of their cannon. This castle hath 4 stone towers for flankers on the wall & a *mesczet*⁸¹⁹. Wee were informed that 400 Turkes were in garrison here. On the other syde, a litle below by the river, wee saw Kasa-Kirmien, where a bey with a garrison of 1,200 Turkes. Wee saw also two small stone forts or castles on an iland called Tavan. The bey of Kasa-Kirmien hath the government of all these, the commanders therein depending on him. This Kasa-Kirmien lyeth in a creek on a spott of elevated ground, or rather rock, by the river syde; low by the river is a large blockhouse well furnished with diverse tyre of cannon; and the other forts also proportionable, and well watched and guarded, that none should passe downe the river without their knowledge. Whereby they have so hem'd in the Zaporovian Cosakes, that they every day signify less & less & begin to decay, if matters continue in the state they are in at present.

⁸¹⁷ Added above the line.

⁸¹⁸ I.e. the Tatars.

⁸¹⁹ *Mecbet* (Russian), mosque.

Our watering-place here had a very strait descent.

{240} May 27, Moon. It haveing been ordered that about 400 of our best horsmen, Russes & Cosakes, should ly in ambush in a low ground by the banks of the Dneper and take their advantage of the Tartars who persued us; and they taking their stations, wee marched in great expectation of some great feat or exploit. But the Turkes from the other syde of the river haveing discovered our horsemen, and giving speedy notice to their owne, as was thought, or the suddaine and too forward breaking out of some of our trowps spoiled all, so that they came to the army without ever a prisoner but a wild cat, which was as bad to be caught as a Tartar.

Our march was now east; haveing compleeted 5 *verst*, wee rested 3 houres as ordinary. Afternoone wee saw but very few Tartars, and haveing marched 6 *verst*, wee lodged and had our water from the Dneper.

{240v} May 28, Tues. Wee marched early as usuall, and in the 4th heure of the day had a very faire sight of Kasa Kirmien behind us. This morning the Tartars killed a Russe and tooke another, the third escapeing just befor my regiments for want of tymely relieffe, but they are as nimble as glaides or any bird of prey. Haveing marched 9 *verst*, wee rested & dined, and afternoone marched 6 *verst*, passing the strait ground of one of the Kairs, and lodged thereby short of the Meczetny Kair. This afternoone wee saw not any Tartars. Wee had our water from the Dneper.

29, Wed. Wee marched over the Meczetny Kair and lodged there, haveing marched about 2 *verst*. Here was a *meczët*, or place where the Mahometans or heathens do their devotion; yet rather the first, because of the name which signifyeth a Mahometan church, as also because the later use to do their devotion in groves and high places.

The dispatches for the *saiunshikes*, or messengers of glad tithings, being prepared and 4 from each boyar named, they made themselves ready to be gone.

{241}⁸²⁰ June 13. The armyes were busy marching over, and our front or the regiments in the avant-guarde. About 8 aclock the Cosakes & Kalmuicks came & brought 3 Tartars and a collour. These reported that

⁸²⁰ Entries from 30 May to 12 June are missing in the MS.

they, being 200, were sent by the Chan (and two collours given them) to recognosce to the R. Samara, and to gett intelligence of the motions & intentions of the Russes.

Afternoone the Boyar marched over the river and immediately the flankes & arrearguarde, being 2 1/2 *verst*. Wee marched 2 *verst* from the bridges and encamped.

14. The boyars went to the new built towne Bogaroditsa, heard devotion, dined by the deputy governour and returned. Some Cosaks & Kalmuiks who had persued the Tartars brought another collour to the Boyar. These related that they had found two Tartars on foot with that collour, who would not render themselves, so they killed them.

My boy Charles runaway & lost & tooke money & other things along with him.

{241v} June 15, Sat. Wee marched. The Boyar Ivan Fiod. Volinsky came and was dispatched to his army near the Volny Brod, or free foord, where a fort was ordered to be built, he haveing gott an *ingenieur* along with him. Wee encamped by the brooke Kilczin; our march 10 *verst*.

In the evening the Colonell Gluskofsky came, who was sent by the King & Crowne Generall of Polland to be resident in our *leaguer* in this expedition.

I did writt to my wyfe by Fiodor Samson. Buterlin his convoyance.

I marched from my station and command in the rear & came to my former post in the left wing.

16. Wee marched along the R. Kilczien & lodged thereby, haveing marched 11 *verst*.

{242} June 17, Moon. Wee marched over the brooke Kilczien and encamped by the R. Orel, haveing marched 14 *verst*.

18. Some armyes marched over.

19. Wee marched over the river and encamped on the other syde on the low ground, haveing marched 4 *verst*.

20. Wee rested.

21. Wee marched 11 *verst* & encamped by the R. Orczik.

I did writt to my wyfe.

{242v} June 22, Sat. Wee marched 8 *verst* and *leaguered* by the R. Orczik.

23. Wee marched 10 *verst* to the R. Kolumka. The boyars dined by the Hetman. With the regiments of the left wing I caused make two bridges.

Wee had notice by a post of the safe arrivall of our *saiunshikes* in Mosko.

24. Wee marched over the R. Kolomak & encamped in the fields; our march 2 1/2 *verst*.

The Hetman with the Cosakes went from us to his countrey; the Boyar convoyed him.

25. The Polnish resident Coll. Gluskofsky, haveing gott his dispatch & letters, went from us. He gott for a gift 30 rubles in money & 5 pair of sables worth 30 or 40 rubles.

Wee marched 12 *verst* & dined in the *step* without {243} water, and then marched 7 *verst* and encamped in a round *waggonburg* by the R. Merlo a litle below the towne Krasna-Kute. In the night the *Stolnik* Andrew Lislow came & informed that the *Okolnitsze* Vasily Savits was to come shortly with orders to dimitt us.

June 26, Wed. Wee rested. A post came, who informed us that the *Okolnitsze* Vasily Savits Narbekuf was come to Afterk.

27. In the evening Vas. Sav. came.

28, Frid. All were called to the *shatra*⁸²¹, or Tzaars pavilion; the cannon & foot were drawne up round within the lesser *waggonburg*. After devotion the Tzaars letters were read publickely, being a rehearsall of what had been written by the *sayunshikes*, with an approbation of all, and many thanks for our great services. The boyars particularly were asked of their healths in the Tzaars names, their service approved & praised; and then all others by degrees, according to their qualities. After this the Tzaars letters for our dimission were read, so all the ppl persons who were invited went into the boyars tents to dinner. At the drinking of the Tzaars their healths {243v} the cannon were shott & the foot gave salvees, and this 4 severall tymes.

