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From Albion to Muscovy: English Travelogues and the Exploration of Imperial Russia (16th-18th Century)

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Introduction

This thesis explores the fascinating world of English travelogues that describe voyages to Russia during the vast period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Throughout this period England and Russia witnessed tremendous political, cultural, and social changes and English travellers played a pivotal role in recording their interactions with this enigmatic country.

The study delves into a sizable corpus of travel narratives to examine the evolving perceptions, representations, and interpretations of Russia across time. It explores the goals that inspired these intrepid travellers, including diplomatic missions, commerce endeavours, religious exploration, and plain curiosity about the Russian empire. This dissertation examines the writings written by various prominent figures including Samuel Collins, Elizabeth Craven, Sir Jerome Horsey, and others in order to shed light on the multifaceted English connection with Russia.

Additionally, it looks at how these travelogues influenced the shaping the English understanding of Russia at the time. They were not only priceless informational resources, but also served as cultural artefacts that shaped influenced English attitudes towards Russia and its people. The research explores the ways in which these narratives influenced political choice-making, trade relations, and cultural interaction by adding to the larger discourse about Russia in England.

Additionally, the study looks at the literary devices these authors used to convey their experiences and impressions, underscoring the significance of narrative and storytelling in influencing how people view a distant and unknown land.

To sum up, this dissertation illuminates the complex network of relations between England and Russia throughout the 16th to 18th centuries via the prism of English travelogues. It offers new insights into the changing English perspective of Russia and its long-lasting influence on cultural, political, and historical narratives, revealing the rich tapestry of contacts, exchanges, and misunderstandings that defined this era of exploration and diplomacy.

Chapter 1. Historical background and Brief overview of Russia's history and relations with England during the 16-18 centuries

The period spanning the 16th to the 18th century underwent a significant transformation in both the history of Russia and its intricate relationship with England. During this era, a complex interplay of significant historical occurrences, noteworthy figures, and evolving perceptions of Russia by English travelers unfolded. This transformative period also illuminated the motivations that impelled English explorers to embark on journeys into the mysterious Russian Empire, resulting in a rich tapestry of publications and travelogue compilations that would shape the narrative of this multifaceted relationship.

The Muscovy Company's establishment in the 16th century was a turning point in the development of trade links between Britain and Russia. The Company's activities not only promoted trade but also helped establish stronger diplomatic connections between the two countries. Both nations understood the advantages of commerce notwithstanding sporadic tensions. Influential figures like Elizabeth I of England and Ivan the Terrible of Russia played pivotal roles in shaping the trajectory of these interactions. Along with their economic interconnectedness, Britain and Russia experienced an era of exploration, discovery, and travel in the 16th century. People like Richard Hakluyt, Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, Giles Fletcher, Jerome Horsey, and many others persisted in their efforts despite obstacles like changing monarchical policies and shifting trading company fortunes, contributing to the long-lasting continuity of British-Russian relations.

As the 17th century unfolded, the relationship between the two countries evolved beyond simple economic concerns to become a complex interplay involving politics and knowledge exchange. Even as diplomatic relations deteriorated during this century, economic differences and historical geopolitical considerations played key roles in influencing these developments. Despite the fact that English merchants lost favour with the Russian royal court, the British were still highly regarded in Russia for their proficiency in a variety of fields. This century yielded valuable travel accounts, including those by Sir Thomas Smythe, the traveling account by royal physician Samuel Collins, and Jerome Horsey's diplomatic memoirs.

The formalisation of regular diplomatic relations played a key role in the 18th century's considerable development. Russia underwent a spectacular transition as it integrated into the intricate network of international conventions in Europe under the visionary leadership of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great. This integration paved the way for a more complex and varied relationship between Russia and England, which helped to enlarge the diplomatic panorama of Europe. The 18th century stood out as a period of great development and cultural interaction, even though the historical trajectory of Anglo-Russian ties had seen alternating periods of

hostility and collaboration. We have fascinating travel records from this time period, such as those of the lady traveller Elizabeth Craven and the royal physician John Bell, who left the Europeanized Russia's cosmopolitan centres to explore the country's more rural and less-explored areas.

In conclusion, the period from the 16th through the 18th centuries saw intriguing changes and interactions between Russia and England. This journey, which had its beginnings in trade, developed into an extensive collaboration involving diplomacy, politics, and knowledge exchange. Despite obstacles and ups and downs in their diplomatic ties, both countries adjusted and developed, eventually cultivating a rich heritage of interaction and cooperation that still influences their relationships today. The history of relations between Britain and Russia is a tribute to the tenacity of international diplomacy and the power of nations to develop strong, intricate ties over time.

Chapter 2. Overview of the nature of English-Russian relations during the 16th century

The intricate threads of British-Russian connections are woven into a complex story spanning diplomacy, trade, and exploration in the 16th century's historical fabric. These ties were developed as a result of the dynamic interactions between the Russian and English monarchs, the efforts of explorers and diplomats, and the growth and fall of trading companies like the Muscovy Company. The development of these relationships is explored in this part of the thesis, with special attention paid to the contributions of important individuals including Richard Hakluyt, Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, Giles Fletcher, and Jerome Horsey.

With trade serving as the foundation of relations between Britain and Russia, the founding of the Muscovy Company was a major turning point. The Company's initiatives not only promoted trade but also created a basis for deeper diplomatic ties. Despite times of tension, both countries understood the advantages of commerce. This recognition culminated in the restoration of trading privileges under Boris Godunov's administration, ushering in a new era of collaboration and prosperity.

Elizabeth I of England and Ivan the Terrible of Russia, among others, were major influences on how these interactions developed. Although Russian monarch's ambitions for political and military alliances contrasted with Elizabeth I's focus on trade, creating tension that influenced their diplomatic endeavors.

The efforts of numerous notable figures highlighted how crucial it is to comprehend and promote these relationships between nations. The promotion of exploration and trade by Richard Hakluyt paved the way for future partnerships and helped people realise the potential advantages of doing business with Russia. In a similar vein, Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor's explorations uncovered new channels for commerce and diplomacy. The diplomatic mission of Giles Fletcher highlighted the difficulties and dangers but also the numerous possibilities involved in exploring new trade routes. His descriptions of Russia helped to deepen understanding between the two countries by providing insights into the complexity of the country's politics and culture. Later Jerome Horsey's visits in their turn were perfect examples of the efforts made to fortify the relationships formed over the years. By serving as a mediator and envoy, he was able to bridge gaps and emphasize the importance of diplomatic communication.

Closer to the end of the 16th century, both Russia and England were relentlessly exploring alternative routes of trade. This resulted from the fact that the Spanish and Portuguese had exclusive control over the trade routes to the New World and had amassed immense wealth as a result. When it came to controlling the commercial routes across the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, England was unable to compete with Spain. In response to this obstacle, England focused

its efforts on finding alternative northern maritime trade routes. Russia was actively looking for new trade routes at this time as well. For maintaining commercial connections with Western countries it was necessary to travel across areas with whom Russia had somewhat strained relations, notably with Poland and Lithuania which later joined forces to form the Commonwealth. As a result, the Russian authorities found that forging commercial ties with England was of utmost importance.

The Russian state received a wealth of opportunities thanks to trade with England. Ivan IV Vasilyevich, the Russian tsar, quickly gained admiration for England and became somewhat of an Anglophile monarch in Russian history. He made a concerted effort to win the court over to English merchants, even going so far as to give them the right to duty-free commerce[1]. Another indication of the ruler's benevolent attitude towards the British was the allocation of a separate house for their use, a building that continues to be preserved in Moscow to this day[2].

English merchants living in Moscow were given more freedom than other foreign embassies generally did despite the fact that Russians generally viewed outsiders with distrust, therefore any unauthorised attempts by subjects of the Russian Tsar to communicate with foreign envoys throughout the 16th century were immediately put down. Usually, foreigners were kept under strict monitoring in their respective embassies to maintain oversight over them. The British contingent on the other hand was not subject to this strict approach. Instead, they were excluded from such strict protocols, lived in their designated headquarters, and had the chance to interact with Russian people.

The trade connections linking England and Russia held significant weight. As a consequence, in 1555, an exclusive trading firm called Muscovy Company was created in England to enable trade with Muscovy. Russian merchants benefited from tariff-free commerce with England in return. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the Northern Sea Route because it gave both countries their own independent trading channels, releasing them from reliance on rival European powers.

Nevertheless, the historical dynamics between Russia and England had their ebbs and flows. Ivan the Terrible wanted to forge a stronger military and political connection with England, although the English rulers tended to see Russia largely as a commercial partner. Thus,

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[1] S. H. Baron, (1978). "Ivan the Terrible, Giles Fletcher and the Muscovite Merchantry: A Reconsideration", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 56(4), pp. 563–585. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4207722, Accessed 2023, August.

[2] V., Libson, M. Domshlak, Yu. Arenkova, *Кремль. Китай-город. Центральные площади // Памятники архитектуры Москвы* [Kremlin. Kitai gorod. Central squares. Architectural monuments of Moscow.], Moscow: Isskustvo, 1983, pp. 448-449.

the tsar's attempts to create political and even matrimonial connections did not succeed. As a consequence, Ivan Vasilyevich's initial excitement over trade with the British diminished over time. When his hopes for fruitful Russian-English diplomatic exchanges were crushed, he decided to withdraw the duty-free benefits that had previously been given to the Moscow Trading Company. This signaled a turning point in his relationship reflecting his dissatisfaction with the rewards and degree of engagement he was receiving from the English business counterpart.

Ivan IV Vasilyevich also adopted a severe and implacable attitude towards British traders. His contacts with them were severe and stern, reflecting his mounting annoyance with the alleged flaws in the commercial partnership. His interactions with British ambassadors also reflected this mentality. He believed that they were pursuing their own interests rather than following the orders provided by Queen Elizabeth.

Ivan the Terrible made considerable efforts to express his complaints in a clear manner. He wrote a blunt letter to Queen Elizabeth that was addressed to her directly. Sincere expressions of his ideas and sentiments characterised the contents of this letter, showing a degree of openness and sincerity in his writing:

> We had thought [Ivan exclaimed] that you were sovereign over your domain, and rule it yourself, and seek honour for yourself and profit for your realm. And therefore we sought to engage in such [weighty] affairs with you. But [we now see] that you have other people who rule beside you, and not just people [deserving of such trust] but boorish merchants (muzhiki torgovyye) who are concerned neither with our sovereign security and honour nor the profit of the realm but seek [only] their own merchant profit. And you carry on in your maidenly rank ['the virgin queen'] as though you were [indeed something] more than a real maid[3].

A change in official policy under the reign of Fyodor I Ivanovich resulted in a trying time for British-Russian ties. However, the monarch's decision to restart communication with Queen Elizabeth signaled a turning point in their diplomatic interactions as time went on. Additionally, Jerome Horsey undertook his second voyage to Moscow about this time and brought lavish gifts to the Lord Protector, Boris Godunov, as well as the Sovereign. Fyodor Ioannovich in his turn responded to these acts of goodwill by presenting expensive gifts to Queen Elizabeth I. The exchange of presents represented the diplomatic attempts to improve ties between the two countries[4]. In the history of Russian-English relations, the Boris Godunov era stands out as a prosperous period. For the British, the situation returned to a state resembling their previous situation. They were once more given access to the entire range of trading benefits and privileges

[3] Baron, *op. cit*., p. 566.

[4] L. E. Berry & R. O. Crummey, (Eds.). *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers*, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012, p. 260.

that had been in existence prior to the policy change. English traders who travelled to Russia at that time were also recognised as ambassadors for the English throne.

In conclusion, the 16th century saw economic interdependence between Britain and Russia as well as a time of discovery, exploration, and travel. Despite obstacles like changing monarchial policies and fluctuating trading company fortunes, people like Richard Hakluyt, Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, Giles Fletcher, Jerome Horsey, and many others persisted in their efforts, which helped to maintain the continuity of British-Russian relations. The multifaceted nature of these connections serves as a reminder that commerce, diplomatic endeavours, and cultural interaction all play an important role in the tangled web of world history.

2.1 Richard Hakluyt's *Navigations* and Sebastian Cabot's instructions

The first compendium of travelogues penned by Englishmen which included accounts of voyages to the Tsardom of Russia is believed to be Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, a multi-volume collection of travel narratives that was published between 1589 and 1600. The work contained over 600 accounts of English voyages and provided a comprehensive overview of England's overseas expansion. The work in question is truly extraordinary, containing a collection of diaries, log books, and firsthand narratives from English explorers who embarked on various journeys. Immersing oneself in these personal accounts offers a unique perspective on the state of geographical knowledge during earlier periods, which deviates from the standard narrative that is typically presented. One of the most fascinating aspects of this book is the insight it provides into the expansion of British trade into Muscovy, although of the three volumes of the second edition, texts relating to the activities of the Moscow Company occupy only part of the first volume and include travel notes by such navigators as Hugh Willoughby, Clement Adams, and Richard Chancellor who traveled to Russia in search of new trade opportunities. These accounts provide insight into the economic and political factors that drove English interest in the region, as well as the challenges that English merchants faced in establishing themselves in Russia. The accounts of these voyages shed light on the challenges and opportunities that arose as a result of this expansion, providing a glimpse into a crucial moment in the history of global commerce. By delving into the pages of this book, readers can gain a deeper understanding of this important era and the people who played a role in shaping it. William Oldys, an English poet and bibliographer wrote in his scholarly work about Hakluyt's *Navigations:*

> This elaborate and excellent Collection, which redounds as much to the glory of the English Nation as any book that ever was published, has already had sufficient complaints made in its behalf against our suffering it to become so scarce and obscure, by neglecting to republish it in a fair impression […] We must necessarily wait for the return of that spirit, which animated the gallant adventurers recorded therein to so many heroic exploits […] to display the most hazardous, and the most generous enterprises, which appear in this book, for the honour and advantage of our country […] And this summary of it, may sufficiently intimate what a treasury of maritime knowledge it is […] It has been so useful to many of our authors, not only in Cosmography, and Navigation, but in History, especially that of the glorious reign in which so many brave exploits were achieved[5].

Richard Hakluyt (1552-1616) was an English geographer, historian, and promoter of overseas exploration and colonization of the New World. Through his writings, in particular *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (1582), he is renowned for encouraging the English colonisation of North America. He was born in Herefordshire, England, and educated at Oxford University. Hakluyt believed that overseas expansion would bring wealth and power to England and increase the spread of Christianity. He collected and published accounts of explorers and their voyages, including those of Christopher Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Sir Francis Drake. Richard Hakluyt actively sought out relationships with the most influential sea captains, merchants, and sailors in England during a period when the nation was intently focused on discovering new trade routes to the Orient. This was a time when Francis Drake was making his historic circumnavigation of the globe, and the search for the northeast and northwest passages was at the forefront of English attention. Hakluyt was particularly interested in the voyages of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Martin Frobisher, who were both on a quest for a passage to the East. He sought counsel on cosmographical issues from experts such as Abraham Ortelius, the creator of the world's first atlas, and Gerardus Mercator, the renowned Flemish mapmaker. Hakluyt also worked to gain the approval of prominent political figures, including Lord Burghley, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Robert Cecil, for future overseas explorations[6].

Through these efforts, Hakluyt established himself as a promoter and advisor for current and prospective national ventures overseas. He was driven by a passion to promote exploration and expand England's influence across the globe. His relationships with key figures in the maritime world and political sphere allowed him to influence policy and promote overseas expeditions that would ultimately shape the course of history.

In fact, the Hakluyt Society founded in 1846 is named after Richard Hakluyt. It is a publishing society in the United Kingdom that focuses on promoting the study of the history of

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[5] William Oldys, *The British Librarian Exhibiting a Compendious Review or Abstract of Our Most Scarce, Useful and Valuable Books*, London: printed for T. Osborne, 1738, p. 137.

[6] Claire Jowitt, *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, 1st edn., Oxford: Taylor & Francis, 2016, p. 27-28.

exploration, travel, and geographical discovery. The society has published over 300 volumes of primary sources related to travel and exploration, including journals, diaries, and maps, and still holds regular lectures and events related to its areas of interest[7].

In the context of Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, the word *traffiques* in its title refers to trade or commercial activities, particularly those related to overseas trade and suggests that it is a comprehensive collection not only of English voyages of exploration and discovery but also of the trade and commerce that occurred during these expeditions. The name of the Hakluyt's compendium indicates that the work covers the full range of English activities in the New World, from exploration and colonization to trade and commerce[8].

Hakluyt also believed that the study of geography was essential for understanding the world and its peoples. He saw it as a way to gain knowledge of other cultures, languages, and religions, and to discover new trade routes and sources of wealth. Hakluyt's interest in geography led him to collect and publish accounts of voyages and discoveries, which he believed would inspire others to explore new territories and expand England's influence in the world. Overall, Hakluyt's interest in traveling and geography was driven by his belief that England needed to be an active participant in the global economy and establish a powerful presence in the New World in order to secure its future prosperity and security.

In the dedication of the first edition of his work, Richard Hakluyt expresses his deep passion for travel and geography. He addresses the dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham, indicating the significance of his patronage in enabling Hakluyt's work. According to Hakluyt, his cousin played a significant role in nurturing his interest in exploration and discovery. Hakluyt's cousin was instrumental in teaching him to recognize divine providence in the world's workings, and he drew Hakluyt's attention to the wonders and opportunities that lay beyond his immediate surroundings:

> …it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt, my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen vnto you, at a time when I found lying open vpon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an vniuersall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the diuision of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires,

[7] The Hakluyt Society (n.d.), *The Hakluyt Society for scholarly books on voyages of discovery, history of exploration, maritime history, historical travel accounts*. Available: https://www.hakluyt.com, Accessed 2023, September.

[8] M. Binney, "The Rhetoric of Travel and Exploration: a New "Nature" and the Other in Early to mid-Eighteenth-Century English Travel Collections", 2017. Available: https://journals.openedition.org/lisa/8687#quotation, Accessed 2023, September.

> Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, […]directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse […] tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolued, if euer I were preferred to the Vniuersity, where better time, and more conuenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me[9].

Hakluyt's dedication reveals his fascination with the unknown and his desire to explore new lands and cultures. He saw the pursuit of geographical knowledge as an essential part of human understanding and believed that it was a duty to share such knowledge with others. Through his work, he aimed to inspire others to venture beyond their known world and discover new lands and opportunities. Additionally, Hakluyt's advocacy for English exploration and colonization in the New World suggests that he would have supported the Moscow Company's efforts to expand English commercial interests beyond Europe. Hakluyt's travelogues collection also offers descriptions of Russian customs, geography, and history, which would have been valuable information for the Moscow Company as it sought to establish trade relations with local merchants and officials. By and large, Hakluyt's passion for travel and geography was shaped by his upbringing and personal experiences, which led him to view the world with a sense of wonder and curiosity.

Hakluyt’s compendium contains Sebastian Cabot's instructions for Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor’s first trade expedition in 1553. Sebastian Cabot's instructions to the crew include a comprehensive set of 33 points that offer detailed advice and warnings for compatriots embarking on maritime expeditions to uncharted lands. These points make up the majority of the preface to Volume 1. It is worth noting that Hakluyt included Cabot's narrative in his collection of travelogues for a reason, as Cabot was an outstanding voyager and navigator of his time. Sebastian Cabot was a 16th-century explorer who is best known for his contributions to the early European exploration of the explorer of the New World. Born probably in Venice in 1474, Cabot was the son of a Venetian merchant and explorer John Cabot. Sebastian Cabot began his own career as a navigator and explorer in the 1490s when he accompanied his father on an expedition to the North Atlantic. In the years that followed, Cabot made numerous expeditions to the New World, including the eastern coast of North America and the Caribbean. He served as a captain and navigator on several expeditions, and he was known for his skills in charting new territories,

[9] R. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, 1903, Glasgow, Vol. 1. Preface. Available: http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/metabook?id=hakluyt, Accessed 2023, June,

navigating difficult waters, and engaging with indigenous peoples. In addition to his exploratory work, Cabot also made significant contributions to the development of cartography and navigation techniques. He was known for his use of navigational instruments such as the astrolabe and the quadrant, and he helped to refine the use of the magnetic compass for navigation. One of Cabot's most significant accomplishments was his role in establishing English claims to the New World. In 1497, he accompanied his father on an expedition that is credited with being the first English voyage to North America. This expedition laid the groundwork for English exploration and colonization of the New World in the centuries that followed[10].

Cabot's instructions provide practical guidance for navigating the challenges of exploration and trade in unfamiliar territories. The points cover a wide range of topics, including navigation, communication with indigenous peoples, handling disputes, managing resources, and dealing with adverse weather conditions. The level of detail in Cabot's instructions highlights his thoroughness and commitment to preparedness. He recognized that successful exploration and trade required careful planning and attention to detail, and he sought to provide the crew with the guidance and tools they needed to navigate the risks and challenges of maritime expeditions.

On the whole, Cabot's instructions to the crew demonstrate his pragmatic approach to exploration and his commitment to preparedness and attention to detail. The detailed advice and warnings contained in the 33 points provide valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities of exploration in the 16th century,

Sebastian Cabot acknowledged the significance of collaborating with individuals and communities who held different religious beliefs from his own. In the instructions given to the crew, Cabot directed them not to disclose their religion to others and to remain discreet about it. This directive was aimed at avoiding any conflicts or tensions that could arise from religious differences and maintaining positive relationships with the communities they encountered during their voyages: "not to disclose to any nation the state of our religion, but to passe it ouer in silence, without any declaration of it, seeming to beare with such lawes, and rites, as the place hath, where you shall arriue"[11].

Cabot's recognition of the importance of religious tolerance and cooperation with diverse cultures was an enlightened stance, particularly for his time. It demonstrates his openness to different belief systems and his willingness to work collaboratively with people from different backgrounds. The emphasis on discretion regarding religious beliefs in Cabot's instructions highlights the potential for religious differences to cause tension and conflict during expeditions.

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[10] H. Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers. Roger Barlow, Sebastian Cabot, and Networks of Atlantic Exchange 1500-1560*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp.38-39.

[11] Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, item 22.

By avoiding the issue and focusing instead on the commonalities between cultures, Cabot aimed to foster positive and productive relationships with the communities the crew encountered. His instructions demonstrate a forward-thinking attitude towards the importance of religious tolerance and cooperation, which continue to be important values in modern society.

Sebastian Cabot was an explorer who recognized the importance of building positive relationships with the native peoples encountered during maritime expeditions. In addition to promoting discretion regarding religious differences, Cabot also encouraged his sailors to maintain contacts with the indigenous populations to learn valuable information about the new lands they were exploring:

> …for as much as our people, and shippes may appeare vnto them strange and wonderous, and theirs also to ours: it is to be considered, how they may be vsed, learning much of their natures and dispositions, by some one such person, as you may first either allure, or take to be brought aboord your ships, and there to learne as you may, without violence or force, and no woman to be tempted, or intreated to incontinencie, or dishonestie[12].

Cabot recognized the importance of learning from the native peoples in order to gain a deeper understanding of their cultures, traditions, and ways of life. He believed that the exchange of information and ideas between cultures was essential to successful exploration and discovery. By urging the sailors to engage with the native populations, Cabot aimed to foster positive and mutually beneficial relationships between the English and the indigenous peoples they encountered. He understood that building trust and mutual respect was critical to the success of any expedition and that learning from the native populations was an important step in achieving these goals.

Sebastian Cabot included some advice in his instructions to the crew that may be seen as amusing today. For instance, Cabot suggested that the use of alcohol could be an effective means of extracting useful information from the native peoples encountered during maritime expeditions:

> …the person so taken, to be well entertained, vsed, and apparelled, to be set on land, to the intent that he or she may allure other to draw nigh to shewe the commodities: and if the person taken may be made drunke with your beere, or wine, you shal know the secrets of his heart[13].

While this advice may seem inappropriate or even exploitative in today's context, it is important to consider the cultural norms and expectations of Cabot's time. At that time, the use of alcohol was a common means of social interaction and could be used to build relationships and establish trust. Furthermore, Cabot's advice regarding alcohol use should be understood within the broader context of his commitment to respectful engagement with diverse cultures. His emphasis on

[12] Ibid., item 23.
[13] Ibid., item 24.

learning from the native peoples and building positive relationships with them reflects his recognition of the value of cultural exchange and his commitment to intercultural understanding.

Even in a time when much of the world outside of Western Europe was viewed as uncivilized and barbaric, Cabot's approach to exploration and engagement with diverse cultures continues to fascinate and inspire modern readers. During Cabot's time, the prevailing view of the world was one of cultural superiority and colonialism. Many Europeans believed that they had a duty to civilize and Christianize the peoples they encountered on their travels. However, Cabot challenged this notion by recognizing the value and worth of foreign peoples and cultures: "euery nation and region is to be considered aduisedly, and not to prouoke them by any disdaine, laughing, contempt, or such like, but to vse them with prudent circumspection, with al gentlenes, and curtesie[14]".

Despite Sebastian Cabot's admirable respect for foreign peoples and cultures, he also recognized the need for caution and vigilance when dealing with strangers. Cabot understood that exploration and trade could be risky endeavors, particularly when encountering people who may have different motivations and cultural norms. In his instructions to the crew, Cabot emphasized the importance of remaining vigilant and cautious when dealing with strangers:

> …if you shall be inuited into any Lords or Rulers house, to dinner, or other parliance, goe in such order of strength, that you may be stronger then they, and be warie of woods and ambushes, and that your weapons be not out of your possessions[15].

Cabot also emphasized the significance of maintaining detailed journals or diaries during maritime voyages. His advocacy for keeping such records suggests that he recognized the value of documenting the experiences and observations made during expeditions. By documenting the events of a voyage in a diary, explorers like Cabot could preserve their experiences for future reference, analysis, and dissemination. These records provided a way for future explorers to learn from past voyages and to build on the knowledge gained by earlier expeditions. In addition, diaries allowed explorers to record important details about the geography, people, and cultures they encountered, which could be used to create more accurate maps and charts.

Cabot's emphasis on diary keeping was part of a broader movement in the exploration and scientific communities toward more rigorous documentation and data collection. By promoting careful and detailed record-keeping, Cabot and other explorers sought to elevate the standards of expeditionary work and improve the quality of information available to scholars and scientists:

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[14] Ibid., item 24.
[15] Ibid., item 24.

> …the merchants, and other skillful persons in writing, shal daily write, describe, and put in memorie the Nauigation of euery day and night, with the points, and obseruation of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the sunne, course of the moon and stares[16].

It is worth highlighting that Sebastian Cabot's instructions to the crew emphasized the importance of recording not only information about natural sciences but also socio-cultural information during their expeditions to uncharted lands. Cabot recognized that exploration and trade in new territories required more than just knowledge of the natural world. Understanding the customs, beliefs, and practices of the indigenous peoples they encountered was crucial to successful navigation, communication, and trade. Therefore, he urged his crew to keep detailed records of their interactions with foreign peoples, including their languages, customs, and religions.

At the same time, Cabot also recognized the importance of recording information about the natural world. The new lands they were exploring were likely to contain unfamiliar flora, fauna, and geological features, and recording this information would be useful for scientific and commercial purposes. Therefore, he urged the crew to keep detailed records of the natural world they encountered, including the climate, geology, and natural resources.

By requiring that both socio-cultural and natural science information be recorded, Cabot's instructions demonstrate his holistic approach to exploration and his recognition that a successful expedition required a comprehensive understanding of the new territories they were exploring. Cabot's emphasis on record-keeping and documentation has contributed to our understanding of the New World.

The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation by Hakluyt is a comprehensive collection of diverse materials that provides a unique and useful viewpoint on the intercultural disputes that occurred throughout the 16th century. While some of the entries are just straightforward transaction records, others offer in-depth first-person recollections of experiences and occurrences. It is immensely fascinating to read about these events via the perspectives of the people who were there, and it helps to bring history to life. The stories, which are frequently absent from other historical documents, gain legitimacy through the personal quality of the accounts. The collection includes a variety of entries that are proof positive that reality is frequently stranger than fiction. Readers can learn more about the nuances of cultural disputes at this time and how people from various backgrounds interacted with one another through this collection. This resource is valuable for anyone who wants to understand more about the history of cultural exchange and conflict.

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[16] Ibid., item 7.

2.2 Hugh Willoughby’s logbook and Richard Chancellor's diary

Richard Hakluyt's *Navigations* gives readers a one-of-a-kind opportunity to dig into the logbook of Hugh Willoughby and the diaries of Richard Chancellor, both of which offer comprehensive details of the experiences they had throughout their individual expeditions. Within these pages, the reader is given the opportunity to immerse themselves in the extensive accounts of Chancellor's time spent in the Moscow Tsardom and pick up vital insights into the cultural, political, and social aspects of the region.

The presence of Hugh Willoughby's logbook in Hakluyt's work enables readers to reconstruct the course of the unfortunate voyage led by Willoughby. The journal is an important historical record since it details the difficulties, accomplishments, and eventually the tragic ending of the journey. It offers a first-person account of the dangers that Willoughby and his crew encountered, offering light on the difficult reality of sea exploration at that age.

On the other hand, the diaries written by Richard Chancellor provide an intimate look into the events that unfolded during his time operating in the Moscow Tsardom. The minute details that Chancellor provides offer a realistic image of the cultural intricacies, religious rituals, and day-to-day living that existed within the Tsardom. His observations offer highly useful insights into the political context, the rituals practised by the Orthodox Church, the bustling commerce networks, and the relationships with the local community.

