

# Sir Francis Dashwood's Diary of his Visit to St Petersburg in 1733

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## INTRODUCTION

AMONG the Dashwood papers deposited in the Bodleian Library is an exercise book<sup>1</sup> containing Sir Francis Dashwood's<sup>2</sup> diary of his visit to St Petersburg in 1733. He left England on 10 May, sailing across the North Sea, round the coast of Jutland and through the Sound to Copenhagen, where he stayed from 30 May to 2 June. He then sailed across the Baltic and up the Gulf of Finland to Kronstadt, travelling overland to St Petersburg. He remained in St Petersburg from 10 June to 30 June. On his return journey he called at Dantzic and the island of Bornholm, again stayed at Copenhagen, from 24 to 29 July, and landed at Lowestoft on 4 August.

Dashwood travelled to St Petersburg with George, Baron Forbes, later 3rd Earl of Granard (1685–1765),<sup>3</sup> envoy extraordinary to the court of St Petersburg, whose negotiations resulted in the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1734, Russia's first commercial treaty with a European power.<sup>4</sup> Forbes stayed in Russia until May 1734, and Dashwood returned alone.

Dashwood's journey, made at the age of twenty-five, was an unusual addition<sup>5</sup> to the normal Grand Tour<sup>6</sup>—he had visited France in 1726 and Italy in 1729–31. His diary shows him as a serious-minded traveller, observant, intelligent and enquiring. He collected a surprising amount of detailed information in a short time, and his

<sup>1</sup> MSS. D. D. Dashwood (Bucks), b. 5. I am grateful to Sir John Dashwood for permission to print the diary.

<sup>2</sup> For some account of Dashwood's career, see my article 'Some Letters of Sir Francis Dashwood, Baron Le Despencer as Joint Post-Master General, 1766–81' (*Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, xxxvii, Manchester, 1954, pp. 204–48).

<sup>3</sup> Naval officer and diplomat; created Baron Forbes (Irish peerage) in 1727; succeeded as 3rd Earl of Granard in 1734.

<sup>4</sup> For the significance of this treaty see D. K. Reading, *The Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1734*, London, 1938.

<sup>5</sup> It is noted by Horace Walpole that 'In his extreme youth, accounted like Charles XII, he [Dashwood] travelled to Russia in hopes of captivating the Czarina' (*Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, ed. Le Marchant, i, p. 174). Baron Whitworth's *Account of Russia as it was in the Year 1710* was first published by the Strawberry Hill Press in 1758, and in his *Advertisement* Walpole relates 'a little Anecdote' of 'personal intimacy' between Whitworth and the Empress Catherine (pp. xix, xx). It is not impossible that Walpole, wishing to dramatise an unusual journey, pinned this 'Anecdote' to Dashwood.

<sup>6</sup> Dashwood was probably the first to include a visit to Russia in the Grand Tour. The next who is known to have done so is George, Lord Herbert (later 11th Earl of Pembroke), who visited Russia in 1778 with William Coxe as his tutor. Herbert and Coxe have recently been described as representatives of 'a new class of visitors to Russia . . . composed of . . . men of independent wealth who came to Russia not to seek their fortunes but to satisfy their appetites. These were the tourists of the Eighteenth Century' (P. Putnam, *Seven Britons in Imperial Russia, 1698–1812*, Princeton, 1952, p. 237).

accuracy, where this can be tested, leaves no doubt of the value of his observations. He was interested in architecture and works of art, and in the machinery of civil and military government, as well as in the life and habits of the people he saw.

The diary is important for other than personal reasons: it contains full and valuable descriptions of St Petersburg and Copenhagen and it gives information of a more general character, especially about Russia in the 1730s, which is not found elsewhere in English.<sup>7</sup>

St Petersburg was a new city. The chief accounts<sup>8</sup> by Englishmen of Russia in Peter the Great's reign are John Perry's<sup>9</sup> *State of Russia under the Present Czar*, published in 1716, and Charles Whitworth's<sup>10</sup> *Account of Russia as it was in the Year 1710*, first published in 1758. Perry and Whitworth both returned to England in 1712, the year in which Peter formally declared St Petersburg to be his capital. Neither writer describes St Petersburg, and in any case only a small part of the city had been built by 1712.

Nor does there exist in English any printed description of St Petersburg as it was at the end of Peter's reign or in the 1730s. None of the English writers about Russia in the Empress Anne's reign does more, in this respect, than provide occasional corroboration of Dashwood's statements, and none of them provides comments as full as his about the general state of Russia. Mrs Vigor,<sup>11</sup> *Letters from a Lady who resided some years in Russia*, published in 1775, gives some useful sketches of persons at court and of court customs; Mrs Elizabeth Justice,<sup>12</sup> *Voyage to Russia, describing the Laws, Manners and Customs of the Great Empire, as governed at the Present Time by that excellent Princess, the Czarina*, published in 1739, consists, in spite of its title, only of desultory notes on the food, clothes, amusements and other items of everyday life in St Petersburg; John Cook,<sup>13</sup> *Voyages and Travels*

<sup>7</sup> E.g. the *Memoirs of Russia*, by General Manstein, covering the period 1727-45, written in French, and translated into English in 1770 under the auspices of David Hume, which are important for political developments and military affairs, but contribute little to a description of St Petersburg.

<sup>8</sup> Less important because more specialised in content are John Bell, *Travels from St Petersburg in Russia to various parts of Asia* (1806); P. H. Bruce, *Memoirs of a Military Officer in the service of Prussia, Russia and Great Britain* (1782); and the anonymous *History of the Russian Fleet during the reign of Peter the Great by a contemporary Englishman* (ed. C. A. P. Bridge, 1899).

<sup>9</sup> 1670-1732; civil engineer, invited to Russia in 1698 after Peter the Great's visit to England and stayed until 1712, engaged chiefly in constructing canals and making rivers navigable.

<sup>10</sup> 1675-1725; envoy extraordinary to the court of St Petersburg 1704-9; ambassador extraordinary 1709-11, plenipotentiary 1711-12.

<sup>11</sup> Mrs Vigor went to St Petersburg in 1728 as wife of consul Thomas Ward; after his death in 1731 she married consul Claudius Rondeau (see text, n. 40) and returned to England after his death in 1739. She then married William Vigor, of Taplow, Bucks., a Quaker. She was on friendly terms with the wife of Biron (see text, n. 52) and well-acquainted with the Empress Anne. She died in 1783.

<sup>12</sup> Governess 1734-7 to the daughters of an Englishman, Mr Evans, in St Petersburg.

<sup>13</sup> Scottish physician; went to Russia in 1736, became medical officer in Russian service and remained until 1750.

*through the Russian Empire, Tartary and parts of the Kingdom of Persia*, published in 1770, deals primarily with his travels and with medical matters; he provides, however, descriptions of some buildings in St Petersburg in 1736-7 and a short historical account of the succession to the throne of Russia from 1696 to 1741.<sup>14</sup>

Dashwood's description of St Petersburg is, then, as far as is known, both the earliest in English, and the most detailed and systematic before that of Coxe. In addition, the information Dashwood gives about the state of Russia in Anne's reign is much fuller than that given by other contemporary observers.<sup>15</sup>

The interest of Dashwood's account of Copenhagen is quite different.<sup>16</sup> Here, what he commented on was not a new but an old capital city, with important cultural traditions, at a particularly interesting stage of its development. It contained the fine 17th-century buildings associated especially with Christian IV (1588-1648) and with Frederick III (1648-70), first king of the absolute monarchy, together with some newly created after the great fire of 1728. Some of these new buildings, as well as some earlier ones, were destroyed in 1795, in Copenhagen's second great 18th-century fire. Dashwood's visit to Copenhagen was more akin to his earlier visits to France and to Italy, but it has the added attraction, for Englishmen, of rarity: there is no other known contemporary account of Copenhagen in English. Dashwood's account comes almost midway between Lord Molesworth's<sup>17</sup> *Account of Denmark and Sweden as it was in 1692* (first published, anonymously, in 1694) which 'so exasperated the Danish Sovereign, that he demanded the punishment of the author',<sup>18</sup> and the short but useful anonymous *Account of Denmark*, printed for John Almon in 1768 and perhaps written by him.

I have omitted from the diary, for the sake of space, descriptions of the sea voyage. Otherwise the text is printed as it stands.

<sup>14</sup> Jonas Hanway, *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea*, published in 1753, is even less concerned with description and general comments on St Petersburg. He went to Russia in 1743 and stayed until 1750, travelling to Persia in 1743-5.

<sup>15</sup> Forbes also kept a diary of his visit to Russia, and on his return wrote an 'Account of Russia, the extent, population, produce, revenues, forces, government and court manners etc. collected by his own observations by George, 3rd Earl of Granard in 1734', which he presented to Queen Caroline. Extracts from the diary are printed in the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners' *Second Report*, 1871 (pp. 215-6). Its main concern is with Forbes's negotiations in St Petersburg. The 'Account' has disappeared; it is neither at Windsor Castle nor in the British Museum. An incomplete copy was, in 1871, among the papers at Castle Forbes, co. Longford, together with the diary. I have not been able to see either nor to discover whether they still exist.

<sup>16</sup> I should like to express my gratitude to M. Gudmund Boesen, Museumsinspektor, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen, and to his assistant M. Niels Jessen, for their interest and valuable comments on this part of the diary, during my visit to Copenhagen in August 1957.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Molesworth (1656-1725), envoy extraordinary to Denmark 1689-92.

<sup>18</sup> J. Pinkerton, *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, 1808-14, xvii, p. 71.

SIR FRANCIS DASHWOOD'S DIARY

On the tenth of May 1733 O.S. a little after nine in the morning I accompanied Lord Forb[es] (his Majesty's Plenipotentiary to the Court of Russia) on board the Charlot Yacht, at Deptford, Lying there on purpose to transport his Lordship to the Noar, where the Lowstoft Man of war, of twenty Guns, Commanded by Captain Cotterell, lay ready to convey his Lordship to St. Peterburgh.

M. the 30th. Wednesday. Cloudy weather wind betwixt the N: and W: We went on Shore about eleven in the forenoon. Much rain in the Evening.

Copenhagen, a tolerable large Town, built upon a flat in the Island of Seland, diminished by a third about 5 or 6 years ago, by a dreadfull fire,<sup>1</sup> that took in Severall parts of the town at once it is since, nevertheless, very much repaired, by the care and Industry of the people, as well as the charity of foreign Nations, the Royall Palace<sup>2</sup> has been pulled down lately in order to build a much finer, the foundations are laid, from a very large design, the labour will be cheap, from the number of Soldiers employed for their use, I am informed they have a great deal of Sea Coal from England to burn their Lime, near it Stand the Arsenall<sup>3</sup> the Stables<sup>4</sup> and the Chancellerie,<sup>5</sup> in the first are a large number of brass canon field pieces and others, betwixt Seven and eight hundred, and 118 brass mortars of many sorts, with most of their proper furniture, and Carriages, about 40,000 Small arms, in good order. we went, two Storys over the Artillery, where was tackle and rigging for Severall Ships.

Near to this is the chamber, of rarities,<sup>6</sup> where there are Severall rooms and a few good pictures, all going to ruin and some entirely Spoilt, excepting a Rubens,<sup>7</sup> two Raphael's, a Carlo Lotti, and one of Caraveggio, and

<sup>1</sup> The great fire of October 1728, which destroyed a large part of the old town.

<sup>2</sup> The old Castle of Copenhagen, built c. 1400 on the ruins of a 12th-century castle and altered several times during the following centuries, was pulled down by Christian IV in 1731. His new palace was built between 1732 and 1745, and from 1741 was named Christiansborg. It was burned down in the fire of 1794 and its successor in the fire of 1884. The present Christiansborg (used on state occasions but not a royal residence) was built at the beginning of the 20th century.

<sup>3</sup> Built 1598-1604 by Christian IV. It now houses the Royal Arsenal Museum (Tøjhusmuseet).