Most of the gentlemen & all the cavallierie marched of. The foot regiments closed in the *waggonburg* neerer, w-ch I regulated & ordered, givinge an acco-t thereof in the evening to the *Generallissimus*.

June 29, Sat. Being the day dedicated to the Blessed Apostles Peter and Pawl, the Boyar with some others stayed & dined, and albeit it was the name-day of the yongest Tzaar, yet there was no solemnity.

The foot regiments marched early. I went early and tooke leave of the Boyar, then dismissed the two Dambovish regiments, and marched over

⁸²¹ *Shatior* (Russian), pavilion or tent.

the marish & river by a way, which I caused make just over against my regiments; and being neer halfe-way to Achterk I dined, haveing water on our right hand. Then leaving the regiment and artillerie with Major Menezes, I tooke a hundred sojourns with me and some officers, haveing also in company the Colonells Livingston & Le Fort & o[u]r officers, with the Lutherans minister Alex-r Yong. I lodged near Afterk with bad grasse & no wood.

This dayes march 4 long miles or 20 ordinary *verst*.

{244} June 30. I came to Achterk, where provideing some necessaryes, I marched over the R. Worskla above the towne at the upper milne. Dined in the woods not farr from Tristinets, went by Trostinets, now called Ivanogorod or Ivanopolia; then through Bielke, a small towne, & Nikitofka, a village of the Achterks collonell, where a house of his. Came to the Saidatshny *shliach*⁸²² or roade & lodged without water. This dayes march 25 *verst*.

{244v} July 1, Moon. I marched early and dined by the Lower Sirovatka. Came to Sume, haveing crossed the R. Psiolla, which is 8 miles from Achterk, where buying necessaryes, marched over the brooke Sumka to the village Aleshinka, and lodged on the other syde of another village of the same name.

2. Marched through the *step*, or vast champian, to the village Kolubakin, where dined, then over the brooke Isnagosta and brooke Cropia, & lodged in the wood with good convenience as every where now.

3. Marched to the R. Se[y]m, I to the ferry above, and our waggons by a mistake to the ferry below the towne of Rillesk, which is distant from Sume 60 *verst*; about 5 *verst* on the other syde of the R. Rile dined, & 6 *verst* further lodged. This dayes journey by the mistake & hinderance at the ferry was short, being but 20 *verst*.

{245} July 4, Thur. Marched 20 *verst* & dined, & 25 *verst* and lodged in the *okop*⁸²³.

5. Came to Shewsky early & *leaguered* without the towne. Went and visited the governour, and then the widdow of Coll. Hamilton.

⁸²² *Shliakb* (Ukrainian and dialect Russian), road or way.

⁸²³ *Okop* (Russian), ditch.

6. Rested.

7. Assisted at the buriall of Coll. Hamilton, and haveing gott an order for 5 *podwods*, went & lodged by the River Shew.

8. Gott *podwods* in Isbitna, dined by the R. Ososa, changed *podwods* in [...] and lodged by the R. Nierussa.

9. Dined by Czayanky, where changed *podwods* or post-horses. Went over the R. Navla, & lodged 5 *verst* further in the woods.

{245v} July 10, Wedn. To Karatshow, dined 5 *verst* further, & lodged at Ivanow *osera* or lake.

11. Dined over against Lochnia, & lodged at the R. Nugra.

12. To Bolqhow, where bought necessaryes & changed horses. Dined by the Church Yagory, where bad grasse & litle wood. Through the *sashek*⁸²⁴ crossed the R. Occa by Bielow & lodged there.

13. Crossed the R. Occa at Kipet, where dined. Through the towne Li[kh]vin, crossed againe the R. Occa at Mokrssets and 5 *verst* further lodged below a village in a bare meadow.

14. Dined 5 *verst* short of Koluga, crossed the R. Occa the fourth tyme at Koluga, where bought necessities and changed horses; marched & lodged 5 *verst* short of Guriova.

{246}⁸²⁵ July 22, Moon. I was in towne and expected to have gott a *skasky* or declaration, what every one was to have for the service done in this expedition, but was delayed till Wednesday.

24. Wee were admitted to kiss the eldest Tzaar & the Princess Sophia Alexeiowna their hands with the ordinary ceremonies & complements. The Princess gave me particularly thankses for my good service.

Our *skasky* was delayed by reason that the yongest Tzaar would not give his consent to bestow so much on our boyars as they had concluded without him.

{246v} July 26, Frid. With a great deale ado & entreaty the yongest Tzaar was brought to assent to the rewards, which had been concluded to be given for our services.

⁸²⁴ *Zaseki* or *zasechnye cherty* (Russian), 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.

⁸²⁵ There is a gap from 15 to 21 July, in which time Gordon returned to Moscow.

27, Sat. Wee had the declaration read to us, the boyars with their *towarises* apart in the inner roome, and all the other without, on the top of the upper staires. The Russes, as first: the Boyar gott *pavres*; the *towarises*, chancellours & others a certaine summe of Reichs dollers to buy them lands; the others moneyes, stufes to coates, and a certaine portion of their *pomestny*⁸²⁶ (which are lands given them for lyfe) turned into heritage, as also an augmentation of their *oklad*⁸²⁷, which is a rate of the value of their quality. The strangers, a months meanes and the colls. & lt.colls. silkes to a coat. I with ano-r generall, a months meanes, a timber or 20 pair of sables, a silver cup and a rich stufte to a coat.⁸²⁸ It was declared also that the names of those who had been killed or dyed upon this expedition should be enrolled in all the Cathedrall churches and remembred in the common prayers, and that the father, son, brother or nearest ffriend of any of them should have a degree of preferment {247} given him, as a testimony of the fidelity and sufferings of their nearest relation.⁸²⁹ Golden medalls were also given or promised to every one according to their quality, and I gott one of three ducats.

Wee were to have gone to Preobrasinsko or the Transfiguration palace, to render thanks for His Majesty Tzaar Peter Al[exeyevich] his grace or graciousnes, but were not admitted; whereat some were troubled & grieved & some not, as minding to take the bitt & the buffet with it. For all did apparently see & know that his consent, or rather assent, was by great importunity extorted from him; and this did more irritate him against our *Generallissimus* & the chieffe counsellours of the Court of the other party. For now there was plainly to be seen an open eruption or breach, which was lyke to turne to animosities. Yet all was concealed as much as possible from the commonalty, yet not with so

⁸²⁶ *Pomestya* (Russian), estates.

⁸²⁷ *Oklad* (Russian), pay or salary, either in money or kind.