Readers are able to engage through the eyes of Chancellor by experiencing the sensations he had during his time spent in the Moscow Tsardom thanks to the journals he kept during that period. His attention to detail enables a full grasp of the social fabric and the complexities of Russian society at that period, which contributes to a deeper appreciation of the historical setting.

The fact that these logbooks and diaries were included in Hakluyt's *Navigations* demonstrates the importance that was put on first-hand reports and original sources. Hakluyt makes it possible for readers to have a more in-depth connection with the historical events and with the viewpoints of the people who lived through them by giving them access to the original records.

Hugh Willoughby and the famous voyage led by Richard Chancellor in 1553 both played key roles in the volatile early history of connections between the English and the Russians. During the time when Spaniards were relentlessly exploring the New World and Portuguese were making their way to India via Africa, English merchants were diligently searching for the North-Eastern Passage. Therefore the "Mystery and Company of Merchant Adventurers for the

Discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places unknown" was established in 1551[17]. The concept of "mystery" in the context of this organization is a reference to a medieval term for a trade guild or business[18]. It depicts the commercial essence of the organisation and indicates their desire to pursue exciting new trade possibilities and create economic initiatives in undiscovered places. In other words, it shows that they had a keen interest in commerce. This company's major mission was to finance and support voyages with the goal of discovering uncharted countries, dominions (territories under the jurisdiction of a king), islands, and other uncharted destinations. These trips were hazardous and required a significant amount of financial backup due to the high expenditures connected with equipping ships, recruiting workers, and purchasing supplies for extended trips. The organization's goal was to connect and bring together merchants, investors, and explorers who were prepared to collaborate on funding these voyages by merging their resources and experience. They did this in the hopes of capitalising on the possible discoveries and establishing profitable trade paths, which would ultimately lead to an increase in both their riches and their dominance. During this period, the founding of companies like these was not an unusual occurrence. They were often given exclusive rights, also called charters, by their governments to carry out exploratory journeys and create commercial monopolies in previously uncharted regions. These privileges allowed them to conduct trade in a monopolistic fashion and established a legal foundation for the companies' processes while also granting the companies a certain degree of autonomy over their business[19].

The guild's endeavours resulted in the acquisition of three ships: The Bona Esperanza, The Edward Bonauenture, and The Bona Confidentia. Due to his age, Sebastian Cabot was unable to lead the expedition, so Admiral Hugh Willoughby assumed command of the squadron, accompanied by the navigator Richard Chancellor.
In May of 1553, the voyage organised by the Society and consisting of three ships with a combined total of 105 crewmen set sail towards northern latitudes under the command of Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor. The explorers set sail from the mouth of the Thames and made their way to the Norwegian island of Senja in August. On the night of August 3, a storm grew which resulted in the ship owned by Chancellor, the Edward Bonaventure, becoming separated from the rest of the fleet and proceeding on its journey without the assistance of the

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[17] J. Pinkerton, *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels* (Vol. 1), London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1810, p. 127.

[18] Mystery (n.d.) In Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mystery

[19] T. S. Willan, "Trade between England and Russia in the second half of the sixteenth century", *The English Historical Review*, 63(248), 307-321, 1948, pp. 308-310.

others. Willoughby, who had been sailing with the Bona Esperanza and the 'Bona Confidentia in an eastward direction, eventually caught sight of uncharted territory on August 14, which was most likely the southwestern shore of Novaya Zemlya.
The original attempt made by the expedition to circumnavigate the landmass from the north ended up being ineffective. As a direct result of this, the expedition decided to head in the opposite direction, towards the south. Willoughby made the observation on August 21 that the sea was gradually growing shallower, despite the fact that there was no visible shoreline. He led his fleet into the open sea and had them sail in a westerly direction for a total of twenty-one days so that they could avoid the potentially fatal collision with the shoals. Passing by Kolguyev Island and the Kanin Peninsula, the expedition continued along the coast of Murmansk. At last, on September 18, both vessels arrived in Nokuyev Bay, where they had intended to spend the winter months of their journey. Due to the lack of any human presence or settlements in the surrounding area for several miles, it was not known what happened to the English sailors until the following winter, which was in 1554[20]. During this period, Russian Pomors discovered two ships that had been turned into sorrowful tombs at the mouth of the Varzina River. Unfortunately, all 63 of the men on board already perished, having been likely killed by the subfreezing cold. After that, in the year 1555, the corpses of the sailors, along with their possessions and the documentation pertaining to the ships, were handed over to an English trade representative who was stationed in Moscow[21]. Willoughby maintained a logbook during his travels, which was later included in Richard Hakluyt's Navigations. According to the records in the ship's logbook, the crew of the ship was unlucky in that they did not come across any native people in the area whom they could have approached for assistance. In spite of this, the crew's logbook holds a lot of vital navigational data specific to the area in which they found themselves. Willoughby was quite thorough in his documentation of the various components of navigation that were included in the logbook. This information contained specifics regarding the position of the ship at various points in time, the course and speed of the vessel, and observations on the weather conditions that were prevalent. This sort of information was essential for charting the direction of the ship, calculating the amount of time necessary for the journey, and making decisions based on accurate information while it was underway. The final entry that was entered in Admiral Hugh Willoughby's logbook was made in January 1554. This was during a period of time when the crew members of his expedition kept holding onto a feeling of optimism and

[20] E. C. Gordon, “The fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby and his companions: A new conjecture”, *Geographical Journal*, 243-247, 1986, p.247.

[21] L. Hacquebord, “Five early European winterings in the Atlantic Arctic (1596-1635): a comparison”, Arctic, 146-155, 1991, p.155.

hopefulness. However, the unfortunate event that occurred was that the navigator was found dead on top of the diary, over the most last entry. The suddenness and fatality of the navigator's death serve as a jarring warning of the risks and uncertainty that were connected with nautical expeditions during that period. It highlights the dangers that individuals who venture into undiscovered territory face, as well as the precarious aspect of human existence in conditions that are so challenging and hazardous.

In the case of Chancellor, his ship and the crew, waited in unsuccessfully for Willoughby's arrival at Cape Nordkapp, but ultimately set sail in the direction of the east. They were able to make their way into the White Sea, and by the 24th of August, 1553, they had already arrived at the mouth of the Northern Dvina River. The Dvina chronicle included the following entries regarding the event, "a ship came from the sea to the mouth of the River Dvina and announced: there came to Kholmogory in small vessels from King Edward of England, an ambassador Knight, and with him guests"[22].

The people warmly welcomed the foreign guests, but no trade came about. It turned out that trading without permission of the sovereign was forbidden. So Chancellor then made his way to Moscow, where he met with Ivan IV, also known as Ivan the Terrible, the Tsar of Russia. Chancellor presented gifts from King Edward VI to the Tsar, and negotiations began for a trade agreement between England and Russia. The negotiations were successful, and Chancellor was granted permission to establish a trading post in the city of Moscow. He also obtained a charter from Ivan IV, granting the Muscovy Company a monopoly on English trade with Russia. In 1555, Tsar Ivan the Terrible also gave permission for the construction of the first English trading posts at Kholmogory, Vologda and Moscow[23].

The English had the preconceived notion that they would encounter a wilderness where the natives lived in dark caves and wore skins of different beasts. Instead, Christians, who lived in wooden cottages and were subjects of the powerful Russian Tsar, greeted the foreign explorers and offered them hospitality when they arrived in Moscow. In his journal Chancellor states (Hakluyt, 1903), “The Mosco is from Ieraslaue two hundreth miles. The countrey betwixt them is very well replenished with small Villages, which are so well filled with people, that it is wonder to see them”[24].

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[22] A. Tsepkov, *Английские путешественники в Москвоском Государстве в XVI веке* [English travellers to the State of Moscow in the 16th century], Moscow: Aleksandria, 2007, p. 15.

[23] J. H Appleby, “Ivan the Terrible to Peter the Great: British formative influence on Russia's medico-apothecary system”, *Medical History*, *27*(3), 289-304, 1983, p. 300.

[24] R. Hakluyt, () *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. *Vol. III*. Glasgow, 1903, p. 57.

The British explorer travelled through uncharted territory alongside Russian people for a period of several months, during which time he immersed themselves in the study of the local population as well as the unfamiliar landscape. Chancellor expresses, on numerous occasions, his profound admiration for the sights he saw over the entirety of his diary. One interesting point that he makes in his journal is that Moscow is more magnificent than London, "The Mosco it selfe is great: I take the whole towne to bee greater then London with the suburbes: but it is very rude, and standeth without all order. Their houses are all of timber very dangerous for fire"[25].

Chancellor openly acknowledged that when it came to the subject of churches and cathedrals, the Muscovite kingdom was unquestionably disadvantaged compared to his beloved England. Additionally, in terms of architectural splendour and workmanship exhibited in religious structures, England exceeded the Muscovite kingdom by a substantial amount and Moscow fell short in comparison, "Also there is a Metropolitane with diuers Bishops. I will not stande in description of their buildinges nor of the strength thereof because we haue better in all points in England"[26].

Chancellor draws from his experience as both a seaman and an entrepreneur with a strong proclivity towards developing important trade links in order to present an in-depth account of a number of places, some of which include Moscow, Vologda, Kholmogory, and Yaroslavl. In his analysis, he underlines the famous commodities that are associated with each city and emphasises to a significant degree the lively economic activities that take place in each of the cities:

> There is a place called Vologda; the commodities whereof are Tallowe, Waxe, and Flaxe: but not so great plenty as is in Gratanowe. From Vologda to Colmogro there runneth a riuer called Duyna, and from thence it falleth into the sea. Colmogro serueth Gratonowe, Vologda and the Mosco with all the countrey thereabout with salte and saltfish. From Vologda to Ieraslaue is two hundreth miles: which towne is very great. The commodities thereof are hides, and talowe, and come in great plenty, and some Waxe, but not so plentifull as in other places. Russia is very plentifull both of land and people, and also wealthy for such commodities as they haue. They be very great fishers for Salmons and small Coddes: they haue much oyle which wee call treine oyle, the most whereof ismade by a riuer called Duina[27].

In essence, Chancellor's illustration of these cities in minute detail conveys the point that they are extremely important as bustling commercial hubs. His narrative highlights the flourishing business dynamics that are prevalent inside their crowded markets. By highlighting the economic vitality of these flourishing urban landscapes, Chancellor encourages the public to acknowledge

[25] Ibid., p.33.
[26] Ibid., p.34.
[27] Ibid., p.33.

the enormous potential for trade. He additionally encourages the formation of profitable commercial connections within these booming trade markets.

During that era, Tsar Ivan the Terrible was in charge of Russia's government, and his orders carried a tremendous deal of weight because of his position of power. It was under his reign that a directive order was given, which stipulated that the English guests have to be brought into his presence as quickly as possible. Not only did the Tsar insist that they appear before him immediately, but he also offered to pay for all of the costs related to their trip. The fact that the Tsar took a personal interest in meeting the English travellers is evidence that he recognised the importance of those individuals and the possible advantages that could result from their engagement. This demonstrates the Tsar's constructive position in the process of building diplomatic connections.

Chancellor illustrates the enormous honour that was showered upon the English travellers as well as the reverence that was received in response to their arrival through the detailed evidence that he has provided. The importance that was put during this period on diplomacy and international affairs is highlighted by the meticulous attention to detail seen in his diary. Chancellor's reports of the banquet given by Tsar Ivan IV in recognition of the English visitors provide special perspectives into the diplomatic etiquette and cultural contacts that occurred during that time period. They offer insight into the Tsar's attitude towards visitors from abroad and his appreciation of the positive effects that could result from cultivating links with other nations:

> I came into the Counsaile chamber, where sate the Duke himselfe with his nobles, which were a faire company: they sate round about the chamber on high, yet so that he himselfe sate much higher then any of his nobles in a chaire gilt, and in a long garment of beaten golde, with an emperial crowne vpon his head and a stafle of Cristall and golde in his right hand, and his other hand halfe leaning on his chaire. The number that dined there that day was two hundred persons, and all were serued in golden vessel[28].

A peculiar remark emerges from the Chancellor's journals, in which it is made clear that he frequently draws parallels between the kingdom of Muscovy and his cherished native England. This reveals that the Chancellor has a strong affinity for his homeland as the majority of the time, the conclusions drawn from these comparisons tend to paint a picture that is less complimentary of Muscovy:

> I was sent for agayne vnto another palace which is called the golden palace, but I saw no cause why it should be so called; for I haue seene many fayrer then it in all poynts: and so I came into the hall, which was small and not great as is the Kings Maiesties of England[29].

[28] Ibid., p.34.
[29] Ibid., p.34.

In his writings, Chancellor regularly compares and contrasts many features of the kingdom of Muscovite with the characteristics and distinctive features of England. By doing so, he provides a perceptive lens through which he evaluates the two different nations. It is clear that his outlook swings towards an affinity for his own England, as he has a tendency to stress perceived inadequacies or inferiorities in Muscovy. Chancellor exposes his own preferences and sympathies, by participating in such comparisons on a consistent basis which influence how he evaluates the state of affairs in the Muscovite kingdom. Even though they are subjective in their nature, these observations provide vital insights into his opinions and perceptions of the societal, cultural, and geopolitical distinctions that exist between the two kingdoms.

At the banquet, a sumptuous dinner was held in honour of the guests from another country, and it featured magnificent gold dinnerware, as well as a wide variety of appetising dishes. The observation made by Chancellor highlights the value that the Russians take on projecting an image of affluence and power, particularly when they are in the presence of those who are not native to the country. It gives the idea that there is a cultural preference for opulence and an urge to leave an indelible mark on foreign visitors:

> And for his seruice at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich seruice, for all were serued in gold, not onely he himselfe, but also all the rest of vs, and it was very massie: the cups also were of golde and very massie. The number that dined there that day was two hundred persons, and all were serued in golden vessel[30].

In addition, the remark made by Chancellor encourages reflection on the root causes that lie behind this proclivity. One possible motivation for doing so is the aspiration to demonstrate a sense of supremacy, while another is the desire to express a notion of national pride. It's also possible that this is a reflection of the norms and expectations of society, in which the public flaunting of a person's riches is seen as a representation of one's accomplishments and social position. Having said that, it is essential to approach this observation with a neutral viewpoint, recognising that it represents Chancellor's private opinion and perspective. Even though it shines light on a certain facet of Russian culture, it shouldn't be defined as an absolute trait common to the entire population.

Chancellor's notes devote a significant portion of his content to attempting to capture the astounding splendour of Tsar Ivan the Terrible's court by painstakingly describing the spectacular furnishings that decorated his luxurious surroundings:

> Their desire is to be sumptuous in the field, and especially the nobles and gentlemen: as I haue heard their trimming is very costly, and partly I haue seene it, or else I would scarcely haue beleeued it: but the Duke himselfe is richly attired aboue all measure: his pauilion is couered either with cloth of gold or siluer, and so set with stones that it is wonderfull to see it. I haue seene

[30] Ibid., p.35.

> the Kings Maiesties of England and the French Kings pauilions, which are fayre, yet not like vnto his[31].

Within his extensive record, Chancellor provides in-depth accounts of the magnificent ornamentation that decorated the court of Tsar Ivan the Terrible. These embellishments included a large number of gold and silver objects. He takes a significant effort in order to capture the visual grandeur, artistic greatness, and intricate nature of the court decorations as well as the regal aura that permeated the surrounding environment of Tsar Ivan the Terrible by dedicating a substantial amount of space in his notes to these observations. Chancellor's interest in the creative and cultural expressions of the time is also shown in his focus on the opulent decorations. It sheds light on the power of visual aesthetics in Tsar Ivan the Terrible's court and how they were used to represent the Tsar's authority and splendour. These descriptions take the reader into the world of one of history's most powerful monarchs, inviting the reader to bask in the grandeur of the court.

In addition to this, Chancellor exhibits an intense interest in the legal process, the administration of justice, and the punishments that are imposed within the Tsardom of Moscow. He places a significant amount of focus on capturing and analysing these features, putting an emphasis on the relevance they have in the political management of the territory as well as the cultural makeup of the area. Chancellor conducts a thorough investigation of the legal system and statutes of Moscovy throughout his journal records. He explores the subtleties of the law to explain the rules that controlled the community and its members and intends to learn about the foundations of Moscovite justice by dissecting the legislation in great detail. In addition, Chancellor emphasises the severeness and thoroughness with which justice was administered by detailing the fines and penalties inflicted for numerous offenses. He elaborates on the procedures used in the carrying out of justice, including public trials, corporal penalties, and other forms of retribution, with vivid descriptions. His careful observation of the legal system in Moscovy reflects his interest in the cultural norms and standards of that kingdom:

> Also they haue a Lawe for Fellons and Pickers contrary to the Lawes of England. For by their law they can hang no man for his first offence; but may keepe him long in prison, and oftentimes beate him with whips and other punishment: and there he shall remaine vntill his friends be able to bayle him. If he be a picker or a cut-purse, as there be very many, the second time he is taken, he hath a piece of his nose cut off, and is burned in the forehead, and kept in prison till hee finde sureties for his good behauiour. And, if he be taken the third time, he is hanged. And at the first time he is extremely punished and not released, except hee haue very good friends, or that some Gentleman require to haue him to the warres[32].

[31] Ibid., p.36.
[32] Ibid., p.39.

Chancellor's keen interest in the lawes, punishments, and execution of justice in Moscovy can be seen as a reflection of his broader intellectual pursuits. By closely examining these aspects, he seeks to comprehend the inner workings of the legal system and its impact on the daily lives of the people. His observations and reflections contribute to a deeper understanding of the social and political dynamics at play within Moscovy. Chancellor's journal entries demonstrate his meticulous exploration of the lawes, punishments, and execution of justice in Moscovy. His careful examination of these aspects sheds light on the legal framework, social norms, and the mechanisms through which justice was meted out. Through his observations, Chancellor provides valuable insights into the legal and societal landscape of Moscovy, further enriching our understanding of this historical era.

Chancellor also provides vivid and incisive descriptions of the common people of Russia during that era. Often, though, these descriptions of ordinary people are disagreeable and critical. For example, the Russian people Chancellor describes as "naturally giuen to great deceit, except extreme beating did bridle them"[33]. Chancellor, along with his compatriots, notices the widespread poverty that is suffered by the regular people in Moscovy. This is a startling contrast when compared to the representation of the lavish royal court. Chancellor, along with the rest of his countrymen, comes to an acute awareness of the severe poverty that penetrates the lives of the general population. This stark disparity, which is created by the luxurious lifestyle enjoyed by the governing elite within the royal court, seems startling to Chancellor:

> They be naturally giuen to hard liuing aswell in fare as in lodging. I heard a Russian say, that it was a great deale merrier liuing in prison then foorth, but for the great beating. For they haue meate and drinke without any labour, and get the charitie of well disposed people: But being at libertie they get nothing. The poore is very innumerable, and liue most miserably: for I haue seene them eate the pickle of Hearring and other stinking fish: nor the fish cannot be so stinking nor rotten, but they will eate it and praise it to be more wholesome then other fish or fresh meate. In mine opinion there be no such people vnder the sunne for their hardnesse of liuing[34].

Since Chancellor is well embedded in the social fabric of Moscow, he is acutely aware of the striking disparities in wealth and disparity in living conditions that exist between the poverty-stricken ordinary citizens and the affluent world of the royal court. His perceptive insights shed light on the terrible reality that the bulk of the population was forced to face, highlighting the great economic disparity that existed during this period. Through his documentation, he brings attention to the severe impoverishment that is prevalent among the general populace. It also serves as a moving illustration of the economic and social challenges that are endured by those who are not part of the fortunate circles of power and the struggles that are faced by ordinary

[33] Ibid., p.40.
[34] Ibid., p.40.

citizens, whose lives on a daily basis are characterised by scarceness, privation, and limited possibilities.

Additionaly Chancellor devotes a considerable amount of his lengthy records to the documentation of the rituals and practises followed by the Orthodox Church within the Moscow Tsardom. Furthemore, he makes use of the chance to make comparisons between the religious life in Russia and that of England, the country in which he was born and raised. These contrasts offer a fascinating look into the various religious practices and ideologies

> They doe obserue the lawe of the Greekes with such excesse of superstition, as the like hath not bene heard of. They haue no grauen images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the commandement: but to their painted images they vse such idolatrie, that the like was neuer heard of in England[35].

The fact that Chancellor pays so careful attention to the rituals and traditions of the Orthodox Church reveals both his interest in and his reverence for the spiritual observances that wielded a substantial amount of power inside the Moscow Tsardom. He delves into the rituals, ceremonies, and traditions observed by the Orthodox faithful, offering detailed descriptions that showcase that the Russian Orthodox Church was not making an effort to grow closer and clearer to the people, and the essence of a great deal of rituals and words of prayer were not clear to parishioners:

> All their seruice in Churches is in their mother tongue. They haue the olde and newe Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no lesse. For when the Priests doe reade, they haue such tricks in their reading, that no man can vnderstand them, nor no man giueth eare to them. For all the while the Priest readeth, the people sit downe and one talke with another. But when the Priest is at seruice no man sitteth, but gagle and ducke like so many Geese[36].

Given that Chancellor had the opportunity to obtain insights into the religious rituals and traditions of the local people when he was in Russia, he also took it upon himself to describe a great religious holiday called Maslenitsa, which translates to "Butter Week" in English. This holiday is still celebrated in the week leading up to Great Lent:

> They haue foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greatest. Looke as we doe begin on the Wednesday, so they doe on the Munday before: And the weeke before that they call The Butter weeke: And in that weeke they eate nothing but Butter and milke. If they should breake that fast, their beliefe is, that they should not come in at heauen gates. And when any of them die, they haue a testimoniall with them in the Coffin, that when the soule commeth to heauen gates it may deliuer the same to Saint Peter, which declareth that the partie is a true and holy Russian[37].

However, it is essential to keep in mind that Chancellor is an outsider and so may have misunderstood certain things due to this. In regards to the meal of Maslenitsa, it was traditional

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[35] Ibid., p.40.
[36] Ibid., p.40.
[37] Ibid., p.41.

for it to be a big and hearty feast owing to the impending extended time of fasting, therefore it could not be limited to "butter and milke" only. It's possible that Chancellor's comprehension of this tradition was coloured by his own cultural upbringing, which opened the door to the possibility of misunderstandings and incorrect interpretations on his part. This serves as yet another timely warning that the impressions and observations provided by non-natives may not always offer a precise portrayal of the real world. This might draw attention to the inherent limitations that come with observing a foreign culture or situation through the lens of one's own perspective. When one is not intimately aware of the complexities and nuances of a specific culture or tradition, there is a greater chance that there may be misunderstandings or only a partial understanding of what is being communicated. It emphasises the significance of evaluating diverse views and actively engaging with local knowledge and experience in order to achieve a more thorough and accurate understanding of any given issue.

As it heralded the beginning of a brand new age of trade and diplomacy between England and Russia, the expedition led by Chancellor has a significant place in the annals of the history of ties between England and Russia. His journey brought him through the perilous waters of the Arctic, and after overcoming a number of obstacles, he eventually arrived in northern Russia. The subsequent diplomatic exchanges that he had with Ivan the Terrible created the groundwork for a fruitful commercial partnership between the two countries. During the time of Elizabeth I, the Muscovy Company rose to prominence as one of the most powerful and successful commercial enterprises which was founded as a direct result of an expedition led by Chancellor. It was awarded a monopoly on English trade with Russia and a royal charter in the year 1555[38] when it was established. The corporation played a crucial part in enabling trade between the two countries by purchasing valuable Russian commodities like furs, lumber, and caviar while exporting English manufactured goods in exchange. The founding of the Muscovy Company and the subsequent expansion of commercial ties between England and Russia had a significant bearing on the rise of commercial activity in England. Both the importation of Russian wares and the exportation of English items contributed to the growth of the English market, which in turn helped the English economy. Not only did the opening of the trade route by Chancellor's expedition contribute to economic development, but it also encouraged the sharing of cultural traditions and strengthened diplomatic ties between the two countries.

[38] M. S., Arel, “Masters in Their Own House: The Russian Merchant Élite and Complaints against the English in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century”, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, *77*(3), 401–447, 1999. Availale: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4212901, Accessed 2023, August.

2.3 Clement Adams's repot on Richard Chancellor's expedition to Russia

Another trip narrative from the first English expedition to Russia was penned in Latin by Clement Adams and called *Nova Anglorum ad Moscovitas navigatio Hugone Willowbeio equite classis præfecto, et Richardo Cancelero nauarcho. Authore Clemente Adamo, Anglo* followed by a translation headed thus: 'The newe Nauigation and discouerie of the kingdome of Moscouia, by the North east, in the yeere 1553; Enterprised by Sir Hugh Willoughbie, knight, and perfourmed by Richard Chanceler, Pilot maior of the voyage. Translated out of the former Latine into English.' This work was incorporated into the first edition of Hakluyt's *Navigations* and published in 1589. Although, for some reason, the text was left out of the subsequent two editions of the book.

Some of the sources claim that Clement Adams was the second captain on the board of Edward Bonaventure under the command of Richard Chancellor, while most probably that Adams was only hired to write about Chancellor's first voyage to Russia. Richard Eden, who lived during the same time as John Adams made a reference to Adams in his book *The decades of the newe worlde or west India* through which we learn that Clement Adams was a teacher and not an explorer: "Wheras I have before made mention howe Moscouia was in our tyme discoured by the direction and information of the sayde master Sebastian [Cabote] who longe before had this secreate in his minde, I shall not neede here to describe that viage, forasmuch as the same is largely and faithfully written in the Latyn tonge by that lerned young man, Clement Adams, scol mayster to the Queenes henshemen (i.e. pages of honour) as he received it at the mouth of the sayde Richard Chancelor"[39].

Although Clement Adams is often associated with Richard Chancellor, there is no evidence that lends credence to the theory that he accompanied him in his expedition because the name of every person above the level of an ordinary seaman who accompanied both Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor on the expedition is preserved to us in the pages of Hakluyt's *Navigations*[40], so it is unlikely that he followed Chancellor on his first voyage to Russia in 1553.

While reading certain passages about Chancellor's stay in Muscovy, one would be inclined to conclude that the authors plagiarised one another's work or used the same framework. But given Richard Eden's remark that Adams wrote this work from the words of Richard Chancellor, it could be argued that Adams was simply retelling in his own words Chancellor's impressions of his journey to Russia. This also may be the reason why Adams' work was not

[39] Arber, E., Eden, R. J., & Cabot, *The First Three English Books on America [?1511]-1555 A.D.: Being Chiefly Translations, Compilations, Etc*., Palala Press, 2016, p. 289.
[40] Halkuyt, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

included in subsequent reprints of Hakluyt's Navigations, since his report had too much in common with Chancellor's and simply brought little new to Hakluyt's compendium.

Adams' and Chancellor's travelogues cover many similar topics including the geographical position of towns and manufacturers, a description of Moscow, the king's chambers and arrival ceremony, a record of the tsar and his authority, the conduct of war, the legal procedures, and the religious order rites. Even some of the misconceptions of some of Chancellor's and Adams' reports coincide, which may be due to the fact that Adams used Chancellor's reports when writing his work. For example, in both Chancellor's[41] and Adams's[42] reports there is a passage that states that at the burial the dead person is given a paper on which it is written that he was Russian, confessed the Russian Faith, and died in it. Most probably both authors mean the so-called razreshitel'naya gramota (a permission slip) — a petition to grant the deceased salvation and absolve him of sins.

Adams' report is written in a descriptive way that captures Chancellor's experiences in the Russian Tsardom as well as the traditions and way of life of the people who lived in Russia at the time. In addition to it, he gives an in-depth overview of the commercial operations that took place, such as the trading of furs and other goods. The author's narration has an objective quality to it; he relates the happenings without extolling the virtues of his compatriots or putting the Russians in an inferior position. In general, this work offers a comprehensive explanation of the early Russian-English relations and largely recounts life in Russia in the 16th century. Both of these aspects contribute to the work's overall significance.

Unlike Chancellor's, Adams's writings are scattered with curiosities in the field of natural science. He mentions, for instance, creatures "formed by the imagination of the Greeks formerly existed in the Ural Mountains"[43], but he fails to find any evidence to support this claim. Adams' notes are full of such semi-legendary and anecdotal remarks. For example, he claims that in the north of Russia there is a species of beast called wolverine, unknown in England, and that when they are heavy with food, they try to get stuck between two trees to relieve themselves[44].

A number of factors may have contributed to the impression that the early English travelers' accounts of Russia were legendary or fantastical in nature. To begin, throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, when the first English descriptions of Russia were written, the Tsardom of Muscovy was somewhat separated from Western Europe and was seen as a strange and

[41] Ibid., p. 35.
[42] C. Adams, Первое путешествие англичан в Россию в 1553 году [The first English voyage to Russia in 1553]. *Журнал министерства народного просвещения*, Часть 20. № 10, 1838, p. 78.
[43] Ibid., p. 78.
[44] Ibid., p. 80.

enigmatic place. This might have led to a sense of amazement and curiosity among the English, leading them to overstate or embellish their traveling impressions.

Additionally, it's possible that English travelers were affected by pre-existing beliefs and generalizations about Russia that were common in Europe at that time. For instance, Russia was frequently portrayed as a nation of very cold winters, bizarre cultural practices, and cruel beasts such as bears and wolves. It's possible that English travelers' perceptions of Russia were influenced by these prejudices, which caused them to view the country through a prism of imaginings and fantasies.

