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THE ENGLISH IN MUSCOVY DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

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IN the sixteenth century England had not become Empress of the ocean ; but the enterprising spirit which mainly contributed to her pre-eminence had induced her even then to compete with Spain, Portugal, and Genoa, for the sovereignty of the seas.

A favourite project of English navigators was the discovery of a direct passage through the polar seas to Cathay and India. They imagined that this passage could be found by ships sailing from English ports in a north-easterly direction. This theory being supported by the renowned navigator Sebastian Cabot, a company was registered in England under the title of "*Merchants Adventurers for the Discoverie of Lands, Territories, and Seignories Unknown.*" Each member was to subscribe not less than twenty-five pounds, and the company in a short time raised a capital of £6,000. The majority were swayed by the hope of gain ; but there were some who desired to solve an interesting problem, and to advance the commercial interests of their country ; among these were the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Bedford, and Pembroke, and Lord Howard of Effingham.*

* "First Forty Years of Intercourse between England and Russia, 1553—1593." By Geo. Tolstoy. St. Petersburg, 1875. Preface, pp. ii, iii.

The direction of the enterprise was entrusted to able hands. Sir Hugh Willoughby held chief command, having under him as captains, Richard Chancellor and Cornelius Durforth. Three ships were purchased—the *Buena Esperanza*, commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby; the *Edward Bonaventura*, Captain Richard Chancellor; and the *Buena Confidenza*, Captain Durforth.

Before sailing, Sir Hugh Willoughby named the harbour of Wardhuys as a rendezvous in case the ships should be separated. On the 11th May, 1553, the little squadron left the Thames. Detained by adverse winds till the end of June, they reached the isle of Heligoland on the 14th July. On the 2nd August they sighted Wardhuys, but were prevented from entering the harbour by a violent storm, during which Captain Chancellor's vessel was separated from the others, with which it was not destined again to meet.

In 1554 a fisherman discovered the missing ships anchored in the mouth of the Arsina river in Lapland. They were full of merchandise; but the crews, numbering eighty-three persons, were all frozen to death. The commander of the expedition, Sir Hugh Willoughby, perished in the act of writing his journal. The melancholy story may in a few words be related. Carried into the White Sea by the gale which separated him from Chancellor at Wardhuys, he entered, on the 11th September, a creek formed by the mouth of the river Arsina. There he anchored; but only to see his companions die one after another from cold and hunger. The entries in his journal were dated up to the month of January, 1554, when the stout-hearted commander succumbed.*

Chancellor was more fortunate. After waiting some time at Wardhuys, in the hope of being rejoined by his companions, he proceeded on his voyage, reached the White Sea, and on the 24th August entered the mouth of the northern

* Hakluyt's Navigations, ii., 232—236.

Dwina. He disembarked near the monastery of St. Nicholas,* a spot on which arose in after years the flourishing town of Archangel, for nearly two centuries the only Russian port on the high seas. Wonder, not unmixed with fear, agitated the minds of the Russians when the foreign *caravel* anchored in the lone harbour of St. Nicholas, and disgorged a strange crew upon its shores. But their apprehensions were speedily allayed when Captain Chancellor, on being informed that the country belonged to the Czar of Russia, declared himself bearer of a letter from his sovereign to the Czar. A courier was at once despatched to Moscow to announce the English captain's arrival, and the foreign visitors were meanwhile hospitably entertained at Kholmagora, the capital of the district.

John, afterwards designated the Terrible, but then known as the Good, comprehended the advantages that his country might derive from mercantile relations with England. He commanded the officials at Kholmagora to conduct Captain Chancellor honourably to Moscow. The ship being brought into winter quarters at the mouth of the Una, Chancellor and his companions, on the 23rd November, 1553, set out on their journey.