⁸²⁸ The Tsars' ukase on rewards for the Second Crimean campaign, dated 27 July 1689, runs: "To you, Generals Ivan Lukin, 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).

⁸²⁹ On this day, although Gordon was to hear of it much later, his son James was gravely wounded fighting for the Jacobites at Killiecrankie in Scotland. King James' adherents carried the day, but their brave commander, Viscount Dundee, lost his life.

much dexterity and secrecy, but that every one almost knew how & what passed.

{247v} July 29, Moon. In towne; slow performances like to be of the Saturdayes promises.

30.

31. Passions & humors encreasing, lyke to breake out into a *paroxismus*.

{248} Aug. 3. I did writt to Madam Hamilton in Shewsky & Capt. Dan. Crawfuird in Kyow.

The boyars were at a feast in Preobrasinsko, being the birth day of one of the Princesses.

5. I supplicated to have the place whereon I had builded to be given me with a writeing or charter, whereby I could sell, pawne or dispose of it any other way.

{248v} Aug. 6. Rumors unsafe to be uttered.

7, Wedn. In the night tyme many *streltsees* conveyed in the castle or Krimlina, none being admitted but certaine & knowne persons. Which occasioned such an alarum among the party of the yongest Tzaar that all who could gett notice thereof hastened to Preobrasinsky. A litle after midnight some *streltsees* and others [...] came to Preobrasinsky and advertised the Tzaar Peter Al. that many *streltsees* or souldiers of the guards were conveyed by order in the Krimlina and were to come armed to Preobrasinsky and kill diverse persons, especially the Nariskins. Whereof the Tzaar being advertised, gott from his bed in great hast without putting on his boots & to the stable, where causing sadle a horse, went to the next wood, whither his cloaths & habite were brought to him, and having dressed himself with such as were ready, in great hast rode to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity,

8, Thurs. whither he arrived in the 6th houre of the day very weary. Being brought into a roome, he immediately threw himself upon a bed and fell a weeping bitterly, relating the case to the abbott⁸³⁰ and desiring the protection and assistance of them.

The guards⁸³¹ and others belonging to the Court came thither the same

⁸³⁰ Vikenty, Archimandrite (Superior) of the Trinity-St.Sergy Lavra.

⁸³¹ Clearly, Tsar Peter's *poteshnye* ("play" troops), Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky, which were to become the proudest regiments of the Russian Imperial army.

day and in the night many of the relations from Mosko. This suddaine departure of His Majesty caused {249} great consternation and alteration in Mosko, which, however, was concealed and excused, or rather slighted, with all the art imaginable.

I mustered my regiment in Butirky.

I received letters from Narva.

August 9. The Hetmans entry was delayed till the next day. A person of quality sent from the Tzaar Peter to the eldest Tzaar & the Princess Sophia Alexeiovna to know the reason of conveening so many *streltsees* in such an unseasonable tyme; it was answered that it was only to guard the Princess to a monastery, whither she was to go for devotions sake.

10. Hetman came & received with ordinary ceremonies & respect, and lodged in the Ambassy Court.

The yongest Tzaar sent for the Coll. Ivan Sickler⁸³² with 50 *streltziez*, who after some consultation with some reluctancy was permitted to go and the *streltsees* with him. Wee knew afterwards that this was a draught of this colonells to preoccupate the Princes favour, haveing been a great instrument in the former tumults, wherein so many of the yongest Tzaars ffriends⁸³³ were massacred. So now he had written to his ffriends at the court in Troitza to move the Tzaar to send for him, promising to reveale many things necessary to be knowne there. For at his coming he revealed all, giving it under his hand, how he had received the orders & other writeings from above and distributeing them amongst the *streltsees*.

{249v} Aug. 12, Moon. I received letters from Kyow and from Biallygrod informing that the Tartars had with a party been neer that place & taken some people away.

Gordon was the first to call them “Guards”, which title they would officially receive from Peter the Great in 1700.

⁸³² 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 *royeroda* in Verkhoturys, but was finally beheaded for a new conspiracy against Peter.

⁸³³ It should be noted that in Scots usage *friends* stands for both close acquaintances and kinsmen, and Gordon uses the word in both senses.

13. *Kniaz* Ivan Borisovits Troikuruf⁸³⁴ sent to the Tzaar Peter Al[exeyevich] to perswade him to returne to Mosko.

14. Some *streltzees* went of their owne accord to the yongest Tzaar.

15. I did writt to Mr. Philip Wulffe.

Kniaz Iv[an] Boris. Troy[ekurov] returned and brought but slender satisfaction.

{250} Aug. 16, Frid. Written orders came from the yongest Tzaar to the souldier & *streletsees* regiments, to each apart & to the colls. to repaire to the Troitza Monastery on the 20th instant for business of his Majesty. Of the regiments were ordered the *uriadnikes*⁸³⁵, or under officers, coporalls, fileleaders & regiment & company writers, with ten of the common souldiers & *streltsees* from each regiment. These orders, albeit delivered to the souldiers & *streltsees* by *streltsees* sent from thence, yet were brought to the commanders or judges of their respective Offices, & by them above to the Princess. Whereupon a counsell was held, after which some of the ppl persons of each regiment were called, and told by an eloquent oration from the Princess her self that none of them should offer to go, or medle themselves in the differences betwixt them & their brother, with many circumstances.

The colonells of the *streltsees* desired to know what they should do, insinuating that by their going things would remaine in the same condition they were now in. But the Princess, who was retired & had this told her by the *Okolnitsze* Fiod. Leont. Shoklovite (the governour of their Office), came out & tooke them up very sharply, telling them that if any went thither, she would cause intercept them & strike of their heads.

The Boyar *Kniaz* Vas. Vas. gave me express orders not to stirr from Mosko upon no order or acco-t.

{250v} Ther was also a desire sent, or rather notice, to the eldest Tzaar & their sister So[phia] Al. that he⁸³⁶ had sent for the colonells, sojourns & *streltsees* & that they should permitt them to go.

⁸³⁴ Prince I.B. Troyekurov, *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).

⁸³⁵ *Uriadniki* (Old Russian), non-commissioned officers.

⁸³⁶ Tsar Peter.

Kniaz Peter Ivanovits Prosorovsky, the tutor to the eldest Tzaar, with the Father Confessor⁸³⁷ were sent to Troitza to excuse the not permitting the colonells, sojourns & *streltsees* to go, with instructions to use all meanes for a reconciliation, & the Tzaar his returne to Mosko.

Aug. 17. It was bruted abroad that the orders sent from Troitsa for the colonells & *streltsees* were not sent by his Ma-ties command but without his knowledge.