<sup>4</sup> Built in the late 17th century and pulled down c. 1740, when the present royal stables were built along the outer court of Christiansborg.

<sup>5</sup> Built 1716-21 by Frederick IV. The building still houses government offices.

<sup>6</sup> The Chamber of Rarities (Kunstammeret) was founded in the middle of the 17th century by Frederick III. In 1754 it was enriched by the acquisition of the Museum Wormianum, the celebrated Curiosity Cabinet of the court physician and antiquarian Ole Worm (d. 1654). Soon afterwards the royal collection was moved to a building erected (1665-71) near the Arsenal, to house it and the royal library, and remained there during the 18th century. This building now houses the National Archives. At the beginning of the 19th century the contents of the Chamber of Rarities were dispersed.

<sup>7</sup> *The Wisdom of Solomon*, now in the Royal Gallery of Fine Arts.

two or three Landskip<sup>8</sup>. Several Copyes and bad things as to pictures unworthy of attention, Several nick nacks<sup>9</sup> curious enough—from thence I went to the Stables which was one hundred Stalls in length, very few Vacant, there were Several very fine horses, at the end of the Stable was a very large riding house,<sup>9</sup> with a Cieling of one Arch. the Manege was 290 feet long. the Change<sup>10</sup> is a long building, of no Ornament, the Cheif commoditye is Stockfish, the grand Parade<sup>11</sup> is fine, on the one side of which is a large handsome Square Palace,<sup>12</sup> in which lives the Aunt<sup>13</sup> of the Present King Christian the Sixth, the King has a large Old Castle<sup>14</sup> at the further end of the town, with a Mote round it and pritty large Garden belonging to it but not well kept up, the front of the french Protestant Church,<sup>15</sup> is regular and handsome enough. there is no such thing, as having a permission to see the Ships, but Admirall Hengedorn<sup>16</sup> with whom I got acquainted, assured me they had thirty ships of line, there are allwayes four thousand Sailors in Constant pay, though there is some difference, from the times of Peace and war, they have a certain quantity of Pork and pease and bread allowed them per month, there are houses<sup>17</sup> allotted for most of them by the Water Side, the Garrison in this Town consists of Eleven Battallions of Infantry Six Squadrons of Cavalry, and Six Companys belonging to the Artillery Consisting of thirty in each Company; they mount six hundred men every day, they all Parade in Regimentall Stockings, which are red, there is one Regiment of foot of Grenadier guards, consisting of a thousand men the other Regiments are twelve hundred, the sea Officers wear Regimentall Cloathing, and are distinguished in three divisions, by Red, Red and blue Sleeves and Red and Yellow, This King is the only and Absolute disposer and directer of everything within his Realms and entirely despoticke by the laws of the land,<sup>18</sup> he has a considerable revenue from the

<sup>8</sup> See n. 123.

<sup>9</sup> Built c. 1670, pulled down c. 1740.

<sup>10</sup> The Stock Exchange (Børsen), the oldest of its kind in Europe, was built, 1619-40, for Christian IV. It is 'of no ornament' in the sense that there are no statues on it.

<sup>11</sup> Kongens Nytorv (the King's New Market), laid out c. 1670-80 in the reign of Christian V.

<sup>12</sup> Charlottenborg, built 1672-83 in the Dutch baroque style for the natural son of Frederick III and sold in 1700 to Queen Charlotte Amalie, wife of Christian V.

<sup>13</sup> Princess Sophie Hedevig, daughter of Charlotte Amalie (d. 1714) and aunt of Christian VI, owned Charlottenborg from 1714 until she died in 1735. Since 1754 it has housed the Royal Academy of Arts.

<sup>14</sup> Rosenborg castle, built 1606-17 by Christian IV in Kongens Have (the King's Garden) outside the east gate of the town. After the building of Frederiksberg at the beginning of the 18th century the kings seldom lived at Rosenborg, but it was used on ceremonial occasions and many royal treasures were kept there. It now houses the Chronological Collection of the Danish kings.

<sup>15</sup> The Calvinist church, in Gothersgade, built at end of the 17th century, destroyed in the fire of 1728 and rebuilt in 1731.

<sup>16</sup> Seneca Hagedorn (1681-1750), *schoonbynacht* and member of admiralty 1727, vice-admiral 1734.

<sup>17</sup> The Skipperboder and Nyboder, established by Christian IV. The Skipperboder were destroyed by fire in 1795; the Nyboder, rebuilt in the 18th century, still exist as seamen's dwellings.

<sup>18</sup> Under the constitution of 1660 the Rigsraad abandoned its elective functions and established hereditary monarchy. The Kongelou (King's law) of 1665, drawn up by Peter Schumacher, the chancellor, gave the monarchy absolute powers.

Passage of the Sound<sup>19</sup> they reckon four thousand ships pass or repass this place in a year, the Island of Seland, is 14 leagues long and about twelve broad, about two small miles out of town, the king has a Seat or Villa called Fredericksberg,<sup>20</sup> the Situation being elevated, what is uncommon in that Island, makes the Danes hold it in great esteem, the building is but ordinary, but I think the prospect has its beautys the Ships are Halled up within the town, which saves them, a great expence in Cable to moor them the present Regents in the absence of the King are Mr de Plom<sup>21</sup> and Pless,<sup>22</sup> the King has two orders, the first of the Elephant,<sup>23</sup> which is blue, and the Second is White, which is called the order of Danebrog.<sup>24</sup> the Minister from the Court of Russia was Baron Brakell,<sup>25</sup> the English resident was Titley,<sup>26</sup> there is a french Ambassador,<sup>27</sup> and a Dutch Envoy, Copenhagen at present Contains about two hundred thousand Souls:<sup>28</sup> the Situation is 56 degrees odd minuits North Latitude, In Winter the Sound and Port are so frose, that armys have passed with their Artillery from one Coast to the other. the King has bought lately, an Island of the French called Santa Crux, near High Spagniola, they are very hot at present upon Settling a Colony there which the Wise say will come to nothing.<sup>29</sup>

N.B. It is not froze so Constantly.

This place is famous for Edderdown which is the down of some bird caught in their nests in Norway.

Thursday June the 7th. we anchored within 3 leagues of Crownstad. A twenty Gun Guard Ship sent its pinnace out to desire Our Captain to come to an Anchor. Captain Cotterell went on Board Admirall Gordon in the Harbour, who had hoisted his flag on board the St. Alexander, in Order to Command a squadron of twelve sail, who were ready for the Baltick upon the first fair Wind, but they not agreeing about the Salutes, we Anchored and Moored early.

On Friday being the 8th of June within a Mile of the Fort and town of Crownstad, about seven in the Morning Admirall Gordon, came on board us to visit My Lord, who at his departure, was saluted with seventeen Guns, sometime after Vice Admirall Saunders, who was saluted with 13 Guns, we went on Shore at Crownstad about 9 in the Evening but first

<sup>19</sup> Denmark had collected a duty on foreign ships passing the Sound since 1430.

<sup>20</sup> Frederiksberg slot, in an Italian style, was built in 1699-1709 for Frederick IV. It is now a military academy.

<sup>21</sup> Otto Blome (1684-1738), marshal of the court 1730-35.

<sup>22</sup> Christian Ludvig Plessen (1676-1752), minister of finance and commerce 1730-34.

<sup>23</sup> Founded in 1464 by Christian I.

<sup>24</sup> Dannebrog (the name of the Danish national flag), founded in 1671 by Christian V.

<sup>25</sup> Baron Casimir Christoph von Brackel, a native of Courland, Russian minister at Copenhagen 1731-4.

<sup>26</sup> Walter Titley (1700-68), secretary in charge of Affairs at Copenhagen 1729-30, resident 1730-9, envoy extraordinary 1739-68.

<sup>27</sup> Louis-Robert Hippolyte de Bréhan, Comte Pléto, French ambassador to Denmark 1729-35.

<sup>28</sup> The population of Copenhagen was c. 50,000 in 1720 and c. 80,000 in 1769. The figure of 200,000 is a reasonable estimate for the population of Zealand.

<sup>29</sup> St. Croix, one of the Virgin Islands in the West Indies, became a French possession in 1650. Denmark bought it from France in 1733, but did not find it a valuable possession. It was sold to the U.S. in 1917.

went on board the Admirall, who Saluted My Lord at his Departure with Seventeen Guns. We Supped and lay at Admirall Gordons.

Saturday June the 9th. I went over, and Viewed the Isle of Crownstad which is about five miles in length, the plan of this prodigious work is very regularly laid out, it is built upon a Marsh and Bog, in the Sea, the Entrance into the Haven is excessive Strong there being seven hundred peices of Cannon. there are large Canals, well lined with stone, for to bring Ships or large Vessels, into the town,<sup>30</sup> there is an exceeding large fine Windmill, by the force and invention of which Severall Machines, are Sett a going, for the lading the water out of the Canals, which by drains is conveyed into the Sea, the same Mill Saws, severall Planks at the same time, this same invention, was Made and built by a Dutchman,<sup>31</sup> the side of the Isle facing the Haven is built with large brick houses,<sup>32</sup> and a very large Quadrangle under Arches all which from want of proper repair, and through the Violence of the cold, are gone very much to decay there are two Chapels, or Churches in the Isle with handsome altar peices in the Greek way, upon the Island are four thousand Soldiers and ten thousand Sailors (or people destined to the Sea, as admirall Saunders told me), upon the South East, is a Haven, called the Merchants Haven, within the Outer Works. the fort stands distinct by itself, on the South, and all boats and Ships pass, betwixt that and Crownstad, Admirall Gordon<sup>33</sup> at present Commands, both the Isle and Fort. the Isle was designed by Peter the Great, for the residence of all Merchants, and his own Navy, but his plans have been faintly put into execution, since his decease, nevertheless they continually, keep doing, there being actually five hundred people at work, under the inspection and direction of Vice Admirall Saunders,<sup>34</sup> who has been in this country and in this fleet these 18 years, they pretend they have forty men of War,<sup>35</sup> but I am credibly informed twelve is the Most that are fit to go to sea, they have regularly twenty thousand upon the Maritime Establishment, nevertheless forty or fifty leagues all about being froze up seven months in the year, or at least, incapable of navigation, they cannot keep five thousand<sup>36</sup> in exercise, the Russian Merchant men are very inconsiderable, they every Summer

<sup>30</sup> Hanway described the dry dock at Kronstadt as 'one of the greatest curiosities in the world of its kind . . . 60 feet broad at the bottom, 80 feet at the top, and 40 feet deep, having flood-gates in different parts, it is intended to receive fourteen ships of the line of battle, to build or repair them dry, and afterwards float them off.' (*British Trade*, ii, pp. 167-8.)

<sup>31</sup> See n. 48.

<sup>32</sup> Hanway remarked '25 large brick houses, but the support of them being expensive, they are left uninhabited' (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 168).

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Gordon, a Jacobite and father-in-law of Sir Harry Stirling, the Pretender's agent in Russia, entered Russian service in 1715; prominent in negotiations between Peter the Great and the Pretender after the Treaty of Nystad, 1721, when it was hoped that Peter might use part of his disbanded army in an expedition against George I (see M. W. Bruce, 'The Jacobites and Peter the Great', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, London, XIV, 41, pp. 343-62).

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Saunders, also a Jacobite who entered the Russian service in 1715.

<sup>35</sup> According to Hanway '25 ships of line and 15 bombketches, fireships and frigates' (*ibid.*, p. 168).

<sup>36</sup> According to Hanway 'the Russians are computed to have near 10,000 seamen, of which above half generally live at Cronstadt' (*ibid.*, p. 168).

Send out a Squadron to exercise their men, but even that Squadron has not its full compliment, there employing them so much, at home, in land Service, their Timber is of small duration, they pretend at first it was ill chose, but certainly it must be, the extreme cold, and a Very hot sun for ten weeks in the year, that must Operate to the decay of all bodys, and is Evident in their brick and stone houses, though I must add, that bad workmanship does likewise greatly contribute, there are Severall large fine houses, going pretty much to decay, in Crownstad, amongst which, there are two or three, particularised by the name of the Monarch's own. and one of Prince Mempsicoff's.<sup>37</sup> building, that are most to be distinguished besides about a hundred, the rest are built of wood after the Russian fashion. (there is a fine forge at Crownstad, for anchors and other Iron worked for Shipping where there are above a hundred men continually employed.)