Arrived at Moscow, the English strangers were dazzled by the unexpected splendour of the Russian court. Surrounded by the Boyars and dignitaries of his realm, clad in rich vestments of gold and silver brocade, the young sovereign wearing a magnificent diadem sparkling with precious gems, was seated on a costly throne.† At the audience Chancellor delivered to him King Edward's letter. It was written in

* From the *Dwina Chronicle*, p. 125, we extract the following :—
 “Aug. 24 (1553), a ship arrived and anchored in the Dwina mouth, when one named *Ritzert* (Richard), envoy of the English King Edward, came to Kholmagora in boats, saying he was going to the Great Sovereign” (*i. e.*, the Czar).

† Conf. with the descriptions of Kobenzel, the Austrian ambassador in 1575 (see *Karamsin's Hist. of the Russian Empire*, vol. ix.).

several languages, and addressed to the "Northern and Eastern Sovereigns." The following is a reproduction of the Latin text :—

"Eduardus Sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, etc. . . .
Omnibus Regibus et principibus ac dominis et cunctis Iudicibus terræ et ducibus eius, quibuscunque est excellens aliqua dignitas in ea, cunctis in locis quæ sunt sub vniverso cœlo ; Pax, tranquillitas, et honor vobis, terris et regionibus vestris, quæ imperio vestro subiacent, cuique vestrum quemadmodum conuenit ei.

"Propterea quod indidit Deus Opt. Max hominibus præ cunctis alijs viventibus cor et desiderium tale ; vt appetat quisque cum alijs societatem inire, amare et vicissim amari, beneficijs afficere et mutua accipere beneficia studeat, ideo cuique, pro facultate sua hoc desiderium in omnibus quidem hominibus, beneficijs fovere et conseruare conuenit in illis autem maxime qui hoc desiderio adducti, a remotis etiam regionibus ad eos veniunt. Quo enim longius iter eius rei gratia ingressi sunt eo ardentius in eis hoc desiderium fuisse, declararunt. Insuper etiam ad hoc, nos patrum maiorumque nostrorum exempla inuitant, qui semper humanissime susceperunt et benignissime tractauerunt illos, qui, tum a locis propinquis, tum a remotis, eos amice adibant, eorum protectioni commendantes. Quod si omnibus id præstare æquum est, certe mercatoribus imprimis præstari debet qui per vniversum orbem discurrent, mare circumlustrantes et aridam, vt res bonas et vtilis quæ Dei beneficio in regione eorum inueniuntur, ad remotissimas regiones et regna adferant ; atque inde vicissim referant quod suæ regioni vtile ibi repeterint : ut et populi ad quos eunt non destituantur commodis quæ non profert illis terra eorum et ipsi sint participes rerum quibus illi abundant. Nam Deus cœli et terræ humano generi maxime consulens noliut vt omnia in quauis regione inuenirentur, quo regio ope alterius regionis indigeret et gens ab alia gente commodum aliquod expectaret ac ita stabiliretur inter omnes, singulique omnibus benefacere quærerent. Hoc itaque ineundæ ac stabiliendæ amicitiae desiderio moti viri quidam regni nostri, iter in remotis maritimas regiones instituerunt vt inter nostros et illos populos viam mercibus inferendis et efferendis aperirent, nosque rogauerunt vt id illis concederemus. Qui, petitioni eorum annuentes concessimus viro honorabili et forti Hugoni Willibeo [Anglice Sir Hugh Willoughby, Kt.] et alijs qui cum eo sunt

seruis nostris fidis et charis ; vt pro sua voluntate in regiones eis prius incognitas eant, quæsituri ea quibus nos caremus, et adducant illis ex nostris terris id quo illi carent. Atque ita illis et nobis commodum inde accedat, sitque amicitia perpetua, et fœdus indissolubile inter illos et nos, dum permittent illi nos accipere de rebus, quibus superabundant in regnis suis, et nos concedemus illis ex regnis nostris res quibus destituuntur.