For instance, Adams also somewhat exaggerates the frost resistance of the Russian soldier. In his notes, we read that the Russian endures the cold above all probability and is content with the smallest amount of food. He hangs his cloak on stakes, makes a little fire, and lies down with his back to the wind; the same cloak serves as a roof and a wall. He draws water from the frozen river, makes oatmeal in it, and dinner is ready. According to Adams, Russian war horses are also undemanding and no better fed than their riders. This fact Adams sets as an example to his countrymen, saying that it is a rebuke to the effeminate pampering of English Princes, who, in a much milder climate use warm boots and fur coats[45].

The notes of Clement Adams contain another curious observation about the pagan rites of the Russian idolaters. His report states that in the areas adjacent to the Tatars there live Muscovite idolaters who worship an idol known as the golden heifer. Adams also describes quite a fantastic plot of a human sacrifice to an idol and the further resurrection of the victim[46].

In conclusion, it is also important to point out that the early English depictions of Russia were frequently written for mass audiences, with the intention of amusing and enthralling readers. As a consequence of this, the mystical and bizarre characteristics of Russia may have been overemphasized in these narratives in order to generate a sense of excitement and tension. Both Adams and Chancellor's narratives include insightful commentary on the social, political, and economic climate of Russia throughout the time spent there. In addition to this, they each give accounts of the environment, local people, and some thoughts on the Russian court. Their narratives contain a political undercurrent, and the knowledge that can be gleaned from them pertains to the dynamics of Anglo-Russian ties during the 16th century. On the other hand, there are a number of important points of contention between the two narratives. Chancellor's story is more factual and comprehensive, reflecting both his training as a merchant and his interest in the economic possibilities of Russia. Whereas, Adams' account is written in a more personal and anecdotal tone. In general, both of these narratives are helpful sources of knowledge for

[45] Ibid., p. 85.
[46] Ibid., p. 93.

historians and academics who are interested in Russian history and the interactions between England and Russia at that time.

2.4 Giles Fletcher's historiographical narrative

Giles Fletcher's publication, titled *Of the Russe Commonwealth or Manner of Government by the Russe Emperour, (commonly called the Emperour of Moskovia) with the Manners, and Fashions of the People of that Countrey* was initially printed in 1591, during a period when lengthy titles were prevalent in literature, and reprinted in 1643 and 1657. It appeared in the second edition of Richard Haklyut's Navigations (3 vol.; 1598-1600) and later in Samuel Purchas's Pilgrimes (4 vols.; London, 1625).[47] While Giles Fletcher's work can be considered more akin to a historiographical narrative rather than a conventional travelogue, it continues the thematic tradition of descriptive travel accounts.

In the preface *To the Queen* Fletcher says that his aim was "to note things for my own experience of more importance than delight, and rather true than strange."[48] According to historian I. Karatsuba, besides incorporating his own firsthand observations, Giles Fletcher also utilized the essay by Sigismund von Herberstein and the narratives of Jerome Horsey, a diplomat and representative of the Moscow Company.[49] Giles Fletcher's treatise, *Of the Russe Commonwealth*, exhibits a meticulous adherence to systematic organization, characterized by its consistent and lucid presentation, akin to a condensed compendium of knowledge comprising 28 concise chapters. The treatise offers a comprehensive examination of various aspects of the Russian realm. The initial four chapters delve into the realm's geographical features, providing detailed descriptions of the climate, soil characteristics, prominent urban centers, and the diverse range of goods produced within the region. This section establishes a foundation by acquainting the reader with the physical environment and economic pursuits of the Russian Tsardom.

The subsequent ten chapters (5-14) shift the focus to the realm's governance, systematically exploring the intricacies of the political structure. This includes an examination of both central and local institutions, the distribution of estates, and the mechanisms of taxation, as

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[47] L. E. Berry, & R. O. Crummey, (Eds.). *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers*, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, (2012), p. 108.

[48] G. Fletcher, *Of the Rvsse Common Wealth. Or, Maner of Governement by the Russe Emperour, (commonly called the Emperour of Moskouia) with the manners, and fashions of the people of that Countrey*, London: Charde, (1591).

[49] I. Karatsuba, "Первый компромат на Россию". Содержание второй лекции из курса "Россия глазами иностранцев", ["The First Kompromat on Russia". Contents of the second lecture from the course "Russia through the Eyes of Foreigners"] 2021. Available: https://arzamas.academy/materials/1316, Accessed 2023, June.

well as an analysis of expenditures and revenue sources. Through this comprehensive exploration, Fletcher aims to present a holistic understanding of the administrative machinery that governed the Tsardom during the period of his observations.

Following the governmental framework, Fletcher dedicates the subsequent six chapters (15-20) to an examination of the military aspects of the realm. This includes a detailed analysis of the army, military operations, and the territories recently annexed by the Russian Tsardom. By delving into military affairs, Fletcher not only provides valuable insights into the military capabilities and strategies of the realm but also sheds light on the expansionist ambitions and territorial acquisitions that shaped the geopolitical landscape of the time.

Shifting the focus towards religious matters, the subsequent five chapters (21-25) delve into the Orthodox Church. Fletcher offers an in-depth exploration of the ecclesiastical institution, including its doctrines, rituals, hierarchical structure, and its role within the broader context of the country's religious landscape. This section serves to enhance the reader's understanding of the religious fabric and spiritual practices prevalent within the kingdom.

Finally, the treatise concludes with the last three chapters (26-28), which provide valuable insights into court life, social customs, and the mores of the people inhabiting the Russe Tsardom. By examining courtly practices, social norms, and customary traditions, Fletcher offers a nuanced portrayal of the cultural fabric that characterized the daily lives of the country's inhabitants. What sets Giles Fletcher apart from his predecessors is not merely his intention to provide a descriptive account of the Moscow state, but rather his profound inclination to delve into an analytical exploration that uncovers the intricate mechanisms behind its formation, sustained existence, and ongoing evolution.

The authors of *Rude & barbarous Kingdom* underline that Giles Fletcher, being a former scholar of classical languages, exhibited a commendable aptitude for rapidly acquiring a proficient grasp of the Russian language, as evident from his competent handling of a substantial number of Russian words. Consequently, it is apparent that he did not encounter any substantial linguistic impediments that could have hindered his comprehensive investigation and understanding of the Muscovite kingdom during his tenure in that region.[50]

Giles Fletcher[51] was an English diplomat who served as the ambassador of England to Russia in the late 16th century. He was appointed by Queen Elizabeth I in 1588 to establish better diplomatic relations with Russia and to explore the possibility of a trading agreement between the two countries. Fletcher was sent to Russia in 1588 by the Muscovy Company, an

[50] Berry & Crummey, *op.cit*., p. 88.

[51] *Fletcher, Giles, the elder*. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Available: https://www.oxforddnb.com, Accessed 2023, June

English trading company that held a monopoly on trade between England and Russia and was received by Tsar Feodor I, who was the ruler of Russia at the time. His mission was to negotiate with the Russian government to expand the company's trading privileges and secure better terms for English merchants operating in Russia. Overall, Fletcher's mission to Russia was part of a broader effort by the Muscovy Company to expand English trade and influence in the region, which played an important role in shaping the development of Anglo-Russian relations over the following centuries.

Fletcher quickly became a trusted advisor to the tsar and was able to negotiate a trade agreement that benefited both countries. He also helped to improve the cultural exchange between England and Russia by introducing English literature and music to the Russian court.[52] Fletcher's *Of the Russe Commonwealth* published in 1591 remains his most significant contribution to the accounts of the travels and experiences in Russia undertaken by English explorers. This work is considered one of the earliest and most detailed accounts of Russia written in English and is still studied today by historians and scholars interested in the history of Russia and Anglo-Russian relations.

Historian G. Pitulko suggests that the British had more ambitious aspirations for trade in Russia, envisioning duty-free commerce along the northern shore up to the Yenisei River and a potential trade route through the Volga shipping route to the East. Unfortunately, their dreams were thwarted due to the intense competition they encountered from German, Spanish, and Dutch merchants in the Moscow market. These circumstances shed light on the challenging conditions faced by Fletcher and his compatriots. Consequently, Fletcher was only granted a trading license for the Volga route while being obligated to pay half of the customary duty.[53]

This context may help explain why many of Fletcher's observations about Moscow in his book were predominantly unfavorable. It is possible that his underwhelming experiences during his trip to Russia influenced his perspective and colored his impressions of the country and its inhabitants. Giles Fletcher's stay in Russia lasted slightly over a year, during which he encountered a notable restriction on the movement of foreign ambassadors within Russian territory. It was customary for such diplomats to be accompanied and monitored at all times as if they were under arrest. Karatsuba highlights that visitors from abroad who wrote letters upon their departure from Moscow in the 16th century consistently expressed dissatisfaction with the treatment they received from the ushers assigned to them, who seemed more interested in

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[52] Ibid., pp. 87-91.

[53] G. Pitulko, "*Англичане в России XVI века: Опыт изучения первоначального этапа русско-английских связей*" [The English in Russia in the 16th Century: A Study of the Initial Stage of Russo-English Relations], 2017. Available: http://proslogion.ru/31-pitulko/, Accessed June, 2023.

surveillance than assistance. Despite these constraints, Fletcher managed to gather a substantial amount of valuable material, primarily through oral sources.[54]

According to Berry & Crummey, Fletcher spent time in Vologda alongside Jerome Horsey, an English nobleman, diplomat, and author of three memoirs that provide insightful details about Russian history. It is plausible that Horsey, who possessed a wealth of experience and knowledge concerning Russian realities, shared his expertise with Fletcher. This collaboration may have greatly contributed to Fletcher's acquisition of important information during his stay in Russia.[55] Furthermore, the Moscow Company, which had been operating in Russia since 1555 and enjoyed special commercial privileges granted by Ivan the Terrible, played a significant role in providing English traders with an extensive database of records about the nation as a whole. This extensive historical and commercial archive could have served as an additional source of information for Fletcher, aiding him in his research endeavors.

Upon his return to England, Giles Fletcher authored *Of The Russe Commonwealth*, which was published in 1591. However, the Lord Treasurer of England, William Cecil, banned the book in response to a request from the Board of the Moscow Company which resulted in a royal court issuing an order for the complete confiscation and destruction of the entire print run. This prohibition came after some copies of the book had already been sold, resulting in a limited circulation and impact within England. The Moscow Company's merchants, who petitioned the court on the grounds that the book possessed detrimental characteristics and had the potential to negatively impact the company's operations. The petitioners argued that if the Russian authorities were to discover the existence of this book, they would be deeply offended by its contents. Specifically, the merchants expressed concerns regarding passages that discussed the despotic nature of the Russian state, the enslavement of its citizens, the oppressive taxation practices, the lack of lawfulness in the courts, and the disarray within the army, among other sensitive topics. Furthermore, the merchants claimed that the book contained offensive and inappropriate references to the powerful nobility and Ivan the Terrible, the ruling tsar at that time.

Fortunately, a meager number of 23 copies managed to survive, preserving the foundation for subsequent reprints.[56] It is worth noting that although in the second edition of Richard Hakluyt's *Navigations* (consisting of three volumes, published in London between 1598 and 1600), *Of The Russe Commonwealth* was included, it is evident that this edition underwent significant alterations, as practically every unfavorable criticism concerning the Russian

[54] Karatsuba, *op. cit.*

[55] Berry & Crummey, *op.cit*., p. 93.

[56] Karatsuba, *op. cit.*

government was expunged from its contents.[57] The removal of unfavorable criticisms pertaining to the Russian government in Hakluyt's *Navigations* implies a deliberate effort to present a more palatable version of the work. This alteration likely reflects political considerations and an attempt to align the publication with prevailing diplomatic relations or commercial interests of the time.

As mentioned above, it is worth noting that Fletcher's work extended beyond a mere chronicle of his experiences at the embassy. Rather, he provided a comprehensive account of the Russian system as he perceived it, offering insights into various aspects of the country and its society. In addition to his observations on the political and administrative structures, Fletcher also made remarks concerning the general characteristics of the Russian people. This aspect of his writing, which explored the nature and traits of the population, piqued particular interest among readers. The English merchants, however, considered the passages in Fletcher's treatise to be unthinkable and highly objectionable. The exact content that caused such concern among the merchants remains a subject of intrigue. However, the following passage from his treatise sheds light on the matter:

> As touching their behavior and quality of their life, they are of reasonable capacities, if they had those means that some other nations have to train their wits in good nurture, and learning. Which they might borrowe of the Polonians, and other their neighbours, but that they refuse it of a very self pride, as accounting their owne fashions to be far the best, partly also (as I said before) for that their manner of bringing up (voide of all good learning and civil behavior) is thought by their governors most agreeable to that State, and their manner of government. Which the people would hardly beare, if they were once civilled, and brought to more understanding of God, and goof policie.[58]

This passage serves as an example of the kind of material that led the Moscow Company's merchants to petition for the book's ban. No wonder, the merchants feared that the book's portrayal of the Russian state and its people, particularly in critical and potentially derogatory terms, would create significant difficulties for their commercial endeavors and provoke negative reactions from the Russian authorities.

The lack of education in Russia was a common complaint among foreign travelers. A considerable amount of the Russian population at the time was illiterate as there were few opportunities for education or intellectual development. This was in stark contrast to Western Europe, where education was becoming increasingly widespread and literacy rates were rising. The phrase "reasonable capacities" suggests that the Russian people possess inherent potential, but this potential remains untapped due to the limited opportunities for nurturing their wits and acquiring knowledge. Fletcher implies that Russia could benefit from adopting or borrowing

[57] Berry & Crummey, *op. cit*., p. 108.
[58] Fletcher, *op. cit*., p. 115.

educational systems from neighboring countries, but the Russian people's refusal to do so stems from their pride in their own traditions and an attachment to their distinct way of life. He unequivocally suggests that the governors intentionally promote a system that lacks good learning and civil behavior because they consider it suitable for the state's nature and manner of governance. Fletcher implies that the people tolerate this state of affairs due to their limited exposure to alternative perspectives.

Undeniably, this assessment represents a harsh judgment that primarily pertains to the structure of the Russian state rather than the Russian people themselves and although significant changes have occurred since Fletcher's journey to Russia, it is important to acknowledge that many of the issues he and subsequent foreign writers addressed have endured to a great extent.

In his book, Fletcher expresses his criticism of the country, specifically focusing on the perceived lack of infrastructure and the poor state of Russian roads and buildings: "The other townes have nothing that is greatly meomarable, faue many ruines within their walles. Which sheweth the decrease of the Russe people, under this government."[59] Fletcher states that the other towns in Russia outside Moscow have nothing remarkable or noteworthy about them, except for the presence of many ruins within their walls. This observation implies that the towns lacked significant architectural or historical features that would make them stand out or be memorable. The emphasis on ruins suggests that these towns were in a state of decay or disrepair, indicating a decline in their overall condition. Furthermore, Fletcher goes on to suggest that the presence of ruins within these towns' walls reflects a decrease in the Russian population under the current government which was indicative of a larger societal decline probably caused by the government's mismanagement or neglect of infrastructure that may have contributed to the perceived decline of the population.

Additionally, Fletcher noted in his book the absence of a strong centralized government in Russia. Unlike Western European countries, Russia did not have a well-developed bureaucracy or a strong monarch who could enforce laws and maintain order. This lack of a centralized government was seen as a major weakness, as it made it difficult to implement reforms and maintain stability.

The government of Russia in the 16th century was characterized by a high degree of autocracy, with power concentrated in the hands of the tsar and a small group of nobles and officials. While this system provided a degree of stability and continuity for the country, it was also prone to abuses of power and tyranny as Fletcher noted: "The state and forme of their

[59] Ibid., p. 14.

government is plaine tyrannicall, as applying all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a most open and barbarous manner."[60]

One of the key features of the Russian government in the 16th century was the system of oprichnina, which was established by Tsar Ivan IV, also known as Ivan the Terrible. The oprichnina was a system of rule that allowed Ivan to create a separate territory within Russia that was directly controlled by him and his loyal followers, while the rest of the country was ruled by a separate system of officials and nobles. Under the oprichnina system, Ivan was able to exercise almost unlimited power and to carry out a range of brutal and oppressive measures against his political enemies, including confiscating their property, imprisoning or executing them, and exiling them to remote parts of the country.[61] The oprichniki, Ivan's loyal followers who carried out these measures, were notorious for their violence and cruelty, and their actions created a climate of fear and repression throughout the country:

> Nobilities [have] unmeasured libertie, to command and exact upon the commons and [oppress] people in all partes of the realme.[…] Both Nobilitie and Commons are but stoarers for the Prince, all running in the ende into the Emperours coffers.[62]

Another major source of criticism was the role of the Russian Orthodox Church in society. Fletcher described the church as being corrupt and overly influential in political affairs. He also noted the strict religious observance among the Russian people, which he saw as excessive and oppressive:

> For which purpose the Emperours are content to make much of the corrupt state of the Church, as now it is among them, and to nourish the fame by extraordinarie favours, and immunities to the Bishops, Abbeies and Frieries: as knowing superstiotion and false religion best to agree with a tyrannical state, and to be a special meanes to uphold and mainteyne the fame.[63]

Additionally, the social customs and practices of the Russian people were often seen as barbaric or uncivilized by Western standards. For example, travelers were appalled by the practice of serfdom, which was widespread in Russia at the time. In addition to the oprichnina, the government of Russia in the 16th century was also characterized by a range of other abuses of power, including the use of torture and arbitrary arrest to intimidate and control the population, and the imposition of heavy taxes and tribute on the lower classes:

> To shewe his Souveraintie over the lives of his subjects, the late Emperour Ivan Vasiliwich in his walkes, if hee had misliked the face or person of any man who hee met by the way, or that looked

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[60] Ibid., p. 20.

[61] P. Sadikov, *Очерки по истории опричнины* [Essays on the history of the oprichnina], Moscow: Ripol Classik, (2013), pp. 6-9.

[62] Fletcher, *op. sit*., p. 20.

[63] Idem., p. 21.

> upon him, would command his head to be strook off. Which was presently done, and the head cast before him.[64]

The system of serfdom in Russia was formalized by the law code (sobornoye ulozheniye) of 1649, which established the legal basis for the relationship between the lord and the serf. The law code made it clear that serfs were the property of their lord and that they had no legal rights or freedoms outside of the obligations and duties imposed on them by their lord:[65]

> This may truly be saide of them, that there is no servant more awed by his Master, nor kept downe in a more servile subjection, then the poore people are, & that univerfally, not only by the Emperour, but by his Nobilitiem chief officers, and soldiers. So that when a poore Mousick meeteth with any of them upon the high way, he must turne himself about, and fall down with knocking of his head to the very ground, as he doth unto his Idoll.[66]

Overall, the system of serfdom and servitude in Russia in the 16th century was a complex and oppressive system that shaped the social and economic structure of the country for centuries to come. While it provided a stable labor force for the agricultural sector, it also perpetuated inequality, exploitation, and abuse, and limited the freedoms and opportunities of the lower classes.

As seen in the following passage Fletcher outlines that the Dukes do not gain favor from the people, but rather, they are hated. He suggests that this is because the people perceive the Dukes as being appointed not to ensure justice and fairness but to keep them in a state of miserable subjection. The Dukes are accused of exploiting the people throughout the year, continuously extorting money from them. The phrase "to poule and clip them all the yeare long" conveys the idea of relentless and oppressive taxation:

> And for the Dukes [] purchase no favour, but rather hatred of the people, for asmuch as they see that they are set over them not so much for any care to doo them right and justice as to keepe them under in a miserable subjection, and to fleece them, not once in the yeare [] but to poule and clip them all the yeare long. [] As for the common people [] they are robbed continually both of their harts & mony [] sometimes by pretence of some service to be done for the common defence, sometimes [] without any necessitie. [] This desperate state of things at home, maketh the people for the most part to wish for some forreine inuation, which they suppose to bee the onely meanes, to rid them of the heavy yoke of this tyrannous government.[67]

Fletcher emphasizes that the common people are constantly robbed of both their hearts (probably meaning their spirits or morale) and their money. This exploitation is justified by various pretexts, such as the need for common defense, even when there is no actual necessity for it. This

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[64] Idem., p. 22.

[65] M. Tikhomirov, P. Epifanov, *Соборное уложение 1649 года*: учебное пособие для высшей школы [Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649: textbook for high school], Moscow: Moscow University Publishing House, (1961), p. 434.

[66] Fletcher, *op. sit*., p. 46

[67] Idem., pp. 33-35.

continual abuse and the desperate state of affairs lead the people to yearn for foreign intervention as their only hope to escape the heavy yoke of the tyrannical government.

Furthermore, the next passage reflects Fletcher's criticism of the treatment of women in 16th-century Russia. He points out a specific abuse that he finds contrary to good order and the word of God. He describes a practice where, if a man becomes dissatisfied with his wife or for any other reason, he can enter a monastery and become a friar under the pretense of devotion. This means that the man abandons his wife and leaves her to fend for herself. Fletcher considers this practice to be a fowl abuse and contrary to the teachings of Christianity:

> In living with their wives, they shewe themselves to be but of a barbarous condition: using them as servants, rather then wives. […] They have this fowle abuse, contrary to good order, and the worde of God it selfe, that upon dislike of his wife, or other cause whatsoever, the man goe into a Monasterie and shire himself a Frier, by pretence of devotion: and to leave his wife to shift for her selfe fo well as she can.[68]

By highlighting this practice, Fletcher criticizes Russian society for its mistreatment of women and the lack of commitment and responsibility shown by men towards their wives. He portrays the abandonment of wives as a clear violation of both societal norms and religious principles.

Overall, the negative perceptions of Russian society in the work by Giles Fletcher were largely shaped by cultural, technological, and social differences between Russia and Western Europe, as well as by biases and preconceptions about the "other" that were common at the time. The distinction made between the Russian state structure and the Russian people is crucial in understanding the nature of Fletcher's critique. Although his observations likely focused on the political and administrative systems in place during his time in Russia, highlighting deficiencies and shortcomings within those frameworks, Fletcher's intention was not to denigrate or belittle the Russian population as a whole.

Unlike earlier writers who primarily focused on surface-level descriptions and observations, Fletcher exhibits a distinctive scholarly ambition to penetrate beyond the outward appearances and unveil the underlying dynamics that shaped the Moscow state. His approach entails a rigorous examination of the factors and processes involved in the establishment, maintenance, and progression of the state, aiming to uncover the deeper complexities and nuances at play.

By adopting an analytical lens, Fletcher strives to elucidate the underlying principles and forces that contributed to the development and endurance of the Moscow state. This involves a comprehensive investigation into its political, social, economic, and cultural underpinnings, enabling a more profound understanding of the intricate interplay between these various

[68] Idem., p. 102.

elements. Through his meticulous analysis, Fletcher aspires to provide readers with a richer comprehension of the inner workings and dynamics that propelled the Moscow state forward.

Additionally, Fletcher's inclination towards analysis also encompasses an examination of the historical processes and transformative events that influenced the state's trajectory. Rather than merely presenting a static snapshot of the Moscow state at a given point in time, he delves into its historical development, tracing the evolution and changes it underwent over the years. This historical perspective allows Fletcher to offer insights into the factors that shaped the state's growth and influenced its trajectory, shedding light on the historical context within which it emerged and evolved.

In summary, Giles Fletcher's distinctive approach lies in his analytical ambition to transcend surface-level descriptions and delve into the profound analysis of the Moscow state. By exploring its formation, existence, and development through a comprehensive lens, he aims to uncover the intricate inner workings and historical dynamics that shaped and influenced the state's trajectory.

2.5 Jerome Horsey's diplomatic memoirs

Relacion or Memorialll abstracted owt of Sir Jerome Horsey his Travells, imploiments, services and negociacions, observed and written with his owne hand; wherein he spent the most part of eighteen years tyme is still one of the most documented sources on the Moscow Kingdom of the end of the 16 century despite its contradictory nature and notoriousness of its author. Extracts from Horsey's *Travels* were also published partially in Samuel Purchase's compilation in 1625. These days it can be found in a single manuscript in the British Museum, Harleian Ms 1813.[69] Jerome Horsey dated this literary work to 1590, but numerous scholars suggest that the author revised it multiple times over the years before it was eventually published in an edited format.[70] The narrative is based on the author's diplomatic missions and political events, including the account of Boris Godunov's and his son's deaths. However, the text also contains travelogue elements, such as the author's descriptions of his travels between cities.

[69] L. E. Berry & R. O. Crummey, *op.cit*., p. 260.

[70] A.Sevastyanova, *Записки Джерома Горсея о России в конце XVI — начале XVII веков. Вопр. историографии и источниковедения* [Memoirs of Jerome Gorsei about Russia at the end of the 16th - beginning of the 17th centuries. Problems of Historiography and Source Studies], Moscow: MGU publishing house, 1974, p. 68.

Jerome Horsey[71] is best known as the author of various works on Russia, where he spent almost 20 years from 1573 to 1591 on business and diplomatic missions. The majority of Horsey's activities prior to his departure for Russia in 1573, most likely while working at the Moscow Company, are unknown. Additionally, there is no written documentation of his first seven years of service to Russia. Nevertheless, Horsey managed to grab the attention of the Moscow authorities since he spoke Russian fluently. In 1580 he was sent to Queen Elizabeth while serving as director of the branch of the Moscow Company on a crucial and covert mission: since the lengthy Livonian War required significant expenses, Russian arms and equipment were in desperate need and Horsey was hired had to coordinate their delivery from England to Russia.

Horsey returned to Russia in the spring of 1581 with 13 ships that were fully loaded with the tsar's required commodities. From that point on, his position at the tsar's court promptly grows privileged due to his ability to pass himself off as a significant officer at the Moscow Company and as a result, maintaining contacts with major Russian figures and receiving preferences from the Tsar himself.

In the wake of his first mission's success, he launched a second in September 1585. The following August 1587, when he returned to England as a Russian envoy, he was greeted at home by a deluge of accusations from Moscow Company merchants. He was accused of trading at the expense of the Company and its employees, using his position in Russia for personal gain, and damaging English national security.

Horsey departs or possibly flees to Russia again at the end of 1587. Although he is no longer received with the same warmth in there. The Moscow authorities are now annoyed with the mistreatment of English merchants and accuse Horsey of indebtedness to private individuals, the Tsar's treasury, and illegal trading on the Russian shore.

As a result, Horsey was detained and deported from Moscow to England in May 1589 under the supervision of an ambassador Giles Fletcher. The lengthy trip home together has its advantages: Horsey taught Fletcher a lot during their lengthy voyage home together, and he eventually used this knowledge in his treatise on Russia.

In the spring of 1590, the Queen herself dispatches Horsey on another mission to Tsar Fedor and de facto ruler Boris Godunov notwithstanding the legal disputes with the Moscow Company. Principal Secretary Walsingham's support and the fact that Horsey, despite his reputation, was familiar with Russia and knowledgeable about its manners and customs might have helped make this possible. Horsey received a very hostile welcome in Russia and was even sent into exile as a spy to Yaroslavl. In addition, questions were raised over the veracity of the

[71] Horsey, Sir Jerome. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Available: https://www.oxforddnb.com, Accessed 2023, July.

royal letters he carried. In 1591 Horsey was compelled to leave Russia, never to return there again.

Travels was written by the author over the course of over two decades, with frequent edits of previously prepared content. Probably the earliest part of Travels is the account of Ivan the Terrible's rule, which concludes with a dramatic report of the monarch's demise and final hours. A later portion was penned and dedicated to the prince-ruler Boris Godunov before assumed the throne. Finally, Horsey adds to his essay the account of the the Time of Troubles (Smuta) in the early 17th century which he no longer directly witnessed but only learned about from other people's accounts.[72][73]

It is logical to assume that Horsey's relationship with the Russian government at the time affected the tone of the notes while they were being written. As mentioned above, there were times when the tsarists had great respect for him and Horsey was sent to England for important tasks, but there were also times when they were displeased with him, which ultimately resulted in Horsey's deportation from Muscovy. This unfortunate event gave Horsey's essay about Russia a somewhat negative tone. At first look, it does not appear to be the case, but the Englishman deftly manipulates the historical facts of Russia and guides the attention of the reader on the right path. Overall, it would be unwise to expect the Englishman, given his complex nature and his significant position in the inter-state interaction between Russia and England at the time, to adopt an impartial and comprehensive view of historical conditions. We shouldn't ignore the political bias present in this work either. It was dedicated to Francis Walsingham[74], principal secretary of state to the Queen of England, and was to some extent written for him (Walsingham's foreign policy views towards Russia were shaped by a mix of economic and strategic considerations, as well as concerns about Russia's potential ties to England's Catholic enemies). Horsey's essay was, by its nature, a kind of credential in the author's possible illegal commercial activities in Russia (smuggling, trading in forbidden items, trading without a license, tax evasion). This fact also casts doubt on the author's absolute sincerity.
Although Jerome Horsey had to be careful not to provide obviously untrue information in his reports on Russia, as it could lead to a loss of trust from his patrons, given that he was not the only source of information available at the time. Therefore, it is important to approach any of Horsey's reports in his *Travels* with caution, and to thoroughly scrutinize and cross-check them with more reliable and independent sources from that era. For instance, Berry and Crummey

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[72] Ibid., p. 70.

[73] R. Croskey, The Composition of Sir Jerome Horsey's "Travels." *Jahrbücher Für Geschichte Osteuropas*, (1978), *26*(3), 362–375. Available: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41045750, Accessed 2023, June.