18. *Kniaz* Pet[er] Iv. and the Fa[ther] Conf[essor] returned without effectuating any thing for which they went.

{251}⁸³⁸ Sept-r 1, Sund. In the morning early, being on our way to the towne, wee heard of the Princess her returne, and found many *streltsees* walking without armes befor each gate, & albeit asked, would not tell us upon what acco-t. Yet in towne I heard that they had gott private notice to watch that such persons as were accused should not escape. Being in the Krimlina, wee found preparations makeing for the solemnity used on this day.⁸³⁹

About 9 aclock Ivan Neczayuf came to Mosko with a letter to the eldest Tzaar & the Princess, wherein a short relation of the conspiracy, with a desire to send Fiotka Shoklovite, the monke⁸⁴⁰ and their complices to Troitza to their tryall. This caused no small stirr above and among all sorts of people a consternation. However, most resolved on a passive loyalty, and to behold to what point matters would come. The lt.coll. was immediately brought above, and being asked how he durst take such an employment upon him, he answered that he durst not disobey the Tzaars commands. Whereupon the Princess was vehemently incensed and gave orders to cut of his head immediately, which had been done if an executioner had been at hand.

⁸³⁷ Prince P.I. Prozorovsky, boyar, former tutor of Tsarevich Ioann Alexeyevich; from 1689 head of the Great Treasury Office. The Tsars' Confessor was Archpriest Merkury.

⁸³⁸ No entries in MS for 19–31 August.

⁸³⁹ 1 September was Russian New Year Day.

⁸⁴⁰ Simeon Medvedev (1641–1691), former *poduyachy* in the Office of Secret Affairs, took the vows with the name of Silvestr. He wrote theological works and poetry, but was arrested for supporting Tsarevna Sophia and later executed.

Then were these delegates who came with him called, as also many of the *streltsees* who were in the castle or court, and the Princess comeing downe to the lower part of the staires had a long speech to them, telling them how some bad instruments betwixt her brother & them had used all meanes to divide them and had raised great trouble, jealousies and dissension; that they had suborned some persons to tell of a conspiracy against the lyfe of the yongest Tzaar & others, and that envying the good services of Fiodor Shoklovite {251v} and his continuall paines day & night for the safety & welfare of the Empire they had named him as the ppill contriver of the conspiracy (if there be any such thing); that she, to compose these businesses & to search & try out the ground of the business, had offered her self to assist, and had taken a jorney thither⁸⁴¹, but was by the instigation of bad counsellours about her brother stopped, & not suffered to go further, and so to her great ignominy must be forced to returne; that they knew very well, how she had governed the Empire these seaven yeares bypast; that she had taken the government upon her in a very troublesome tyme; that dureing her direction in the government she had made a glorious perpetuall peace with the Christian Princes their neighbours; that the enemyes of the Christian Religion had been forced by their armes in two expeditions to stand in aw of them; that they had received large rewards for their services; that she had been at all tymes very gracious to them; that she could not imagine but that they would prove true to her & not beleeve the contrivances of the enemyes of the welfare & quiet of the Empire; that it was not the lyfe of Fiodor Shoklovite which they sought, but the lyfe of her & her brother. And so dismissed them with promise of great favour to these who should prove faithfull & not medle in this businesse, & punishments to those who should disobey and make any stirrs.

The ppill persons of the burgers & commons were called also, to whom she spoke after the same manner as to the matter, and a third tyme she caused call all & made a large eloquent speach {252} to them, much to the former purpose. In the meane tyme, the Patriarch not being there & the eldest Tzaar not well disposed, the preparations & things brought for the solemnity were taken away, and the *streltsees* graced with a *pogreb*⁸⁴² (which

⁸⁴¹ To the Trinity-St.Sergy Monastery.

⁸⁴² *Pogreb* (Russian), cellar.

is entertainment with brandy), and the ppll gentlemen with the strangers commanded to stay. So about 12 aclock wee were all entertained with a *charke* of brandy out of the eldest Tzaar his hands.

A rumor being spread that a letter from Troitsa had been sent for me, I was asked, but telling the truth that I had none, they were satisfied. In the meane tyme the heat of the passion of the Princess against the Lt.coll. being over, she was pleased to pardon him and accept him in favour, & so he was admitted to gett a *charke* also.

Some of the *streltsees* regiment secured these of their comorads, who were accused, & others not; Shoklovite secured him self above, & the monk with others fled.

It was said that the yongest Tzaar had desired Shoklovite and the others to be sent to him, and that he promised he would take none of their lives.

Kniaz Boris Alexiovitz Goliczin, who had the direction of all the effaires at Troitza (no other dareing to medle in such a ticklish business as this was taken to be at first), writt to his brother *Kniaz* Vasily to come to Troitsa & preoccupate the Tzaars favour.

Sept-r 2. An order came from Troitza from the Tzaar Peter Alexeyovitz to the regiments of the souldiers & *streltsees* that they should live in quietness & make no stirrs nor trouble. Some of our *slabodians*⁸⁴³ went to the Troitsa; by a confident I desired to be excused that I with others came not, not knowing whether our comeing might be acceptable or not.

{252v} Sept-r 3, Tuesd. *Kniaz* Vasily Vas. sent a writer to Troitza with a letter to his cousin german *Kniaz* Boris Al[exeyevich], perswadeing him to be a good instrument and agree the parties; and was answered that he should do well to make hast to come thither himself & preoccupate the Tzaars favour, promising him all kindnes from the Tzaar.

The *streltsees* were murmuring every where, so that the Princess gave out that she would go with the eldest Tzaar to Troitza, and appointed the next day for her departure, whereof there was great expectation, and notice thereof sent to Troitza.

The Colonell Simon Resanuf haveing been examined & confessed some things, the *Okolnitsze* Ivan Affon. Matuskin was sent with his depo-

⁸⁴³ I.e. residents of Moscow's Foreign Quarter (Sloboda).

sition to the eldest Tzaar; the day befor it was told him that they were making ready with the whole Court to go to Troitza.

Orders having been sent from Troitsa to all the townes and districts to bring in money & provisions to Troitsa, and contrar orders from Mosko sent to forbidd any money or provisions to be sent thither, but to bring all to Mosko as formerly and usuall, it was like to come to a breach. However, all things concurred to hasten to a crisis, for the regiment of *streltsees* which was in Troitza⁸⁴⁴ desired leave to come to Mosko, promising to bring all these accused and suspected of the conspiracy. But the yongest Tzaar & his counsell fearing a tumult, and that it should not go of without {253} blood, would not permitt, which was wisely done. Many of the yongest Tzaar his well wishers of all sorts & qualitiyes were of opinion & desirous that the Tzaar might come neerer Mosko, to Alexeyofsky⁸⁴⁵ or Preobrasinskoy, whither every one could repair without hazard, but the wiser sort were not willing, fearing danger & bloodshed.