“Rogamus itaque vos Reges et Principes, et omnes quibus ali quæ est potestas in terra vt viris istis nostris transitum permittatis per regiones vestras. Non enim tangent quicquam ex rebus vestris inuitis vobis. Cogitate quod homines et ipsi sunt. Et si qua recaruerint oramus pro vestra beneficentiâ eam vos illis tribuatis, accipientes vicissim ab eis quod poterunt rependere vobis. Ita vos gerite erga eos quemadmodum cuperetis vt nos, et subditi nostri, nos gereremus erga seruos vestros, si quando transierint per regiones nostras. Atque promittimus vobis per Deum omnium quæ cœlo terra et mari continentur perque vitam nostram et tranquillitatem regnorum nostrorum nos pari benignitate seruos vestros accepturos si ad regna nostra aliquando venerint. Atque a nobis et subditis nostris ac si nati fuissent in regnis nostris ita benigne tractabuntur vt rependamus vobis benignitatem quam nostris exhibueritis. Postquam vos Reges, Principes, etc. rogauimus vt humanitate et beneficentia omni prosequamini seruos nostros nobis charos oramus omnipotentem Deum nostrum vt vobis diuturnam vitam largiatur et pacem quæ nullam habeat finem.

“Scriptum Londini quæ ciuitas est primaria regni nostri, anno 1553 a creato mundo, mense Jair* 14 die mensis, anno septimo regni inostri.”

After a preamble upon the advantages accruing to nations from intercourse with each other, and the duty of kings to encourage commerce as a means of civilizing their subjects and advancing the prosperity of their realms, the letter proceeds :—

“Moved by the desire of establishing friendly relations with foreign peoples, certain of our subjects have proposed a journey to distant maritime regions in order to open a trade with the nations

* To this word Hakluyt adds the following note : “Jair, I would reade Mair, that is in the Sarasen language ; mixt of Turkish and Ægyptian ; Februarie interpreted by them the moneth to set ships to the sea.”

inhabiting those districts, and have besought our permission to undertake the same. Consenting to their petition, we have given and granted to the brave and worthy knight Sir Hugh Willoughby and his companions, our faithful and well-beloved subjects, full power and authority to travel to these unexplored regions, there to seek such articles as we lack, and thither to bring from our shores such articles as these peoples may require. And so it will be for our mutual advantage and constant friendship, and an unbroken faith will link us together ; while our traders are permitted to receive the superabundance of those lands, we on our part shall graciously send from our country what is lacking in theirs. Accordingly we beseech you, kings, princes, and all in authority in these regions, to grant free passage through your dominions to these our subjects. They will touch none of your goods without your leave. What they may lack, we beseech you for the sake of humanity to bestow on them, receiving in turn from them what will repay you. So bear yourselves towards them as ye would wish ourselves and our subjects to bear ourselves to your servants should they enter our dominions. And we solemnly pledge ourselves before God to receive your subjects at any time landing on our shores with equal kindness."

After the audience, Chancellor and his companions were entertained at the Czar's table along with one hundred of the *elite* of the court. They were served by attendants in magnificent costumes, and ate from vessels of silver and gold. The banquet was followed by a council of Boyars. The English envoys were present, and had every reason to be satisfied by the result of the debates. On the 15th March Chancellor left Moscow, bearing the Czar's answer to his royal master. The epistle, dated February, 1554, was written in Russian, and accompanied by a Dutch translation.* It was couched in the most friendly terms, and set forth that, understanding well the precepts of the Christian faith and the principles of government, besides consulting his own dispositions, the Czar was ready to comply with the King of England's wishes. Further he informed the king that he had received and hospitably entertained his envoy Captain Chancellor, and would act as fairly to Sir Hugh Willoughby should the latter reach

* See Notes to vol. ix. of *Karamsin's History of the Russian Empire*.

Russia. Finally, he concluded by saying that a friendly reception, full security and protection, and liberty of trade awaited English merchants in his empire.

On reaching the mouth of the Dwina, Captain Chancellor took up his quarters for the rest of the winter in his ship, and in the following spring sailed for England. There he found that Edward VI. was dead, and that Mary was his successor. The intelligence which he brought, and the contents of the Czar's letter which he presented to the Queen, made a profound impression. Russia was everywhere spoken of as a "newly discovered" country, and inquiries were instituted as to its history and geography. To satisfy public curiosity Chancellor wrote his "Booke of the Great and Mighty Emperor of Russia and Duke of Muscovia, and of the Dominions, Orders, and Commodities thereunto belonging." In this work, the whole tenor and style of which prove the author to have been a skilful observer, a really surprising amount of information is amassed respecting the products and marts of Russia, its civil and military administration, and the manners, customs, religion, and social life of its inhabitants. It presents an interesting picture of Russian life in the middle of the sixteenth century.