I dined with one Myn Heer Horn a Dutchman, who was first, Surgeon to and used to be constantly with the Czar Peter, a Generous good natured man, who was so kind as to carry me in the Afternoon, a Shore in Ingria to a place, called Oranyboom,<sup>38</sup> a Country Seat of Prince Mempsicoff's. and upon the banishment of that Prince taken to the Crown, it is a fine Situation and fronts with a fine prospect to the Sea, with a canall to go down to the Sea, near two Versts, there are Some little waterworks, not to be mentioned, towards the back front of the house, are large Vistoes, after a spacious opening, cutt in Pine woods, I own I think the Place, with the Additions of art very grand, and fine, but going the way of their other buildings. I forgot to insert that at Crownstad, and even at St. Petersburgh, there are a great many large houses, that the Government would present anybody with, to live in, and keep in repair, as also that, of the Squadron of twelve men of war that are to sail under the Command of Admirall Gordon, there are two to go to Arch Angell, a forty and a thirty Gun Ship, and two Sixty Gun ships to Killdonay, at other side of the North Cap. after having seen Prince Mempsicoffs; we set out with some english Merchants, on our way to Petersburgh; I lay that night, at Mr. Herman Mayer's.<sup>39</sup> an English merchant, about half way; and on Sunday June the 10th, about six in the Evening, being about 20 Versts from Mr Mayer's. I arrived at Mr Rondeau's<sup>40</sup> the English Resident, at St. Petersburgh. At the entrance into the town is a long prospection of A Verst long, in which are two Triumphall Arches<sup>41</sup> of Wood painted, that were, Erected, upon

<sup>37</sup> Alexander Menshikov (1672-1729); one of the chief advisers of Peter the Great, and instrumental in securing the throne for Catherine I in 1725; his attempt to retain his position under Peter II (see n. 57) by marrying him to his daughter failed, and in 1727 he was deprived of his offices and sent to Siberia.

<sup>38</sup> Oranienbaum near the gulf of Finland, built 1713-c. 23 by the German architect Schnädel (cf. C. Marsden, *Palmyra of the North*, London, 1942, p. 56).

<sup>39</sup> A naturalised Englishman, native of Holland, who supplied English cloth to the Russian army headquarters.

<sup>40</sup> Claudius Rondeau (d. 1739); secretary to Thomas Ward, appointed English consul in Russia, 1728; consul 1730-1; minister resident 1731-9. He was actively concerned in the negotiations leading to the commercial treaty of December 1734 and was the English signatory, Forbes having left in May 1734. In 1732 he married Ward's widow who, as Mrs Vigor, published *Letters from Russia* in 1775 (see Introduction, n. 11).

<sup>41</sup> Mrs Vigor, describing the Empress Anne's entry into St Petersburg in 1732, noted



her present Majestys<sup>42</sup> coming to the throne. they are very hansome with severall figures, and devices, and paintings, (In this quarter of the Town, there is a third triumphall Arch erected upon the same occasion), the devices are all in Russe—the streets are pretty well paved, streight, and of a good breadth, in Severall there are canals, they say, the Czar designed cutting Canals through most of the Streets, especially opposite to the Palace which is now inhabited by her Majesty, called the Summer Palace,<sup>43</sup> that being the reall town of St. Petersburg, where the exchange<sup>44</sup> is, where the Merchants dayly resort, though not reside, as also the greatest part of the Shops, for retail commoditys. Petersburg is situat<sup>d</sup> betwixt 7 and 8 leagues up the river Nerva (and built on very marshy low ground), which runs with a pritty strong current, through, and divides, the town, its from ten to twelve feet deep, and more than half the Breadth of the Thames, about below bridge, most of the Merchant men, come up as high as the town, there is a good hansome bridge upon boats, that goes from the Suburbs, of Vasiliostoff.<sup>45</sup> where her Majesty and the best part of the Court inhabit, and the Suburbs, all the foreign Ministers likewise inhabit the former, as well as all the English Merchants, and I believe most other foreign merchants, it is called the Isle of the admiralty, the Admiralty house<sup>46</sup> being built there, the Rope walk also there, the foundery for Cannon,<sup>47</sup> and the Docks, for Ships and Camels &c<sup>48</sup> there is now a ship upon the stocks, of a hundred and twelve guns, but probably it may be rotten before it is launched.—The Summer Palace<sup>49</sup> where the Czarina lives at present, is a long building, of wood, one Story high, there are large apartments, and it looks very well for the season, it was entirely built from the ground, when she came from Moscow, in six weeks' time, but they make nothing here, of employing two thousand men at work upon the same building, I have been credibly, and by severall informed,

that she 'passed under five triumphall arches built on this occasion' (*Letters from Russia*, p. 79; cf. Marsden *op. cit.*, p. 113).

<sup>42</sup> Anna Ivanovna (1730-40), second daughter of Ivan V; 1710 married the duke of Courland, who died in 1711. On the death of Peter II in 1730 the privy council, led by the Dolgorukys, chose Anne for successor, setting aside the claims of her elder sister Catherine and of Peter the Great's daughters (by Catherine I), Anne and Elizabeth.

<sup>43</sup> On the banks of the Neva, in the Admiralty quarter. It was designed by the Italian architect Trezzini, who came to Russia in 1703, and finished in 1714.

<sup>44</sup> Described by Cook as 'nothing else but a great timber stage . . . about 300 paces long, and proportionately broad. Near to it is a most noble magazine for preserving the merchandize; it is a square building built with brick, and has only one port or entry. An hundred soldiers keep watch here day and night, that no harm may come to the merchants goods' (*op. cit.*, i, p. 61).

<sup>45</sup> Vasili Ostrov, island of Vasili, on the Baltic side of St Petersburg, so called after the commander of the battery established there as a prelude to the building of the city. Mrs Vigor, describing Vasili Ostrov in 1730, remarked that: 'Here the merchants were designed to live, but though the houses and streets are very handsome, they are mostly uninhabited, for the Admiralty-isle is by much the most populous' (*op. cit.*, p. 3).

<sup>46</sup> Begun in 1705 and in 1711 fortified with stone, six bastions and a moat.

<sup>47</sup> Described by Cook as 'a very noble building, with a spear topped with a burning bomb, all double gilt. In this foundery are cast the best cannon, mortars, and bombs in the world' (*ibid.*, p. 59).

<sup>48</sup> Machines 'used to carry great ships over the bar' from the Admiralty dock to Kronstadt (Cook, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 59-60). According to Coxe they were invented by John de Witt and introduced into Russia by Peter the Great.

<sup>49</sup> See n. 43.

that in building (or rather) laying the foundation of this town, and Crownsta<sup>d</sup> there were three hundred thousand men perished, by hunger and the air, but chiefly, by hunger. The Czar Peter 1<sup>st</sup> having summoned, so many provinces, to furnish such a quantity of men early but he being absent, and engaged in wars with Charles the 12<sup>th</sup> of Sweden, there was no care taken to provide for their reception, so that, they miserably dyed, for want of bread only: there is no hiring of Coaches or Chairs in this town, everybody must take care to provide themselves; there are boats to ferry over the river, but the profit of this is Monopolized, by the Government, as well as all publick houses, the Merchants generally have boats of their own, being obliged to cross the water everyday: the High Admirall Aprakin<sup>60</sup> dying, he left a fine house upon the waterside, a legacy to her Majesty, therefore they are building two monstrous great wings, to this, and it is called the Winter Palace,<sup>61</sup> it will be very large when finished, but not a peice of much Architecture. the Admiralty is spacious and has a fortification round it, but I had not an Oportunity to see the inner side the present Grand Chamberlain, Count Bryom,<sup>62</sup> has built a very hansome manege which I think is the finest thing in Petersburgh, being a very regular peice of work although of wood, there is a Gallery all round on the inside, and the riding place very large, and an exact proportion, as two is to three, he has seventy fine horses some of all nations the Castle or Forteress<sup>63</sup> stands on an Isle that the Nerva forms, it is very regular and Seems very strong and well built, though not quite finished, some of the Bastions are well fortified with Cannon, I counted fifty peices of brass cannon dismounted, five of which, were from one to two and twenty feet long. they have also some brass Mortars—going out of the Gate that fronts up the river, there is a deep ditch or fosse, and works beyond that, which makes this Fort exceeding strong. in the middle of the Fort is a Church called St. Peter.<sup>64</sup> which is the richest, and finest, by much of any here abouts, the Dome and Spire, is all Guilt on the outside, there is a Very Curious Sconce for Severall Candles all Ivory turned by Peter the first, (as also a very fine Ivory Cross by the same,) here lies also Peter and the Empress Catharine<sup>65</sup> by one another, in Coffins covered with Gold stuff and Gold fringe in a corner of the Church, not in a Vault, the steeple has some Bells, in it, but most small, they never ring in this Country only Chime. In this Fort there is allwayes five hundred men in Garrison.

In the Suburbs of Vasiliostoff, there are Colleges,<sup>66</sup> of foreign affairs,

<sup>60</sup> F. M. Apraksin (1671–1728), an influential member of Peter the Great's court.

<sup>61</sup> The conversion of the Apraksin palace into the new (third) Winter palace, four stories high, was the work of Rastrelli, and was completed in 1736.

<sup>62</sup> Ernst Johann Bühren, Bieren or Biron (1687–1712), favourite of the Empress Anne, appointed regent for Ivan VI; arrested by order of Ivan VI's mother Anne of Brunswick and sent to Siberia; freed by Elizabeth after the *coup d'état* of 1741 but not restored to power.

<sup>63</sup> Founded by Peter the Great in 1706, planned by Trezzini, and not completed until 1732.

<sup>64</sup> The Cathedral of St Peter and St Paul, designed by Trezzini and built 1714–33.

<sup>65</sup> Second wife of Peter the Great, who succeeded him and ruled 1725–7.

<sup>66</sup> Peter the Great's 'Colleges' were housed in a row of stone buildings, begun in 1722 by Trezzini and completed in 1732.

of War, and of Commerce. in these Colleges, Peter the first used sometimes to attend at four in the morning in winter time, and if the members, did not attend, or were not precisely to the hour, he would thrash them soundly with his Cane, a thing that he has done a hundred times to the great Prince Mempsicoff, his cheif Minister and favorite, upon the left hand as you go to Vasiliostoff, by the bridge, is the Palace, of this great man, which upon his banishment into Siberia, in Peter the second<sup>57</sup> reign, was taken from him, with all his other possessions of what sort soever, it now is an Academy,<sup>58</sup> for about 400 Cadets Sons of the Cheif Noblemen in the Country, where they are taught the use of arms, and all other Academicall accomplishments; they exercise, after the Prussian manner, I saw fourscore file four deep go through their Manall exercise marching, and firings, with great dexterity, the Parents of these young Gentlemen are oblidge to send them before they are sixteen, to this Academy, or they are liable afterwards to be pressed for common soldiers, in this Palace they are Lodged and Nourished, and are kept under strict discipline—Velt Marechal Count Munich,<sup>59</sup> has been lately ordered, to reside, in this part of the town, some enemys of his at Court, wanting to get him at a distance, in this Country, this is reckoned, a certain presage of his future disgrace;<sup>60</sup> which is generally succeeded, with Banishment, towards the extremitys of Siberia, about five thousand Versts from this place. (a Verst is less than an Italian mile, there being Seventy Versts to a degree.) the Prince and family of the Dolgaruky<sup>61</sup> were the last Ministers and people of note that were sent thither the natural inclination of the Czarine, to tating and inquisitiveness makes her informed, of all the trifling affairs, and minute accidents, that happen in familys, and of what is Transacted great matters, and things of Consequence, the handsome Count Byrom, (who has the Cheif Management of her) takes care she should know nothing off, he having a great many enemys (as what great man has not) is as sollicitous, to know what everybody sayes and how they act; an imediate rigorous punishment, that shall proceed only from suggestions will make people look about them, and keep their mouths shut,<sup>62</sup> all the Nobility are Oblidge to resort here, (or wherever the Court is, to be employed in the Military, or Civil, therefore, though they

<sup>57</sup> Peter II (1727-30), son of Peter's son Aleksey, put to death in 1718.