[74] *Walsingham, Sir Francis.* Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Available: https://www.oxforddnb.com/, Accessed 2023, July.

argue that Horsey "often muddled the sequence of events, in some cases juxtaposing episodes that occurred more than a decade apart [and] we cannot be sure that events followed one another in the order in which Horsey treats them".[75]

The account of life in the Tsar's Sloboda, in particular, is filled with various stories, legends, and myths. It contains numerous unbelievable events such as bears attacking monks, descriptions of gruesome tortures and executions, huge pikes and carps feeding on corpses in the ponds and lakes of the Sloboda, and much more which makes it extremely challenging to differentiate between what is real and what is imaginary.

In Travels Horsey's attitude towards the king appears to be respectful, as seen in his description of their meeting at Sloboda. The tsar's behavior reflects his majesty, as he expresses his anger and punishes those who displease him by taking their goods, money, and treasures for the Tsar's treasury. Horsey also provides a human explanation for the executions and massacres ordered by Ivan IV, citing the constant fear and anxiety he experienced due to possible plots and assassination attempts on his life. In his notes, Horsey states: "he perceived and knew that his estate and case for safety grew every day more desperate and in danger".[76] He appears to comprehend the tsar's position and shares Ivan the Terrible's desire to use England as a shelter in times of need. Ivan IV is constantly mentioned in the book for his positive deeds, including how he reinforced and rebuilt Moscow: "155 castles in all parts of his kingdoms, planted them with ordnance and garrisons. He built three hundred towns in waste places and wildernesses".[77] These are engaging images by a contemporaneous witness who was patronised by Ivan the Terrible himself. And the author praised him highly for his personality. In his opinion "Ivan Vasil'evich, grew up comely in person, indued with great wit, excellent gifts, and graces fit for government of so great a monarchy".[78] However, Horsey also describes the king's startling cruelty and love of violence: "This emperor's delight, hands and heart being thus imbrued in blood, making his chief exercise to devise and put in execution new torments, tortures, and deaths upon such as he took displeasure against".[79] This passage from Horsey's notes was later popularised as a distinctive trait of Ivan the Terrible. Later Fletcher broadened it from the tsar's personality to encompass the entire notion of Russian sovereignty in his treatise *Of the Russe Commonwealth*.

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[75] Berry & Crummey, *op.cit*., p. 256.
[76] Ibid., p 279.
[77] Ibid., p 313
[78] Ibid., p 264
[79] Ibid., p 279

Jerome Horsey's Travels is a valuable resource that delves into the intricate political landscape of Russia during the reigns of Ivan the Terrible, Fyodor Ivanovich, and Boris Godunov. Through his writing, Horsey sheds light on various critical aspects of Russian history, including trade, foreign policy, the oprichnina (a special organization established during Ivan the Terrible's rule), and the complex dynamics between the state and the church. This comprehensive coverage offers readers a comprehensive understanding of the period and its significant developments.

What distinguishes Horsey's account is his personal acquaintance with influential figures such as Ivan the Terrible, Tsar Fyodor I, and Boris Godunov. Within the pages of his book, Horsey brings these historical figures to life by providing vivid and captivating descriptions of his interactions with them. Readers are treated to fascinating anecdotes and insights into the lives of these prominent individuals, as well as a glimpse into the broader social and political milieu of the time. Moreover, Horsey's narrative extends beyond the Russian sphere, as he also shares encounters with notable personalities from both English and Russian backgrounds, enriching the cultural tapestry of his travelogue.

However, it is important to acknowledge that Horsey's work has not been without controversy. Critics have accused him of embellishment, deception, and self-promotion.[80] Despite these allegations, Horsey's book continues to be regarded as the most engaging and enjoyable among the numerous accounts penned by English travelers in Russia. Its enduring popularity can be attributed to Horsey's skillful storytelling, which captivates readers and transports them to a bygone era filled with intrigue and adventure.

Beyond its merits as a historical record, Horsey's memoir serves multiple purposes. It functions as a travelogue, taking readers on a journey through the vibrant landscapes and cities of Russia. The narrative unfolds as an exciting adventure story, replete with daring exploits and unexpected twists. Moreover, it serves as an autobiography, revealing the persona and experiences of a controversial yet significant figure in history. Horsey's unique perspective as a witness to momentous events and interactions with influential individuals make his memoir an invaluable and multifaceted account of a transformative period in Russian history.

The central plot of Horsey's account revolves around his diplomatic activities and the political events of his time. Specifically, the text provides details about the death of Boris Godunov and his son, which are woven into the narrative. Alongside Horsey's commentary on Russian politics, the text also contains intriguing anecdotes and curiosities. One example of such

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[80] E. Baturina, *О сватовстве Ивана Грозного в "Путешествиях" Джерома Горсея* [On the matchmaking of Ivan the Terrible in "Travels" by Jerome Gorsay], 2006, Available: https://elar.urfu.ru/bitstream/10995/30715/1/dais_06_19.pdf, Accessed 2023, June.

a curiosity is the description of a legendary scene in Ivan the Terrible's treasury which Horsey in his own words recorded "for my own memory sake". By including these intriguing details, the author adds color and richness to his account, providing readers with a glimpse into the more unusual aspects of Russian life and culture. Overall, Horsey's account is a blend of political history and travel writing, providing readers with a nuanced and multifaceted view of Russia during the time period in question:

> One day the prince beckoned to me to follow. I stood among the rest venturously and heard him call for some precious stones and jewels. Told the prince and nobles present before and about him the virtue of such and such, "The loadstone you all know hath great and hidden virtue, without which the seas that compass the world are not navigable nor the bounds nor circle of the earth cannot be known.[81]

These remarks provide insight into how the traveler viewed the natural and scientific aspects of the world around him. Through his observations and descriptions, it is possible to gain an understanding of his perceptions and interpretations of the environment he encountered. For instance, the traveler may have commented on the flora and fauna of a particular region, the geology of the land, or the weather patterns he experienced. These observations can give us an idea of how the traveler understood and appreciated the natural world, and what cultural or personal biases may have influenced his perspective. Overall, the traveler's comments on the natural-scientific context of his surroundings provide valuable information for researchers and historians seeking to understand the attitudes and beliefs of people from that time period.

In addition to providing valuable insights into the political development of Russia and his interactions with notable figures, Jerome Horsey's memoir also delves into the vivid and intricate details of the hardships and dangers he faced during his journey to Russia. This particular aspect of his writing aligns his work more closely with the genre of travelogue or geographical novel, which often emphasizes the exploration of geographical landscapes and the challenges encountered during such journeys as seen in the following passage:

> The guard and waiters expected some reward, but I prayed them to spare me; my purse was not answerable to my willingness. I was three days a passing in great danger by land and frozen meres to Osel in Livonia.

Horsey's plea to the guard and waiters for mercy, despite his inability to reward them, showcases his resourcefulness and perhaps a diplomatic approach to navigating such situations. It also suggests that Horsey may have encountered similar expectations of compensation throughout his travels, indicating a prevalent practice or cultural norm in the regions he visited. It also offers a glimpse into the financial constraints faced by Horsey during his travels, as well as the dangers

[81] Berry & Crummey, *op.cit*., p. 305.

and difficulties he confronted on his journey. It highlights his ability to adapt and negotiate with local individuals while navigating unfamiliar territories.

Horsey's meticulous attention to the hardships he endured adds depth and realism to his narrative. Through his vivid descriptions, readers can empathize with the physical and emotional struggles he faced while traversing unfamiliar territories. Whether it was navigating treacherous terrains, enduring inclement weather conditions, or confronting potential dangers, Horsey's account offers a sense of immediacy and authenticity, immersing readers in the perils he encountered along the way.

By incorporating these elements, Horsey's memoir takes on characteristics that are commonly associated with the travelogue genre. Travelogues typically blend personal experiences, geographical descriptions, and cultural observations to provide readers with a comprehensive understanding of a particular region or journey. In Horsey's case, his focus on chronicling the hardships and dangers aligns his work with the tradition of travel literature that emphasizes the exploration of physical landscapes, the challenges faced by travelers, and their resilience in overcoming adversity. It adds a layer of authenticity to his observations and lends credibility to his account as a firsthand witness to the trials and tribulations of travel. By incorporating elements of the travelogue genre, Horsey provides readers with a more immersive experience, enabling them to accompany him on his arduous journey and appreciate the extent of his encounters with the unknown.

Horsey's travel notes not only focus on diplomatic activities and political events but also offer a vivid portrayal of the everyday life and appearance of the Russian people during his stay in Russia. This level of detail provides valuable insight into the daily routines and customs of people during that period. In addition, by describing foreign traditions and customs, Horsey's notes can be considered a travelogue, as he attempts to familiarize his fellow countrymen with the foreign culture he encountered. This gives readers an immersive experience of life in Russia and a glimpse into the cultural differences between England and Russia at that time.

> When they ride or go abroad in rainy weather they wear white hats with colored bands called shliapa zemskaia. About their necks they wear collars of three or four fingers broad set with rich pearl and precious stone. Their upper garment is a loose gown called opashen', commonly of scarlet, with wide loose sleeves, hanging down to the ground, buttoned before with great gold buttons, or at least silver and gilt nigh as big as a walnut, which hath hanging over it fastened under the cap a large broad cape of some rich fur that hangeth down almost to the middle of their backs.[82]

This passage from Horsey's memoir provides readers with a vivid depiction of the clothing and accessories worn by rich Russian people during his travels. It highlights the attention to detail,

[82] Ibid., p. 244.

luxury, and distinctive fashion sense prevalent in Russian high society at the time. By immersing readers in the visual aspects of the attire, Horsey brings the reader closer to the cultural milieu of the Russian people during his visit, providing a glimpse into their style and preferences.

The text differs from other travelogues in several ways. Firstly, the author engages in a conversation with the reader, seeking to involve them in the narrative and make them a part of the experience. ("I am the larger because the matter is enforced, as you perceive, with such great efficacy as to hear the sequel will countervail your patience in reading".[83]). This makes the text more engaging and interactive. Secondly, the author uses reflexive writing, reflecting on his own thoughts and experiences during his travels. ("do pray I may a little digress to declare for my own memory sake"[84]). This adds a personal dimension to the text and makes it more relatable. Thirdly, the author compares his own experiences with those of other authors, using their works as a point of reference. This adds depth and context to the text and allows the reader to better understand the author's perspective. Finally, the author engages in polemic, debating and arguing with other authors and their views. ("some passages whereof are set down long since by Mr. Hakluyt in his book of voyages, some by Mr. Camden,' and most by Doctor Fletcher, more scholastically"[85]) This adds a critical dimension to the text and encourages the reader to think more deeply about the subject matter.

As we can see from his own writings, Jerome Horsey's personality is characterized by certain negative traits such as excessive showiness, arrogance, self-centeredness, and a willingness to do whatever it takes to accomplish his goals, even if it means being overly servile. However, these traits do not diminish the value of his work. Horsey's memoirs offer a comprehensive description of his travels, including his observations of the distinctive features of Russian life during his time in the country. One of Horsey's most impressive qualities is his prodigious memory, which enables him to recall Ivan the Terrible's speeches in their entirety. Furthermore, Horsey's judgments, including his own, are strikingly forthright, adding to the depth of his account. Despite his complex personality traits and great historical inaccuracies and embellishments, Horsey's work is a valuable and informative record of his experiences in Russia.

2.6 Fact or fiction? A pamphlet by Edward Webbe

In 1590 a 32-page pamphlet with a promisicing and lengthy title was published in London: *The Rare and most wonderfull thinges which Edvvard VVebbe an English man borne,*

[83] Ibid., p. 360.
[84] Ibid., p. 305.
[85] Ibid., p. 314.

hath seene and passed in his troublesome travailes, in the Citties of Jerusalem, Dammasko, Bethelem and Galely: and in the Landes of Jewrie, Egipt, Grecia, Russia, and Prester John. // Wherein is set foorth his extreame slaverie sustained many yeres togither, in the Gallies and wars of the great Turk against the Landes of Persia, Tartaria, Spaine, and Portugall, with the manner of his releasement, and coming into Englande in May last.

From the very title we can deduct not only the geographical scope of the author's travels but also that they were challenging, ("troublesome") and not without hardships and obstacles: he was held captive and subjected to harsh conditions during his time in the service of the Ottoman Turks, witnessed and possibly participated in military conflicts involving the Ottoman Empire and these other regions, possibly experienced warfare during his travels and returned successfully home to his beloved England after an extended period of time.

The core text of Webbe's *Travailes* incorporates parts of an ethnography, travelogue, and captivity narrative. Despite being written in London, the pamphlet's material spans across several world locations. Webbe travels to many different places, starting with his first trip at the age of 14 and ending with the creation of the pamphlet at the age of 36. These include, among many others, Russia, Tartaria, Italy, France, Greece, Turkey, Persia, Hormuz, Prester John's Land (which may be in Africa or Asia), Tunisia, Egypt, the Middle East (including Jerusalem and Damascus), and India.

According to C. Beane[86], lengthy book titles were once common and served to inform readers about the subject and tone of the book. However, in the case of *Travailes* by Edward Webbe, the subject and tone of the title indicate dishonesty. The reader discovers that Webbe did not actually visit Bethlehem, the Galilee, or Greece during his travels, despite the title suggesting otherwise. Additionally, although the Turks were involved in conflicts during Webbe's time with them, the wars were not against Tartaria, Spain, or Portugal, as Webbe falsely claims. He deceitfully asserts his participation in Ottoman attacks on Portuguese colonies in India, which actually occurred decades before his supposed involvement.

As per Dr. Edel Semple[87], although the pamphlet contains certain falsehoods and inaccuracies, and at times repeats a clichéd myth, it presents a captivating glimpse into the life of a typical Londoner and his remarkable encounters in distant places. Since it emerged from bibliographic obscurity in the early nineteenth century, Travailes has been deemed by modern

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[86] C. Beane, "The True Story of Edward Webbe and Troublesome Travailes", *The Oxfordian*, 20, (2018), 105-130, pp. 108-109.

[87] E. Semple, "Edward Webbe's *The rare and most wonderfull things which Edw. Webbe an Englishman borne, hath seene and passed in his troublesome travailes*", n.d. Available: https://www.ucd.ie/readingeast/essay8.html, Accesses 2023, July.

scholars to be a mostly factual Elizabethan travel narrative. When an English editor Edward Arber edited and published a new edition in 1868 he cemented this identification.[88][89]

Upon closer analysis, a thorough reassessment of *Travailes* indicates that it does not align with the characteristics of an authentic travel narrative. Instead, it appears to be a satirical work that cleverly combines elements of the captivity tale and the traditional travel narrative. The travel narrative genre itself has often been met with skepticism due to its tendency to haphazardly intermingle factual accounts, hearsay, and mythical stories without clear distinctions.

In *Travailes*, the author employs a satirical approach that perhaps intentionally plays with the conventions of both genres. Rather than presenting a straightforward and reliable account of travels, the narrative seemingly aims to entertain and provoke critical thought through its mixture of elements. The author challenges the reader's expectations by satirizing the often uncritical acceptance of travel narratives that indiscriminately incorporate a mix of genuine reports, rumors, and legends.

According to *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*[90] Edward Webbe (*b.* 1553/4) was a soldier and intrepid traveller who held the title of master gunner of England. When he was twelve years old, Webbe was hired by Captain Anthony Jenkinson, an envoy to Russia. On May 4, 1566, they set sail for the third time for the area. Up until their return to England in 1568, Webbe was Jenkinson's private assistant and was stationed in Moscow.

Webbe travelled to Narva in the Gulf of Finland in 1570 on board the ship Hart under the command of Captain William Borough. On May 24, 1571, when the Crimean Tartars razed the city, he was in Moscow. He tried to get away, but the Tartars later kidnapped him and made him their slave. Webbe was sent from England to Caffa in the Crimea together with seven other Englishmen.

In *Travailes* the author claims that he was held captive in Caffa for five years before being released in exchange for 300 crowns. Although he also claims to have been at Tunis in October 1572 when it was taken from the Turks, this story seems a little overblown. Beane[91], in her work, argues that the biography of Edward Webbe found in the Dictionary of National

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[88] C. Beane, "The True Story of Edward Webbe and Troublesome Travailes", *The Oxfordian*, 20, (2018), 105-130, p. 105.

[89] E. Webbe, *Edward Webbe, Chief Master Gunner, his Travailes*, (ed.), London: Alex. Murray & Son, 1868.

[90] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. (n.d.). Webbe, Edward, https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28931?rskey=tcO0wX&result=1, Accessed 2023, July.

[91] C. Beane, "The True Story of Edward Webbe and Troublesome Travailes", *The Oxfordian*, 20, (2018), 105-130, p. 113.

Biography is essentially the same one that Edward Arber created to include in his 1868 edition of *Travailes*. However, the absence of concrete evidence regarding the existence of Edward Webbe raises doubts about whether he was a real historical figure. In light of this uncertainty, the next plausible explanation is that the name *Edward Webbe* could be a pseudonym. During the Elizabethan era, strict censorship laws were enforced by the Queen and her Privy Council, leading many writers to adopt pseudonyms as a common practice to avoid potential repercussions and ensure their works could be published safely. Strict censorship was imposed to control the dissemination of information and ideas that might challenge the authority of the crown or disrupt social order. Writers and authors had to be cautious about what they wrote, as their works could be subject to scrutiny and potential punishment. By adopting pseudonyms, they could write more freely without revealing their true identities. This was a common practice during the Elizabethan period, allowing authors to express dissenting opinions or explore controversial topics without direct attribution. It also provided a level of deniability, as authors could disassociate themselves from their pseudonymous works if they faced legal or political repercussions. Meanwhile H. Hime goes as far as to state the following: "The credit of the author of these Travels, whoever he may have been, is so much shaken by the contradictions, reservations, and downright untruths which have been pointed out, as to deprive the book of all historic value".[92]

While only a single passage is dedicated to Russia in Webb's pamphlet, it emphasizes the valuable insights that can be gleaned from it and shed light on various aspects of the social, legal, and political landscape of the country during his time:

> I was conuersant among the people of that countrey which were apparelled like to the Turkes and Tartarians with furde caps & long garments downe to their shinnes: much like to Carbines or Horsemen rea|die to the warre. There I made my abode some space in the head citie of Russia called Musko, in which their buil|ding is all of firre, except the Emperours Court, which is of lime and stone. They execute very sharpe lawes among themselues, and are a kinde of tyrannous people as appea|reth by their customes, of which among many other, these I speacially noted, viz. that if any man be indebted one to another, and doth not make payment at his day and time appointed: the officers may enter vppon the debters and forceably breake downe their houses and imprison them in grieuous sort: where iudgement shall presently passe a|gainst him, which is with a mallet of wood he shall haue so many blowes on the shins or on the forehead as the Iudge shall award: and this punishment shall be inflicted sundrie dayes vpon him. The Turkes also vseth to beate debters with a mallet, but not in that sort, for in Turkey they are beaten for debt vpon the soles of the féete with a Cane or cudgel if paiment be not made by a day. I also noted, that if any noble man offend the Emperour of Russia, the sayde Noble man is taken and imprisoned with all his children and kinsfolkes, and the first great frost that commeth (for the countrey is wonderfull cold and subiect to frosts) there is a great hole made in the Ise ouer some great riuer, and then the

[92] H. W. L. Hime, "The Travels of Edward Webbe", *The English Historical Review*, 31(123) (1916), 464–470, p. 469.

> partie principall is first put in, and after him his wife, his children, and all other his kinsfolkes, and so leaue none of his posteritie to possesse his landes or goods but the same are bestowed vpon others at the Emperors pleasure. There I stayed thrée yeares attendant on my Maister, in which time the crym Tartarians otherwise named the new Christians, made warre vpon the sayd citie of Musko, which soone after was betrayed and spéedely burned, the people in great aboundance massacred, and the Tartarian souldiers had wonderfull rich spoyles in the same: there was I at that time with seuen other Englishmen taken prisoners, and for slaues were altogether conuayed to Caffa.[93]

In this short passage Webbe reveals several crucial aspects of the society he encountered. Firstly, he provides glimpses into the social customs prevalent in the country, which would have played a significant role in shaping the everyday lives of the Russian people. These customs may include traditions, rituals, and norms that dictated social interactions, family dynamics, and community life.

Moreover, Webbe's account sheds light on the legal practices of Russia during that era. This insight is particularly valuable as it allows us to understand how justice and governance were administered in the country at the time. It might include details about the judicial system, the role of law enforcement, and the enforcement of legal decisions.

Furthermore, the extract mentions the harsh consequences faced by debtors and noble offenders in Russia during Webbe's stay. This suggests that the legal system in Russia at that time might have been severe when dealing with individuals who owed debts or committed offenses, especially those from the noble class. This aspect of the narrative provides a glimpse into the punitive measures and societal attitudes towards those who fell into debt or acted against the law.

Additionally, Webbe's account underscores the vulnerability of foreigners during a period of conflict. His experiences and observations likely reveal how foreigners were perceived and treated in a time when tensions and conflicts prevailed. Being a foreigner in a foreign land during a tumultuous era could expose individuals to a myriad of challenges, including discrimination, suspicion, and even danger.

The extract also points out the capture and enslavement that foreigners, like Webbe, could face during their travels. This highlights the risks and perils that accompanied exploration and interaction with unfamiliar territories during historical times. The possibility of being captured and enslaved further adds to the precarious position of foreigners in such regions.

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[93] E. Webbe, *Edward Webbe, Chief Master Gunner, his Travailes*, (ed.), London: Alex. Murray & Son, 1868, p. 17.

As mentioned above the pamphlet contains certain fallacies and inconsistencies, so it is of no surprise that the author had good reason to anticipate that some readers might doubt the truthfulness of his accounts:

> And this I do proteft, that in this booke there is nothing mentioned or expreffed, but that which is of truth and what mine own Eies haue perfectly feene. Some fooliſh perfons perhaps will cavel and fay, that thiefe are but Lies and fables : and that it conteyneth nothing elſe but to thofe I aunfwere, that whatfoeuer is herein mentioned, he whofoeuer he be, that shall foe finde faulte, and doubt of the trueth hereof, let him but make inquirie of the beſt and greateſt trauellers and Merchants about all this land : and they doubtles will refolue them that it is true.[94]

For instance in one passage he goes as far as to recount his encounter with unicorns: "I haue séene in a place like a parke adioyning vnto Prester Iohns Court, thrée score and seuentéene Unicornes and Oliphants all aliue at one time, and they were so tame that I haue played with them as one would play with young Lambes".[95]

C. Beane[96] aptly points out that *Travailes* did not appear in the second edition of Richard Hakluyt's renowned compilation of travel literature, *Principal Navigations* (1598). Furthermore, Samuel Purchas, in his continuation of Hakluyt's work, known as *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, did not include *Travailes* in the editions published in 1613, 1614, and 1626. Notably, *Travailes* was not reprinted in any other collection of travel narratives from 1626 to 1868. The sole instance when Purchas mentioned Webbe was in a brief note, labeling him a fantasist in literal terms: "…[no unicorn] hath beene seene these hundred yeeres last past, by testimonie of any probable Author (for Webbe, which sayth he saw them in Prester Iohns Court, is a meere fabler).[97]

Obviously, the account provided by Edward Webb in *Travailes* cannot be considered a reliable historical document; however, it does offer valuable insights into the nature of travel accounts during the Elizabethan period and how Russia was perceived as a distant and uncivilized land; a perception influenced by the cultural biases and limited knowledge prevalent during that time. This representation highlights the tendency of English travelers to perceive foreign lands through a lens of exoticism and otherness, often emphasizing the unfamiliar and peculiar aspects rather than attempting to understand the intricacies of the foreign culture and society. The pamphlet cleverly (although perhaps unintentionally) satirizes the common problem of unquestioningly accepting travel narratives that blend a mixture of genuine reports, rumors, and legends without any critical scrutiny.

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[94] Webbe, *op.cit.*, p. 13
[95] Ibid., p. 25
[96] Beane, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
[97] S. Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. V, London: Hakluyt Society, 1626, p. 564.

By presenting a mishmash of fact and fiction without clear differentiation, these travel narratives often lead readers astray, blurring the line between reality and imagination. Webb's work prompts readers to be more discerning and vigilant when approaching such accounts, urging them to question the truthfulness and reliability of the information they encounter.

In essence, By exposing the blending of fact and fiction without differentiation, the pamphlet highlights the need to be vigilant in distinguishing truth from embellishment or fabrication in order to gain a more accurate understanding of the world beyond one's own borders.

Chapter 3. Overview of the nature of English-Russian relations during the 17th century

Starting in 1555 when the Muscovy Company was established to enhance trade connections between Russia and England, the primary driving force behind the British was largely their commercial pursuits. The Muscovy Company secured distinct advantages within the trade agreement between the two nations. Specifically, the English were exempted from taxes or customs duties on their dealings with Russia, giving them a significant competitive advantage in the Russian market as a result of this special provision. Meanwhile Russia, despite possessing the legal authority to conduct duty-free trade in England as a result of treaties, was unable to fully take advantage of these privileges due to the lack of a powerful naval fleet.

According to V. Kozulin[98] these economic disparities caused Russia to start approaching its interactions with England more from a political perspective. The Tsardom of Russia increasingly sought to win England's support in political endeavours rather than just trade. This included attempting to persuade England to join alliances that were either anti-Turkish or anti-Polish. These alliances undoubtedly had geopolitical and strategic significance, and Russia saw England as a potential ally in pursuing its goals.

In addition, Russia made a concerted effort to hire English professionals with expertise in engineering, medicine, and the military in order to benefit from England's knowledge and

[98] V. N. Kozulin, “Революционная Англия и царская Россия в середине XVII В. : их отношения и восприятие Англии и англичан в этот период русскими дипломатами и правящей элитой” [Revolutionary England and Tsarist Russia in the middle of the 17th century: their relationship and perception of England and the British in this period by Russian diplomats and the ruling elite], *Izvestia of Altai State University*. 2015. No. 3 (87). Available: https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/revolyutsionnaya-angliya-i-tsarskaya-rossiya-v-seredine-xvii-v-ih-otnosheniya-i-vospriyatie-anglii-i-anglichan-v-etot-period-russkimi, Accessed 2023, August.

modernize some spheres that might have been backward in comparison to the European counterparts.

Overall, the relationship between the two countries might have started out as an economic endeavour but by the 17 century evolved into a complex interaction involving politics and the sharing of knowledge while economic inequalities and historical geopolitical factors influenced these processes.

When it came to its commercial endeavours under Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich Romanov, the Moscow Company was able to regain exceptional rights and began driving off Dutch rivals from the market. According to B.F. Porshnev[99], there was even an increasing intent to turn Russia into an area for British colonial expansion. As a result, Russian merchants began to express disapproval due to the repressive monopolies the British enforced and their brutal control over Russian manufacturing and commerce[100]. These complaints consequently forced the succeeding tsar, Alexei Mikhailovich, to change his line of action towards the English Moscow Company and on July 22, 1646[101], the tsar levied substantial tariffs on English traders, identical to those imposed on merchants from other foreign nations.

Furthermore, significant revolutionary changes that led to King Charles I's execution in England were the primary cause of the worsening of the tsarist government's relations with the British[102]. These events would have been viewed as completely unthinkable in the context of the then-dominant Russian social paradigm, which placed an enormous value on the patriarchal monarchy. Russia's political environment, which was characterised by strict authoritarian control under the tsar, did not allow for much tolerance of revolutionary movements or ideas coming from other countries. Thus, a series of events that began with King Charles I's execution greatly strained Russo-British ties and resulted in a harsh punishment.

In response, the Russian authorities, affected by the news of Charles I's execution, issued a royal edict in 1649, which had negative effects on the British citizens in Russia. They were virtually driven out of the country by the proclamation, which forbade them from settling

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[99] B.F. Porshnev, *Франция, Английская революция и европейская политика в середине XVII в* [France, The English Revolution and European Politics in the Middle of the 17th Century], Moscow: Nauka, 1970, p. 249.

[100] M. S. Arel, "Masters in Their Own House: The Russian Merchant Élite and Complaints against the English in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century", *The Slavonic and East European Review, 77*(3), (1999), 401–447, p. 429. Available: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4212901, Accessed 2023, August.

[101] N.N. Bantysh-Kamensky, *Обзор внешних сношений России* [Review of foreign relations Russia (until 1800)], Moscow: Printing house of E. Lissner and Y. Roman, 1894-1902, p.113.

[102] Ben Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2004, pp. 122-123.

anywhere on Russian soil except Arkhangelsk. Additionally, it severely limited their commercial activity, allowing them to conduct business only in the port city of the above-mentioned city[103].

According to M. S. Anderson "From the 1620s onwards England had thus ceased to play a part of much importance in the relations of Russia with Western"[104]. A major absence of English acquaintance with Russia for a considerable amount of time was obviously caused by the progressive decline in economic and political connections between the two countries. It became extremely rare to discover first-person accounts or reports on Russia from English people beginning in the 1620s.

During this period, there was a noticeable effort to reevaluate and systematize the accounts of 16th-century travelers. This endeavor may have been prompted by various factors. One key factor was the emergence of collections of travel narratives by individuals like Samuel Purchas and John Milton. For instance, Jerome Horsey, who resided in Russia towards the late 16th century, had his diplomatic memoirs published in 1625 as part of Purchas's compilation.

As a result of above-mentioned events, a significant shift occurred between the 16th and 17th centuries in the nature of interactions between Russia and England. While 16th century was signed by robust trade relations between the two countries thrived, resulting in a wealth of written accounts from individuals involved in this trade, the 17th century, in contrast, saw a deterioration in diplomatic relations, which had an impact on how Russia was perceived. During this time, Russia was largely portrayed with a degree of mystique and legend, as exemplified by Edward Webbe's somewhat fantastical pamphlet.