On the 15th February, 1555, Queen Mary and her consort Philip confirmed at Westminster the charter granted by Edward VI. to the "Merchants Adventurers." The company was placed under the direction of Sebastian Cabot, as life governor, with a council of four consuls and twenty-four assistants, to be chosen annually from the members. The company was licensed to make discoveries in all manner of unknown countries in a northern, north-eastern, and north-western direction; to use the royal arms on their flags, and to "subdue, possess, and occupy all townes, castles, villages, isles, and main landes of infidelitie." They were besides licensed to repulse by force any attempts made by natives of other lands to profit by their discoveries, and were empowered to confiscate the ships and goods of such intruders, paying to the Crown one-half the produce. Nevertheless,

profiting by a direct maritime communication with Russia, ships from Holland, Brabant, and Spain, traded at the mouths of the Dwina and Poudoga rivers. During the life of Queen Mary the company did not venture to protest against the violation of their privileges by her consort's subjects; but some years later Queen Elizabeth wrote to Czar John, insisting that he should prohibit the merchants of other countries from trading with Russia through the White Sea, considering that by right of discovery that route belonged to England.

In April, 1555, the company of Merchants Adventurers was entrusted with a letter from Philip and Mary to the Czar, written in three languages—Greek, Polish, and Italian. Of this remarkable document the English version is as follows:—

“Whereas by the consent and licence of our most deare and entirely beloued late brother, King Edward the Sixt, whose soule God pardon, sundrie of our subiects marchants of the Citie of London within thes our realmes of England did at their owne proper costs and aduenture furnish three shippes to discouer, serch, and find lands, Islands, regions and territories before this aduenture not knowen be comunly haunted and frequented by seas, the one of the which three shippes named the *Edward Bonauenture*, whereof our right wel-beloued Richard Chancelour was then the gouerneur and great Captain chanced by the grace of God, and the good conduct of the sayd Chancelour to arriue and winter in the north part of your Empire of Russia. Forasmuch as we be credibly informed by the report of our trustie and wel beloued subiect, that your maiestie did not onely call him and certaine of his company to your emperiall presence and speech, entertayned and banqueted them with all humanitie and gentlenes; but also being thereunto requested partly by the letters of our said brother, and partly by request of the said Richard Chancelour, haue by your letters-patents vnder your seale among other things granted: That all such marchants as shall come forth of anie of our realms of England or Ireland with al maner of wares, if they wil trauel or occupie within your dominions, the same marchants with their marchandises in al your lordship may freely and at their libertie trauaile out and in without hinderance or any maner of losse; And of your farther ample goodnesse haue promised that our ambassadours, if wee send any, shall with free good will

to passe to and from you, without any hinderance or losse, with such message as shall come vnto you, and to returne the same to our kingdomes well answered, as by the same your letters, written in your lordly Palace and Castle of Mosco, in the yeer 7062, the moneth of Februarie more at large appeareth. Like as we cannot but much commend your princely fauour and goodnesse, and in like manner thanke you for the aboundant grace, extended to the sayd Richard Chancelour, and others our subiects marchants. Euen so these are to pray and request you to continue the same beneuolence toward them, and other marchants and subiects, which doe, or heereafter shall resorte to your countrey. And for the more assurance and incouragement to trade and exercise the feate of marchandise with your subiects and all other marchants within your dominions, that it may please you at this our contemplation to assigne and authorise such Commissaries as you shall thinke meete to trade and conferre with our wel-beloued subiects and marchants, the sayd Richard Chancelour, George Killingworth, and Richard Graie, bearers of these our letters; who are by vs authorised for that purpose; and to confirme and graunt such other liberties and priuiledges vnto the Governour, Consuls, Assistants, and Communtie of the fellowship of the saide Marchants, as the said bearers in their name propone and require by you to be granted for their safe conduct, good gouernment, and order to be erected and continued among them in your saide dominions; and this with such your clemencie and expedition as wee, vpon the next arriual of the saide Richard Chanceloure, may bee enformed of your gracious disposition and answer. Which your beneuolences so to bee extended, wee bee minded to requite towards any your subiects Marchants, that shal frequent this our realme at your contemplation therefore to be made. Thus right high, right excellent, and right mightie, Almighty God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost haue you in his blessed keeping. Giuen vnder our seale at our Palace of Westminster, the first of April, in the yere from the blessed incarnation of our Sauour Jesus Christ, 1555, and in the first and second yeeres of our reignes."