<sup>58</sup> Founded by Anne in 1731; the palace was designed by Fontana, an Italian architect, and finished in 1716. It is now the Menshikov Museum. (Marsden, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 57.)

<sup>59</sup> Burkard Christoph Munic or Munich (1653-1767), son of a Danish officer; served in Hessian and Polish armies; went to Russia in 1721 and rose high in civil and military service of Peter the Great; in 1732 Anne made him commander-in-chief and president of the newly-formed council of war; on Anne's death he planned the arrest of Biron; he was himself arrested and sent to Siberia by Elizabeth in 1741; Peter III restored him to rank and favour in 1762.

<sup>60</sup> Manstein relates that in September 1732 Munich 'had an altercation with count Biron, by which he had like to have been undone'. Munich, however, succeeded in keeping his position and he and Biron were, outwardly, reconciled.

<sup>61</sup> Leaders of group of nobles who attempted to limit the autocracy when Anne was offered the crown. The family was disgraced and exiled in 1732 and seven of them were later put to death.

<sup>62</sup> Manstein described Anne as 'naturally gentle and compassionate, never liking to use severity; but she had the fault of weak princes, the allowing evil to be done in her name'.

live very magnificently, upon their estates, nevertheless their being at so great a distance from them and not being upon the spot, makes their revenues, very inconsiderable, excepting a very few of the top men of all; because most of their rents are payed in kind, I was assured, that Prince Dolgaruky, when at Moscow with the Court, and when the Court was not, kept a Constant Table, of thirty Covers, which cost him about a Rouble a day, but there are a great number of Princes and great men who live very poorly at Petersburgh, Peter the first used to send many of them to learn to be Ship Carpenters, and to be Quartermasters and Gunners Mates, all which Services, he set them an example by going through by degrees from a Common Sailor, and was sometime a Boatswain, he also was a Common Soldier and stood Centinell in the coldest nights, and used to go regularly to receive his Pay, and when he dyed, was but Vice Admirall, and has been ordered out severall times by General Aprakin to command partys, upon his decease the Navy has been much dwindled, and all the great men, that had any interest, have forsook it, nevertheless, there are Princes Lieutenants of ships that have very good estates still, Prince Lupukin<sup>63</sup> has land in Siberia of eleven hundred and fifty two Versts in circomference, which brings him about, thirty thousand roubles a year money, and perhaps does not receive half of that at St. Petersburgh.

In Vasiliostoff, besides the Colleges and the Cadets Academy before mentioned, there is the rarity Chamber,<sup>64</sup> the printing house as also for stamps, and Catts, Mathematicall instruments, for Physicall demonstrations, a Vast Globe<sup>65</sup> of nine feet Diameter and on the inner side, a Seat round a table where severall of us got in, and the back of the bench, is the Horizon and all round the superferies on the inner side is the Celestial globe with the twelve signs of the Zodiack, and above that is an Observatory.—in the rarity Chamber there are severall curiositys all collected by Peter the first, and some that I never Saw before, all Parts of the Human System, entire and distinctly preserved in Spirits, with the graduall growth of a Child in the womb from a week, to nine months,<sup>66</sup> a mummy of a Child made at St. Petersburgh, the upper skin of a hand entirely separated and taken off preserved also in spirits, there are adjacent two or three little Chambers where the Czar Peter the first used to Study, where are severall curious things in Ivory of his turning. in one of these

<sup>63</sup> Prince Fyodor Lopukhin was the father of Peter the Great's first wife; the family was recalled from exile when Peter II came to the throne in 1727 but disgraced again in Elizabeth's reign.

<sup>64</sup> The basis of the Cabinet of Curiosities was Peter the Great's order of February 1718: 'If anyone find in the earth, or in the water, any ancient objects . . . unlike those which are with us now, or such as are larger or smaller than usual, or any old inscriptions on stones . . . or any ancient weapons not now in use, or any vessel or such like thing, that is very ancient or unusual, let him bring all such things to us, and ample reward shall be given him.' The building was designed (1718-25) by the German architect Mattornovy (Marsden, *op. cit.*, p. 73). (See p. 197 and n. 123 for the Chamber of Rarities in Copenhagen, which Peter the Great must have seen when he visited the city in 1716.)

<sup>65</sup> The Globe of Gottorp, made according to a design of Tycho Brahe; it was presented to Peter the Great in 1713 by Frederick IV of Denmark and transported 'upon rollers and sledges to Riga, and from thence was sent by sea to the new metropolis' (Coxe, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 189). It was destroyed by fire in 1747, and a new one built on the same plan.

<sup>66</sup> Part of the collection of the celebrated Dutch anatomist, Ruysch, bought by Peter the Great in 1717 (Cook, *op. cit.*, i, p. 56; Coxe, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 176).

chambers is kept, his Hat, Boots, Coat, and Sword that he wore at the Battle of Pultava.<sup>67</sup> in the observatory there is a very fine reflecting Telescope, of Sir Isaac Newton.<sup>68</sup> I think this is all I remarked in the suburbs of Vasiliostoff, excepting long rows of large houses, that look well on the outside, but almost all unfurnished, and most uninhabited, on the Admiralty Isle or on the Courtside of the water, there are, besides what I have mentioned, the Arsenall, but I was informed not very full of Cannon, there is generally near every year a Small Camp of some Companys of Artillery, and a little beyond, is a regular building, of wood, which is stables for a regiment of Cuirassiers.

The Duchess of Mecklenburgh's<sup>69</sup> death, who was Sister to her present Majesty, hindered my seeing a festivall day here when they say this Court is in great splendor, one thing I am a Witness of. it is far from being numerous I had a particular letter from, Count Golofkin, the Russian Ambassador at the Hague, to his Brother who is a great man, and Son of the Grand Chancellor,<sup>70</sup> he received me standing and spoke two words to me so I took my leave and never saw him afterwards, I had a particular acquaintance that is Chamberlain to her Majesty, but it was not in his power to carry me about, or introduce me anywhere. In short I conclude, that people make great mistakes in their conjectures concerning this Court, though I am very well contented with my journey, and think it very much, worth any curious man's while, going to See, and to Stay there three weeks or a month, but after once curiosity is Satisfied, I think one could amuse oneself better, in more Southern Climates In this Court the ministers foreign intelligence is not of the best and the Sovereign worse, for in the time when Admirall Wager was Sent to the Baltick<sup>71</sup> they did not know, there was a Squadron fitting out, nor did they hear anything of the matter, till the Admirall was under Sail, how much more vigilant they may be at present, I cannot so well tell, the Cheif men here are Viz, Count Byrom Grand Chamberlain Count Golofkin Grand Chancellor, Count Lewold the Younger,<sup>72</sup> grand Marechall, Count Lewold the Senior Master of the horse Col: Osterman<sup>73</sup> Vice Chancellor, Velt Marechall Munich Generall and commander in cheif, and President, of the counsell of War, Count Golofkin the Son president of the Counsell for foreign affairs,

<sup>67</sup> Coxe noted that the hat was 'pierced near the crown by a musket ball' (*ibid.*, p. 187).

<sup>68</sup> Perry remarked that Peter 'has order'd very good telescopes to be brought into his country' (*op. cit.*, p. 212). Newton built his first reflecting telescope in 1668; this one was perhaps built by Fergharson (or Ferguson) chief of the three mathematicians taken by Peter from England in 1698.

<sup>69</sup> Catherine, elder sister of Anne, married the duke of Mecklenburg in 1716 and returned to Russia in 1719.

<sup>70</sup> Count Golovkin, grand chancellor since 1726; he died in 1733 and his post was not filled. Neither he nor his son had real power in Anne's reign.

<sup>71</sup> In May 1726, following a threatened Russian invasion of North Germany, Admiral Wager was sent to Revel to safeguard British interests in the Baltic.

<sup>72</sup> Carl Gustav Löwenwolde, a native of Livonia and much favoured by Anne; his brother Reinhold was Master of the Horse; a third brother was emissary to the court of Vienna.

<sup>73</sup> Count I. A. Osterman, son of a Westphalian pastor, entered the Russian service in 1704, became vice-chancellor in 1726 and remained in charge of foreign policy until his exile in 1742.

I never could get any Sort of light more than follows into the finances, every male above two years old, pays a Capitation<sup>74</sup> of a Rouble, they count four millions 3 hundred thousand Males, the Kolmouck and, some Cosaque Tartars, that are Sort of Tributarys by furnishing so many men in time of war, who pay no Tribute money, all the Brandy and Beer that is sold, belongs to the Crown, but as I could get no Idea of that part of their Policy, I must leave that, for those better informed Labour is exceeding cheap, and they will employ a hundred with less expence than we can five, you may buy a Russe Man or Woman for twelve or fifteen Roubles but cannot carry them out of the Country, nor can any one Stir out of the Country, of what rank soever without a pass, I think, that her Majesty has ordered that, nobody shall Sell people off of their Estates without selling the Estate and land together; I saw a Prince at this Court, a Subject who is descended in a direct line from Tamerlain, as pretended, he was a Garde Marin in France, but came home as Soon as ever Peter dyed, I dont know, what land this Gentleman may have but some have land for fifty thousand Vasials.

The Army is much upon the German Establishment, as to dress, and Accoutrements, particularly in the Strength of their Regiments, and Squadrons, there are three Regiments of Cuirassiers,<sup>75</sup> each composed of 980, which makes 2940. there are twenty eight Campayne Regiments of Dragoons, consisting each of 1229 men, and in Garrison, besides two Squadrons, one from Moscow, t'other from Rastooski (each Squadron consisting of 564 men), there are four other Regiments, which in all makes thirty two Regiments of Dragoons, which makes thirty nine thousand three hundred and twenty eight. their is one Regiment of Horse Guards, of 1206, and three Regiments of foot Guards, of which the Czarina herself is Collonelle, the first consists of 3352 men, of which there is actually, two Battallions at Moscow, the Other two, have for their Compliment, 2436 men, each, and one Battalion of each at Moscow, So the three Regiments together make 8224. The Infanterie Consists, of 38 Campagne Regiments, and forty eight Regiments in Garrison. The first have 1407 men, and the Garrison Regiments 1325 men, excepting Colomenskoi, which has three Battallions, for the compliment of each, and their is also three distinct Battallions in Garrison of 650 men each which in all makes of Infanterie, one hundred and Eleven thousand six hundred and ninety one, there is besides twenty Regiments of Militia, armed mounted, and Disciplined as the Dragoons. of one thousand ninety six men each, which makes, twenty one thousand, nine hundred and twenty, this Government has besides thirty thousand<sup>76</sup> Kolmouk Tartars at Command.

<sup>74</sup> The poll tax, instituted by Peter the Great.

<sup>75</sup> These regiments were first raised by Anne, on Munich's advice.

<sup>76</sup> Hanway's figure, for the 1740s, is 40,000 (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 138).

The Names of the Regiments are as follows.