Nevertheless, amidst this shift, the 17th century also provided more reliable reports. An example of this is found in the memoirs of Samuel Collins, a doctor at the royal court. These memoirs indicated that, even though English merchants fell out of favor within the royal court during the 17th century, the British continued to be highly esteemed in Russia for their expertise in various fields. This suggests that, despite the changing diplomatic climate, the value of British individuals in Russia persisted in areas aligned with their respective areas of knowledge and skills.

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[103] G. M. Phipps, The Russian Embassy to London of 1645-46 and the Abrogation of the Muscovy Company's Charter. *The Slavonic and East European Review*, *68*(2), 257–276, (1990), p. 272. Available: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4210258, Accessed 2012, August.

[104] M. S. Anderson, "English Views of Russia in the 17th Century", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, *33*(80), 140–160, (1954). Available: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4204616, Accessed 2012, August.

3.1 Samuel Purchas's Compendium

Samuel Purchas's *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others* is another comprehensive collection that offers abundant information concerning the historical interactions between Russia and Britain during the 16th and 17th century. The book is a comprehensive compilation of descriptions of voyages and trips, and it covers a wide range of topics, including geography, history, ethnography, religion, and natural history.

It was published in four volumes between 1625 and 1626. This anthology of travel narratives has been painstakingly arranged into several sections, each of which is devoted to the exploration of a different geographical region. These sections provide the reader with an all-encompassing look into various regions of the world, such as Africa, Asia, and the Americas, over various time periods. The narratives that are presented in this book are not restricted to a solitary point of view; rather, they are compiled from the work of a wide variety of authors and the contributors come from a wide variety of professions and walks of life, such as explorers, traders, missionaries, and professors; as a result, they each provide their own distinct perspectives and experiences.

The reader has the opportunity to delve into a wide variety of fascinating subjects while perusing these pages. For example, a few of the narratives dive into early European encounters with Native Americans, illuminating the intricacies of these encounters as well as the cultural exchange that took place at the time. In addition, the tales capture the thrill of exploring uncharted territories, along with the inherent difficulties and achievements that accompanied such journeys. In addition, the investigation of commercial pathways leading to the Far East offers illuminating information regarding the economic drivers and goals underlying these voyages.

The compilation *Pilgrimes* contains not only the narratives of different trips and travels, but also Purchas's own commentary on the subject matter, as well as translations of documents such as letters, journals, and official reports. The compendium is recognised as a significant primary source by historians researching the age of exploration and colonisation, and it offers insightful knowledge regarding the intellectual and cultural milieu of early modern Europe.

As for the author, Samuel Purchas was an English clergyman and compiler of travel and exploration narratives. Even though he was not much of a traveller himself, he had a strong interest in travel and adventure, which inspired him to collect and assemble narratives from a variety of travellers and explorers. According to James P. Helfers, Purchas, much like Hakluyt,

took on more of an "observer position rather than actively engaging in the events that he documented".[105]

Helfers describes the nature of the relationship between Samuel Purchas and Richard Hakluyt as somewhat "unclear"[106], although Purchas mentions in the introduction to *Pilgrimes*, that he had been promised the unpublished papers of Hakluyt. However, there is not a lot of documentation regarding the circumstances that led up to this arrangement. It is not clear why Purchas needed to buy Hakluyt's writings on his own in 1617; this may suggest that the initial promise was not fulfilled as intended. The existence of this uncertainty raises doubts regarding the exact extent to which Purchas and Hakluyt collaborated or communicated with one another. The specifics are still unknown, although it is probable that there was some sort of correspondence or exchange of ideas between the two parties. Purchas, on the other hand, was aware of the significance of Hakluyt's writings and took the initiative to acquire them so that he might use them in his own work.

William Foster states that Purchas had conceived an exceptionally ambitious undertaking and "grandiose work".[107] The goal of Purchas's project was to produce a complete study that would include and document all of the significant journeys that had ever been taken and write a book that was better than those written by eminent authors in the field of exploration and trip literature, such as Richard Haklyut and other notable names.

However, despite his grand vision, Purchas had a rather "slight comprehension"[108] of the immense scale of his project. Initially, he believed that he could condense all the significant material into just two large books, which turned out to be a testament to his underestimation that he expected these two volumes to suffice for encompassing the vast collection of voyages he aimed to include.

As soon as Purchas began his work, he might have become aware that the basic strategy he had developed was inadequate. The amount of data that he had gathered and the scope of the topic greatly surpassed his initial expectations, both in terms of volume and breadth. As a consequence of this, he came to the realisation that each of the two volumes needed to be divided

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[105] J. P. Helfers. "The Explorer or the Pilgrim? Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas", *Studies in Philology*, 94(2), (1997), 160–186, p. 170. Available: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4174574 Accessed 2023, May.

[106] Ibid., p. 164

[107] W. Foster, "Purchas and His "Pilgrimes", *The Geographical Journal*, *68*(3), (1926), 193-200, p. 196. Available: https://doi.org/10.2307/1782578 Accessed 2023, June.

[108] Ibid.

into two parts.[109] This decision effectively doubled the size of the project, as it allowed for a more comprehensive exploration and presentation of the voyages.

As a result of this division, readers can now delve into the reports and narratives of the travels to Russia that are contained inside the third and fourth books of the collection. These sections most likely offer insights and narratives that are specifically dedicated to the explorations that were carried out in and around Russia. They provide a valuable resource for those who are interested in the historical journeys that took place in that region and include landmark writings composed by Jerome Horsey and Giles Fletcher as well as excerpts from Thomas Smith's travelogue.

As a self-proclaimed successor to Haklut's cause Samuel Purchas derives a significant amount of inspiration from Richard Hakluyt's *Navigations* in terms of both the substance and the form of *Pilgrimes*. The themes of exploration, travel, and the uncovering of uncharted territories are naturally prevalent in both of these works. The authors aim to advance the English marine industry, broaden trade, and increase England's influence in the international community. Both Hakluyt and Purchas were driven by the ambition to amass and share information regarding the world and the various peoples who inhabited it.

Both Hakluyt and Purchas constructed their works by collecting narratives, reports, and other materials from a variety of sources. They created a comprehensive collection of travel narratives by relying on firsthand stories, government reports, letters, and prior travel literature. They incorporated multiple authors and sources, presenting a mixed variety of perspectives in their respective compendiums. Due to the fact that these works document and preserve the early modern English exploration activities, they retain a significant amount of historical relevance and provide vital insights into the motives of English explorers as well as the problems they faced and the achievements they made during the age of discovery. In addition to this, they were important contributors to the growth of English colonialism and imperialism.

However, despite the fact that their works share a lot of similarities, there are still a great many variances between them. For example, Hakluyt's *Navigations* concentrates mostly on narratives of English explorations and voyages, particularly those relating to the New World and the hunt for trade routes. It includes narratives of prominent explorers like Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh. In contrast, Purchas's *Pilgrimes* broadens its focus beyond English trips by including narratives of journeys and pilgrimages that take place across a variety of time periods and cultural contexts. It includes accounts derived from sources located throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, and Americas.

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[109] Ibid.

In addition, Hakluyt's *Navigations* is broken up into several books, each of which focuses on a distinct geographical region or theme. This work offers a methodical account of journeys, and it details geographical features, comes across native peoples, and the commercial potential of newly discovered lands. Although Purchas's *Pilgrimes* follows a similar pattern to Hakluyt's work, it extends that work by incorporating new accounts, biographical portraits, and theological musings.

According to L. E. Pennington, "Purchas was as much the propagandist as Hakluyt" [110] and played a substantial role in promoting English dominion in the works that they produced independently, albeit with unique but overlapping goals. Both Hakluyt and Purchas deliberately entangled the achievements of England with propaganda designed to encourage international trade and colonisation and Purchas followed Hakluyt's lead in this regard.

Through his *Navigations*, Hakluyt made a persuasive argument in favour of England's colonial expansion and maritime exploration, with the goal of bolstering England's international standing and enhancing the country's might. Through his writing, he advocated for English explorers and their journeys, drawing attention to the discoveries and victories that English explorers had achieved in the New World. Hakluyt was successful in cultivating support for future expeditions and the pursuit of colonialist goals by skillfully associating the greatness of England with endeavours undertaken overseas. His works worked as a persuasive weapon to recruit investors, royal patronage, and public interest.

Building on the groundwork laid by Hakluyt, Purchas continued this propagandistic approach in *Pilgrimes*. As said above, Hakluyt concentrated mostly on English journeys, Purchas widened the scope of the project to include travel accounts from a variety of different countries and cultures and by doing so, he increased the scope of the English colonial mission as well as its level of power.

Both authors were aware of the importance of presenting exploration and colonisation as endeavours that are both honourable and advantageous to society. They were skilled at utilising their works to stoke religious fervour, commercial interests, and nationalistic pride. They hoped to encourage endorsement and funding in future endeavours by drawing attention to the potential money and influence that could be achieved through international commerce and expansion.

It is essential to understand that Hakluyt and Purchas were not primarily motivated by their own self-interest, despite the fact that they did engage in propaganda in some form or

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[110] L. E. Pennington, "Hakluytus posthumus: Samuel Purchas and the promotion of English overseas expansion". *The emporia state research studies*, 1966, p. 5. Available: 86.pdf (emporia.edu), Accessed 2023, June.

another. Rather their works were also motivated by an honest faith in the positive effects of English colonisation and the ambition to construct a great and affluent England. This belief and this desire were the driving forces behind their publications. They viewed colonisation as a means of extending England's sphere of power, acquiring resources, promoting Christianity, and bolstering the country's standing in the international arena. The efforts they made to the preservation and transmission of journey accounts have left an indelible stamp on the historical record, and as a result, they have shaped our perception of the period of discovery despite the fact that their objectives were somewhat propagandistic.

It is important to point out that in *Pilgrimes* Purchas not only continues the objective of gathering and recording various journey reports, which was pioneered by Hakluyt, but he also lays a considerable emphasis on the spiritual components that are associated with these journeys. When one considers that Purchas is a cleric by trade, it is hardly surprising that he would place such great focus on topics of spirituality and theology.

The heart of Purchas's work is that it is more than just a collection of voyages; rather, it investigates the intrinsic relationship that exists between religious belief and travel. His focus on the divine cause provides an extra layer of comprehension to the narratives of discovery, illuminating the intricate dynamic that existed during that age between religion, exploration, and the pursuit of knowledge. As noted by J. Helfers, "*Pilgrimes'* opening section concerning the ancient authorities in the validity and spiritual significance of travel does not fit into Haklyut's framework".[111]

Although God's assistance is also present in Haklyut's *Voyages*, Helfers specifically draws a parallel between Purchas's work and the tradition of "pilgrimage guides",[112] implying that Purchas's materials not only offer travel guidance but also act as a spiritual aid in directing the reader's path — hence the title of his work. As a result of this, Purchas provides the readers with an approach to comprehending travel as an act of spiritual pursuit. Because of this, Purchas's work is elevated to the level of more than a simple chronicle of history or travelogue. It transforms into a spiritual handbook, giving readers not only knowledge that is useful in everyday life but also insights into the more profound meanings that are associated with travelling and discovering new places. Even if they never leave their houses, readers of Purchas's books are encouraged to go on a personal and life-altering pilgrimage of their own by virtue of the way in which he weaves together the material world and the spiritual realm in his work.

He draws analogies between the difficulties, trials of faith, and life-changing experiences that travellers go through and those that religious pilgrims go through. It is possible that Purchas

[111] Helfers, *op. cit*., p. 166.
[112] Ibid., p. 196.

viewed travelling as a means for people to increase their religious devotion, become exposed to a variety of religious practices, and enhance their relationship with God through the experience of travelling.

This viewpoint is consistent with the dominant religious worldview of that point in time, as discovery and colonisation were frequently motivated by religious goals. A great number of explorers and missionaries viewed their journeys as chances to teach Christianity and convert the native peoples to their faith. The emphasis that Purchas places on the religious aspects of travel is reflective of the larger religious background of the time period and highlights the intertwined nature of religious and adventurous endeavours. The narratives take on a more spiritual tone as a result of his presenting travelling as a form of pilgrimage, and he encourages readers to contemplate the more profound meaning and ramifications of these excursions in addition to their geographical and cultural components.

For example, Purchas provides a distinctive piece that illustrates the character of his work and the concepts that readers may expect to face throughout the compilation of his message to the reader. The referenced passage offers insight into Purchas's worldview with regard to the natural environment and the connection he sees between it and the will of God:

> Naturall things are the more proper Object, namely the ordinary Workes of God in the Creatures, preserving and disposing by Providence that which his Goodnesse and Power had created, and dispersed in the divers parts of the World, as so many members of this great Bodie […]. It is true, that as every member of the bodie hath somewhat eminent, whereby it is serviceable to the whole; so every Region excelleth all others in some peculiar Raritie, shich may be termed extraordinary respectively, though otherwise most common and ordinary in its owne place […]. And so each part is to other part in some or other part, and particular respect admirable.[113]

The passage starts off by putting an emphasis on the intrinsic benefit of comprehending the everyday mechanisms of nature through observation and study. Purchas contends that the world of nature, with all of its myriad organisms and occurrences, is a representation of the craftsmanship of God. He emphasises that these common acts of the universe, which are kept and guided by divine providence, are spread throughout the many parts of the world, working as essential elements of a broader whole. He says this in order to emphasise that these ordinary works of creation are found all over the world. Reinforcing the religious and philosophical grounds that drive Purchas' approach to chronicling and interpreting the natural world, this fragment illustrates his underlying conviction in the divine order and the interdependence of all things.

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[113] S. Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or. Purchas His Pilgrimes*. 1st Edition. 20 Volumes. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. Glasgow, 1905. Volume I. pp. XXXIX–XL

Having said that, it is important to point out that Purchas is not limited to a just theological viewpoint. In addition to this, he is an advocate for the furtherance of science, which, given the environment of the seventeenth century, may at first appear to be contradictory. In fact, during this time period, scientific research and religious ideas were inextricably linked to one another and the former frequently affected the latter. Despite this, Purchas is aware of the significance of scientific investigation as a method for gaining a deeper comprehension of the natural world as a whole:

> I might adde that such a Worke may seeme necessarie to these times, wherein not many Scholers are so studious of Geographie, and of Naturall and Universall knowledge in the diversified varieties which the various Seas and Lands in the World produce, seeming as exceptions to Generall Rules, which Aristotle the best Scholer on Natures Schoole and her pricipall Secretarie could not so punctually and individually see in the Ocean, the Remoter Lands and New Worlds, none of which he ever saw, nor till this last Age were knowne.[114]

The nuanced awareness that Purchas had of the complex relationship that existed between both science and religion in the seventeenth century is shown in his support of the growth of scientific knowledge. He recognises that theological investigation can benefit from, and even be enhanced by, scientific investigation, which in turn enables a more profound understanding of the divine order. In this manner, Purchas aims to reconcile the divide between religious faith and scientific research by presenting them as mutually advantageous endeavours rather than as elements that are in contradiction to one another.

3.2 Anonymous account of Sir Thomas Smythe's Voyage

In 1605 a book with a lengthy and catchy title *Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage and Entertainment in Russia. With the tragicall ends of two Emperors, and one Empresse, within one Monats during his being there*[115] was published in London. The edition in question placed a particular emphasis, as indicated by the title, on the embassy that was headed by Thomas Smythe and that took place between the end of 1604 and the beginning of 1605. The mission of this particular embassy was to forge diplomatic ties with the court of Boris Godunov in Russia. It is essential to emphasise that the author of this book was not an associate of the embassy, nor did he make an official visit to Moscow. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that he spent any time there whatsoever. Instead, he turned to oral and written information provided by people who were

[114] Ibid., p. XLIII.

[115] Anonymous, "Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage and Entertainment in Rushia", 1605. Available: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A12545.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext, Accessed 2023, July.

involved in the mission. Intriguingly, the identity of the author is never revealed in the actual text of the book, and reference materials indicate that the author's identity is a mystery.[116]

This account provides valuable information regarding Boris Godunov's political activity during that period. The first edition of a travelogue published by Purchas in 1625 includes a brief foreword to Sir Thomas Smythe's voyage which clearly indicates that neither the ambassador nor any member of his entourage was involved in the creation of the book.

> But I taking the truth from the mouths of diuers gentlemen that vvent in the Iourney, and hauing som good notes bestovved vpon me in vvriting, vvrought them into this body, because neither thou shouldst be abused with false reports, nor the Voyage receiue slaunder. I have done this vvithout consent either of Sir Tho. himselfe, or of those gentlemen my friends that deliuered it vn|to me: So that if I offend, it is Error Amoris to my Countrey, not Amor erroris to do any man wronge. Read and like, for much is in it vvorthy obseruation. Farevvell.[117]

According to the excerpt above, the events were so fascinating that many people eagerly anticipated the news and were happy to take advantage of any information to amuse themselves, although the narrative was shattered and lost its beauty as a result of being pulled apart by this desire for knowledge. The author goes on to explain how certain people abused the circumstance for their personal gain. Their actions are symbolically portrayed as "itching fingers of gain" that threatened to disseminate the jumbled, distorted story to the public.

The narrator is clear that he created this literal piece of work without asking Sir Thomas. Although he acknowledges the potential for offense, he insists that any errors were caused by his love of the country rather than by any deliberate dishonesty. Overall, it seems that the author was motivated by a sense of patriotism and a wish to avoid misinterpretation or damage to the reputation of Thomas Smythe.

Although the true identity of the narrator remains a mystery, a Russian philologist I. Boldakov[118] made an intriguing discovery while preparing a Russian translation of *Voiage and Entertainment in Russia* in 1893. After careful examination, Boldakov reached the conclusion that the author of this captivating text might have been none other than George Wilkins, a relatively lesser-known writer, playwright, and pamphleteer from London during the early 17th century.

It is worth noting, as I. Boldakov rightfully pointed out, that only a handful of Wilkins's works had managed to withstand the passage of time. However, when delving into the identity of

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[116] M., Alekseev, “Шекспир и русская культура” ["Shakespeare and Russian Culture"], Moscow: Nauka, 1965, p. 803.

[117] Anonymous, *op. cit.*

[118] M. Boldakov, “*Сэра Томаса Смита Путешествие и Пребывание в России*” ["Sir Thomas Smith's Travelling and Sojourning in Russia"], St. Petersburg: Editions of Count S. D. Sheremetev, 1893, p. 24.

the unnamed compiler responsible for the compilation of *Voiage and Entertainment in Russia*, Boldakov noticed an intriguing pattern: the compiler possessed a distinct inclination for intricately intertwining theatrical reminiscences within the narrative, effortlessly merging the realms of literature and stage art. Moreover, this anonymous writer viewed the events depicted in the book through the lens of theatrical aesthetics, perceiving them as scenes waiting to unfold on a grand stage.

Boldakov astutely argued that such a distinctive manner of storytelling and perception would find its explanation if it were possible to conclusively establish the alleged connection between the compiler and the playwright George Wilkins. If indeed the compiler turned out to be Wilkins, it would provide a compelling explanation for the theatrical elements seamlessly woven into the fabric of *Voiage and Entertainment in Russia*. The presence of Wilkins's artistic background as a playwright and his predilection for dramatic flair would undoubtedly shed light on the compiler's storytelling approach and the unique perspective from which the events were recounted.

The tale of the English ambassador's voyage to Russia is recounted in a highly grandiose manner, brimming with citations and literary recollections. The author's writing style evokes an aura of pomp and grandeur, employing elaborate language and embellishments to underscore the significance of the English ambassador's experiences in Russia. His admiration for the dramatic and theatrical aspects of the events portrayed reflects a deep appreciation for the arts and stage performances.

The writer presents an account of the key events that transpired within the Moscow state in those years, drawing on the most recent news provided by English travellers regarding Russia at that time. It should not come as a surprise that the tales of Boris Godunov and Demetrius the Impostor are the ones that most attract the author's attention. He believes that the story that surrounds the royal family is worthy of being told on the stage, saying that it is "indeed not vnfit for the same stage crowners".[119]

The narrator goes so far as to compare Fyodor Godunov to the legendary character of Hamlet. In the author's opinion, Fyodor's storyline is unmatched by any other, except for perhaps the tragic figure of Hamlet: “his fathers Empire and Gouernment, was but as the Poeticall Furie in a Stage-action, compleat yet with horrid and wofull Tragedies: a first, but no second to any Hamlet”.[120] According to the author, Fyodor's rule and administration resembled the poetic fervour of a theatrical production, replete with appalling and devastating events.

[119] Anonymous, *op. cit.*
[120] Ibid.

Prior to the publication of the account, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* graced the theatrical stage in the years 1603-1604 and was published twice in the same period of time.[121] Given this context, it becomes highly enticing to explore the possibilities of drawing a parallel between the history of the Russian royal family and the renowned Prince of Denmark and it is exceedingly probable that an English writer of the early 17th century, particularly one affiliated with theatrical circles, would be inclined towards such a comparison.

Following a detailed depiction of the tragic circumstances that befell the entire Godunov family, with a particular emphasis on the remarkable spectacle and intensely dramatic nature surrounding these events, the author once again exclaims with fervor: “Oh for some excellent pen-man to deplore their state: but he which would liuely, naturally, or indeed poetically delyneare or enumerate these occurrents”.[122]

Although the foreword makes it abundantly clear that the account presented in the book was compiled by someone other than Sir Thomas Smith, the author still chooses to use the first-person narrative style, perhaps with the intention of creating a more personal and immersive reading experience for the audience. This approach allows the author to provide a more detailed and vivid account of the events, as it enables him to convey the thoughts, emotions, and perceptions of the narrator and as G. Prokhorov rightly noticed “differentiate travelogue from a pure list of actions”.[123]

The author employs the use of imagination, engages in direct conversation with the reader, and provides an insightful analysis of the writing. Additionally, the author quotes other notable authors and uses a prominent focus on debating and describing their current reality, making the travelogue an incredibly engaging and thought-provoking read. For example, describing the river Volga, the author states: “It might be fitting for me to speake somewhat of this famous Riuer, as is I thinke for length, and bredth, any (one) excepted in the world, but so many excellent writers, as in the worthy labors of Master Richard Hacklyute, haue made particular mention therof, as it induseth me, to leaue the descrip|tion of this Riuer and towne, to those that haue largely and painfuly wrote of such things: especially to M. Doct. Fletchers true relation, sometime Ambas. to this Emperor.”[124]

This particular travelogue has some peculiar qualities added by the author's choice to paint Russia as a strange country with an air of oddity and a whiff of primitivism. As G.

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[121] Alekseev, *op. cit.,* p. 804.

[122] Anonymous, *op. cit.*

[123] G. Prokhorov, “A mixture of performance and narrativity, or travelogue as a genre”, *Новый филологический вестник*, (3 (42)), (2017), 14-24, p. 21.

[124] Anonymous, *op. cit.*

Prokhorov and S. Saveliev[125] rightly observe, what makes it even more curious is the fact that the account was written after fifty years of regular communication between England and Russia. By this time, the Moscow Company had been established, and its merchants were making frequent voyages between England and Russia via both sea and land routes.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that prior to Smythe's account, Giles Fletcher had already written a significant work on Muscovy titled *Of the Russe Common Wealth* published in 1599 in London. Despite this fact, the unknown author chooses to ignore Fletcher's work and instead portrays Russia as a land that is largely uncharted and mysterious. This approach may have been an intentional literary device used by the author to create a sense of intrigue and exoticism around his account. Alternatively, it could be a reflection of his perspective on the country, which differed from that of Fletcher's. Nonetheless, this choice adds to the distinctiveness of Smythe's work and sets it apart from other accounts of the time.

The writer of the notes on Smythe's travels provides a candid and straightforward portrayal of the Muscovy Tsardom, without holding back or sugar-coating any aspect of it. In addition, the author expresses a highly unfavorable view of the inhabitants of this region, and through Smythe's character, he cautions his fellow countrymen who choose to stay in Muscovy:

> Let vs then be hartily thankefull for our deliuerance, and shew our obedience thereafter in our liues, especially in a strange Country, where he is not rightly knowne: a people and Nation very subtle and crafty, likewise inquisitiue after euery strangers actions, and this place the Port where al nations doe come to: where many vnderstande our lan|guage, let vs be wise and very circumspect what wee speake, of what, and to whom, for much cause of speech will bee giuen vs, because the people as well as their maners, customes, & salutations, are not onely strange, (as with modestie I may speake somewhat rediculous) and the rather since we bring the message of pece and Amity, Let vs shew towardes them loue and curtesie. […] but remember the colde Climate you are to liue in Drukennes is rather here a custome, then a vice: yet themselues hate it in other. Bee then conquerors, if in this, in any thing, & make your wisedome, out of their vile beastlinesse herein, that you can refraine that, I hope you were neuer acquainted vvith all. Also Whoring in this Countrey is so common a sin, as their eies, can soone obserue it in straungers: for the peace of your ovvne Consciences, the strengthe of your ovvne bodies, abhorrè it as the most vnnaturall vvickednes: and rather, in respest they are not onely herein monstrous impudent, but impudence it selfe.[126]

To elaborate, the author's depiction of Muscovy is characterized by its frankness and lack of embellishment, indicating that the author is not hesitant to share his honest opinion about the state of affairs in the region. Furthermore, the writer's critical tone towards the people of Muscovy suggests that he is not impressed with their way of life, culture, or customs. The warning that the writer puts in Smythe's mouth is likely a cautionary tale for other travelers who

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[125] G. Prokhorov, & S. Saveliev, "Narrating and mapping Russia: From Terra Incognita to a charted space on the road to Cathay", *Frontiers of Narrative Studies*, (2018). *4*(2), 277-290, p.280.

[126] Anonymous, *op. cit.*

may consider visiting or staying in Muscovy. It could be that the author believes that the environment and way of life in Muscovy are unsuitable for foreigners or that the people of Muscovy may pose a threat to their safety or well-being. Thomas Smythe's speech addressed to his compatriots implies that the nation they have come across is unfamiliar and shrouded in mystery. However, the author is not simply aiming to intrigue the group with this discovery but is rather providing them with a comprehensive list of potential dangers they may encounter during their visit. The hazards listed in the memo reflect the author's concerns for the well-being and safety of the group. The extreme cold weather, for instance, could pose a threat to their health and survival. Alcohol and prostitution, on the other hand, could lead to reckless behavior and could increase the group's vulnerability to crime and exploitation.

However, credit must be given to the author and it should be said that in his notes Russia was not only a place of low-life drunks, gamblers, and fornicators. At some point, Smythe's judgment of the country around him becomes much softer:

> ...[s]o we passed along on our Iourney, which was as pleasant and delightfull, wheather you consider the admirable straight pine, tall Cedar, or fyrre woods; Alablaster Rockes, or the pleasantnes of walkes, in sweet Meadowes, and fair pastures, than which, for 1000. vers cannot be more welcome in the whole world.[127]

The passage above portrays the journey of Thomas Smythe to Russia as a delightful and pleasurable experience. It emphasizes the beauty of the natural surroundings encountered during the voyage, including the forests with impressive trees, the presence of alabaster rocks, and the inviting meadows and pastures. The vivid descriptions evoke a sense of wonder and appreciation for the scenic landscapes they encountered along their journey.

Perhaps according to the author, some of the Russian landscapes seemed familiar to Smythe and reminded him of European terrain which he began to miss at this point of a long stay in a strange unfamiliar country. The contrast between the former perception of the country and its citizens and the later description of its landscapes highlights a potential misrepresentation or oversimplification of the region. It suggests that the location may have been unfairly characterized based on a limited or incomplete understanding of its sociocultural state at that period and its geography and climate. Overall, the statement highlights the potential for a location to be misunderstood or mischaracterized based on preconceived notions or limited information.

On the whole, *Voiage and Entertainment in Russia* is a testament to the author's literary inventiveness and ability to present information in a captivating manner. Its anonymous authorship adds an air of mystery to the work and the fact that such a well-crafted and

[127] Ibid.

imaginative work was written anonymously during this period is remarkable and raises questions about the literary landscape of early 17th-century England.

3.3. John Milton's compilation

John Milton, renowned in world literature, is celebrated for his monumental works such as *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*. However, during the latter phase of his creative career, which coincided with the Restoration period in England, he also ventured into historical writing. At around the age of fifty-five, J. Milton embarked on realizing three significant ideas that had shaped his life: the composition of the epic poem *Paradise Lost* and *The History of Britain*. Additionally, during this period, he authored *A brief history of Moscovia and of other less-known countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay, gather'd from the writings of several eye-witnesses,* which was posthumously published in 1682.

The writing of *A Brief History of Moscovia* by J. Milton might be seen as part of his grand ambition to produce a series of books encompassing detailed accounts of various European countries, including their political and geographical characteristics. In *A brief history of Moscovia*, Milton endeavors to depict Russia and its neighboring territories, providing insights into the people and the country's political structure, drawing from the documented accounts of English travelers and sources. Right from the preface, J. Milton clearly outlines the objective of his work — to offer readers a comprehensive and satisfactory understanding of the country, while avoiding overwhelming them with unnecessary intricacies:

> I began with Muscovy, as being the most northern Region of Europe reputed civil; and the more northern Parts thereof, first discovered by English Voiages. […] What was scatter'd in many Volumes, and observ'd at several times by Eye-witnesses, with no cursory pains I laid together, to save the Reader a far longer travaile of wandring through so many desert Authours. […] From proceeding further other occasions diverted me. This Essay, such as it is, was thought by some, who knew of it, not amiss to be published; that so many things remarkable, dispers'd before, now brought under one view, might not hazard to be otherwise lost, nor the labour lost of collec|ting them.[128]

Despite refraining from personal travel to the country due to health concerns, Milton delved into the writings of English travelers, merchants, and diplomats who had started documenting their experiences in Moscovy over a century ago. But the most peculiar fact is that scholars[129] have managed to identify only two main sources that influenced Milton's text: the first volume of

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[128] John Milton, *A brief history of Moscovia and of other less-known countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay, gather'd from the writings of several eye-witnesses*, London: Printed by M. Flesher, for Brabazon Aylmer at the Three Pigeons against the Royal Exchange, (1682), preface.