Sept-r 4, Wed. A Tzaars letter was brought into the Strangers Slabod, being sent to the generall persons & colonells with all the other officers, but no body mentioned by name. The order was in the name of the yongest Tzaar only, and therein after a short relation how that in August moneth at diverse tymes, of the Moskoes regiments some kaptaines, regiment writers, commanders of 50 & 10 men & *streltsees* had given notice of a conspiracy against the lyfe of the yongest Tzaar; upon search whereof it was found that the rogue & traitour Fetka Shoklovite, a Fryer Silvester Medziveduf and 10 *streltsees* (who were named) with others their complices had conspired to murther the yongest Tzaar, his mother, the Patriarch and diverse of the nearest boyars. Wherefor his Ma-tie had sent the Lt.Col. Ivan Neczayuf with 5 men out of each regiment to apprehend the before-mentioned traitors & bring them to the Troitza Monastery of Sergius; {253v} and that so soone as this his Ma-ties letter or order comes to us, wee should immediately with all our armes and mounting repaire to his Ma-tie in the Monastery of Troitza. It was written the last of August An. 7197 (5508)⁸⁴⁶, signed by the *Dummy Diack* Gabriel Derevnin and sealed.

⁸⁴⁴ Lavrenty Sukharev's regiment.

⁸⁴⁵ Alexeyevskoye.

⁸⁴⁶ This number, subtracted to get the A.D. date (1689), is written on the margin.

This letter being brought to me by Coll. Ridder who had received it, I sent for the generall & colonells, in whose presence it was unsealed. Wee concluded to bring the letters to the Boyar *Kniaz* Vas. Vas. Golitzin, which none daring to bring, I went with some colonells & showed him the letters; whereat albeit he was much altered, yet he kept countenance as well as he could. He told us that he would show them to the Tzaar & the Princess, and then wee should receive orders. I told him that wee were afayed to loss our heads if wee disobeyed. He told me that about the vesper tyme wee should have an answer, for which he desired me to leave my son in law Coll. Strasburgh.

I returned and made ready to be gone, and told the colonells and other officers who came to me for advice, that notwithstanding any order might be here given, I was resolved to go, & would be gone in the evening, whereupon all great & small made ready.

In the evening wee went from the Slabod, and it was darke befor wee gott to the Yawsa bridge. Wee went 15 *verst* further & baited our horses.

Sept-r 5. Then by day light breakfast 15 *verst* from Troitza, and at 11 aclock came to the Monastery and addressed our selves to *Kniaz* Boris Alexeiovits Goliczin, according to our orders. Wee stayed untill his Ma-tie had dined, and then were admitted to kiss his Ma-ties hand, and had every one a *charke* of brandy out of his Ma-ties hand. His Ma-tie was pleased to ask us of our healths & commend us for comeing immediately {254} upon the order. Then wee were dismissed, and had quarters assigned us. In the night tyme wee had mett the Colonell Sergey Sergeyuf, who was sent with two men out of each regiment to fetch Fiot. Shoklovite & his complices.

Our going to Troitza was the crisis of this business, for all begun to speak openly in the behalfe of the yongest Tzaar.

Sept-r 6, Frid. In the morning the *strelets* Obroska⁸⁴⁷ was brought in irons. He was examined, and confronted with Simon Rezanuf, confessed all.

In Mosko the Princess having notice that she would not be permitted to come to Troitza, was very discontent, neither would consent to deliver F. Shoklovite. Wherefor the *streltsees* came in the evening in great numbers

⁸⁴⁷ Obrosim Petrov.

into the castell or court, and desiring audience, had it. They told that they were come to desire her to deliver Fiotka Shoklovite, that they might bring him with the rest to Troitsa according to the orders of the yongest Tzaar. At first she spoke very resolutely, denying to deliver him, and perswading them not to medle themselves in the business betwixt her & her brother, but to be {254v} quiet. Wherewith they not being satisfied, they told her that if they could not have him, they would be forced to beat on the *nabat*⁸⁴⁸, which is the great alarum bell, whereat the Princess seemed to be moved. Then these who were near her, fearing violence & an uprore told her that it was needless for her to contest in such a matter; that if a tumult were raised, many would loss their lives; so it were better to deliver him. So she suffered her self to be perswaded, and caused deliver him.

This day the boyars haveing gott orders to come to Troitza, made themselves ready, haveing first obtained leave. K. Vas. Vas. with his confidents lodged in Medivedofka, where when he gott notice that Shoklovite was delivered to the *streltsees*, he was much moved and consternated.

Sept-r 7. In the morning wee had notice that Shoklovite was delivered and on the way to Troitza.

Some boyars came & were admitted to his Ma-ties presence.

About one aclock in the afternoone Fiot. Shoklo[vity] was brought and immediately examined befor the boyars & councellours. Some things he confessed, as that he intended to have burned Preobrazinskoy and wished to have had the yongest Tzaar his mother out of the way with others; that he had framed a petition for the *streltsees* wherein they should desire {255} that the Princess might be crowned; but he denied that he ever intended any thing against the lyfe of the yongest Tzaar. Being confronted with the captaines, he denied all but what he had said in his examination, excuseing some things for want of memory. The lyke he did when the *streltsees* were confronted with him. At last being pined, he denied to know of any thing more as he had said befor. He was kept drawne up a long tyme, and gott but sixteen reall lashes. He was given to a colonell of the *streltsees* to be strictly guarded.

About 5 aclock in the afternoone *Kniaz* Vasily Vasiliovitz Golitzin and with him the Boyar Leonty Romanovitz Nepluyuf, the *Okolnitsze* Benedich

⁸⁴⁸ *Nabat* (Russian), alarm bell.

Andreovitz Ismeyuf, the *Dummy Dworanin* Gregory Ivanovits Gosagow, the *Dummy Diack* Yemel. Ignat. Ukraintzuf came to the gate of the Monastery and were not admitted, but commanded to stay, and after near a quarter of an houre they were told to go to their lodgings & not to go out without orders.

In the evening I went by *K. Vas. Vas.*, who was somewhat melancholious, as he had reason.

{255v} Sept-r 8, Sund. Fiod. Shoklovite being threatened to be tortured againe, writt downe with his owne hand a relation of all he knew & was guilty of. He touched *K. Vas. Vas. Gol[itsyn]* in his deposition and another person, wherefor it was resolved not to torture him againe.