One Regiment of Horse Guards <sup>77</sup>	Compliment <u>1206</u>
1st Regiment of foot Guards Preobregenskoi <sup>78</sup>	3352
2 <sup>d</sup> Regt ditto Semonosskoi	2436
3 <sup>d</sup> Regt ditto Ismailosskoi	2436
	<u>8224</u>
1st Regmt of Cuirassiers Prince of Bevin	980
2 <sup>d</sup> Regt of ditto commanded by —	980
3 <sup>d</sup> Regmt of ditto commanded by —	980
	<u>2940</u>

	Compliment
A distinct Battalion of reformed Guards Infantry In Garrison	650
A Battlion of Velikoloudski ditto distinct	650
A Battalion of Bachmontski ditto —	650
	<u>1950</u>
Dragoons in Garrison, Veronedskoi — — — — —	1180
Regmts 4 Casanskoi — — — — —	1180
Squad <sup>s</sup> 2 Astrakanskoi — — — — —	1180
	Sibirskoi — — — — —
	1180
A Squadron from Moscow — — — — —	564
A Squadron from Rastooski — — — — —	564
	<u>7798</u>

Dragoons in Campagne Regmt <sup>s</sup> 28	
Moscosskoi Cargapolskoi Troytskoi Ingermalanskoi	
Novogorodskoi Sibirskoi Niadskoi Novotroitskoi	
Vibourskoi Iambourskoi Olonedskoi Iwerskoi	
Peterbourskoi Revelskoi Tobolskoi Asoofskoi	
Permskoi Pikopskoi Volodimirskoi Riskoi	
Peroslauskoi Nichegorodskoi Kiousskoi Naroskoi	
Loudskoi Volgodskoi Neuskoi Astrakanskoi	

koi signifies of these being all names of towns

Consisting each of	Compt <u>1229</u>
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Regiments of Infantry in Garrison	34412
Vid-consisting of three Battalions of 650 each	48
Colomenskoi	
Peterbourgkoi Smolenskoi Czaritzenskoi	
Neuskoi Dorogobonskoi Terskoi	
Caporskoi Pauloski Archangelgorodskoi	
Iambourskoi Koslosski Oustjouskoi	

<sup>77</sup> A new regiment created by Anne in place of Peter the Great's corps of Knights of the Guard.

<sup>78</sup> I have not thought it necessary to alter Dashwood's spelling.

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Cronstatskoi	Iamboskoi	Tobolskoi	
Cronschlotskoi	Eletskoi	Geneseiskoi	
Vibourgskoi	Corotojaskoi	Iaconskoi	
Carelskoi	Kiouskoi	Consisting each	
Ivanogorodskoi	Czernigouskoi	of	1325
Kexholmskoi	Soltauskoi		<u>63600</u>
Naruskoi	Staradouboskoi		
Revelskoi	Negenskoi		
Eslandskoi	Glouhoskoi		
Derptskoi	Belogorodskoi		
Liflandskoi	Swiatskoi		
Eselskoi	Nisegorodskoi		
Riskoi	Pensenskoi		
Peterschantskoi	Ousimskoi		
Vendenskoi	Samarskoi		
Pernosskoi	Tinbirskoi		
Regmt <sup>s</sup> of Infantry in Campagne		38	
Vid			
Ingermanlandskoi	Veronedskoi		
Astrakanskoi	Viborgskoi		
Ladonskoi	Resanskoi		
Volodimirskoi	Casanskoi		
Novogorodskoi	Troitskoy		
Permskoi	Nesskoi		
Pikopskoi	Sibirskoi		
Schliselbourgskoi	Asouskoi		
Kekholmskoi	Viadskoi		
Peterbourgskoi	Nesegorodskoi		
Smolenskoi	Rostoskoi		
Archangelgorodskoi	Tarosskoi		
Kiouskoi	Nouromskoi		
Velicoloudskoy	Vologodskoi	Comp <sup>t</sup>	
Naruskoi	Consisting each of		1407 men
Tabolskoi			<u>53466</u>
Ouglitskoi		Cadets	<u>400</u>
Beloserskoi			
1 <sup>st</sup> Moscoskoi	Total of horse		4146
2 <sup>d</sup> Moscoskoi	Dragoons		40360
Boutorskoi	Infantry		117692
Czernigovskoi	Mounted Militia		21920
Soudalskoi	Cossack & Kolmouk		
Caporskoi	Tartars		<u>3000<sup>79</sup></u>
Total of the Army			189117 <sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> This is altered in the text, in pencil, to 30,000. The amended total is therefore 216,177.

<sup>80</sup> Hanway's figure, excluding Tartars, is an 'ordinary computation of 200,000' (*op. cit.*, ii. 138).



Notwithstanding this account all the Regm<sup>ts</sup>  
of foot excepting Colomenskoi of 3 Battalions  
consist but of two Battalions Effective, of  
650 pr Bat.

The Regiment of Horse Guards, is very well mounted of that Regiment of Cuirassiers, or light horse, which I saw, the horses are very well turned, and about 14 hands 2 or 3 inches, and I beleive none fifteen; as to the Dragoons, they are all mounted, upon Small horses of the Country, about thirteen hands, and an inch, they are much more indefatigable, and live harder, than the large horses which is absolutely necessary in a country, of so Vast an extent, as this, to transport bodys of Troops great distances, the Cuirassiers is blew and Buff Waistcoats, the foot is green turned up with red, and, white Cocards, in their Hatts, their Arms are Short, and pritty Clumsy; the foot, wear their Watch Cloaks, rolled up, and placed upon the right Shoulder and the two ends joining, like a Scarfe, under the left arm they have white gaters, and, their hair, twisted in a tail, they were large Swords which doubtless, is very Cumbersome and unnecessary, the Regiments of Guards are as fine Soldier looking men, as I ever saw, the pay of a Common Soldier is Seventy Kopicks pr month, but abstracting, all the deductions he has, forty three Kopicks clear, which makes about twenty two pence english,<sup>81</sup> A Captain has about thirty five Shillings pr month, and a Collonell about eight hundred Roubles per Ann<sup>82</sup> every common has quarters, and a sufficient quantity of bread dayly.

All the Army, (excepting the three Regiments of foot Guards, (which are under the immediate direction of her Majesty) are disposed, and directed by the Counsell of War,<sup>83</sup> the President of which is Velt Marechall Munich, there is one other Velt Marechall, that has been Sent for lately, from Moscow, Since the impending disgrace<sup>84</sup> of Munich, the army is at present divided into three divisions, under the Commands of V. M. Munich, Generall Weisbach,<sup>85</sup> and Generall Lacey,<sup>86</sup> their is actualy thirty thousand men in Persia, commanded by the Prince of Hesse Homburg,<sup>87</sup> there are thirty six thousand men in Livonia and at Smolensko, and there is immediatly a going to be formed at Starodub (in the Dutchy of Severia), a Camp of twelve thousand regular Troops, and twenty thousand Tartars, which Major Generall Keith<sup>88</sup> is appointed

<sup>81</sup> A rouble was at this time worth about 4/6, and a kopck slightly less than ¼d.

<sup>82</sup> These figures agree with those given by Hanway (*op. cit.*, ii. 137).

<sup>83</sup> A new military board formed in 1732, on Munich's advice, 'to put the affairs of the army on a more regular footing than they have been before' (Manstein, *op. cit.*, p. 56).

<sup>84</sup> See n. 60.

<sup>85</sup> Commander of army in Ukraine, *d.* 1734 on eve of operations against Turks.

<sup>86</sup> Peter Lacy (1678-1751); entered Russian service in 1697; commanded the Russian army sent to support the candidature of Augustus of Saxony for the throne of Poland in 1733; field-marshal, 1736.

<sup>87</sup> Sent to Persia at end of 1732 in order to remove his influence from the court (Manstein, *op. cit.*, p. 64). He played an important part in Elizabeth's *coup d'état* of 1741 and was made field-marshal.

<sup>88</sup> James Francis Edward Keith (1696-1758), brother of George Keith, 10th Earl Marischal; took part in 1715 rebellion and in Alberoni's Jacobite expedition of 1719; served in the Spanish army; entered Russian service in 1728 and became major-general; in 1747 went to Prussia, becoming field-marshal and governor of Berlin.

to Command; each regiment has two brass field peices, and one mortar, that belongs to and allwayes marches with the Regt.

Their Religion is the Greek Church, though the late Czar Peter 1<sup>st</sup>, has reformed Some things, Particularly that great article of A. Patriarch,<sup>89</sup> he made use of several Monasterys, and their lands, to Quarter Soldiers, and for Hospitalls to the same, he has had the Bible and all their Services and Mass Books &c translated into the Russian language, or Esclavon, and all Religious worships, is performed in the language of the Country, there is no people of what sort soever, that keep their fasts more rigorously than the Russians and the Arch Bishops Bishops Archemandrites, (or Abbots) Monks of all sorts whatever, belonging to Priesthood or to the Church, that ever, touch the least bit of flesh or Butter, all the year round, excepting those among the heads, who have an easy method of digesting of scruples, by giving large grains of allowance to their passions, St. Basile is the Cheif Saint, of the Country, and all Monks, and Nuns are of that order, There are, for the whole nation, four fasts in the year, of six weeks each fast, which is of great inconvenience, and kills great numbers in a year One would think the Devill, might have spared that invention in this Country, where the poor people, are So very miserable in the best of times, perhaps there is no Country where the Papa (or Priests) not even in England, gett drunk so frequently as in this Country, and that mostly with Malt Brandy, though they have a liquor, made of Honey, that is very much used. In St. Petersburg there is sixteen Churches ten Russian and six foreign, for Strangers, in that Part, called Petersburg there are three Russian, in the Admiralty Island, there are four Russian, and one Lutheran German Church, one reformed Dutch One French Catholick, and One reformed french. at Vasiliostoff, one Russian and one German Lutheran, In the Artillery quarters, two Russian, and one German Lutheran, there is about two Versts, from Petersburg, a Convent built by Peter the 1<sup>st</sup> and dedicated to St. Alexander Nichki,<sup>90</sup> there is about, 25 or thirty Monks nevertheless the plan of the building is exceeding Grand and fine, and is designed, for Old Officers, not to be filled with Monks; I speak of the first design, though probably, before this building, can be finished, a Change of the Sovereign, may produce Other Schemes in behalf of the Church, and entirely, subvert the Plan of Peter the first, they have great numbers of religious gesticulations and Ceremonies, in their Church, and Some very fine Priest's Robes, at St. Peter's in the Castle, the entire religion, and each distinct Ceremony, is to be seen at large in a book entitled, disertatio Historica et Theolica de Statu Ecclesiae et religionis Moscovitae, in 8<sup>o</sup> part 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup>. Nicolai Bergii Lubec. 1709.

The Russians formerly, had a great many cruell robbers amongst, that went in great Bands, and committed numerous [*sic*], but Peter the Great pritty well cleared the country of them, by a Strict Guard and rigorous punishments, nevertheless, now and then, their sprouts out some of the

<sup>89</sup> In 1721 Peter replaced the Patriarchate by a Synod.

<sup>90</sup> Monastery of St Alexander Nevsky, begun in 1715, by Trezzini, and the first part finished in 1723.

old gang, or their race, but no sooner, has the Court information thereof, but they immediately detache a party of Soldiers, who Seldom fail bringing them, alive or Dead, the punishment for Murderers, &c is a Hook that is drove in betwixt their ribbs, bearded, and in that manner they are hung up by a Gibbett, till they dye, they will sometimes live, two days in this manner; and bear it with Strange resolution; The Canute (or Torture) is given generally, to make people confess, either their accomplices or their own faults, which is thus, they tie the malefactors hands behind, and then draw him up to a Gibbet, so that his Arms, are twisted quite back, and the Shoulders dislocated, then the hangman comes, with a long whip and, flogs them upon the back, and takes, the Skin off every Stroke, he is so expert, that he never Strikes twice in the Same place, after this, least the wounds should fester, they pass a red hot iron in the wounds. they have other punishments, but this I think the most Severe---the generallity of the Boors, or common labourers wear their Beards still, notwithstanding the Strict injunction of Peter the Great, but all others (except the Clergy), both Soldiers and Sailors, are Shaved, the Soldiers most of them, wear their Whiskers; formerly the military people of this country were the Strelites, men, without discipline, having much the same power as the Janisarys in Turkey. and were often the masters of the Czars, themselves, when Peter the Great was travelling in Holland, these Strelites rebelled, upon notice of which he repaired home immediately, and got together a force that conquered, the Strelites, the Czar destroyed a Great number, and I have heard one Noy<sup>91</sup> (an English ship builder, that was in the Czar's service at that time) Say, that he went to wait upon him one morning just upon his arrivall, from Veronitz, and he saw a hundred and fifty bleeding heads, just cutt off, that lay before the door of a little wooden house, where the Czar was, perhaps, sayes the Czar to him, the world may think me a Tyrant for this, but did I not act in this manner I should be quickly as one of these, This people is very much addicted to drinking of Brandy it is the Custom still, for the Lady of the house, to come and present you, at your comeing into the house with a Glass of Brandy. the common people are very civill and I have seen them pull off their Hatts and kiss one another in the Streets, frequently.