The delivery of the royal epistle was entrusted to Captain Chancellor (who sailed in his former ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*), and to two agents, Richard Grey and George Killingworth, who received at the same time instructions remarkable for minuteness and foresight. All persons accompanying

the expedition were enjoined to respect the laws of Russia, and were required to leave a pecuniary deposit with the company as a guarantee of good behaviour.

Sailing in May they arrived at the port of St. Nicholas, and there found the vessels of Sir Hugh Willoughby, which had been discovered and transported by the Czar's command, with all their goods intact, to Kholmagora—the port at which Chancellor had landed in 1553. Leaving Grey at Vologda, Chancellor, accompanied by Killingworth, proceeded to Moscow. Arriving on the 4th October, they were by Czar John graciously received and entertained at dinner "near his own person." A council was held to determine the rights and privileges to be accorded to the English traders. It was decided to establish a mart twice a year, in autumn and winter, at Kholmagora, the prices of goods to be optional. These propositions were ratified by the Czar in a special charter by which the English were permitted to trade toll free, to build and inhabit houses in any town of the Russian empire, and to elect their own judges. Further, by the Czar's command the ships of Sir Hugh Willoughby were delivered to Captain Chancellor.

The aspect of Kholmagora was speedily changed. Warehouses and spacious dwellings were erected by the English residents, and the wretched hamlet surrounding the monastery of St. Nicholas was transformed into a thriving port. The principal goods at this time imported by the English were broadcloth and sugar. The former sold at 12 *rubles* (guineas) the piece; sugar at 4 *altuins* (shillings) per pound.*

As the idea of a passage through the polar seas to China was not yet abandoned, an expedition sailed from Archangel under Captain Burrough, who penetrated as far as Nova Zembla and the island of Waigatch. Meeting with continuous gales and masses of floating ice, he was forced to turn back, and

* The *original* rouble as well as the *original* pound sterling was equal to 1 lb. of silver; but in the sixteenth century both had greatly decreased in value, the rouble in particular, so that the parallel indicated can be comprehended simply as explicative.

in August, 1555, reached Archangel without having obtained any important results.

On the 25th of March, 1556, Chancellor, having received his commission, departed from Moscow on his return to England. He was accompanied by the Czar's ambassador, Josef Gregoryevitch Nipeja and sixteen Russians, who embarked in Chancellor's own vessel, the *Bonaventure*. At Kholmagora some Russian merchants joined the ambassador's suite. On the 20th July the ships sailed on what proved an ill-starred voyage. The *Buona Confidenza* was dashed to pieces on the rocky coast of Norway; the *Buona Esperanza*, separated in a fog, was not again heard of; and the *Bonaventure*, after encountering a succession of terrific gales, was wrecked in the Bay of Pitsligo in Scotland. The gallant Chancellor and the greater part of the crew perished; the cargo was swallowed up by the waves, or plundered by wreckers; the Russian ambassador with nine companions alone were saved. Intelligence of this disaster, which occurred on the 7th November, did not reach London till a month later. Nipeja was detained in Scotland till February, 1557, when arriving at Berwick he was hospitably entertained by Lord Wharton, warden of the East Marches. From Berwick Nipeja proceeded to the English capital, where he was welcomed by a procession of 140 merchants and aldermen, and a lodging assigned him in Fenchurch Street. He was daily entertained in the most sumptuous manner, and the Queen only postponing his reception until the return of her consort from the Low Countries. At the audience Nipeja presented the letter of the Czar, and offered to the Queen a few skins of sables which had escaped the clutches of the Scottish wreckers. In the inventory of the presents destined for the sovereigns of England were—6 pairs of sables; 20 whole sables, with ears and claws; 4 live sables, with collars and chains; 6 large furs "as only the Czar wore;" and a white falcon, with hood and gilded netting. At a subsequent audience Nipeja received from the Queen several valuable presents for his imperial master. Among