[129] J. B. Gleason, "The Nature of Milton's "Moscovia", *Studies in Philology*, 61(4), (1964), 640–649, p. 642

Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* from 1600 and the third volume of Samuel Purchas's *Pilgrims* published in 1625. All the accounts in these volumes that Milton used were anterior to the great events of the "Time of Troubles" and the final establishment of a new dynasty, the Romanovs, in 1613.

Moreover, as rightly observed by M. Binney[130], Milton not only presents an unnoticed marginal note but also utilizes language resembling that found in Horsey's *Extracts*, which appeared in Purchas's *Pilgrimage* in 1626. The influence of *Extracts* becomes evident in Milton's descriptions of Ivan IV's reign, the conclusion of Feodor I's reign, and Boris Godunov's purported involvement in the deaths of Dmitry of Uglich and Feodor.

Although Milton provides reasons for undertaking this work, it leaves us wondering why such a prominent poet of his era would invest his time in essentially rehashing and collating travel writings from just two sources. R. D. Bedford[131] logically raises pertinent queries: Did Milton write it as a means of self-education, honing his ability to compose extended summaries? Or could it have been connected to his role as a schoolmaster, a preliminary draft for an enhanced and exemplary geography textbook? Could it be that the act of compiling these travel writings was a source of inspiration for Milton, allowing him to explore distant lands and cultures without physically venturing there himself? Perhaps through the lenses of the English travelers, merchants, and diplomats whose accounts he studied, he may have glimpsed worlds previously unknown to him, fueling his imagination and enriching his own literary creations.

As Milton delved into the descriptions penned by various travelers, he keenly observed the distinctive historical facts that set Russia apart from its European counterparts. His readings exposed him to the unique aspects of Russian life, capturing the original features that fascinated him. Among the striking elements were the intriguing documents he encountered, shedding light on the rituals and practices within the royal palace. Furthermore, the vivid depictions of street scenes and the unpredictable Russian climate left a lasting impression on Milton's inquisitive mind.

In his pursuit of understanding and grasping the essence of Muscovite statehood, Milton embarked on a comparative analysis, meticulously examining and contrasting the accounts of different writers. By doing so, he sought to synthesize and consolidate the information he had absorbed. This process of comparison and summation was essential in his endeavor to craft a

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[130] M. Binney, John milton’s a brief history of moscovia (1682) And jerome horsey’s extracts (1626), n.d., Available: https://roii.ru/, Accessed 2023, July.

[131] R. D. Bedford, (1993). Milton’s journeys north: “A Brief History of Moscovia” and “Paradise Lost.” *Renaissance Studies, 7*(1), 71–85, p. 72.

cohesive and comprehensive portrayal of the Muscovite state, merging the fragmented pieces into a unified and vivid picture.

Through this dedicated effort of studying and synthesizing various sources, Milton aimed to present a nuanced and vivid representation of Russia, delving beyond surface descriptions to reveal the intricate tapestry of its cultural, social, and political identity. In doing so, he bridged the gap between distant lands and immersed himself in the intricacies of Russian life and history, making it possible for his readers to gain an insightful glimpse into the richness of the Muscovite state. Nevertheless, throughout his observations, he consistently views the foreign land through the lens of his own experiences and the context of his time.

This duality in Milton's perspective is worth examining. On the one hand, his distance from Russia may present limitations in fully grasping its intricacies and nuances. The absence of personal encounters with its people and culture might lead to potential misunderstandings or gaps in his portrayal.

On the other hand, Milton's unique vantage point as an English poet during his time offers an interesting dimension to his observations. His familiarity with European customs, societal norms, and political context likely influenced the way he processed and interpreted the information available to him. This interplay between the foreign and the familiar might have prompted him to draw parallels or make connections that a native observer might have overlooked.

All in all, Milton's endeavor to explore a distant and unfamiliar land, even from a distant standpoint, exemplifies the curious nature of a literary mind seeking to bridge gaps and expand horizons. By meticulously studying the writings of others and employing his skills as a writer, he attempted to construct a coherent and insightful narrative of Russia, weaving together information from diverse sources to create a more comprehensive understanding.

In the initial chapter (out of a total of five chapters he completed), Milton describes the neighboring countries of the Russian state and portrays the desolate and unforgiving nature of its northern territories. The region relies on importing bread from distant lands spanning thousands of miles, and during winter, even firewood, once lit, freezes at its other end. The chilling cold causes people's breath to congeal, leading to suffocation and unconsciousness.

> The north parts of this Country are so barren, that the Inhabitants fetch their Corn a 1000 miles, and so cold in Winter that the very Sap of their Wood-fewel burning on the fire, freezes at the Brands end where it drops. The Mariners which were left a shipboard in the first English Voyage thither, in going up onely from their Cabins to the Hatches, had their breath so congeal'd by the cold, that they fell down as it were stifl'd.[132]

[132] Milton, *op. cit*., p.2.

Milton essentially reiterates the contents of previously mentioned travel notes in this work. Following in the footsteps of those who truly visited Russia before him, he shows a keen interest in matters of government, the military, and social order. Notably, he highlights the king's boundless authority; for example, when an individual dies without male heirs, their estate reverts to the king, while a decrepit state dignitary might have their property taken away and given to a more deserving candidate. Each nobleman, feeling like a king within their domain, administers the court and exercises control over the people residing on their lands. With the absence of concrete laws, justice-seeking becomes a personal endeavor as everyone in need approaches the Grand Duke and presents their own petitions directly. However, due to the corruption of minor officials, justice is often inadequately upheld. The sovereign's income depends on his arbitrary actions and the capability of his subjects to pay, often resorting to crude means to extract money from them.

The prevalence of "drunken Tavern, call'd a Cursemay"[133] is ubiquitous, and the tsar bestows them either as a favor or as a reward for serving a boyar or nobleman. The recipient of such a drinking house temporarily becomes the city's ruler, freely plundering its inhabitants until becoming wealthy enough to be sent to war at his own expense, where he is "squeez'd of his ill got wealth."[134] Thus, waging war costs the king little to nothing. The tsar can rapidly assemble a 300,000-strong cavalry army with bows, drums, plank armor, and cones from young individuals who have a fondness for splendid military attire: "Some of their Coats are cover'd with Velvet, or cloth of Gold; for they desire to be gorgeous in Arms."[135] However, despite their imposing appearance, Milton notes that the Russian troops lack military discipline and reluctantly engage in battle, relying instead on cunning tactics and ambushes: "They fight without order; nor willingly give battail but by stealth or ambush".[136]

J. Milton, the Puritan, found great fascination in the religious practices of Russia, particularly the Greek form of worship, the elaborate rituals, and the dogmatic distinctions from Protestantism. In his work, *A Brief History of Moscovia*, Russia is portrayed as a land where people adhere to the teachings of the Greek Church in their religious practices but also blend church doctrines with pagan superstitions. They do not follow the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament, believing that Christ's death on the cross nullified them. The religious observances involve four fasts, and daily services commence "two hours before dawn and before

[133] Ibid., p. 15.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid., p. 16.
[136] Ibid.

evening". Unfortunately, the clergy sets a poor example, engaging in "Whordom, Drunkenness and Extortin".[137]

Russia boasts numerous large and wealthy monasteries, known for their generous hospitality. For instance, Trojetes has a vast community of seven hundred monks, fortified by sturdy stone walls adorned with numerous copper ornaments. The monastery's influence spans about forty miles in circumference, encompassing extensive lands, cities, and villages, which the monks manage while engaging in trade on equal footing with the country's most prominent merchants.

John Milton, celebrated for his polemical pamphlets that delve into the subject of divorce, undoubtedly displayed an interest in the institution of marriage and the customs of coupling in Russia. He specifically highlights for his readers the option of obtaining a divorce by request:

> When there is love between two, the Man among other trifling Gifts, sends to the Woman a Whip, to signify, if she offend, what the must expect; and it is a Rule among them, that if the Wife be not beaten once a week, she thinks her self not belov'd, and is the worse; yet are they very obedient, and stir not forth, but at some Seasons. Upon ut|ter dislike, the Husband divor|ces; which Liberty no doubt they receiv'd first with their Re|ligion from the Greek Church, and the Imperial Laws.[138]

In the following abstract by John Milton about Russians in the 16th century, he provides a concise and rather critical description of certain aspects of their culture and behavior.

> They have no Learning, nor will suffer to be among them; their greatest friendship is in drinking; they are great Tal|kers, Lyars, Flatterers and Dissemblers. They delight in gross Meats and noysom Fish.[139]

According to Milton, the Russians were not known for their pursuit of knowledge or education. It suggests that learning and scholarship were not highly valued or encouraged within their society. Milton suggests that the primary way of bonding or socializing for the Russians was through drinking. This might imply a strong drinking culture or the significance of alcohol in their social interactions. This observation highlights the presence of deceit or insincerity in their social interactions.

Writing about Russians John Milton presents a distressing portrayal of the impoverished conditions endured by the people of Russia. Milton describes the dire circumstances of the poor, emphasizing their resourcefulness in making do with whatever meager resources they have. Using "straw and water" to sustain themselves underscores their desperation and the lack of

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[137] Ibid., p.19

[138] Ibid., p.20

[139] Ibid., p.21.

basic necessities, the severe living conditions, and the indifference or neglect they faced from others in society:

> But there is no People that live so miserably as the Poor of Russia; if they have Straw and Water they make shift to live; for Straw dry'd and stampt in Winter time is their Bread; in Summer Grass and Roots; at all times Bark of Trees is good Meat with them; yet many of them die in the Street for hunger, none relieving, or regarding them.[140]

However, it is important to recognize that such descriptions are subjective and may not represent the entire Russian population or its complexities during that period. Moreover, Milton never set foot in Russia and all his work is based on hearsay. It goes without saying that historical assessments should be approached with a critical mindset, considering the context and biases of the observer.

John Milton's final chapter focused on the British discovery of a route to Russia via the North Sea during the reign of Ivan Vasilyevich. Milton viewed his compatriots' achievement as a nearly heroic enterprise, although it would have been even more esteemed if their motives had been driven by something greater than just the pursuit of profit and trade: “the discovery of Russia by the northern Ocean, made first, of any Nation that we know, by English men, might have seem'd an enterprise almost heroick; if any higher end than the excessive love of Gain and Traffick, had animated the design”[141].

In the final and lengthiest chapter, Milton delves into the chronicles of the English and their direct encounters with Russia. This section also covers the accounts of successive diplomatic missions sent to Moscow between 1553 and 1604. Interestingly, Milton does not delve into the details of the negotiations or their outcomes; instead, he focuses on describing Russian court ceremonies, meticulously recording the grandeur and pomp displayed during the receptions of the English ambassadors.

John Milton explains the history of Russian rulers up to Mikhail Romanov in a simple and succinct manner, without unnecessary information, personal prejudices, or exalting his own countrymen. He purposefully avoids describing Ivan the Terrible's crimes, a subject that worries Europeans the most, and instead focuses on giving in-depth accounts of Boris Godunov's coronation, leadership, and covert plots, as well as the terrible effects of his rule. Probably Milton found inspiration and learned of Boris Godunov's tactics for establishing his regal stature in the account of Sir Thomas Smythe’s Voyage, appointed as a special ambassador to the Russian Tsar.

In *A Brief History of Muscovy* J. Milton's factual accuracy is not consistently reliable, as

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[140] Ibid.

[141] Ibid., p.69.

his work relies heavily on the materials from the 16th-century compendiums of Hakluyt and Purchas. For instance, Milton mentions a custom in Russia where "if any man die without male issue, his Land returns to the Emperour",[142] but M.Y. Sokolova[143] astutely pointed out that J. Milton fails to mention the Council Code implemented by Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, which safeguards the well-being of widows and orphans. This legislation was published in 1649, a noteworthy 33 years before J. Milton's book was published.

R. D. Bedford[144] is even more critical of Milton's work and highlights the unique nature of Milton's historical compilation. Bedford describes Milton's endeavor as a blend of both an imaginary place and an imaginary history of a real place:

> Milton is compiling a history of an imaginary place (a place which exists for him only in the imagination), and at the same time an imaginary history of a real place. The imaginary (or imaginative) nature of the history is mitigated by records and chronicles; and the imaginative nature of the place is partially disguised by lines tethered to the circumstantial through the use of eyewitness accounts, the plundering of Hakluyt and Purchas, the occasional reference to Giles Fletcher's Of the Russe Common Wealth (1591), and to various other accounts of the experiences of travellers. Unhampered by any eyewitnessing of his own, Milton is free to deploy all this material as his own imagination.

To support the historical aspect, Milton tethers his imaginary place to real-life circumstances through various means. He incorporates eyewitness accounts, drawing from the experiences of actual travelers. Additionally, he borrows from existing sources of well-known collectors of travel narratives, which helps him provide a semblance of credibility to the otherwise foreign setting.

It is important to outline once again that Milton himself has not personally witnessed the events or the place he describes, giving him the freedom to manipulate and utilize all this material to suit his own imaginative vision. As noted by M. Yu. Sokolova[145], he attempts to observe a country he has never visited and whose language he does not understand. But as a result, he can freely weave together elements from various sources, creating a unique and distinct portrayal of the fictional Moscovia.

In summary, John Milton's *A Brief History of Moscovia* is an imaginative work that compiles a history of a place existing solely in his mind. Although the account is made-up, it is grounded in real-life records and accounts, which give it a semblance of authenticity. By skillfully incorporating existing sources and eyewitness testimonies, Milton crafts an original

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[142] Ibid., p.13.

[143] M.Yu. Sokolova The image of Russia in the works of John Milton // Izvestiya. Russian State Pedagogical University. A.I. Herzen. 2008. Available: https://cyberleninka.ru, Accessed 2023, July.

[144] Bedford, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[145] Sokolova, *op. cit.*

and imaginative narrative that captivates his readers with a vivid and fantastical portrayal of the Tsardom of Muscovy.

3.4 A physician's account by Samuel Collins

According to Oxford Dictionary of National Biography[146] Samuel Collins (1619?–1670), a physician, was born as the eldest son of Samuel Collins. In 1641, Collins earned his MD from Padua University, and later, in 1652, he incorporated this degree at Oxford. In 1660, Collins traveled to Russia, invited by Tsar Alexis's agent abroad, to serve as one of Tsar Alexis's physicians. However, on March 12, 1662, Collins sought permission to return to England due to his brother's passing and to settle his affairs. In August 1663, Collins returned to Russia, resuming his duties as a physician.

Although Samuel Collins lived in Moscow for a sizable portion of his life, there is little information about the exact work he did there. It is assumed, that tsar Alexis, who suffered from extreme obesity, was his main patient. Collins consequently wrote down a number of notes stressing the significance of eating and drinking in moderation and having a well-rounded meal plan, and like other royal physicians, treated numerous nobility members as well as the royal family and court officials throughout his time in Moscow.

Following Collins's demise, an unknown individual who had been his student or companion during his time in Russia, shared the remaining notes about his experiences in Moscow with an English publisher. These notes were presented in the form of a letter. Collins sole book was titled *The present state of Russia, in a letter to a friend, written by an eminent person residing at the great tzar's court at Mosco for the space of nine years*. The book was first released in London in 1671, and a French translation followed in 1679. His work attracted his contemporaries' notice and occupied a key position among outside sources about the Muscovite state. It provides an interesting and insightful portrait of Russian life, but it also includes several dubious incidents that were probably included by the book's publishers for the enjoyment of the readership. The book also includes a number of copperplate pictures to enhance its substance.

German-Russian linguist F. Adelung[147] asserts that Collins's essay contains a wealth of captivating insights into the state of Russia during that period. The credibility of these insights is further reinforced by Collins' distinguished education and prominent position, which greatly aided him in compiling this information.

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[146] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. (n.d.). https://www.oxforddnb.com dictionary. Accessed July, 2023.

[147] F. Adelung, *Kritisch-Literarische Uebersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700, deren Berichte bekannt sind*, Bd 2. St.-Petersburg u. Leipzig, 1846, pp. 342-344.

Russian writer, translator and folklorist P. Kireevsky[148] contends that Collins' insights on Siberia lack novelty when compared to his predecessors and had Collins acquainted himself with the works of Hakluyt and Purchas, he would have discovered that ample and detailed information about the river Ob, which he considers little known had already been collected by his fellow countrymen at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. Therefore, Collins's assertion of needing a significant period of six years for a trip to Siberia is questionable. According to P. Kireevsky it seems that in some instances, Collins was simply not well-informed. It's important to note that Collins for some reason rejected earlier writings on Russia and claimed that "hitherto no man of parts or abilities has been suffered to travel the Country".[149]

However, amidst these criticisms, some of the data he presents remains highly intriguing. Collins managed to gather valuable information based on oral accounts from individuals who had visited Siberia and whom he encountered in Moscow. Notably, his accounts feature a plethora of natural historical observations, a testament to his specialized education and naturalist inclinations. This allowed him to accumulate unique insights into the flora and fauna of Siberia, which were not found in the writings of other authors. Among these curiosities are his reports on steppe fires in the southern region of Siberia and intriguing details about the Samoyed people. Of special note are Collins' dedicated essays on the Caucasus, Astrakhan, and Crimea. Within these sections, he provides comprehensive accounts of the regions' flora and fauna, as well as the lifestyles and traditions of their local inhabitants.

Collins's report contains precious and unique insights into various aspects of the royal court, providing detailed information about Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich's personality, habits, and interactions with the nobility. Collins also conveys the legends surrounding Tsar Ivan IV Vasilyevich, the Terrible, which shed light on the mythologization of that era in the collective consciousness of the Russian people. In his writing, the author skillfully captures and reflects the common longing of the masses to idealize the formidable tsar, who punishes traitorous boyars and champions the cause of the underprivileged. Furthermore, Collins delves into detailed descriptions of Russian life, customs, and rituals, as well as the prevailing sanitary conditions and the spread of diseases during everyday life.

Alhough, at times, it could seem as though Collins is one of the writers who has harshly lambasted Russia, this conclusion is unduly definite. There are quite a few negative depictions of

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[148] P. Kireevsky, S. Collins, *The current state of Russia, described in a letter to a friend living in London. Composition of Samuel Collins, who spent nine years at the Moscow Court and was the doctor of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich*, Moscow: Imperial Society of History and Antiquities, 1846, p.15.

[149] Samuel Collins, *The Present State of Russia in a Letter to a Friend at London*. UK, John Winter, 1671, p. 2.

Russians in Collinss' writings; however, they are no more apparent than those in the writings of Giles Fletcher, Jerome Horsey, or other travellers who travelled to Russia before or after him.

Collins primarily focuses on socio-cultural observations in his book, dedicating significant attention to the daily lives of ordinary people. He extensively describes their customs, preferences, and family dynamics, providing a detailed and comprehensive exploration of their way of life. He takes a keen interest in understanding their tastes, be it in music, entertainment, or other aspects of their cultural pursuits. Additionally, the author dedicates considerable space to examining the family life of the common folk. He offers insights into their domestic arrangements, relationships, and the roles individuals play within the family unit. By doing so, Collins provides a nuanced portrayal of the social fabric and dynamics prevalent among the common people during the period he writes about. By focusing on the common people, the book becomes a valuable resource for studying the broader historical and social context of the era.

For instance, in one of the passages from his report on russians folk, the author discusses the treatment of wives by some men. He describes a practice among certain individuals where they would “tye up their Wives by the hair of the head, and whip them stark naked”.[150] However, Collins notes that this severity is not widespread and is primarily reserved for cases of adultery or drunkenness.

The author also observes a change in this behavior, suggesting that such practices are becoming less common or even declining. He attributes this change to the efforts of parents, who are more cautious in arranging their daughters' marriages. Collins explains that in marriage contracts, parents oblige husbands to provide their wives with suitable clothing according to their social status, ensure they are fed with good and wholesome food, and treat them kindly, explicitly prohibiting whipping, striking, or kicking them. From this extract, it is evident that Samuel Collins not only provides information about the cultural practices of 17th-century Russians but also offers insights into the evolving attitudes towards the treatment of wives within society. He portrays a mixture of traditional and changing customs and highlights how parental influence in marriage arrangements can impact societal norms and behaviors.

In another extract, Collins describes a distressing practice among some men, where they would persuade their wives to become nuns if they believe them to be barren, simply to try their luck with another woman. If the wife refuses this proposition, the husband may resort to physical violence, in order to force her into a monastery against her will. To illustrate this, the author also mentions a specific historical incident involving the Empress. He notes that had the Empress not

[150] Ibid., p. 10.

given birth to a male heir after having four consecutive daughters, it is believed she would have faced pressure or consequences related to her inability to produce a male heir.[151]

The author could not disregard or overlook the subject matter regarding a prevalent aspect of Russian culture during festivals — the excessive consumption of alcohol. Collins's works highlight the ineptitude, roughness, and inebriation of the Russians in the 17th century, which are common themes in reports by other authors introduced in this work. In one of the passages we are presented with a description of the Carnaval before Lent in Russia and the excessive drinking habits of some Russians during this time: “[people] give themselves over to all manner of debauchery and luxury, and in the last week they drink as if they were never to drink more”. The consumption of potent alcohol is described as leading to an intense reaction in their bodies, where it "fires in their mouths"[152] and creates a flame-like sensation resembling "Bocca di inferno"[153] (the Mouth of Hell). This suggests the severity of the effect on their bodies. These drinking bouts are commonly followed by quarrels, fights, and even murders, indicating that the excessive consumption of alcohol leads to violent and aggressive behavior. Upon returning home drunk they fall asleep on the snow (“a sad cold bed”[154]) and freeze to death.

Collins notes that “their greatest expression of joy upon Festivals is drinking”[155] and the significance of the festival determines the scale of their revelry. As the festivals become more significant, the intensity of their debauchery increases accordingly. The author's description portrays a scene of celebration where people from different societal groups, including men, women, and even religious figures like priests, are seen inebriated and staggering in the streets. Collins emphasizes that this behavior is not seen as a dishonorable act in their culture.

Through this observation, Collins sheds light on the cultural norms and practices related to alcohol consumption during festive events in 17th-century Russia. It clearly reveals a tradition of excessive drinking during celebrations, where the boundaries of social decorum seem to be relaxed. The mention of popes partaking in the festivities may suggest a certain level of acceptance or tolerance of such behavior even among religious authorities.

The author also discusses the artistic style of the Russians, particularly their imagery and depictions of gods and divine beings. Collins describes their paintings as "pitiful painting, flat,

[151] Ibid., pp. 10-11.
[152] Ibid., p. 22.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid., p. 23.
[155] Ibid., p. 19.

and ugly"[156]. At some point he expresses curiosity about why their gods are portrayed in a deformed manner, and inquiring further, he receives the response that “they [russians] were not proud”.[157] The response provided by the Russians, explaining that they do not make their gods proud, offers an interesting cultural insight. It suggests a different approach to artistic representation, one that may prioritize humility and modesty over the conventional portrayal of divine beings as powerful and grandiose. This response may reflect the influence of Russian cultural values on their artistic expression, emphasizing humility and simplicity in their representations of the divine. This extract provides a glimpse into the artistic sensibilities of 17th-century Russians and offers an opportunity to reflect on their unique approach to depicting gods and divine figures, showcasing the influence of cultural values on their artistic choices.

Collins also speaks harshly about music in Russia: “all the Beggars here beg singing, as well Prisoners as Cripples, and a strenuous voice looseth nothing by its harsh notes. For the Russians love nothing soft or smooth but their womens fat sides”[158]. This passage not only provides insights into the musical tastes of the Russians of that era, but also gives readers a glimpse into the aesthetic and social norms prevalent in that historical period.

In his book, Collins discusses the state of instrumental music and its prohibition in Russian culture: “They have but little Instrumental Musick”[159]. The reason for this is attributed to the prohibition by the Patriarch, who is a prominent figure in the Russian Orthodox Church. This prohibition is mentioned as a form of opposition to the practices of the “Romish Church”[160], which is a term sometimes used to refer to the Roman Catholic Church.

Moreover, the passage suggests that there might be a political motive behind the restriction on instrumental music and any form of revelry or merriment among the common people. This could be aimed at preventing what the author describes as "effeminacy"[161], which refers to traits or behavior considered weak, delicate, or lacking in strength, often associated with femininity. It is implied that the authorities may have believed that allowing such forms of music and jollity among the masses could lead to a perceived weakness in the population, potentially impacting their ability to fulfill their societal or military roles.

At the end of his brief survey of the musical tastes of the Russian population, Collins caustically and wittily remarks: “if you would please a Russian with Musick, Get a consort of Billings-gate Nightingales, which joyn'd with a flight of screech Owls, a nest of Jackdaws, a

[156] Ibid., p. 24.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid., p. 32.
[159] Ibid., p. 32.
[160] Ibid., p. 33.
[161] Ibid., p. 33.

pack of hungry Wolves, seven Hogs in a windy day, and as many Cats with their Corrivals, and let them sing Lacrymae, and that will ravish a pair of Russian uggs better than all the Musick in Italy, light Ayres in France, Marches of England, or the Gigs of Scotland."[162] This satirical comparison suggests that the Russians have a unique and eccentric taste in music, favoring unconventional and discordant sounds over the traditional musical styles of other countries. In short, the passage playfully depicts the Russian preference for unusual and noisy music, using humor to highlight their idiosyncratic musical taste, which sets them apart from the musical preferences of other nations.

Samuel Collins also discusses fashion among Russian women in the 17th century and their preference for fuller figures because in Russia at that time a lean woman was considered as unwholesome or unhealthy and for that resaon some of them intentionally engage in "all manner of Epicurism"[163] to fatten themselves up. Specifically, the passage highlights the practice of consuming Russian Brandy, which is known to have a fattening effect and taking long naps, and repeating the process by drinking again. The author goes as far as to compare Russian women to "Swine design'd to make Bacon"[164].

Additionaly, Collins exhibits a profound comprehension of court intrigues, exceeding those of other foreign guests, due to his privileged position and thorough insight of royal life. His trustworthy accounts of the actions of the Order of Secret Affairs and Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich are particularly fascinating. Being a court physician Collins gives a detailed description of Tsar Alexis, his character and physical appearance is provided, along with an assessment of his potential as a ruler. Tsar Alexis is described as a "goodly person"[165], meaning he possesses a noble and impressive appearance. He is tall and fat, with a "majestical Deportment"[166], indicating a regal and imposing presence. In terms of personality, Tsar Alexis is said to be "severe in his anger"[167], suggesting a stern and strict disposition. However, he is also described as "bountiful, charitable chastly uxorious"[168], highlighting his generous, compassionate, and morally upright nature. The tsar is described as uxorious, meaning he shows great affection and devotion to his wife and is also kind to his sisters and children, indicating his caring and family-oriented side. Tsar Alexis is portrayed as having a strong memory, suggesting intelligence and a keen mind. He is strict in his devotion, implying a strong commitment to his religious beliefs.

[162] Ibid., p. 33.
[163] Ibid., p. 70.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid., p. 101.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid., p. 44.
[168] Ibid.

The passage mentions that he favors his religion, indicating that he is supportive and devoted to the Orthodox Church, which was the dominant religion in Russia at that time.

The passage further suggests that the Tsar's good intentions might be hindered by the presence of "sycophants"[169] (flatterers) and "jealous nobility"[170] in his court. These individuals are described as blinding his good intentions, implying that they may manipulate or mislead him. However, the author asserts that if it were not for these negative influences, Tsar Alexis could potentially be counted among the "best and wisest of princes", indicating that the author recognizes his positive qualities and capabilities as a ruler.

Collins ends his account of the Russian court with a somewhat contrasting impression of Tsar Alexis: "Emperour of Russia is as pious, conscientious, clement, merciful and good a Prince as any in the world. As for his People and Ministers of State, they are like other Nations, ready to act any thing for Bribes or Money, and to deceive as many as they can."[171] The tsar is presented as an honourable and generous monarch on the one hand, yet his subjects and ministers are shown to be treacherous and corrupted. Therefore, it appears that the author is attempting to portray the king in a more favorable light by distancing him from his entourage, as though he had little or no impact on their actions.

To sum up, given that Collins wrote a letter to another person rather than a methodical book, many of the its flaws can be partially excused. Additionally, the version that was published came about after his passing and might not exactly reflect how he would have done it himself. Moreover, as stated in the afterword, the book's exterior was altered by a select group of honourable people the bookseller chose. In general, this book provides a captivating account of an intellectual Englishman who had abundant opportunities to closely observe and gain insights into Russia. The author's erudition and extensive exposure to the country offer a unique perspective on the culture, society, and people of Russia of a specific period in history. Through his detailed observations and experiences, the diary becomes a valuable historical and cultural document, shedding light on the complexities of the Moscow Tsardom during that time period. It grants access to the author's firsthand encounters, making it an enriching and informative portrayal of the country from an outsider's perspective.