The death of the Dutchess of Mecklenburgh, gave me an Oportunity of seeing, a Very pompous funerall there was about 6000 men drawed up within the walls of the Convent of St. Alexander, the Grenadiers of the foot Guards the Cadets, the Merchants of all nations, and the Nobility, then the Choir (all voices, this Church makes use of no sort of instrument at any time) preceded the Corps, which was carryed under a Canopy, then Princess Elizabeth<sup>92</sup> who was led by Marechall Munich and the Chancellor and then followed all the ladys of the Court, Veiled; there was constant Prayers day and night for Six weeks. and constant watch of Ladys and Gentlemen, eight or ten of each during that time, the Priests pretend

<sup>91</sup> Henry Nye, a shipbuilder taken into Peter the Great's service in 1699. He was still employed there in 1710 (Whitworth, *op. cit.*, p. 219).

<sup>92</sup> 1709-62; younger daughter of Peter the Great and Catherine I; seized the throne in 1741 from Ivan VI, whom the Empress Anne had nominated as her heir.

this is to keep the Devil out of the Body. we had a fine Sermon (as I was told) by the Archbishop of Casan, after Mass the Cannon firing round the Church every minuit during the procession.

I took a trip about thirty Versts, from Petersburg to a Palace called Peter Hoff<sup>93</sup> or Peter Palace, built by Peter the first, the house is of no consideration, but the Gardens, that go down to the Sea, is worthy of notice, there are two handsome Cascades, made by water that is brought, from a great way, through iron pipes of thirteen inches bore, and an inch thick the rim the other waterworks are Supplied in the same manner there are two houses in the Garden, one called Mon plaisir,<sup>94</sup> and t'other Marly,<sup>95</sup> they are both the prittiest things I have seen in these parts, and both, worthy of a place in any Garden in Italy, Marly especially is a very exact peice of Architecture, but what Surprised me most of all, was to find So many fine pictures;<sup>96</sup> they are taken no Sort of care of, and Severall are Spoiled and all a Spoiling, there are very few History peices, a returning home, I stopped to see a house<sup>97</sup> of Prince Mempsicoff, the Shell is entirely built, the front, with the two wings is four hundred feet, and a Situation Superior to Peter Hoff, and is upon an elevation two miles off the sea; a Going to Petersburg I took notice of a Canal about ten foot wide, and from the Surface of the Earth, ten feet deep, that is cut a hundred Versts to Supply the Waterworks, and lined on each side with Pine Posts and Planks, they say it was all done in Six weeks,<sup>98</sup> it is an entire flat and sandy ground; there is also a Streight direct road<sup>99</sup> towards Moscow of A hundred Versts the surveyor finding he missed the Steeple of St Peter by about 4 Versts, he shot himself through the head--I arrived at Crownstad the 9th of June and Petersburg the 10th, and on the 30th took my leave, and went down the Nerva, in our Captains Barge for Cronstad after having Stayed Nineteen whole days, at St. Petersburg which was long enough, to satisfy my Curiosity though I should have chose, to have stayed another fortnight with a great deal of pleasure, had it been in my power, without running the risque of staying all the winter or going

<sup>93</sup> Designed for Peter the Great by the French architect Leblond, who introduced into Russia a taste for 'French' gardens which lasted until Catherine II introduced 'English' gardens (Marsden, *op. cit.*, p. 64). The palace was almost entirely rebuilt by Elizabeth.

<sup>94</sup> Designed by Leblond for Peter the Great soon after his return from Holland, and sometimes called the 'Dutch house'.

<sup>95</sup> A small house in the Dutch style, also designed by Leblond.

<sup>96</sup> Mrs Vigor noted 'good pictures, but much spoiled for want of care' at Peterhof in 1730 (*op. cit.*, p. 7) and Coxe saw at Mon Plaisir in 1784 'pictures of the Dutch and Flemish schools; among these are several of himself under the character of master Peter, when he worked at Sardam' (Zaandam) (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 212).

<sup>97</sup> The only 'house' owned by Menshikov on this coast seems to have been Oranienbaum, but this was farther from St Petersburg. This is perhaps a reference to Peter the Great's palace of Strelna, built at the same time as Peterhof and Oranienbaum.

<sup>98</sup> This must be the Ladoga canal, which was completed by Munich in 1733. Manstein related that in September 1733 'the empress with her whole court, went to view the canal of Ladoga. . . . She went up the canal from one end to the other, and expressed great satisfaction at seeing the work finished' (*op. cit.*, p. 62). But it was not, of course 'finished in six weeks' time--it was begun in 1717.

<sup>99</sup> Perry notes that the survey for this road 'by a streight line throught all the Woods and over all the Lakes, Morasses and Rivers' was made by two mathematicians (Ferguson and Gwyn) brought by Peter the Great from England in 1698. The survey was finished in 1710 and 'the Czar does design to have a Road accordingly made, when he has Peace, and can better spare Men and Money for it' (*op. cit.*, p. 280).

home in a Merchantman, Or taking, a very disagreeable journey, all alone, of a thousand leagues by land. the present Czarina's name is Anna Iwanovena (or Anne the Daughter of Iwan) who was brother and joint partner in the government of this empire, with Peter the Great. Princess Anne,<sup>100</sup> is daughter of the Eldest sister of her present majesty whose Name was Catharine Iwanovena, she married a Duke of Mecklenburgh, and was laid aside from possessing the Crown of Russia upon that account. this Young Princess Anne's name, was Catharine, but by order of the present Czarina, was rechristened Anne, their is also Princess Elizabeth, who is the Offspring of Peter the Great, and the Czarina Catharine, who was his Second Wife, to marry whom, Peter put away his first Wife under a pretence of her falshood, Catharine Succeeded Peter in the Government, of these Vast dominions, the present princess Elizabeth is the only relict,<sup>101</sup> of Peter and Catharine, she is a Very Beautifull Lady, and as I am told has great Talents, nevertheless she is by no means, regarded at Court, from the meanness of her Mother's birth, and first Education and likewise, because the present Empress, intends her Neice, Princess Anne (who is likewise a Very fine young Lady) for her Successor, of these Realms, which are as extensive as all the rest of Europe put together, although the produce, and income, does by no means answer, for a Good Kingdom of France (in the Situation, Russia and its Apertinances are in at present) is worth them All. there is lately discovered a Road to Chamchatka,<sup>102</sup> which is towards Japon, they reckon it fifteen thousand Versts from Petersburg how they will proceed to make an advantage of their discoveries, is as yet very precarious, though, they pretend that they have Water carriage all the way to St. Petersburg excepting three hundred Versts. (The Emperor has a resident<sup>103</sup> and the french have only a Secretary,<sup>104</sup> at this Court.)

On Saturday about 12 a'clock at noon being the 30th of June, I left St. Petersburg, and got to Cronstad in something less than four hours, which is thirty five Versts, we went aboard and dined and then went a Shoar to visit Admirall Saunders and to Sup with him. Upon the left in Entrance of the river, there is the Galley Haven, ninety Gallys (most of which in the Mediterranean, would be called half Gallys) are Manned, and rigged, as Admirall Saunders told me, and forty Others, that want fitting out, these Galleys are of Vast use in the Baltick, particularly in the Gulf of Bothnia, and upon the Coasts of Sweden, the truth of which the Swedes had a dreadfull experience in the last war.

Went from Admirall Saunders on board, about 1 a'clock. On Sunday Morning being the 1st of July about ten we Weighed, and about Eleven got under Sail.

<sup>100</sup> Anne of Brunswick (1718-46), born Catherine of Mecklenburg, daughter of Empress Anne's elder sister; married Anthony Ulric of Brunswick Lunenburg in 1739; in 1740 had Biron arrested and assumed regency for her son Ivan VI; in 1741 arrested, with husband and son, by Elizabeth; died in captivity.

<sup>101</sup> Elizabeth's elder sister Anne, who married the Duke of Holstein in 1725, had died in 1728. Her son became Peter III in 1762.

<sup>102</sup> Bering's expedition reached Kamchatka in 1730.

<sup>103</sup> Count Ostoin.

<sup>104</sup> Magnan.

We Anchored, on Monday July the 9th at half an hour past four in the Afternoon, the Captain and I went and lodged the Same night, at a house, that goes under the denomination of the english house,<sup>106</sup> and kept by one Anderson, a North Briton Danzigh, is a pritty large town, of great Commerce and the only one for that purpose belonging to the Kingdom of Poland, or rather under the protection of that kingdom,<sup>106</sup> it being a Hanse town (& privileged) the inhabitants of which, are governed by Magistrates, elected out of the Burghers, of the said town; it is Situated upon the river Vistule (or Wezer) about 4 or 5 Miles from the Sea (upon this river, is transported all the Corn of Poland, into the Baltick, it takes its course, somewhere in Silesia, and directly traverses the Kingdom of Poland the principall comodities, of this Country, are Corn, Pitch Tar ticken, linnen, to make Sacks, Timber, Potash, and Strong Waters, and Spruce beer, good for intern bruises, of which, great quantities, are sent every year to Moscovy, all Commerce, and traffick, for the same, passes through the Merchants hands at Danzigh. the town is divided by Old and new Danzigh, and there are magistrates of both, who unite their Counsels upon particular Occasions their is an Island which the river Vistule forms, where is nothing, but Magazins and Warehouses, Nobody is allowed to Smoak, or carry any fire, Upon this Island, there are a number of Mastiff dogs, that are let loose every night, and guard the stores, nobody being allowed to be in these quartars after a certain hour.<sup>107</sup> the Burghers have great priviledges, nobody being allowed, to buy, or Sell, but in their name, and after their refusall, they having the preference,<sup>108</sup> therefore the Merchants bribe the burghers, accordingly. (there is ten fairs in a year, which last 5 days each, which draws numbers of people hither and is of great consequence to the town, at the time of the fair every body has the same liberty with the burghers to buy and sell ad libitum.) they have a Senate of 14 who find means, to make it very well, worth their whiles to Serve their Country, as well, as the Quintessence of Democracy. Vid. the Dutch, whose Magistrates are Certainly very despotick, and whose Pride avarice and Ambition, are second to none, but the Territories of the Danzighers, being so much inferior, as well as their Numbers, no Comparison as to trade and riches, with the Tribute they pay to the King of Poland and the hatred the Polanders bear them; all these considerations dont admit, of their being, so very Ambitious, or despotick,<sup>109</sup>

<sup>106</sup> This house 'the highest in all Dantzick' is described as the 'best Accomodation . . . for Englishmen' by the author of the pamphlet *A Particular Description of the City of Dantzick, by an English Merchant lately resident there*, published in 1734 (p. 49).

<sup>106</sup> Cf. the statements in the *Particular Description* that the city 'is reckoned a Republick, and a particular Sovereign State; yet, to show their Dependency on Poland, they are obliged to send to the Diets two Deputies' (p. 29) and again 'though it is called a free Republick, it is too weak for its own support' (p. 3).

<sup>107</sup> This island was joined to the mainland by bridges, which at night 'are drawn up, and not a single person is permitted to lodge there; and for the better Security they keep a breed of Mastiffs close confined all Day, which the Keepers let loose for a Guard to range about in the Night' (*Particular Description*, p. 9).

<sup>108</sup> Hanway, remarking that the laws of commerce 'are very strict to prevent one foreigner from selling to another, or to resell to any other burgher than to the person he bought of, which must necessarily cramp the trade very much' added that 'in the time of the FAIR . . . all ranks and degrees of the people are admitted free, to sell what, and to whom they please' (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 179).