the items occur — 2 pieces cloth of gold ; 1 broad-cloth, scarlet ; 1 ditto, violet ; 1 ditto, blue ; 2 suits of armour (sent by Philip) ; and a helmet studded with gilt nails, also a lion and lioness. On the 29th April the Russian ambassador was entertained at the Drapers' Hall by the Russian Company, who paid the expenses of his sojourn and presented him with a chain of pure gold worth 100 guineas, and five magnificent drinking cups.

On the 3rd May, 1557, Nipeja left England on his return to Russia. He was attended by a convoy of three ships, commanded by Captain Anthony Jenkinson, an adventurous traveller whose services had been secured by the company in place of the unfortunate Chancellor. Jenkinson's instructions were to establish a direct communication with Persia by way of the Caspian Sea. The little squadron anchored in Port St. Nicholas on the 12th June. Nipeja proceeded to Moscow, taking with him specimens of English goods and a number of English craftsmen, chiefly miners, intended to assist the Czar's government in the exploration of the Siberian mines. Skilful surgeons also accompanied the ambassador and settled in the capital. Jenkinson remained at Kholmagora until his ships had sailed on their homeward voyage freighted with Russian merchandise. On the 6th December he entered Moscow, and met a most gracious reception. He found the Czar disposed to grant all his requests, and do everything in his power to increase the privileges and advance the trade of the English residents. On the 23rd April, 1558, Jenkinson set out on his journey to Astrakhan and Persia, provided with safe-conducts addressed by the Czar to the rulers of the countries through which he should have to pass. His travels may be dismissed in a few words. Sailing down the Volga he reached Astrakhan on the 16th July, thence he coasted the Caspian Sea to Mangashlyk, and packing his goods on camels pushed across the deserts of Turkestan to Bokhara. There he remained two months, and returning by the same route with 600 camel-loads of Oriental merchandise, and ambassadors from the Tartar chiefs of Bokhara, Balkh, and

Urgenz, reached the Russian capital in September, 1559. Having passed the winter at Vologda, Jenkinson, in the following spring, returned to England, where he made a report to the company as to his travels. While dissuading them from any further attempts to reach Cathay, he strongly urged the establishment of a trade with Persia through the Russian dominions. To this proposition they agreed, and entrusted him with the execution of the plan.

On his return to Russia, Jenkinson found the aspect of affairs had greatly changed. John the Good had given place to John the Terrible, who, no longer restrained by the gentle influences of his first wife Anastasia, who had died in the interval, had given way to the most horrible excesses that a ferocious temper could suggest. Surrounded by a body-guard of hired ruffians and degraded nobles, he traversed his dominions arresting and executing men of the highest rank and wealth in the realm, while wholesale butcheries took place almost daily in the "Red Square" of Moscow. At the time of Jenkinson's arrival in the capital (20th August, 1561) the Czar was solemnizing his nuptials with a Circassian princess (Mary Temgrukovna), and the English envoy found it impossible to gain an audience, as the new Secretary of State, to whom he was unknown, refused to make his arrival known. Through the intervention of Nipeja, Jenkinson at last obtained an interview with the Czar, whom he found as favourably disposed as ever to his "English friends." Armed with the Czar's safe-conduct he left Moscow on the 27th April, 1562, in company with the Persian ambassador. Of this second journey it need only be recorded that he concluded a treaty of commerce with Abdul Khan, ruler of Shirwan; but the unfavourable disposition of the Persian monarch Shah Tamás, whom he next visited, caused the trade with Persia *via* Russia to be in 1581 definitively abandoned.