9, Moond. The Hetman being on his way, order was sent to him to stay at Iswishinsky⁸⁴⁹, 10 *verst* from the Monastery, untill he should gett notice to come.

In the evening *Kn. Vas. Vas.* & the others wer sent for. First *Kniaz Vas. Vas.* with his sonne, *Kn. Al[exey] Vas.*, wer called into the Monastery, and being come to the top of the staires through a great confluence of people, a *dummy diack* did meet them with a small roll in his hand & told them that their *Tz. Ma-ties* haveing taken into their considerations the great ruine he, *Kn. Vas.*, had brought upon their Empire by the two great expeditions, which he had without any good success done against the Krimish Tartars, and the great treasure expended; as also, how that by his meanes the Princess Sophia Alexeyovna had taken the title and government of the Empire; and many other his misdeameanours as also his sons, had ordered all his goods & lands to be confiscated, and himself with his sonne & their families to be send in exile to the Kolsky {256} Illand⁸⁵⁰, there to remaine dureing their *Ma-ties* pleasure.

Then was the Boyar Leonty Rom. called & at the foot of the stairs received his sentence, that dureing the long tyme of his government in Shewsky he had committed many oppressions on the people and ruined the Komaritsky district, and by the power of these who had the direction of all effaires in Mosko, being his ffriends, all complaints and meanes of redress were hindred; therefor their *Ma-ties* had ordered all his lands

⁸⁴⁹ Vozdvizhenskoye.

⁸⁵⁰ Properly, peninsula.

& goods to be confiscated, & himself to be sent into exile to the Pusty Osera⁸⁵¹, or uninhabited lake. (These places of exile changed afterwards.)⁸⁵² Then was Benedict And. called & told that their Ma-ties had ordered him to go to his lands in Costroma and there stay till further order. The *dummyes* were ordered & graced to take their places as formerly.

The boyars coming to their quarters had notice from their friends at Court to make hast and be gone befor the *streltsees* who was to guard them should come; which they did, takeing horse immediately and ordering their baggage to follow. Whereupon a great tumult arose, every one crying that they were making their escape, and posts sent out to learne whi[ther] they were gone; some whereof overtakeing *Kniaz* Vas[ily], were told by *Kniaz* Boris Alex., who was convoying them, that they should returne & tell these who sent them, that they were on their way to the place of their confinement, and that he was in their company.

It is worthy of observation that notwithstanding *Kniaz* Vas. Vas. was the great prop & columnne of the Princess her syde, and was very well knowne to be conscious⁸⁵³ if not a contriver of all intended against the lyfe of the {256v} yongest Tzaar, yet he was not sentenced as a traitour or declared guilty of treason, which even by concealing of it he had committed in the highest degree; which was done by the power & influence which his cousin german *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovitz Golitzin had upon the Tzaar & his counsell at that tyme.

Kniaz Vas. Vas. had in his hand a small roll wherein was briefly written 17 points, being advantages which he had done to their Majestyes & the Empire in the tyme of his direction of the effaires of the Realme, and which he intended to have told or read if he had been permitted to have come in befor the Tzaar & his counsell. But being sentenced, he offered it to the *dummy diack*, who durst not receive it; yet afterwards he found meanes to gett it presented, but it availed not.

Kniaz Boris Al[exeyevich] haveing been hitherto the great and only directour of all this business, and had by his conduct brought business to this pass, and by his earnest labour & entreaties obtained that treason should not be imputed to his brother (as cous. germans are here called),

⁸⁵¹ Pustozersk.

⁸⁵² Author's note on the margin.

⁸⁵³ *guilty* crossed out.

w-ch he did to avoid such a staine upon their family. For here it is not so as in other countreyes, where the person only is punished and others of the same family not concerned, are not blamed nor stained; but here it is a everlasting staine to a whole family to have had one traitour in it. For which reason this *Kniaz* Boris spared no labour nor meanes to gett the sentence so pronounced without mentioning any treason; whereby he drew upon himself a great deale of hatred from the commonalty, as also from the yongest Tzaar his ffriends & allyes. For now all being brought to a wished end, they wrought all {257} they could to be rid of him, a business in the interim giving great cause of suspicion, which was this.

After Shoklovite had been pined & threatened to be brought to the torture againe, he offered to give to the Tzaar a true relation of all, if he were permitted to set it downe in writeing. Whereupon *Kniaz* Boris was commanded to go to him and gett him furnished with pen & inke, which he did. So Shoklovite did writt downe all upon 8 or 9 halfe sheets of paper, which takeing up some houres in the night, and the Tzaar gone to bed, *Kniaz* Boris tooke the writeing home with him, intending to present it next morning. This was quickly catch'd hold of by his adversaries, and the Tzaar advertised that *Kniaz* Boris had taken the writeing or deposition of Shoklovite along with him, possibly to read it & if any thing concerned his cousin therein, to conceale such a leafe. Whereupon the Tzaar sent immediately to Shok. to know if he had written downe what he had promised; who told that he had, & had given it to *Kniaz* Boris as had been ordered. In the meane tyme *Kniaz* Boris having notice from a ffriend, made hast to the Tzaar with the paper. The Tzaar was very sharpe with him at first, asking him why he had not immediately brought the writeing of Shok. to his Ma-tie. He excused it by the being too late in the night, which scarcely passed for currant, and the former suspicion cherished by the nearest at Court, that {257v} his earnest labouring for his cousin wanted not its mistery; that he could not but at least know of all that was intended on the other part. The Tzaar, however, continued firme in his affection to him, only the mother & her ffriends were alienated.

Two of the old women who had waited on the yong Tzaar in his childhood, being accused, examined & tortured, confessing some things, were sent into exile.

Sept-r 10. The Hetman was ordered to come forward, and rich pavilions set up for him at the entry of the village. He was admitted in the afternoone, comeing with all the ppl men of the Cosakes. He brought presents of jewells whereby a *shable*⁸⁵⁴ or simitar set with stones to the valew of 2,000 rubles. He was graciously received beyond his expectation and dismissed, which smothered all rumours and endeavours of some who were setting up a faction to desire another hetman.

In the evening many of the ordinary gentlemen hearing that Shok[lovity] was to be executed without being brought againe to the torture, convened in the Monastery and went, out of zeale, as they said, to the welfare of his Ma-tie, to petition that he might be tortured againe publickely to the end he might {258} declare the complices of his treason. They were told that his Ma-tie was satisfied with Shok. his deposition, and that they should not medle themselves with it.

Sept-r 11, Wedn. The former evenings convention & desire of the gentry hindred the executing of Shok[lovity] this day, but all being quiet, it was resolved the next day to execute him.