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Hanway, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 179.

but Avarice abounds, with them, and an English merchant told me, Shewing me the Man, that when he was president him (the Merchant) and his partner, petitioned, to sell some particular Commodities, which in publick counsell, was judged pernicious to the town (or rather to the liberties of the Burghers) One of the merchants called this President (who publickly before, declared it should never be suffered) whispering in the ear, told him, he would make him a present, of threescore Ducats (about £30 Sterl.), he answered aloud, Oh that is quite another case, had you given me So good a reason before I could never have been against so just a demand; and granted it, immediately—I was told there was near ten thousand houses in the town, I suppose Suburbs, included they have about 1800 men in Garrison, and about sixty troopers, they have a Generall Commandant, their infantry both as to men and Cloaths, look very Scurvily. a Soldier's pay is fifteen shillings a month, the troopers are tolerably well mounted; there are Churches of all sorts, but the Lutherans are most prevalent, there are Catholicks, but all the Magistrates are Lutherans or reformed,<sup>110</sup> the Cathedrall or Principall Church, belongs to the Lutherans, nevertheless, the Catholicks reserve their pretensions,<sup>111</sup> and the Lutherans dare not, pull down the Images and pictures, for fear of the Polanders, who continually take all Oportunities to quarrell with them and Molest them; there are about twenty Churches in all.

The Cheif great Lutheran Church, has in it a Very fine picture of the day of judgment, painted on board,<sup>112</sup> it is held in great esteem, and Shewed for a great rarity, the heads of all the figures are exceedingly well done, and the Colouring but the rest is exceeding Stiff—there is a handsome balustrade of brass round the font: there is a Convent of Nuns in this town of the order of St. Bridget, that has thirty-three Sisters, in it, with a good large Church annexed to it, on the Other side of the Cloisters, are fourteen Monks, that do the Offices of the Church, the Altar peice of this Church is tolerable good, the Arsenall<sup>113</sup> is a pritty good building, and Worthy of Notice, particularly the building, the Arms are placed to the best advantage, but there are a great many, Old fashioned locks &c which serve to make a Shew, they have no great quantity of Cannon, nevertheless, Some very handsome brasspeices and Some large heaps of Cannon balls and Shells, in one corner of the Artillery Chamber is a Very fine figure lying along, Cut out of one block of exceeding fine white marble,

<sup>110</sup> *The Particular Description* describes 'Toleration for all Religions, yet in such a Manner, that the *Lutheran* is the established or prevailing One; and the whole Civil Government is in their Hands, none of the other Sects being admitted to a Share' (p. 33).

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Hanway's statement that 'the wars of GERMANY which at length established protestantism in this city have not however changed the face of this church, for it was agreed by treaties to leave it in the same manner as in the times of popery, as to crucifixes, images and pictures &c' (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 176).

<sup>112</sup> *The Particular Description* describes this as '2 yards square . . . inestimable for the Fineness . . . reported to have been found in a Wreck, and attributed to the Performance of two Brothers, *George* and *John Eickel*, who painted each a part' (p. 35). According to Hanway the painting 'done by VAN EYCK, about the year 1400' is 'one of the first performances in oil colours: the colouring, by the strength of the varnish, is yet perfect, and so delicate that it will bear the closest inspection' (*ibid.*, p. 176).

<sup>113</sup> Hanway found in the Arsenal 'a good collection of arms, but as in most places of the like nature, it has also many which are old and useless. They pretend to be masters of 150 large brass cannon, of which I saw some said to weigh 15,000 lbs' (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 177).

it represents a Polish Generall, about 35 years ago, it is very well carved, and Worthy of any Italian Sculptor, the fortifications, are pritty regular, but the town cannot be strong, there being Some risings close by that commands the town, the extent of their land on way is Sixteen English miles, but to the West of the town, not above, two or three miles, the Country all about is Sandy, and much like the great part of the rest of Poland, which I have before seen, the Cheif Curiosity in this town, in my mind is, a Very Large Corn Mill,<sup>114</sup> there are eighteen large wheel, set agoing by a Very Small quantity of water, it is reckoned the finest of that Sort in Europe, it is certainly by much the finest, I ever Saw. the rivulet (which doubtless, at first had a great fall in that place) is carryed on upon planks, and an Opening, at proper distances, under which there is placed a great wheel, in the nature of other mill wheels, but bigger—when all the Wheels, go at once, they say it produces clear, of all charges a Gold ducat an hour, therefore this is a Considerable revenue, to the Government, the building is very Substantiall, and has four large lofts, over the Mills, for Corn, Grist &c. they Grind here great quantities of Rye, this town is not very well paved. the houses are very high, and the Streets pritty narrow, and the by Streets particularly are pritty dirty. the people Generally are of a Very fair Complexion, which proceeds a good deal from their being kept up so close. the men are very jealous, and the Wives Serve them, accordingly, when ever they have an Oportunity, for (as I am informed) a man is not to loose his time by talking, if an oportunity offers; in Short this is no place, for those, who travell for pleasure. There is a Convent of Capuchins, in a Sort of Village, about half a mile out of the City, the people of this large Village, are all Roman Catholicks, it stands upon Hill, and looks over the town, Some of the Merchants invited us to dinner, at an Inn about four miles out of town, on our way to which I stopped to see a famous Convent of Benedictine, at Oliva, Since more famous for a treaty<sup>115</sup> that was made there, (Memom: to look for the said treaty.) there are about fifty fathers and brothers, that belong to the convent, they are very rich, and possess a great deal of land in the Kingdom, it was founded by the first Duke of Pomerania and Prussia, the monument of him and his three sons (who were also benefactors) is in the Chancell, also the Vault where they are buried, behind the Altar, is a good picture, ten twelve Corinthian pillars, of black marble, three or four Very good Copies of pictures, are the Cheif things, I remarked, the Church Cloisters, Convent &c are Gothique enough, there seemed to be a tolerable quantity of books, in the library, whether Valuable, I know not, the room with its Ornaments is very indifferent, the situation of the Convent, is very pleasant, and the ground about it Romantick enough it is about 3 miles from the Sea; at the back of the house where we dined is a high hill, covered with wood, upon the top of which is the remains, or rather Vestiges, of a Hermit's cell, they say, this Man enjoyed most of the Country Girls all about, and it being so

<sup>114</sup> The *Particular Description* asserts that this mill 'may vie with any in Europe, having eighteen stones going at a Time, and which brings the King of Poland every Hour throughout the Year a golden Ducat, besides the Profit to the Proprietors, so that the yearly Revenue of this Single Mill to the King is worth above 4000 l. Sterling a Year' (pp. 5-6).

<sup>115</sup> Treaty of Oliva, 1660, between Sweden and Poland.



publick, the Abbot of Oliva, was obliged, to order him out of this part of the Country. Upon this hill the prospect of the Country, and Sea, is very pleasant; we returned to town the same night, Stopping only by the way, at a Garden belonging to one of the Merchants, to keep up the English custom of Drinking every two or three miles, the house is the Mannor house, and belongs to the Lord of the same. we got into Danzigh just as the Gates were shutting, after having stayed six days (counting the day we landed) and the Captain having got his fresh provisions, on board, and I having Satisfied my Curiosity I was not at all Sorry to return to our Ship, which we did on Sunday Morning about ten, being the 15th of July, but Severall of the English factory, dining on board as we did not Sail till four the next morning for Copenhagen.

Friday July the 20th. Wind WSW. Strong gales and cloudy  $\frac{1}{2}$  past noon came to an anchor in 25 fathom water, fine sand, Veered to a Cable, the North end of Bornholm<sup>116</sup> bore WNW, at 2 sent the Yaul for Water. at four, the Captain and myself went on Shore in the Barge. we were a great while a rowing to Shoar, the wind blowing hard from Land, and being at Anchor, a league off. we took a Walk up in the Island for about an hour and then returned, there was a Very poor, Small Village where we landed, the Cheif town of this Island, is Danan,<sup>117</sup> there is a Small Fort<sup>118</sup> and three hundred regular Troops, in the Island, which Contains Severall thousand inhabitants, not exceeding nine or ten, there is corn and Wood in a tolerable quantity, it belongs to the King of Danemarc, who has a Governor there.

Tuesday July the 24th 1733. Wind WNW moderate. at 2 Faulsterborn<sup>119</sup> bore ESE and Draco NE at 4 came to Anchor, in five fathom within a Mile of Draco,<sup>120</sup> Situate upon the Side in an Island of the same name, and about 9 mile from Copenhagen. Some North Hollanders, were placed here formerly to Butter and Cheese for the Kings use they retain Still the dress and language, of that Country, there are three or four Villages in this Island including Draco, the Captain and Myself, went on Shoar and took a Walk for about two hours. I thought the Island very agreeable being well cultivated,—we Soon returned, on board, and about four in the Morning weighed, and made Sail, at 6 Sunby<sup>121</sup> Church bore W, at half past Six, Anchored, about two mile off Copenhagen in 10 fathom. the High Steeple bearing WSW and the Old Fort (which is now almost

<sup>116</sup> The farthest east of the Danish islands, in the Baltic sea 99 miles from Copenhagen. It was surrendered to Sweden in 1658 but returned to Denmark by the Treaty of Copenhagen (1660).

<sup>117</sup> Rönne, still the chief village of Bornholm.

<sup>118</sup> The Kastellet, a round tower with massive walls, built in 1689 and still existing.

<sup>119</sup> Falsterbo, a lighthouse on the Swedish coast.

<sup>120</sup> Dragor, capital of Amak (or Amager), an island adjacent to Copenhagen. In 1516 Christian II (at the request of his wife, sister of the Emperor Charles V) invited colonists from East Friesland to grow vegetables here for sale in Copenhagen. The island is still one of Copenhagen's chief market gardens. Traces of Dutch influence can still be seen in the dress worn on ceremonial occasions and in place-names.

<sup>121</sup> Sundby, a village on Amager.

destroyed, and was a Battery made of wood) bore NW B N, and the Southmost Fort (also of wood)<sup>122</sup> S B W: about 12 we moored, and Soon after I went on Shoar to Mr Titley his majesty's Resident. We stayed here all Wednesday Thursday Friday and Saturday, I had an Oportunity, of Seeing and examining severall things, worth notice, that the Shortness, of my Visit did not permit of. I went a Second time to see the Chamber of rarities; and I think it is very well worth seeing, the nicknacatory,<sup>123</sup> especially, is very large and curious, there is a Gallery and five large Rooms and two small ones, this time I took particular notice of some Basso relievo in Ivory done by a Man now living in Copenhagen,<sup>124</sup> these are exceeding well cut, and worthy of esteem, there are Severall very good landskips in the Gallery, the Architecture of which is very ordinary—the Outside of the building, appropriated, now for the Cadets in the Sea Service,<sup>125</sup> is handsome enough, the inside is quite unfurnished, the town house,<sup>126</sup> is not extraordinary but the Chancellerie, has a Very fine Appearance. there is a large tower,<sup>127</sup> that one might drive a Chaise up to the top, with Iron Balustinoes at the top; that is worthy of notice, we got with some difficulty to see the Palace of Rosinbourg, which stands in the Garden with a Moat round it, as I mentioned, the first time I passed, there is a Very fine Gallery, with old Hangings of Tapestry,<sup>128</sup> formerly a Manufacture, of this Country, but now entirely lost, at one end stands a Very fine Old throne,<sup>129</sup> their four Lyons of Silver Plate<sup>130</sup> round the throne, as big as life, with their Mains double Gilt. Cheif thing in one of the King closets, is a Cratera of agat set with Antique heads, which is Certainly very Valuable, Severall other valuable Cups and enameled

<sup>122</sup> The old forts round Copenhagen were normally made of wood and built upon old ships which were sunk to form their base.