[169] Ibid.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid., p. 125.

Chapter 4. Overview of the changing nature of English-Russian relations during the 18th century

As J. Black astutely observes in his historical analysis, "The general direction of Anglo-Russian relations was one of animosity to alliance and back to animosity"[172]. However, a significant change only materialised in the 18th century, largely as a result of the formalisation of frequent diplomatic interactions. Russia experienced a significant transformation under Peter the Great's visionary leadership as it assimilated into the complex web of international conventions in Europe. This integration marked the groundwork for a more complex and diverse connection between Russia and England, and it laid the foundation for a considerable expansion of the European diplomatic environment.

The dynamics between these two countries were significantly shaped by the 18th-century Age of Enlightenment, a time characterised by intellectual and cultural pursuit. Notably, it was during the reigns of Peter I and Catherine II that the strongest basis for cultural exchange between Russia and England was established. This era was marked by a fervent pursuit of knowledge, innovation, and cultural refinement.

Peter the Great, with his unrestrained drive for modernization and Europeanization, ushered in a new era of openness in Russia. His comprehensive reforms touched upon virtually every aspect of Russian society, from politics and administration to culture and diplomacy. Peter's exposure to Western European ideas and practices aided Russia and England in forging closer ties as they attempted to communicate meaningfully about shared goals and ideals.

The same intellectual and cultural interchange was resumed by Catherine II. Russia's position within the larger European cultural scene was further solidified by her funding of the arts and interaction with Enlightenment philosophers. During her reign, the ideas of reason, development, and education grew, creating a favourable environment for cooperation and mutual understanding between England and Russia.

Peter the Great, who ruled Russia from 1682 to 1725, played a significant role in shaping Russia's foreign policy in the 18th century with his policies had a lasting impact on Russia's relations with England and other European powers. Following Tsar Peter I's visit to England in 1698, Russia began to get deeply accustomed to British culture. However, it's crucial to remember that the Russian Tsar was a conscientious individual aiming to gain information and expertise throughout his travels rather than merely a curious tourist. V.O. Klyuchevsky[173]

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[172] Jeremy Black, "*Anglo-Russian relations, 1714-82*", (n.d.), Available: https://www.gale.com/intl/essays/jeremy-black-anglo-russian-relations-1714-82, Accessed 2023, August.

[173] V.O. Klyuchevsky, *Курс русской истории* [Russian history course], Moscow, Alfa-Kniga, 1989, volume IV, p. 20.

emphasised that Peter I vigorously sought out new innovations in the West with the goal of implementing them back in his own nation.

Peter returned to Russia with nearly 800 foreign professionals, notably officers, seamen, engineers, and physicians; according to various reports, the number of British experts varied between 50 to 500[174]. The Tsar was committed to transforming Russia and sought to quickly close the development disparity in his nation by utilising the strategies, know-how, and ideas of more developed nations. The British experience had a pronounced influence in the creation and growth of a regular army, fleet, industrial infrastructure, administrative procedures, church reforms, and educational reforms, and particularly in the development of the Russian fleet..

The influx of young people going to England to study different crafts was an important factor in the spread of British culture in Russia. According to Cross, several hundred Russian students studied in the United Kingdom in total during the 18th century[175]. This flow of students seeking education and vocational training in England underscores the allure of British expertise and the high regard in which British education was held during this period. These young Russians travelled to England with the goal of gaining useful skills, technical knowledge, and cultural perspectives that they might use in their native country. They were exposed to the technical aspects of their chosen crafts as well as the country's larger cultural and intellectual environment through their experiences at British institutions and workshops. Along with the mechanics of their occupations, they assimilated the values, traditions, and ideologies that were common in British culture at the time. Because of their absorption, when they went back to Russia, they were able to spread British culture and innovation.

Commerce with England assumed a pivotal role in the economic landscape of Russia, and this role underwent a remarkable expansion during the reign of Peter the Great. English traders emerged as a dominant force in this flourishing trade dynamic, constituting the largest contingent among foreign merchants. An illustrative snapshot of this bustling trade scene can be seen in the year 1725 when St. Petersburg welcomed a total of 114 foreign merchant vessels. Astonishingly, a substantial majority of these ships—61 to be exact—flew the British flag[176]. The presence of English merchants in such substantial numbers in St. Petersburg is indicative of the close economic ties that had been established between Russia and England. These merchants engaged

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[174] A. Cross, *Peter and Britain. Russia in the Reign of Peter the Great: Old and New Perspectives*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 30.
[175] Ibid., pp. 348-363.
[176] V. N. Zakharov, “The formation of merchant shipping in the St. Petersburg port under Peter the Great” (according to records of the collection of the Sunda duty), Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. 2019. No. 5 (21). Available: https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/stanovlenie-torgovogo-sudohodstva-v-peterburgskom-portu-pri-petre-velikom-po-dannym-zapisey-o-vzimanii-zundskoy-poshliny, Accessed 2023, August.

in a wide array of trade, encompassing commodities such as textiles, metals, and luxury goods, contributing substantially to the prosperity of both nations. The founding of the city of St. Petersburg itself, which he intended to be a "window to the West"[177] and served as a strategic gateway to the Baltic Sea and facilitated maritime trade with Western European nations, especially England, was one of the most important undertakings in this regard. Furthermore, the appeal of the Russian market, with its vast resources and growing consumer demand, was an enticing prospect for English traders. This shared economic interest opened the door for successful business interactions that not only strengthened the economies of both nations but also acted as a spark for more extensive diplomatic and cultural relations.

However, following events caused the initial admiration for both the Tsar and Russia in general to change. The Swedish defeat at Poltava, Russian territorial gains in the Baltic states, and the development of a strong navy all pointed to the rise of a new, formidable power in Europe that was impossible to ignore anymore. Russia's recent transformation made it a significant rival to Great Britain. In light of this, D. Horn, a British scholar, called the connection between the two countries during the final years of Peter's rule and following rule of his spouse, Empress Catherine I, a "cold war"[178].

Another prominent ruler of the Russian Empire in the 18 century was Catherine II, often known as Catherine the Great who was the Empress of Russia from 1762 to 1796. Her reign was marked by significant changes in Russian-English relations, as well as in Russia's relations with other European powers. According to J. M. O'Sullivan “she seemed irrevocably committed to the European policy of Peter the Great”.[179] The Empress pursued a policy of diplomatic engagement with various European powers, including England. Her goal was to secure alliances and improve Russia's standing on the international stage.

Trade relations between Russia and England continued to expand during Catherine's the Great reign. English merchants played a role in the trade of various goods, including textiles, metals, and luxury items, with Russia. Catherine the Great was known for her interest in Enlightenment ideals, and she corresponded with several Enlightenment thinkers and philosophers in Europe, including Voltaire and Diderot[180]. This intellectual exchange also extended to England, where Enlightenment ideas were flourishing. While it may not have

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[177] S. A. Nefedov, “*Peter I: the glory and poverty of modernization*”, Historical psychology and sociology of history, 2011. Available: https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/petr-i-blesk-i-nischeta-modernizatsii, Accessed 2023, August.

[178] D. Horn, *Great Britain and Europe in the Eighteen Century*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967, p. 109.

[179] J. M. O’Sullivan, “Catherine the Great and Russian Policy”, *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, *4*(15), 397–410. (1915), p. 397. Available: http://www.jstor.org/stable/30092572, Accessed August, 2023.

[180] B. Meehan-Waters, Catherine the Great and the Problem of Female Rule. *The Russian Review*, *34*(3), 293–307, (1975), p. 294. Available: https://doi.org/10.2307/127976, Accessed August, 2023.

directly impacted diplomatic relations, it contributed to a broader cultural exchange. During Catherine's reign quite a number of foreign tutors were invited to Russia to teach in schools and privately. The Empress also strongly promoted the concept of Russian students attending British universities for their further education[181].

Catherine made outstanding attempts to promote tighter connections between the two countries in the early years of her leadership. The provisions of the 1734 agreement were extended by a new trade deal between Russia and Great Britain that was completed in 1766[182]. Consequently, British trade doubled compared to the early 18th century,

An important role was also played by scientific interactions, one of which featured the visit of T. Dimsdale[183], a distinguished British scientist and physician who wrote the treatise "Modern Method of Smallpox Inoculation," which was recognised in Europe. In 1768, Catherine invited him to provide smallpox vaccinations for her, her family, and her courtiers. The Empress gave Dimsdale the rank of baron in appreciation for his work, which she found to be extremely satisfactory. In 1781, Baron Dimsdale paid Catherine's court a second visit; this time, he travelled to Russia with his wife, Elizabeth. The baroness recorded her observations in her diary, giving readers insightful accounts of a variety of features of Russia, including its cultural practises, customs, and St. Petersburg's architectural and historical sites. She also gave thorough accounts of the Empress and her entourage's looks, conduct, and daily lives[184].

The advancement of each population's awareness of the other through scientific and cultural exchanges between people from Great Britain and Russia was crucial in fostering the development of Russo-British ties. These interactions promoted a stronger mutual understanding by facilitating the sharing of ethnic and cultural insights.

In sum, while the historical trajectory of Anglo-Russian relations has been marked by alternating periods of tension and cooperation, the 18th century stands out as a time of transformation and cultural exchange. Through the formalization of diplomatic ties, the visionary

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[181] I. De Madariaga, "*The Foundation of the Russian Educational System by Catherine II*", The Slavonic and East European Review, *57*(3), 369–395, (1979), p. 372. Available: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4207857, Accessed 2023, August.

[182] T.L. Labutina, "*British diplomats in the struggle for preferences in the trade agreement of 1766 (based on correspondence of English ambassadors)*", Bulletin of the Ryazan State University. S. A. Yesenina. 2015. No. 4 (49), p. 262. Available: https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/britanskie-diplomaty-v-borbe-za-preferentsii-v-torgovom-dogovore-1766-goda-po-materialam-perepiski-angliyskih-poslov, Accessed 2023, August.

[183] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, *(n.d.), Dimsdale, Thomas (1712–1800), physician.* Available: www.oxforddnb.com Accessed 2023, August.

[184] T.L. Labutina, N.A.Botova, "*Russia in the era of Catherine the Great through the eyes of an English aristocrat" (Based on materials from "The Diary of Baroness Dimmesdale")*, Catherine the Great: the era of Russian history. Abstracts of reports. St. Petersburg, (1996), pp. 174-177.

leadership of figures like Peter the Great and Catherine II, and the intellectual ferment of the Age of Enlightenment, the two nations found common ground and built a more nuanced and enduring foundation for their relationship on the international stage.

Unlike previous centuries, where the primary focus was on trade and commerce between the two empires, this era witnessed a notable shift in Western public interest. People began to delve deeper into understanding the true essence of Russia – its culture, traditions, and the rich tapestry of its diverse nationalities.

This chapter focuses on delving into the fascinating travel diaries of two daring individuals who travelled far beyond of the beaten roads of Moscow and St. Petersburg. We start with Elizabeth Craven, who is a fascinating character in and of herself. She led an adventurous life and continually stood by her independence when it came to travel. Elizabeth Craven did not confine herself to the cosmopolitan hubs of Europeanized Russia; instead, she embarked on a remarkable journey to the Crimea, meticulously documenting her experiences along the way.

The second luminary of this chapter is John Bell, a physician in the court of Peter the Great. Dr. Bell, a pioneer who led the way, travelled with a similar boldness. On his trip to Beijing, he travelled through both the grandeur of St. Petersburg and the wild terrain of Siberia. By doing so, he shed light on previously unexplored Siberian areas and made astute observations about the nuances of Turkic societies

Together, these two intrepid explorers offer us a glimpse into the Anglo-Russian connection in the 18th century, which was marked by a rising interest in Russia's complex identity and a readiness to travel great distances in order to acquire this comprehension. Through their travelogues, we gain valuable insights into a pivotal period of cultural exploration and exchange between these two great empires.

Chapter 4.1. Lady traveller Elizabeth Craven

Elizabeth Craven had a fascinating life full of travels, relationships, and scandalous incidents. According to Oxford Dictionary of National Biography[185] she was born into a wealthy family in Georgian England, married Lord Craven at the young age of 16, and went on to become famous as a social hostess and a remarkable beauty while rearing seven children. She fearlessly entered the worlds of poetry, fiction, and playwriting despite being fully conscious of her insufficient education as a woman of her day.

Unfortunately, discord and adultery destroyed her marriage. She then set off on long journeys across Europe, turning her letters into a legendary travelogue that became one of her

[185] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. (n.d.). https://www.oxforddnb.com dictionary. Accessed July, 2023.

most well-known works. She settled in Germany after her travels were through as the Margrave of Ansbach's companion and ultimately as his second wife. She actively produced and took part in theatrical performances while living at his court. She even wrote numerous captivating plays, including *The Modern Philosopher*.

When Elizabeth and the Margrave moved to England in 1792, they had a hard time fitting in with the more traditional members of society. Nevertheless, they frequently attended events where actors, singers, and the more daring characters from the Regency set congregated. Craven persisted in producing her own plays and writing for the stage despite the setbacks. She relocated to Naples in her later years, where she devoted the remainder of her life writing her memoirs, sailing, and taking care of her gardens.

In 1789, Lady Craven's travelogue, *A Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, was published. This is her most significant work, a selection of 48 letters that fully utilises the boastful and self-justifying scope of first-person travelogue. The epistolary format of travel tales was popular during the Enlightenment because it gave readers a sense of unmistakable authenticity. Evidently, *The Turkish Embassy Letters* written by Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu when her husband served as the British envoy in Constantinople from 1716 to 1718, had a significant impact on Craven. These letters provided insights into the traditions and social mores of the capital of the Ottoman Empire as well as a vivid portrayal of life in the Balkan provinces. In the second edition, Craven opposed herself to her fellow countrywoman and stated that she was certain that Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu did not write her letters and instead some of them were written by a man who emulated a woman's elegant language, besides she stated that the majority of the facts were made up,[186] thus asserting that her travelogue was the pioneering women's essay on Turkey. However, contemporary scholars dispute this claim and point to significant differences between Wortley-Montagu and Craven's objectives, intentions, authorial method, and writing style[187]. In her works Lady Craven outlines manners, traditions, and landscapes encountered in her journeys while declaring Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's positive portrayal of Turkey to be a fake that "constructs a self-image of redoubtable British vigour as well as devoted and injured motherhood"[188]. Despite the criticism she received for her conceit, a second, expanded version was published in 1814 (entitled *Letters from the Right Honorable*

[186] E. Craven, *Letters from the Right Honorable Lady Craven, to His Serene Highness the Margrave of Anspach, during Her Travels through France, Germany, and Russia in 1785 and 1786*. 2nd ed. London: A. J. Valpy, (1814), p. 289.

[187] K. S. H. Turner, From Classical to Imperial: Changing Visions of Turkey in the Eighteenth Century, in S. Clark (ed.), *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, London: Zed Books, 1999, pp. 113–128.

[188] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, *op.cit.*

Lady Craven, to his serene highness the margrave of Anspach, during her travels through France, Germany, and Russia in 1785 and 1786). It had a new preface and additional letters, so there were 109 in total. It is presumed that Craven composed her letters with the anticipation of their eventual publication[189].

It is possible that certain letters were already penned after Craven's return, as indicated by information from her travel diary. In the introduction to the initial edition, the author playfully mentions that the publication was initiated at the behest of friends intrigued by her "long and extraordinary journey"[190]. In addition, Craven wanted to tell the truth about her journeys to the areas she had been in order to repair her reputation as a few years previously, a woman allegedly crossed Europe on the pretense that she was Baron Craven's wife. The second edition of the letters' preface reiterates this idea. However, there is no proof to imply that Craven's imagination did not play a role in the fabrication of the impostor.

Lady Craven was one of a very few women travelling to Russia in that period and it needs to be said that travelogues written by women often possess distinctive qualities that set them apart from those penned by men. These differences stem from the historical context, societal expectations, and individual perspectives that women have navigated throughout history. Women's travelogues offer unique perspectives on travel, as they often encountered different challenges and experiences than men. Their accounts might delve into gender relations, women's roles, and interactions with local women, shedding light on cultural nuances not always explored by male travelers. Throughout history, women faced more significant societal constraints in their travels, which could impact the content and tone of their travelogues. They may have had to navigate gender-specific obstacles, such as restricted access to certain places or cultural practices that were not open to them. Consequently, their writings might emphasize adaptation and resilience in the face of these challenges. Women travelers might be more conscious of how their actions and words were perceived by society. As a result, their travelogues may reflect self-awareness, self-reflection, and a sense of responsibility in how they presented themselves and their experiences. Women's travelogues often highlight personal interactions and relationships formed during their journeys. They might write extensively about the people they meet, friendships forged, and the emotional impact of these connections on their travels. Female travel writers might delve into domestic aspects of their travels, including descriptions of household

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[189] A. G. Cross, *By the Banks of the Neva: Chapters from the Lives and Careers of the British in Eighteenth-century Russia. Cambridge*, New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997, p. 358

[190] E. Craven, *Letters from the Right Honorable Lady Craven, to His Serene Highness the Margrave of Anspach, during Her Travels through France, Germany, and Russia in 1785 and 1786*, Dublin: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789, p. 4. Available: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco/004838538.0001.000?rgn=main;view=fulltext, Accessed 2023, July.

arrangements, family life, and the roles of women in the cultures they visit. Their narratives might provide insight into the everyday lives of local women. Women's travelogues may demonstrate a greater emphasis on empathy, understanding, and sensitivity towards the lives and experiences of the local people they encounter. Their writings may reveal a deep appreciation for cultural differences and human connection. While not universal, the themes mentioned above tend to emerge.

In one of the passages from Elizabeth Craven's travelogue about her stay in St. Petersburg, she offers her observations and critique of the lifestyle and fashion of the Russian nobility. Firstly, Craven expresses her general impression of the Russian nobles' way of living, stating that it is "upon too large a scale"[191] suggesting that the nobility in Russia indulged in extravagant and lavish practices, going to excess in various aspects of their lives. She also remarks on the manner in which the nobles compete with each other in indulging in "extravagancies of every sort"[192] which implies a somewhat competitive spirit in showcasing wealth and luxury and a considerate level of ostentation among the Russian elite.

Craven then focuses on the fashion trends of the day, criticizing the Russian nobility for adopting a style that she finds "ridiculous and improper for this climate"[193]. She specifically mentions French gauzes which were popular at that time. By emphasizing the inappropriateness of such fashion choices for the Russian climate, she is likely commenting on the impracticality and perhaps lack of cultural sensitivity of the Russian elites' attempts to imitate foreign trends. Moreover, she highlights the high cost of these foreign luxuries in Russia, suggesting that purchasing such items comes at a great expense and could lead to financial ruin for the buyers. This criticism may reflect her concern over the financial irresponsibility of the nobility in their pursuit of foreign fashion.

Craven notes that the Empress and the Princess d'Ashkow are the only ladies she has encountered in Russia who wear the Russian dress. The fact that the Empress and the Princess embrace their own country's attire reflects a sense of national pride and cultural identity. Craven then offers her admiration for the Russian dress, describing it as "a very handsome one"[194]. Furthermore, she expresses her increasing surprise at the lack of preservation of national fashions by different countries. She criticizes the current fashion climate, where one country emulates the styles of others, labeling them as mere "apes" of foreign fashion. Here, "ape" refers to imitating without originality or true understanding, as opposed to preserving and cherishing one's authentic culture.

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[191] Ibid., p. 167.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid., p. 169.

Craven also offers her perspective on the cost of living in Russia compared to other countries, specifically mentioning French wines, fashions, and English comforts: “I believe Russia is one of the cheapest countries in the world to live in”[195]. However, she qualifies this statement by mentioning that the affordability is contingent on certain conditions. The first condition is the ability to do without "French wines and fashions"[196]. The second condition she mentions is dispensing with "english comforts"[197]. This could refer to English products or lifestyle elements that are considered luxurious or non-essential in Russia. By acknowledging the need to forgo such comforts, she implies that living frugally in Russia requires adjusting to a different set of standards and embracing the local way of life.

Craven shares her observations and impressions of the people and their character, comparing them to other nationalities. Craven begins by noting that she often sees Grecian features among the females of Russia and "subtle wit of the Greek"[198] among males. Craven goes on to praise the adaptability and versatility of the Russians, describing them as having a "pliability of genius"[199]. She admires their ability to speak multiple languages well and embrace various inventions and arts from other countries, indicating an open-minded and cosmopolitan attitude. Furthermore, she contrasts the Russians with other nationalities she has encountered. She mentions that she does not see the same "prejudices of the English, the conceit of the French, nor the stiff German pride"[200] in the Russians. By doing so, she highlights what she perceives as the positive aspects of the Russian character, as opposed to the perceived foibles of other nationalities. Craven then addresses the notion of Russians being deceitful, acknowledging that such a reputation exists. However, she expresses her contentment with avoiding intimate relationships, as she prefers to find new acquaintances that are pleasant and civil, rather than unpleasant or impertinent. This implies that she is content with casual and cordial interactions, without necessarily delving deeper into the social fabric.

Craven also shares her observations of the Russian peasants' behavior during the carnival season. She notes that one “might with some reason suppose it is a religious duty for the Russian peasant to be drunk"[201]. This observation highlights the prevalence of heavy drinking among the Russian peasants during the carnival season. The use of the word "religious duty" here is likely meant to be somewhat humorous or satirical, implying that the level of drinking is so significant that one might assume it to be an obligatory and deeply ingrained part of the peasants'

[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid., p. 178.
[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid., p. 186.

celebration. However, it also suggests that such behavior might be rooted in cultural traditions or customs associated with the carnival festivities.

Crimea holds a significant position within the writings. However, Craven's correspondence provides limited insight into Crimea itself, instead reflecting prevalent stereotypes held by Western Europeans during the Enlightenment period. Craven's presence in Crimea lasted approximately a month during the spring of 1786. Notably, even while in St. Petersburg, she encountered discouragement regarding her intentions to journey to Crimea: "I have mentioned to a few people my intention of seeing the Crimea; and I am told that the air is unwholesome, the waters poisonous, and that I shall certainly die if I go there; but as in the great world a new acquired country, like a new beauty, finds detractors, I am not in the least alarmed; for a person, not a Russian, who has been there on speculation, has given me so charming a description of it, that I should not be sorry to purchase a Tartarian estate"[202]. It's possible that Craven intentionally amplified the challenges of the journey to showcase her bravery. The transition from Kherson to Crimea carried a symbolic weight akin to a rite of passage. This shift from civilized regions to more primitive territories was palpably represented by a journey that traversed a symbolic void. The progression itself mirrored the movement from cultivated society towards what was perceived as a more uncivilized or barbaric realm: "From thence I crossed the plains of Perekop, on which nothing but a large coarse grass grows, which is burnt at certain periods of the year. All this country, like that between Cherson and Chrementchruh, is called Steps, I should call it desert"[203].

Some propose a theory suggesting that Craven might have been a spy, tasked by the British government to gather strategic information about Crimea. The arguments supporting this hypothesis include her keen interest in the Russian army, navy, and various maps[204]. However, the reason for this might be a simple fact that in Crimea, there were no other members of society besides the Russian military.

During her travels, Craven consistently carried tea accessories in her carriage and detailed how she would enjoy tea during breaks. It is plausible that the teapot held symbolic significance for Craven, representing her connection to English culture and, consequently, to civilization: "I stopped there and made tea; that I might go on, as far as I could that night. You must not suppose, my dear Sir, though I have left my coach and harp at Petersburgh, that I have not all my little necessaries even in a kibitka—a tin-kettle in a basket holds my tea equipage, and I have my

[202] Ibid., pp. 183-184.
[203] Ibid., pp. 213-214.
[204] I. N. Medvedeva, Таврида: исторические очерки и рассказы [Taurida: historical essays and stories], Leningrad: Lenizdat (1956), p. 57.

English side-saddle tied behind my carriage"[205]. Craven strengthened her connection to her English background and, in a way, strove to maintain a semblance of familiarity and comfort despite the strange surroundings she experienced by adding tea-related practises into her travels. She was able to bring a piece of her cultural identity with her thanks to the teapot and the act of drinking tea, which served as a reminder of home and civilization while she was in the midst of her adventures into less familiar territory.

Another emblem of the traveler's affiliation with European civilization was the English ladies' saddle, which Craven also brought along on her journeys. During a trip from Sevastopol to the Baidar Valley, when the carriage couldn't traverse the mountainous road, she was offered a riding horse as an alternative. However, she declined the offer, explaining that "it was impossible for me to ride astride, and the Cossack saddles I could not sit upon, so we returned back to Sevastopole"[206]. The practical use of the ladies' saddle was only one facet of the social significance of the ladies' saddle in English society. It exemplified the virtues of gentleness, sophistication, and the courteous way of life, which were qualities that were ascribed to English women throughout that time period. Not only did the saddle serve as a practical method of transportation, but it also served as a symbol of one's social standing and their adherence to accepted standards of decency. Riding horses was not only a pastime for English ladies, but also a way to demonstrate their elegance and status in the community. It was possible for women to ride with elegance and dignity thanks to the ladies' saddle, which was intended to accommodate the elegant gowns that were popular at the time. Craven retained the spirit of English womanhood and the cultural identity that was symbolised by the ladies' saddle by refusing to ride the horse and instead choosing to cling onto her ladies' saddle. Incorporating the ladies' saddle into her travels, particularly in difficult terrain like the hilly route, underlined Craven's aim to transmit her English identity and values of elegance wherever her adventures took her; she was determined to maintain the cultural linkages that defined her as a woman of European civilization while in the midst of alien terrain.

Craven's depiction of Crimea in her work portrays it as a tranquil natural haven inhabited by simple-minded, benevolent, and somewhat uncivilized locals. The following passage underscores Elizabeth Craven's enthusiasm for English colonisation as a strategy to foster industrialization, economic development, and a feeling of English identity and influence in less developed places. It also exposes the prevalent colonial mentality of the time, which frequently involves extrapolating European norms and values to other parts of the globe: "I confess, I wish to see a colony of honest English families here; establishing manufactures, such as England

[205] Ibid., pp. 216-217.
[206] Ibid., p. 251.

produces, and returning the produce of this country to ours"[207]. Undoubtedly, all of this was rationalized based on the belief in promoting the common welfare of humanity: "it is the honest wish of one who considers all mankind as one family, and, looking upon them as such, wishes them to be united for the common good; excluding from nations all sel|fish and monopolizing views"[208].

Craven had the opportunity to meet noble Tatar ladies on two occasions. The Englishwoman was astounded by their splendid attire, exquisite jewelry, and distinctive makeup. She observed that unlike European women, both Tatars and Turkish women did not display female envy. Instead, they freely complimented individuals of the same sex, a custom that was traditionally associated with men in Europe: "Tartarian and Turkish women, deriving the only pleasures of society from women, have none of that envy which prevails in European female breasts—and among the Tartarian and Turkish women, the extravagant encomiums which fall from the lips of a man desperately in love with a pretty woman, are to be heard and are in frequent use"[209].

Throughout her writings Craven made a concerted effort to highlight her autonomy during her travels, in contrast to Lady Wortley-Montague, who travelled alongside her spouse. Essentially, she purposefully crafted the image of being the first Englishwoman to undertake a trip unaccompanied by men, which was an unusual accomplishment in the culture of 17th–18th-century England and Western Europe in general. During this time period, people believed that travel was an essential component of human growth, and writing about one's experiences while travelling was regarded as an endeavour that was both commendable and desirable. Besides, it gave the general public an opportunity to be educated about exotic and lesser-known locations through the dissemination of such published reports.

The focus of Craven's travelogue, however, was not so much on the nations she saw but rather on herself, which marked a substantial departure from the vast majority of prior travelogues. In the monograph by L. Wolf[210], it was concluded that Craven sought to find impressions and inspiration from lesser-known locations, which eventually led to the creation of a narrative about a refined lady's adventures in unfamiliar and untamed lands. In other words, all the exotic people and landscapes encountered during her travels served as a backdrop for the unfolding adventures of a fearless lady.

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[207] Ibid., p. 249.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid., p. 228.
[210] L. Wolff, Изобретая Восточную Европу: Карта цивилизации в сознании эпохи Просвещения [Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization in the Mind of the Enlightenment], Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2003, p. 192.

4.2 A physician's journey across Siberia in accounts by John Bell

John Bell was a British expatriate who embarked on extensive journeys across Russia and the eastern regions between 1715 and 1738. Notably, he accompanied Peter the Great's embassies to Ispahan in Persia from 1715 to 1718, traversed Siberia to reach Beijing in China from 1719 to 1721, ventured to Derbent in Persia in 1722, and undertook a journey to Constantinople from 1737 to 1738[211]. His narrative provides intricate depictions of the local customs, manners, geography, and landscapes of the countries he explored. This account named *Travels From St. Petersburg In Russia To Diverse Parts Of Asia* published in 1763 gained popularity and was republished in 1764 and 1788[212], being translated into French and German editions as well. Notably, an engraved folding map within the work illustrates the route between Moscow and Beijing.

Bell's journey account became a key source for later European researchers, providing information on numerous Turkic communities in addition to offering insights into Siberia. Bell's travelogue held a special place in the eyes of European scientists who sought to understand Siberia and its intricate tapestry of cultures, landscapes, and historical developments. These descriptions gave researchers a glimpse into the customs, dynamics, and daily lives of these people, shedding light on a part of the world that was previously mostly unknown to them.