After a short sojourn in England we find this indefatigable agent of the company again in Russia in May, 1566, exposing the imposture of an Italian named Barberini, who was

endeavouring to injure the English trade. The Czar at this time granted a new charter by which the ports of Kholmagora, Kola, Mezen, Pechenga, and the mouth of the Obi river were closed to all but "agents of the company," who were further privileged to transport their goods toll-free across the Russian empire to Bokhara and Samarcand. At this time the company had greatly extended their bounds, possessing trading stations at Kholmagora, St. Nicholas (Archangel), Jaroslav, Kostroma, Nijni, Kazan, Astrakhan, Novgorod, Pskov, Narva, and Dorpat. In his dealings with the company the Czar followed the dictates of a sound policy. His cruelties had raised up so many enemies, all the more dangerous that they dared not be open enemies, that he felt his position to be far from secure. He desired to win the attachment of the English Queen's subjects, lest "at anie tyme it soe mishappe that he bee by anie casuall chaunce, either of secrite conspiracie or outwarde hostilitie, driven to change his countrie, and shall like to repaire unto her kingdome and dominions with the noble Empresse his wife and his deare children the princes."

To establish a firm and lasting alliance with England became a fixed idea with the "terrible" Czar. With this view he despatched Jenkinson to England to endeavour to obtain a favourable settlement of the question by St. Peter's Day (June 24th), 1567. A copy of the Czar's message, which contains a curious proposal of an offensive alliance against Poland, is preserved in the British Museum.*

**"ANTHO. JENKINSON'S MESSAGE DONE TO THE Q. MA-TIE FROM
THE EMPEROR OF MOSCOVIA.**

"Ffirst, the said Emperour of Muscouia earnestly requireth that there may be a perpetuall frendship and kyndred betwixt the Q. ma-tie and him which shal be the begining of further matter to be done.

"Ffurther, the said Emperour requireth that the Q. ma-tie and he might be (to all their enemyes) joyned as one; to say her grace to be ffrieind to his friends, and enemy to his enemyes, and so per

* Cotton MSS., Nero, B. xj., 332.

contr. And that England and Russland might be in all matters as one.

“Ffurther, the said prynce hath willed to declare to the Q. ma-tie that as the King of Pole’ is not his ffreind, even so he sheweth himself not to be frend to the Q. ma-tie, ffor that last somer ther was a spye taken with lettres from the King of Pole directed to the English merchants in Russia wherin was written thiese wordes:— ‘I, Sigismond, K. of Pole’, etc., require you Englysh marchants my trustie servants to aide this bringer, and to assist and ayde such Russes as be my ffreinds with money and all other helpes, with other wordes.’ Whereat the Emperor at the ffirst was much offended. But after, by the confession of the spie (when he suffered death), it was knowne to be a practize of the k. of Pole’, as well to haue by that meanes caused the indignacon of the Emperor to haue fallen upon the English nation, and to haue broken ffrendship betwixt the Q. ma-tie and him. As also that he should haue charged diuers of his nobles with treason. Wherefore the Emperor requireth the Q. ma-tie that she would bee and joyne with him (as one) upon the Pole, and not to suffer her people to haue trade of merchandize with the subiects of the K. of Pole’.

“Ffurther, the Emperor requireth that the Q.-s. ma-tie would lycence maisters to come unto him which can make shippes, and sayle them.

“Ffurther that the Q. ma-tie would suffer him to haue out of England all kynde of Artillerie and things necessarie for warre.

“Ffurther, the Emperor requireth earnestly that there may be assurance made by oath and faith betwixt the Q. ma-tie and him, that yf any misfortune might fall or chance upon ether of them to goe out of their countries, that it might be lawfull to ether of them to come into the others cuntry for the safegard of them selues and their lyves. And ther to lyve and haue relief without any feare or danger untill such tyme as such misfortune be past, and that god hath otherwise provided, and that the one may be receaved of the other with honnor. And this to be kept most seacret.

“And of all this matter, the Emperor requireth the Q. ma-tie most humbly to have answer by some of her trustie counsellours, or by one of more greater estimacon then myself. And whatsoever the Q.-s ma-tie shall require of him, yt shall be granted and fully accomplished.