<sup>123</sup> The 'nicknacatory' in the Chamber of Rarities in 1733 included a 'cylinder perspective' bought by Frederick III in 1656, a glass cylinder placed on a puzzle painting so as to reflect in it portraits of Frederick III and Sophie Amalie; two 'perspective cabinets', showing the interior of 17th-century Catholic and Reformed churches; a chair, made in 1673, with mechanical arms and back which imprisoned those who sat on it; a large carapace of turtle, with the Danish coat of arms painted (c. 1630) on it; a double portrait (1692) of Frederick IV and his sister Sophie Hedevig, painted on an uneven surface so that only one can be seen at a time. The last is now at Rosenborg, the others in the National Museum.

<sup>124</sup> The sculptor Magnus Berg. He was born in 1666 in Norway, worked in Copenhagen from the 1690s and died there in 1739. Most of his reliefs in ivory are now in the royal collection at Rosenborg.

<sup>125</sup> Built by Frederick IV in 1703 as an Opera-house. It was occupied by the Rigsdag from 1884 to 1918, and now houses the Østre Landsret (the District Court for Zealand, Funen and the eastern islands).

<sup>126</sup> The Rådhus (town hall), rebuilt after the fire of 1728.

<sup>127</sup> The Rundetaarn (Round Tower), 118 ft. high, was built by Christian II in 1642 as an observatory. Its valuable collection of instruments and books, including some of Tyche Brahe and Olaus Romer, were destroyed in the fire of 1728; they were as far as possible replaced, and others added, by Christian VI. The tower has a spiral ramp, leading to the flat balustraded roof: in 1716 Peter the Great rode to the top on horseback, followed by the Empress Catherine in a coach.

<sup>128</sup> These tapestries still exist and are hung in various museums in Copenhagen.

<sup>129</sup> This still stands in the Great Hall. It was made in the 1660s of ivory and narwhal tusk and is decorated with gilt allegorical figures of bronze. It was used for the coronation of Danish kings until 1840, when coronations were abandoned.

<sup>130</sup> These silver, life-size lions are still there, but there were always three, not four of them. They were made in the 1660s as guardians of the throne, always used at coronations, and still used at funerals of kings.

pictures and Such Sort of virtu, in another of the Closets are Some very good little pictures, particularly Landskips, the Audience Chamber is rich with silver plate, the palace itself is very Old fashioned, and not worth much notice.—I went on Saturday to see the Palaces of Freidenberg<sup>131</sup> and Fredericksbourg, the first of which is at present, the Residence of the Princess Charlotte,<sup>132</sup> and the Prince Royall,<sup>133</sup> with his sister,<sup>134</sup> the King and Queen being at present, gone to make a Tour in Norway. the Palace in itself is nothing very extraordinary, the Hall is in the Middle of the House, Square, with the angles taken away, and goes up to the Top of the house, round the first story, there is a Gallery quite round that Leads to the Upper Apartments, there are two Wings which form two Semy circles, that are joined by a Gateway at the end of a large Court, in the Garden there are Severall Vistoes Cut through a Wood, intercepted by a large lake.<sup>135</sup> I think the Gardens &c are too Confined, as it now is, for a Royall residence, yet there is room, for good taste, to Shew her talents. I had an Oportunity, of Seeing the Princess Charlotte, pass by from Chapell, she is Streight, by no means so little, as represented, her face is certainly not handsome, but she has fine eyes, and I think altogether not disagreeable, and far from being deformed. She is now about twenty four years old. the Prince is a good pritty boy though thin, and about nine years old, the young princess his Sister, is Seven. On Our road to Freidenberg (which is about 25 or 30 miles from Copenhagen) we passed by another house of the Kings. called Erstholt,<sup>136</sup> this house Stands in a bottom with a tolerable large body of water allmost round it, it has a pritty good appearance from the road (and considering this King has upwards of fifty of these houses, and all, in some measure furnished and kept up.) this is no despicable one we Saw betwixt twenty and thirty people at work, upon the Gardens, and there Seems to be, a good handsome plan laid out. from Freidenberg, I went to Fredericksbourg,<sup>137</sup> about five mile from thence and as many miles, nearer Copenhagen. This is reckoned one of the finest palaces, the King has, it is indeed a Noble building, though irregular, and Very Ancient. there is a Mote round the house, the cheif front faces the Gardens, with a large Old Wood and Some Meadow grounds upon the left upon the right, a large lake that comes up to the

<sup>131</sup> Fredensborg, built 1719–32 by J. C. Krieger for Frederick IV and named 'Fredensborg' (peace castle) to commemorate the signing here of the peace treaty of 1720 between Denmark and Sweden. Now a royal residence in spring and autumn.

<sup>132</sup> Charlotte Amalie (1706–82), daughter of Frederick IV, sister of Christian VI.

<sup>133</sup> Later King Frederick V (1723–66).

<sup>134</sup> Princess Louise (1726–56), who married (1749) Duke Ernst Friedrich Carl of Saxe-Hildburghausen.

<sup>135</sup> The lake of Esrom.

<sup>136</sup> Hirschholm, an old palace rebuilt in the 1720s, when the gardens were laid out in the French style. New buildings were added in the early 1730s. In the late 1730s Christian VI had all the older buildings pulled down and a new palace built which was demolished in 1810. On the site there is now a church—the parish church of Hørsholm—and near it the Hørsholm Museum, containing relics from the palace.

<sup>137</sup> Frederiksborg, a magnificent Renaissance palace, built 1602–20 by Christian IV on the site of the 16th-century castle built by his father Frederick II, and called after him. It was a royal residence until 1859, when all the interior, except the Chapel, was destroyed by fire. The rooms were reconstructed in accordance with old drawings, and in 1877 the Museum of National History was established there.

Mote and joins the house, about three or rather four hundred yards broad, beyond which are rising cultivated Mounts, and on one end of the lake, about Six hundred yards from the house, Stands upon a rising the town,<sup>138</sup> or Bourg, of Fredericksborg, and fronting the Entrance of the Palace, is a very large extended plain, there is a gateway,<sup>139</sup> that though Gothick, deserves Attention, the Courts that lead to the back front have buildings on each side, and I call this the back front because all the best rooms, and grand apartments are Opposite to it there is no Portail or Entrance in the Center, but on each side, the Stairs are Very indifferent, the rooms are in great number; some pritty large, with Old furniture, particularly, Old Tapistry Very good, the Second Story is equally grand with the Addition, of a fine long Gallery,<sup>140</sup> which is Over the Chapell and I see was designed for a Musick room, there being a large fine Organ<sup>141</sup> Erected at one end, in the first room there is a very fine Picture of Frederick the third, and his family, and a very good one representing three, naked Children, the one is Charles the twelfth of Sweden, the Other his Sister, and the third, the Present King of Sweden,<sup>142</sup> there were Some Other good pictures in this second story. the Chapell<sup>143</sup> is Very large for one belonging to a Palace, and though there are Severall faults to be found with the Architecture, nevertheless, altogether is a fine thing, round the body of the pulpit<sup>144</sup> are small Corinthian Columns of plate, with the four Evangelists in large basse relievo likewise, and the rest of wood work is finely Carved; the altar is rich with plate; there are Severall large pictures, proper for Chapels, very good Some not finished, the painter dying before he could accomplish his work, on each side of the great Neff of the Chapel, are passages (or Gallerys) of four foot broad, turned over at top with half Arches (which is what I do not remember to have seen before; there is the same above stairs which leads from the Kings closet over the Altar to the Organ opposite to it, upon the right of the Organ backwards is a small room where the Royall family receive the Sacrament, here are some paintings on Copper,<sup>145</sup> a Table of Pietri Scomessi from Florence, and an Old Danish Bible, with a rich Cover and fine paintings. there is a Great deal of Guilding about the Chapell, which is necessary enough considering the materials are most of wood, excepting the Outside walls. after having stayed an hour and half we returned to Copen Hagen, a different way from that we came, Our road (which was very pleasant)

<sup>138</sup> Hillerød, the capital of the amt (district) of Frederiksborg.

<sup>139</sup> Part of Frederick II's castle. It survives today, bearing the date 1562.

<sup>140</sup> The Knights' Hall. Its portraits are now mainly of 20th-century Danish kings.

<sup>141</sup> Made in 1610 by Esaius Compenius for the Duke of Brunswick, brother-in-law of Christian IV, and brought to Frederiksborg in 1616. It is now not in the Knights' Hall but in the Chapel, which also has another, modern, organ.

<sup>142</sup> It is not possible to identify these pictures, which may have perished in the fire of 1859.

<sup>143</sup> The walls and some of the ornaments of this Chapel survived the fire of 1859 and it now serves as the parish church of Hillerød. It was the ceremonial chapel of the Order of the Elephant and from 1670 to 1840 was used as the coronation chapel.

<sup>144</sup> The altar and the pulpit, in ebony and massive silver, were the work (c. 1600) of Jacob Mores of Hamburg.

<sup>145</sup> Destroyed in the fire of 1859, and replaced by late 19th-century paintings by Carl Bloch.

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lead us through Severall fields of Corn and Some large Beechwoods, and arrived before the Gates were Shut, and went on board the same night; This time I got some better light into the Strength of the Danish Troops, the Horse Consist each of four Squadrons pr Regiment, each Squadron Consisting, of two hundred men there is one Regiment of Life Guards, and Ten of Cuirassiers and four of Dragoons, the Infantry Consist of two Battalions pr Regm<sup>t</sup>. of which there is fourteen, there are twelve Companies of Land Artillery of 80 men each, these are the present Standing forces, they have what they call nationall Regiments which allwayes remain in their respective provinces, but these are a Sort of Militia,<sup>146</sup> there is twenty of Infantry and three of Dragoons, as this account is from 1730 I am informed that the Artillery Companys Consist but of thirty men Each of which there are Six at Copenhagen, and the Other Six at Holstein and Oldenburg,—we got on board about ten on Saturday night, after having Stayed 5 days at Copenhagen, and on

Sunday July the 29th 1733 at 4 in the morning weighed and came to an Anchor at 5, at 7 weighed again, and made Sail, Wind at SE at 8 Copenhagen bore S b W  $\frac{1}{2}$  W dist<sup>r</sup> 7 miles, we left Scarlet Island<sup>147</sup> upon Our right, which belongs to the Danes, before you arrive at which you see landscrown<sup>148</sup> in Schonen belonging to the Swedes

Monday July the 30th at one came to an Anchor, in 7 fathom within two miles of Elsenor<sup>149</sup> town, soon after the Captain and myself went on Shore, and dined with the Consul and was visited by the Captain of the Guardship, that allways lies at Anchor in the Harbour, he Spoke English very well and Very politely invited us on board, but the wind was fair, and there was no time to be lost, at three we returned on board, and weighed and at 4 was under sail, and Saluted the Castle of Elsenor with three Guns, which was immediately returned with the Same number; as also with Two Guns, from the Castle of Elsinbourg,<sup>150</sup> (over against Elsenor, and belonging to Sweden) the Swedes being desirous to Appropriate the Salute to themselves, the Castle of Elsenor<sup>151</sup> is a Palace and Castle at the same time it stands upon, a land that runs a little out into the sea, which makes the passage the narrowest<sup>152</sup> in all the Sund, it in a great manner commands the Pass and is Capable of annoying Ships very much in their Passage there are two Battalions, and One Company of Artillery, in the Castle and town (or Village) which is pritty large, and has two churches<sup>153</sup> in it.

<sup>146</sup> The Landmilitsen, established in 1701.

<sup>147</sup> Saltholm.

<sup>148</sup> Landskrona.

<sup>149</sup> Elsinore (Helsingør).

<sup>150</sup> Hälsingborg.

<sup>151</sup> Kronborg slot, a square Renaissance castle built on a headland. It was destroyed by fire in 1629 but carefully restored by Christian IV.

<sup>152</sup> Less than 2 miles.

<sup>153</sup> These churches still exist: St Olai, an old church rebuilt in the late 15th century in a Gothic style, and St Mary, built c. 1450 and from 1577 to 1881 used by the German and Dutch colonies in Elsinore.