{258v} Sept-r 12, Thursd. About 10 aclock Fiod. Shoklo[vity], the Colonell Simon Resanuf and some *streltsees* were brought out with a strong guard to the place of execution, where first Fiod[or], then the col[onell] and last the *streltsees* had their ditty or offences and sentences read to them, and so in silence suffered. Fiod. Shok. & 2 *streltsees* had their heads cut of with ane axe; the colonell his head was laid downe upon the block, but made to rise up againe, gott some lashes with the *kenute*, & a piece of his tongue cut of, & was sent into exile.

The yong Tzaar with great difficulty was gott to assent to the execution of these people, and not untill the Patriarch did perswade him.

This evening the *streltsees* had a *skasky* or declaration told them, wherein after gracious thanks for their good services, it was intimated to them that their pay should be augmented a ruble a year, and so they were dismissed. The sojourns had the lyke told them.

Some Offices and vacant places were distributed, as to *Kniaz* Peter Ivanovitz Prosarofsky the Treasury, to Tichon Nikitovits Stresny⁸⁵⁵ the

⁸⁵⁴ *Sablia* (Russian), sabre.

⁸⁵⁵ T.N. Streshnev (1644–1719), former tutor of Tsarevich Peter, from 1686 boyar. During Peter's Grand Embassy to the West in 1697–8 he was one of those in

Roserade, to Peter Vasil. Seremetuf⁸⁵⁶ the *Pomiesny* or that of the lands, to *Kniaz* Ivan Boriso. Troykuruf that of the *Streltsees*, to Peter Abr. Lopuchin⁸⁵⁷ the *Yempsky* or post-horse, to *Kniaz* Michael Nikitovits Lvov⁸⁵⁸ the *Ziemskey*, to *Kniaz* Fiodor Simonovits Urusow the Strangers. The *Pasolsky* for a tyme was intrusted to Emelian Ignat. Ukraintzuf with orders to acquaint Leo Kirilovits Nariskin⁸⁵⁹ with matters of greatest {259} concernment. The *Dvoretz*⁸⁶⁰ was not given to any, because *Kniaz* B[oris] Al. [Golitsyn] expected it as a reward of his services, and the prevailing factions were loth to have it conferred on him.

The Treasurer Alexey Ivanovitz Rsewsky⁸⁶¹ was examined, and bidd give an acco-t of his house-holding. He told, as to his acco-ts, they were to be found in the *Prikase* or Office of the Treasury; that he had done all by their Ma-ties order, and knew nothing of any thing done or intended against the welfare of their Ma-ties. He was ordered to go to Samara governour in the new built towne, and 5,000 rubles of his found in the Monastery confiscated.

The Chamberlaine Simon Fiodor. Toloczanuf⁸⁶² was ordered to the government of Pereaslaw, and many others of lower quality were graced & advanced or degraded.

{259v} Sept-r 13, Frid. The Hetman admitted to his takeing leave, graciously admonished & dismissed.

14. The strangers were admitted to kiss his Ma-ties hand, and with the ordinary ceremonies dismissed, and promised a months pay. I had particular orders to stay.

15. After midday his Ma-tie with all the Court went from Troitza & lodged in Sliatin, a village about 15 *verst*. I was ordered to stay by the apothek.

charge of the Russian government.

⁸⁵⁶ P.V. Sheremetev jr., boyar and *voyevoda*.

⁸⁵⁷ P.A. Lopukhin jr., *okolnichy*, uncle of Tsar Peter's first wife.

⁸⁵⁸ Prince M.N. Lvov, Tsar Peter's chamber *stolnik*, later boyar and "provost general".

⁸⁵⁹ 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.

⁸⁶⁰ Office of the Great Palace.

⁸⁶¹ *Okolnichy* A.I. Rzhevsky was in charge of three united fiscal Offices (Great Treasury, Great Income and New Chet').

⁸⁶² S.F. Tolochanov († before 1708), Duma nobleman, later *okolnichy*, was made *kaznachey* (treasurer) in 1682.

The Hetman with his Cosakes went for Mosko.

16. Came to Alexandrowa Slaboda, 20 *verst*. Here is a monastery of nunnes, who keep a very strict lyfe, and admitt no sort of male persons into the monastery. Here the Tzaar Ivan Vasiliovits (commonly called by strangers the Tyrant)⁸⁶³ did usually reside, takeing {260} great delight in this solitary place. He had a large palace here built of stone, or bricks rather, environed with a thick & high earthen wall, the small river on the south syde thereof giving good convenience for ponds & meadows. Here the Tzaar, as in Sliatin, hath a wooden house.

Sept-r 17, Tues. I gott the allowance of sixe dishes, 3 load of hay & a tunne of oats a day.

I was called to his Ma-tie, and exercized 8 files of sojourns befor his Ma-tie; had much discourse; was graced with damask & atlas to two coats.

18. I was called to come out on horseback, and did with many others exercize and fire by way of pickeering.

19. His Ma-tie and Court went to Lukianova Pustina, or an heremits cell, now made a monastery. Here his Ma-tie was pleased againe to exercize horse. My horse, breaking his bridle, run away and gave me a shrewd fall, whereby I hurt my right arme very much. His Ma-tie came to me & asked me my health, & seemed much concerned, which made me {260v} make no business of it. Wee returned to Alex. Slaboda, being 7 *verst*. I caused dress my wound, and found my self not well the whole night.

Sept-r 20, Frid. Wee were againe in the fields with his Ma-tie & had all sorts of exercize to horse.

21. Wee were in the fields & exercized very late.

22. Wee went from Alex. Slaboda & lodged in Sliatin.

23. Wee came to Troitza, where I found letters from Mr. Meverell, my cous[in] Alex-r, dated from London 26 July & sent by the way of Archangell.

{261}⁸⁶⁴ No-r 23, Satur. The servant Yury dismissed.

⁸⁶³ Ivan IV the Terrible (1530–1584), from 1533 Grand Duke, from 1547 first Tsar of Russia.

⁸⁶⁴ Alas, the highly important entries from 24 September to 22 November 1689 are lost. In the first days of October Gordon, while still at the Trinity-St.Sergy Lavra, interceded for two Jesuits ordered out of Moscow on demand of Patriarch Ioakim:

My daughter Catherine having had a cold defluxion on her teeth for some weeks, by suffumigations the defluxions were stopped; but then she gott such a violent paine and stitches in her right ear & the same syde of her head, that she was exceeding sick. I sent for Doctor Karbonari⁸⁶⁵ & a surgeon, who prescribed a cataplasma of *mah. flores cam.*⁸⁶⁶ etc. & head pills to be taken the next morning.