Another thing that becomes apparent when examining how Siberia and Tartary are portrayed in the travelogue is the notion of the Russian state's territorial expansion into these countries. Bell's views on Russian state expansion into these formerly remote lands had a big impact on how Europeans saw and viewed Siberia. This idea was crucial to comprehending the historical context as well as the geopolitical dynamics at play at the time that moulded the environment. Bell's writings thus became a veritable gold mine of knowledge, providing not only vivid depictions but also aiding in a better understanding of what was going on at that period.

Bell's two-volume opus holds a significant position in British literary history, spanning centuries. Its significance lies in the fact that the author compiled material that offers one of the earliest insights into the ethnographic, cultural, and historical dimensions of Siberia during the 18th to 19th centuries, as observed by a British voyager. As documented by the Encyclopedia

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[211] (n.d.). *Bell, John*. Oxford Dictionart of National Biography. Retrieved August, 2023, from https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2011?rskey=XZrNZx&result=4

[212] (n.d.). *Travels from St Petersburg in Russia, to Diverse Parts of Asia… Containing a Journey to Ispahan in Persia….* Marshall Rare Books. Retrieved August, 2023, from https://www.marshallrarebooks.com/all-books/all-books/travels-from-st-petersburg-in-russia-to-diverse-parts-of-asia-containing-a-journey-to-ispahan-in-persia-with-part-of-a-journey-to-pekin-in-china-through-siberia/

Britannica, the vivid travelogue contained within this work "did much to awaken Westerners to the way of life of the peoples of Russia and the East, particularly China"[213]. This significance is underscored by the fact that, in contrast to certain British travel literature, Bell's work achieved remarkable popularity being distributed throughout 18th-century Europe, both in its original British printings and through numerous translations.

The account of J. Bell's journey to Russia is elucidated by the author within the preface of the initial volume of the travel notes. He recounts that at the age of 23, equipped with recommendations, Bell departs London for St. Petersburg in 1714. Subsequently, he commences his association with Dr. Arefkine, a physician in the service of Peter the First. The tsar was directing a diplomatic effort at this time to establish contact with the sophy of Persia. Bell joined the tsar's service and was integrated into this mission after acting on Dr. Areskine's advice. On July 15, 1715, he set off from St. Petersburg on a voyage that took him from Moscow through Kazan and then south along the Volga to Astrakhan. The mission left from there and sailed over the Caspian Sea to Derbent before proceeding on to Esfahan in Persia, where they landed on March 14, 1717. The expedition ended after leaving Esfahan in September and returning to St. Petersburg through Saratov in December 1718.

It took Bell four years to collect all materials for the first publication. The Quarterly Review of 1817 states that Bell had initially asked the historian William Robertson to carry out the task. Robertson, being busy, advised Bell to take Gulliver's Travels "for your model, and you cannot go wrong"[214]. According to J. Bell's own statement: "I have, through the whole, given the observations, which then appeared to me worth remarking, without attempting to embellish them, by taking any of the liberties of exaggeration, or invention, frequently imputed to travellers"[215]. While journeying from St. Petersburg to Beijing, J. Bell traverses lesser-known regions from the perspective of Western inhabitants, namely Tartary and Siberia, as a member of the imperial retinue. J. Bell expertly creates a realistic panorama in his discourse on the colonisation of the Trans-Ural lands. In this story, the author deftly contrasts Siberia and Mexico, two places that on the surface appear to be very different: "The poor Tartars were as much amazed and terrified, at the fight of the Russians and their arms, as the inhabitants of Mexico on the arrival of the Spaniards in America, to which Siberia may, in many respects, be

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[213] (n.d.). *John Bell*. Britannica. Retrieved August, 2023, from https://www.britannica.com/place/China

[214] Ibid., www.oxforddnb.com

[215] John Bell, *Travels From St. Petersburg In Russia To Diverse Parts Of Asia: In Two Volumes. Containing A Journey to Ispahan in Persia, in the Years 1715, 1716, 1717, and 1718. Part of a Journey to Pekin in China, Through Siberia, in the Years 1719, 1720, and 1721: With a Map of the Author's Two Routes Between Mosco and Pekin*, Edinburgh: Foulis, 1763, p. xii.

compared"[216]. He makes an insightful comparison between the helpless Tartars likening their fear of the armed Russian presence to the Mexicans' resistance to the Spanish conquistadors who long ago arrived on their shores.

The author uses this analogy as a powerful tool to illuminate the connected historical episodes involving territorial conquest on different continents. In doing so, he creates a story that depicts Siberia and Tartary as nations that have ceded their sovereignty as a result of these historical occurrences. This depiction of occupied Siberian territories takes on additional dimensions within the narrative and it is enhanced with a deeper level of significance: these conquered lands also acted as places where prisoners were exiled, effectively converting them into places of punishment and imprisonment.

The author's idea that foreigners play a role in spreading civilization to these far eastern lands is made clear while describing interactions with Swedish captives. Bell underscores how the presence of educated and skilled Swedish officers in Russia led to the diffusion of cultural practices, useful arts, and intellectual pursuits in remote regions. According to Bell, the Swedes contributed to the advancement of music and painting and played a role in the broader cultural enrichment of Siberia, which might not have occurred without their influence.

Bell highlights the widespread presence of Swedish officers of high rank in various towns they traveled through. This implies that there was a considerable number of Swedish prisoners held in different locations, suggesting the scale of their captivity: "As, in most other towns through which we passed, we found here many Swedish officers of distinction"[217]. He credits them with introducing various practical skills and arts that were previously unfamiliar to these areas: "I cannot but observe, that the Swedish prisoners, dispersed across the towns in this country, contributed not a little to the civilizing the inhabitants of these distant regions, as they were the means of introducing several useful arts, which were almost unknown before their arrival"[218]. Bell emphasizes that the Swedish officers, often well-educated individuals, utilized their time in captivity to engage in intellectual pursuits: "many of the officers, being gentlemen of liberal education, the better to support their tedious captivity, devoted their time to the study of the more agreeable and entertaining parts of science, particularly music and painting; wherein some of them attained to great perfection"[219]. Attending their concerts, he expresses astonishment at the quality of the music and the diversity of musical instruments present in a region not commonly associated with such refined musical offerings: "I was present at several of

[216] Ibid., p. 211
[217] Ibid., p. 223
[218] Ibid., p. 224
[219] Ibid.

their concerts, and was not a little surprised to find such harmony and variety of musical instruments, in this part of the world"[220].

Furthermore, the author presents a compelling instance of the revelation of a wine-producing enterprise situated in Astrakhan, yielding notably refined wines: "Here [in Astrachan] are several large vineyards, belonging partly to the court, and partly to private persons. There is a Frenchman who superintends them. The wines are very good when drunk on the spot, but cannot bear carriage, for the lead motion renders them insipid. Were it not for this circumstance, Russia would be able, not only to supply itself abundantly with wine, but even other parts of Europe. This pernicious quality is attributed to the nitrous particles of the foil where the vines grow"[221]. Unsurprisingly, the proprietor of this vineyard is of French origin. Within this context, an observable inclination on the part of the author emerges, indicative of a perception that any commendable aspects discovered within Russia trace back to Western origins. The author, thus, posits that positive elements discerned in Russia are invariably attributed to Western influence and were introduced to the country by European entities.

Bell's travelogue provides a nuanced portrayal of lesser-known communities and their characteristics. He challenges stereotypes, sheds light on their values and practices, and captures the intricacies of their lives, revealing a more human and multifaceted perspective of these people and their societies. In the depictions of the Tartarian population, we see John Bell's vision of the wild and untamed area. As the author depicts the locals in this area, this assumption becomes even more clear. Notably, the depiction of the poverty of the local tribes is contrasted with a recounting of their extraordinary hospitality. There is a reoccurring pattern in his trip accounts when unfavourable features are balanced by later references to positive qualities like kindness, innocence, and friendliness: "the Tzerimifh and Tzoowafti […] live by agriculture, and seem to be an inoffensive kind of people"[222]. Bell highlights the livelihood of these lesser-known groups, the Tzerimifh and Tzoowafti, emphasizing their reliance on agriculture. His description of them as "inoffensive" suggests that they are peaceful and unlikely to cause harm. This might indicate that he perceived them as non-threatening and perhaps living harmoniously within their communities. In another observation, Bell states that "[kalmucks] believe virtue leads to happiness, and vice to misery"[223]. This observation provides a glimpse into their values and the moral foundation that guides their behavior. The author writes that "the Kalmucks are not such savage people as they are generally represented; for I am informed, a person may travel among

[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid., p. 31
[222] Ibid., p. 23
[223] Ibid., p. 36

them with greater safety, both to his personal effects, than in many other countries"[224]. This way Bell challenges prevailing stereotypes about the Kalmucks: he counters the notion that they are "savage" by asserting that they are safer to interact with than what common perceptions suggest. This suggests that he found them to be more civilized and possibly accommodating, which contrasts with the prevailing prejudiced views of their character. Bell goes on to describe other communities: "barabintzy are a poor and miserable people"[225]. This phrasing underscores their unfortunate circumstances, likely indicating that they face economic hardship and challenges that contribute to their sense of misery. Bell notes the hospitable nature of the Barabintzy despite their impoverished state. He highlights their openness and generosity by mentioning their willingness to host travelers: "They are very hospitable; and desire nothing, in return of their civilities, but a little tobacco to smoke and a drop of brandy, of which they are very fond"[226]. Their simple requests for tobacco and brandy in return indicate that their hospitality is driven by a desire for modest pleasures rather than material gain.

Bell's writings paint a vivid picture of the difficulties encountered by travellers in the Russian eastern regions in the 18th century. He draws attention to the roads' disrepair, length, and their general absence, linking these features to the area's economic difficulties. He also emphasises the effect of weather on road conditions and talks about how uncomfortable it is to travel with a lot of weight. Overall, these descriptions shed light on the practical challenges and hardships involved in travelling through this region of Russia at that time. By painting a clear picture of the difficulties encountered when travelling through the area the author frequently highlights the region's economic ineptitude. Bell's description of the road as "long and unfrequented"[227] paints a picture of isolation and distance. This implies that the route is not commonly traveled, which could result in less maintenance and fewer facilities for travelers. The term "unfrequented" indicates a lack of regular use, suggesting that the road might be rugged and less developed. The roads, which are frequently lengthy and occasionally nonexistent, are clearly a reflection of the poor economy in the area. Bell mentions adverse weather conditions, specifically "a strong frost, which made the road very rough"[228] which exacerbates the roughness of the road which makes the travel experience even more arduous and uncomfortable. Bell also expresses the discomfort of traveling on rough roads with loaded sledges: "It was disagreeable travelling on rough roads with loaded fledges"[229]. Additionally, the mention of "dark woods"

[224] Ibid., p. 236
[225] Ibid., p. 242
[226] Ibid., pp. 247-248
[227] Ibid., p. 188
[228] Ibid., p. 496
[229] Ibid., p. 190

suggests a lack of visibility and potentially difficult terrain. The presence of villages and corn-fields amidst these challenging conditions indicates pockets of sporadic human habitation in contrast to the rugged surroundings. "The three following days the roads were rough and narrow, lying through dark woods, interfered with some villages and corn-fields"[230].

As Bell familiarizes himself with the lifestyles and perspectives of the Turkic peoples, he finds amusement in certain assertions about European life as spoken by the nomadic individuals: "It is entertaining to hear them commiserate those who are confined to one place of abode, and obliged to support themselves by labour, which they reckon the greatest slavery[231] […] Their only employment is tending their flocks, managing horses, and hunting"[232]. Bell either ridicules or outright dismisses specific spiritual concepts held by the native populations in the eastern regions of Russia:

> The Barabintzy, like most of the ancient natives of Siberia, have many conjurers among them, whom they call Shamans, and sometimes priests. Many of the female sex also assume this charader. The shamans are held in great esteem by the people; they pretend to correspondence with the shaytan, or devil; by whom, they say, they are informed of all past and future events, at any distance of time or place[233] […] these shamans make a great noise in this part of the world, and are believed, by the ignorant vulgar, to be inspired[234].

Bell appears quite dismissive when it comes to the spiritual beliefs of the indigenous people of Siberia: "As to their religion, I can say little: they are downright heathens"[235]. Bell's phrasing ("downright heathens") suggests a certain dismissal or judgment of the indigenous beliefs as being outside the bounds of what he might consider "civilized" or "acceptable". The term "heathens" was historically used to refer to non-Christian or pagan beliefs, often carrying a negative connotation from a Eurocentric or Christian perspective. The author proceeds as follows: "[they] have many lamas or priests, their high priest is called Delay Lama[236] […] from all I can collect concerning these Lamas, they are little better than shamans of superior dignity"[237]. Bell's comparison of these high priests to "shamans of superior dignity" indicates that he is trying to contextualize their position and role by comparing them to what he knows (shamans) but with a hint of condescension ("superior dignity"). Bell's wording ("from all I can collect concerning these Lamas") suggests that his observations are based on the information available to him during his travels, and he may not have a comprehensive understanding of the

[230] Ibid., p. 192
[231] Ibid., p. 236
[232] Ibid., p. 36-37
[233] Ibid., p. 248
[234] Ibid., p. 309
[235] Ibid., p. 36-37
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid., p. 349

intricacies of the indigenous belief system. In conclusion, Bell appears to have a dismissive, ethnocentric, labelling, oversimplification, and propensity to judge the spiritual beliefs of the indigenous peoples of the eastern part of Russia from the perspective of his own culture and religion. His use of language and phraseology shows that he lacks an actual interest in or a desire to interact with the indigenous belief system in its own terms.

Some of the excerpts in Bell's travelogue carry an evident tone of arrogance and condescension, reflecting the attitude of a European colonizer who views the indigenous people as a means to an end: "The Tartars make very good and faithful servants; and the more mildly they are used the better they perform their duty; for their wandering unconfined manner of life naturally, inspires them with sentiments of liberty, and aversion and hatred to tyranny and oppression"[238]. The author seems to believe that the Tartars' performance is contingent on their treatment by the colonizers, suggesting a sense of control and paternalism over their actions. The overall tone reflects a colonial mentality, where the colonizers see themselves as superior and benevolent, believing they can shape the behavior and attitudes of the indigenous people according to their own preferences.

Overall, in his accounts, John Bell conducts scholarly inquiries on the historical integration of the Far East and Eastern Siberia into the Russian dominion. He offers extensive depictions and nuanced evaluations of relatively lesser known regions and metropolitan centres, including Tobolsk, Kazan, Astrakhan, Tyumen, Samara, Saratov, and other locations. He also provides detailed reports of exploratory traverses to Chukotka and Kamchatka. Additionally, Bell frequently discusses the religious and spiritual beliefs practised by indigenous peoples, elaborating on the complex interactions between these convictions and society's structure and related ways of life.

In essence, John Bell's travelogue went beyond being a simple record of his travels. One of the most intriguing elements was how Bell's theories connected with the European audience who was distant from the vast expanses of Siberia and the way his observations had repercussions on how Europeans viewed this far-off, mysterious continent. Through his words, the Siberian region was elevated from a purely topographical location to a stage for social interactions, political intrigue, and personal narratives. It developed into a pathway that allowed European scientists to connect their own world with the vast areas Bell travelled through. It shed light on Siberia's unexplored regions, described the complexities of Turkic societies, and sowed the seeds of knowledge about the impact of the Russian state on these regions. As a result, Bell's

[238] Ibid., p. 34

account permanently altered how Europeans thought of Siberia and enhanced their comprehension of this far-flung and fascinating continent.

Chapter 5. Conclusion and reflection on the main points of the thesis

Numerous factors contributed to the perception that early English travelers' accounts of Russia were steeped in legend and fantasy. First of all, the Tsardom of Moscow was a distant and mysterious state that was mostly cut off from Western Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries, when the first acocunts of english travellers were written. This geographical separation ignited a sense of awe and curiosity among English travelers, leading them to potentially overblow or dramatize their experiences as they made their way through this strange territory.

Furthermore, the preconceptions and preconceived ideas about Russia that were popular at the time in Europe may have had an impact on the English travellers. Russia was frequently portrayed as a land of endless winter, strange cultural customs, and fearsome animals like bears and wolves. The English travellers' perspectives may have been tainted by these engrained preconceptions, leading them to see Russia through the prism of preconceived notions and illusions.

For instance, Thomas Smythe's address to his fellow countrymen makes a suggestion about how strange and mysterious the country they encountered was. He outlines a number of risks in his memo, underscoring his worry for the group's security and well-being. While the presence of alcohol and prostitution can potentially cause reckless behaviour and enhance their susceptibility to crime and exploitation, the extreme cold weather, for example, constituted a real threat to their health and survival.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that many of these early English accounts of Russia were written with the express intention of enticing and delighting large audiences. As a result, in order to satisfy the preferences of their audience, the mystical and weird features of Russia may have been emphasised in these narratives in order to heighten the sense of thrill and anxiety.

It is also crucial to keep in mind that that English visitors to Russia were strangers, which might have caused some miscommunication. They might have been subject to misunderstandings because of how they understood particular Russian traditions and practises, which was likely affected by their own cultural background. This emphasises the need to understand that observations and impressions made by those who are not native to a place may not always convey a true picture of that place. It draws attention to the inherent limits of looking at a different culture or circumstance via one's own lens. A person is more likely to misunderstand or have a restricted understanding of the information presented when they are

unfamiliar with the nuances and complexity of a specific culture or tradition. This emphasises the value of taking into account many points of view and actively utilising local expertise and experiences to develop a more thorough and accurate grasp of any given issue.

Many English travelers to Russia held official roles at the Russian court and thus were deeply integrated into Moscow's social fabric. For example, Samuel Collins possessed a thorough understanding of court intrigues, surpassing that of other foreign visitors, owing to his privileged position and in-depth insight into royal life. English travelogues, in general, provide engrossing tales of educated Englishmen who had plenty of chances to attentively study and get valuable insights into Russia.

These observers were acutely aware of the enormous differences in income and living standards between the impoverished common people and the luxurious realm of the royal court, and they underlined these differences in their writings. Their observations highlighted the extreme economic inequality that prevailed during this time period and cast a searing light on the hard reality that the bulk of the populace had to live through. Through their painstaking research, they highlighted the extreme poverty that permeated the general population. Their personal experiences served as powerful depictions of the social and economic struggles endured by those outside the privileged spheres of power, where the lives of common people were characterised by scarceness, suffering, and constrained options.

For instance, Richard Chancellor and his fellow compatriots were well aware of the tremendous poverty that the average person in Moscow experienced. This was in sharp contrast to the opulent lifestyle that the ruling class of the royal court led. Chancellor and his fellow countrymen became painfully aware of the extreme poverty that plagued the lives of the majority of people. This stark contrast, fueled by the extravagant living standards of the ruling elite, was profoundly unsettling for the English observers.

Elizabeth Craven also made significant remarks about the Russian nobility's competitive indulgence in overabundance This fierce rivalry over showing off material goods hinted at some degree of lavishness among the Russian aristocracy. Additionally, she emphasised the excessive price tag attached to obtaining Western extravagances in Russia, hinting that doing so may result in financial disaster for those who indulged in them. Her criticism likely reflected her concern over the financial the monetary irresponsibility shown by the nobles in their obstinate chase of foreign riches and fashion.

In his depiction of the Russians, John Milton painted a terrible image of the deplorable circumstances under which the Russian people lived. He highlighted the poor's resourcefulness in making due with few resources as he graphically detailed the awful situations they were in. His tales brought to light their plight, the lack of basics, the hard living conditions, and the

apathy or indifference they received from other members of society. Milton's writings painted a bleak and sobering picture of the challenges faced by the less fortunate in Russia during this period.

In addition, when compared to Western norms, Russian social habits and practises frequently garnered harsh criticism for being seen as primitive or uncivilised. Travellers were outraged by the practise of serfdom, which was common at the time in Russia. Many Western observers viewed this arrangement, in which peasants were basically enslaved to the land and under the sway of the landowners, as being profoundly unfair and oppressive.

Along with the institution of serfdom, a number of power abuses also plagued Russian government in the 16th century. Some methods of intimidating and restraining the populace included the use of torture and arbitrary detentions. Furthermore, the poorer classes were subjected to high taxes and tribute, which made their financial struggles worse. Particularly Giles Fletcher emphasised the systematic deprivation of wealth from the regular people. This exploitation was often justified through various pretexts, such as the need for common defense, even when such a necessity did not exist.

Overall, cultural, technological, and social disparities between Russia and Western Europe played a significant role in shaping negative opinions of Russian society as shown in the writings of authors like Giles Fletcher and Richard Chancellor. These opinions were also influenced by the prejudices and preconceived notions that were widespread at the time. Travellers from the West, who frequently found it difficult to reconcile their own cultural norms with those they saw in Russia, drew unfavourable judgements about Russian traditions and customs as a result of the "othering" of these practises.

During that time, western visitors frequently lamented the poor state of education in Russia. Because there were little options for formal education and intellectual development at the time, many Russians were illiterate. This was in stark contrast to Western Europe, where education was becoming more widely available and literacy rates were rising. For instance, J. Milton stated that the Russians weren't known for their pursuit of education or knowledge. This shows that, in contrast to Western Europe, Russian society did not place as much significance on the support of learning and research.

Another significant point of contention for English travelers was the role of the Russian Orthodox Church within society. They frequently portrayed the church as being dishonest and having excessive power in politics. They also emphasised the strict religious practise among Russians, which they perceived as being burdensome and excessive. J. Milton was particularly fascinated by the religious customs of Russia, especially the elaborate rituals, Greek style of worship, and theological differences from Protestantism. In *A Brief History of Moscovia* he

portrays Russia as a place where people followed the Greek Church's teachings in terms of their religious practises while simultaneously fusing Christian beliefs with paganism.

This criticism from English travelers underscores the cultural and religious differences they encountered in Russia. The impression of a culture unique from Western Europe in terms of both intellectual and spiritual dimensions was created by the idea of a lack of emphasis on education and the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. These observations contributed significantly to our understanding of the distinctive features of Russian culture and society as seen from the perspective of foreigners.

On multiple occasions, English travellers were astounded by Russia's enormous alcohol usage. Milton claimed that it looked that drinking was the main way in which Russians connected and socialised. This observation hints at the presence of a robust drinking culture or, more significantly, underscores the significance of alcohol in their social interactions. Samuel Collins, too, found it impossible to ignore a prevalent aspect of Russian culture during festivals – the unrestrained consumption of alcohol Collins' writings paint a vivid picture of Russians in the 17th century who are characterised by incompetence, coarseness, and inebriation—themes that were repeated in other authors' accounts of the period. In her observations of Russian peasants during the funfair season, Elizabeth Craven noticed that one would logically believe that Russian peasants' intoxication constituted a religious obligation. This finding not only emphasises how common heavy drinking was among Russian peasants during funfair celebrations, but it also raises the possibility that such behaviour may have been firmly ingrained in cultural traditions or practises related to these events. Collectively, these testimonies show a trend of binge drinking at various times in Russian society. It calls into question the significance of alcohol in Russian society as well as potential historical and cultural influences on the country's pervasive drinking culture.Additionally, it underscores the importance of considering the cultural context and traditions when interpreting the behaviors and practices observed in a foreign society.

When confronting the spiritual beliefs, traditions, and rituals of the local Russian people, some English travellers displayed a disdainful attitude. They frequently adopted an attitude that was contemptuous, ethnocentric, labelling, oversimplifying, and characterised by a propensity to view Russia's native populace through the prism of their own culture and religion. For instance, this contemptuous viewpoint is amply demonstrated in the writings of John Bell. Bell doesn't seem to have a sincere interest in or a desire to interact with the indigenous belief system on its own terms, based on the vocabulary and phraseology he uses in his descriptions. Some parts in Bell's travelogue have a blatantly arrogant and condescending tone, reflecting the perspective of a European coloniser who sees the native people as nothing more than tools to further his own goals.

This contemptuous and ethnocentric viewpoint not only made it difficult to grasp the local culture and ideas in-depth, but it also helped stereotypes and biases to persist. It emphasises how crucial it is to approach unfamiliar cultures with an open mind, be prepared to engage with various belief systems, and appreciate the value of various viewpoints in developing cross-cultural understanding. Such a strategy promotes deep conversations that go beyond hasty assumptions and preconceptions.

English travellers frequently draw similarities and contrasts between various parts of Russia or Muscovy and the unique characteristics of England in their writings. By doing this, they offer a critical prism through which they can examine two different countries. Their tendency to highlight alleged flaws or inferiorities in Muscovy is clear evidence that their viewpoint frequently tends towards an attachment for their native country. Their ongoing use of these analogies indicates their biases and personal preferences, which affect how they view the situation in the Muscovite realm. Even though these views are subjective, they provide important insights into the travellers' viewpoints and perceptions of the societal, cultural, and geopolitical distinctions between the two realms.

On the other hand, a foreigner's distinct perspective gives their insights an intriguing dimension. Their experience with European traditions, values, and political environments probably affected how they thought about and evaluated the facts they came across. This interplay between the foreign and the familiar might have prompted them to draw parallels or make connections that a native observer might have overlooked. Their endeavor to explore a distant and unfamiliar land, even from a distant standpoint, exemplifies the inquisitive nature of a literary mind striving to bridge gaps and broaden horizons.

In essence, English travellers' dual perspective—one inspired by their own cultural prejudice and the other by their experiences abroad—contributes to a fuller understanding of the cultural interchange and the challenges of cross-cultural exploration during their journeys. It draws attention to the complex interplay between subjectivity and objectivity in their observations and emphasises the necessity of taking into account both points of view to create a more complete picture of the various societies they encountered.

5.1 Reflections on the significance of researching travel accounts of English travellers to Russia and suggestions for further research

The exploration of English travelogues that detail voyages to Russia during the 16th to 18th centuries constitutes a treasure trove of historical, cultural, and literary relevance. This particular epoch stands as a pivotal juncture in European history, marked by political upheaval, lively cultural exchanges, and the quickening growth of international commerce links. Within the

pages of travelogues penned by English explorers, diplomats, and daring adventurers lies an invaluable repository of first-person experiences, each illuminating the intricate tapestry of socio-political, economic, and cultural interactions between England and Russia. The benefits of Investigating into this intriguing subject are manifold.

The rich historical knowledge that this research topic offers is foremost among these benefits. English travelogues from this era function as historical artifacts, akin to time-traveling portals. They provide unique distinctive perspectives from which researchers can grasp how these two nations perceived one another and the roles they played in influencing the historical narrative of Europe.

Furthermore, these travelogues serve as eloquent testimonials to the exchange of ideas, technologies, and cultural practices between England and Russia. They stand as cultural bridges that reveal the flow of knowledge between these societies, leaving indelible imprints on both nations' development.

Remarkably, some of these travelogues and compilations emerged from the pens of distinguished literary figures like John Milton, individuals who possessed unique creative literary abilities. Examining their writings offers a unique chance to explore the intersection of travel literature and English literary traditions, therefore enriching the field of literary studies.

Moreover, a thorough examination of these travelogues enables researchers to gain profound insights into the geopolitical environment of the time. These writings cast an revealing light on the intricate web of trade routes, diplomatic relations, and territorial disputes that inexorably molded the destinies of nations. A detailed understanding of these dynamics proves indispensable for appreciating the broader tapestry of European history.

Additionally, English travelers undertook a variety of missions to Russia during this period, spanning diplomatic endeavors, business enterprises, and exploring expeditions. These travelogues painstakingly capture their motivations and experiences, providing a multifaceted lens through which we can explore the lives of these daring adventurers and their unique perceptions of Russia. In essence, the study of English travelogues detailing journeys to Russia during the 16th to 18th centuries opens up a vast and complex terrain, providing a comprehensive grasp of historical, cultural, and literary dimensions, as well as the geopolitical intricacies of a bygone age.

Investigating this subject unveils a multitude of promising research avenues. Firstly, for a more comprehensive perspective, researchers might consider embarking on a comparative analysis of English travelogues about Russia in contrast to those penned by travelers from other European nations. This project could highlight common themes, discrepancies in views, and the impact of national prejudices on the portrayal of Russia.

Another fascinating topic for deeper investigation lies in the position of women travelers during this era. Examining female contributions to the understanding of Russia and comparing their experiences and viewpoints with those of their male counterparts might provide insightful information into the variety of opinions from this historical period.

Moving beyond the literary content, an examination of the visual representations found within these travelogues, such as maps, illustrations, and sketches, offers a fascinating aspect to explore. Analyzing how imagery contributed to shaping English perceptions of Russia adds another deeper level of comprehension of the era.

A particularly promising area for research centers on the diplomatic aspects of these travelogues, particularly those related to diplomatic missions to the Russian court. Investigating how these missions influenced diplomatic relations between England and Russia can shed light on the complex web of politics and diplomacy during this period.

Furthermore, delving into the economic motivations behind English travel to Russia is critical, especially within the context of the emerging global trade networks of the time. Understanding how these journeys affected trade relations between nations can provide better understanding of the economic dynamics of the era.

Lastly, a in-depth examination of the translation process of these travelogues into other languages, along with an analysis of how translation decisions affected their reception in various nations, can provide insightful information into the realm of cross-cultural interaction communication and knowledge transition.

In conclusion, the study of English travelogues documenting journeys to Russia in the 16th to 18th centuries reveals a wealth of historical, cultural, and literary perspectives. These accounts not only provide valuable perspectives on the past but also offer a multitude of research opportunities to delve into various facets of this fascinating subject. Ultimately, this research deepens our comprehension of the historical tapestry that links these two nations and the greater backdrop of European history.

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