24.

25. I dined by the Italian noblemen.

26. I tooke phisick, which had the expected effect.

27. I having notice of their Tz. Ma-ties being come to Chorosova, I ride thither and had the honour to kiss his Ma-tie Tzaar Peter Al. his hands, who after dinner went to Preobrasinsky, and wee to the Slaboda.

{261v} No-r 28, Thur. I was in Butirky, exercized the regiment & dined by *Kniaz* Fiod[or] Semen. Urusuf.

29. Having caught cold, I kept within doores.

30.

{262} Dec-r 1, Sunday. Andr[ey] Artem.⁸⁶⁷ gave me a visit, and the Italian noblemen came & bidd adiew, having been told befor that they should stay till his Ma-ties returne, but now upon 2d thoughts ordered to be gone, whereat the most civill were much dissatisfied.

2. *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovitz Golitzin gave me a visitt and afterwards the Polls resident with others.

“Toward evening [on 5 October] we received a letter from General Gordon, who informed that he had solicited before all boyars and even before His Majesty for our request to be granted, but could achieve nothing since the patriarch and clergy strongly insisted to have it their own way, so that they decided to dismiss us, but with honour, upon providing everything needful for the journey. He also wrote that he obtained a delay of several days, namely until His Majesty’s arrival in Moscow” (J. David, *Sovremennoye sostoyaniye Velikoy Rossii ili Moskovii, Voprosy Istorii* (1968), no. 1, pp. 129–30). On 6 October Gordon probably left the Lavra for Moscow with Peter’s entire court.

⁸⁶⁵ 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.

⁸⁶⁶ Mallow flowers, camomile (or camphor?) (Lat.).

⁸⁶⁷ A.A. Matveyev.

3. Being not able to give the Italian noblemen the convoy, I sent to excuse my self, and sent something for them on the way.

4. Haveing read in the gazetts that the Earle of Melfort was to go from Paris to Rome, I did writt to him, the copy in the copy booke of letters, recommending it to the care of the Marquis Angelus Gabrielli.

{262v} Dec-r 5, Thurs. Received pr post letters from Geo. Frazer, dated Riga 21 *No-ris*, & from James Robb, dat. *ib[idem]* 20 *No-ris*.

6. I returned answer to the yesterdays letters, and thereby one to my cousin Mr. Tho. Gordon in Ed[inbu]rgh pr post.

7. Their Maiestyes came to Mosko.

Andre Iliits Besobrazow sent for, by Lt.Coll. Ivan Bassuf.

9. The months pay promised.

About a houre befor midnight my daughter Jean, haveing been sickly a day or two, gott convulsion fitts. Wee gave her in after the paroxisme some powder of pearles, male peony roots with epileptick water. She grew better and continued so untill evening and then gott a great heat with a defluxion on her breast & lungs. Wee gott a sirup out of the apothek, & because she was constupate used pills.

10. The child was better, yet the cough continued with great heat & constupation. The sirup, to which her nature was averse, caused vomits, whereby she voyded much thick slyme, and thereby some ease.

{263} Dec-r 11. The child continuing constupated, I perswaded a clister, to which the phisitions would hardly assent.

I was in towne & gott an order to the *Bolsboy Kasna*⁸⁶⁸ about my businesse.

12. Haveing given the child a suppository of a piece of allome, she gott a stoole and great ease, from which tyme she grew better.

Fyve regiments of *streltsees* ordered to diverse places.

13. Wee had notice of a letter sent to the Roman Emperour, wherein also something concerning the paters who were dismissed from hence.⁸⁶⁹

14. I went to the *Potiesny Hoffe*⁸⁷⁰ and see his Ma-tie, who was very gracious to me.

⁸⁶⁸ *Prikaz Bolsboy Kazny*, Office of the Great Treasury.

⁸⁶⁹ On 2 October 1689 the Czech Jesuits Jiří David and Tobiaš Tihavský were ordered to leave Moscow on demand of Patriarch Ioakim.

⁸⁷⁰ *Potesbny Dvoretz* ("Amusement Palace") in the Kremlin.

{263v} Dec-r 16. I received a letter from Mr. Tho. Loftus in Narva by post.

17. A fellow haveing been hired or suborned by Andrew Il[yich] Besobrasuf to procure his Ma-ties favour to him, and the business coming to light, the said Andrew being sent for, was brought, & being old & sickly, was brought in a sledge to the torture. At first the fellow who delated him was pined, & remaining constant in his assertion, he was confronted with Andrew, who denied that he knew him or had any thing to do with him. This not helping, he was undressed and drawne up to be tortured. At the first stroake he desired to be let downe, and he would confess, but being let downe, denied that he knew any thing. Wherefor he was drawne up againe, and haveing gott 4 lashes, he cryed out that he was guilty, & being let downe confessed all the inditement, saying that he, seeing his Ma-ties displeasure against him in sending him to so farr a government as Terky, he used all meanes to recover his M. favour, {264} and that the fellow his accuser came to him and told him that he knew an art & way whereby to reconcile favour & affection from one person to another; that [he] had done it to severall befor with good effect; that therefor he had hired him to come to Mosko and practice it; that he had given him a servant along, who show his Ma-tie Tzaar Peter to him. The fellow being asked what meanes he used in this, he said that getting between the person whose affection was sought and the wind, he could let an aire or wind go, which would work the desired effect. Hereupon this Besobrazow was sent into exile & his goods confiscated, and the fellow his accuser [...] ⁸⁷¹

{264v} Dec-r 18. I dined by *Kniaz* Boris Alexeiovitz Golitzin, and in the evening gave the petition to have priests here to his Ma-tie, who read it and promised a gracious order upon it.

19. I waited upon his Ma-tie in the evening, but had not the convenience to gett an answer to our petition or to speak about it.

20. Gott order for halfe a months meanes from sat. of the *Bolsboy Casna* or Great Treasury.

⁸⁷¹ According to Russian sources, *Stolnik* Bezobrazov was beheaded and two sorcerers were burnt alive (*Rozysknye dela o Fiodore Shaklovitom i yego soobshchnikakh*, vol. II (St.Petersburg, 1885), stolbtsy 1–532). Gordon records this in the next volume of his Diary, on 8 January 1690 (Russian State Archive of Military History, Fond 846, opis' 15, no. 5, fol. 1).

I received a letter with complements from the Cosakes Hetman Masepa by his servant Visotsky.

21. I returned an answer to the Hetmans letter in as generall termes as his to me.⁸⁷²

⁸⁷² This is the final entry for 1689 and in the volume as a whole.

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