"The Queenes ma-tie answer to be geven, the Emperour requyreth by S-t Peters day next."

To this indirect communication the English queen returned no answer. Except as a market for her goods Russia was of no importance to England, nor had Elizabeth's Government any desire to embroil themselves with Poland for the sake of Russian interests. To punish the English queen, however, for the diplomatical reserve she maintained, the Czar resolved to reopen commercial intercourse with the Hanseatic merchants, and introduce them as rivals to the English traders. The remonstrances of the White Sea Company and the English Government were alike disregarded, and three envoys despatched at different times were imprisoned, under the pretext of being spies in the interests of Poland, until the Czar should receive a definite answer from "his deare sister Elizabeth." In this crisis Elizabeth acted with her usual energy and wisdom. Thomas Randolph, a statesman of dignity and repute, and versed in all the political questions of the time, was despatched to Moscow as ambassador extraordinary. Randolph was instructed to inform the Czar of the Queen's favourable dispositions, and that she was ready at all times to offer him an asylum in her dominions. With regard to any treaty against Poland, he was to answer indefinitely and to pledge his Government to nothing. Finally, he was to reconcile the Czar with the English residents, and obtain a restoration of their privileges, and protection of their interests for the future.

On the 15th of October, 1568, Randolph arrived in Moscow. Through the intrigues of two former agents of the Company, Rutter and Glover, who had opened up a trade for the Czar with Lubeck to the detriment of the Company's interest, the English ambassador was at first subjected to considerable inconvenience and even indignity. Coldly received in public, he succeeded in a private interview in coming to an understanding with the Czar. The English Company received a confirmation of their old prerogatives and a number of new privileges. The competition of foreigners

in the White Sea trade was abolished, the Narva trade became again a monopoly in the Company's hands, and the originators of the disturbances were delivered over to Randolph to answer for their misdeeds. Having successfully concluded these arrangements, Randolph prepared to return to England, accompanied by the Russian ambassador, Andrew Gregoryevitch Sovin, who bore a letter* to the queen, and a copy of a secret treaty† requiring her to assist the Czar in his wars with men, money, and arms, and to grant Russian citizens freedom of trade in England. This treaty Sovin had instructions to "force" the queen to accept, and sign *without alterations*. A copy of it translated from the Russian was submitted to the queen in council, and its articles became a subject of lively debate. We give the documents in full :

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE AMBASSADOUR OF RUSSIA TO THE Q-'S
MA-TIE IN MANNER OF A LETTER.

For what you sent to us your ambassadour Thomas Randolphe with leteres which leteres wee vnderstand also wee beare in minde your leteres written the yere past in September and ye beare in minde our highnes leteres sent to you with our welbeloved servaunt Anthonie Jenkinson in the which our leteres you know our pleasure towards your subiectes for your sake, which wee have inquired sought out and doe understand off our highnes good will and great favour, and that you wil be of one minde with vs, even so hereafter your successors shall not forgett our highnis good will and to make our highnes good will better knowen our affaires shall not be wightie to you for that you sent youre great ambassadour about the affaires, that wee haue now in hand youre welbeloved and faithfull servaunt Thomas Randolphe whose faithfullnes wee well understand, who hath accomplished off your highnes affaires in other landes as wee well knowe, and for that you thought our highnes would like well of him for that he was a man of great wisdome and experience who was meete to knowe our highnes service. Therefore your highnes hath

* Brit. Mus., Cotton MSS., Nero, Plut., xxii., E. 4.

† State Paper Office, London.

sent this oratore to vs to open all matter in youre name for that you doe thinke our highnes will beleewe him wee lett you knowe that wee haue receiued this ambassadour and haue giuen him heareing and that wee haue read ouer your our sisters leteres, wee well vnderstand them and what your commission was with him hath beene brought befoure our heare, further your trustie and faithfull ambassadour Thomas Randolphe wee haue received him according to the manner and custome of receiuinge ambassadours euer as betweene you and mee brotherhood and frendshippe should bee and wee sent our counsellor and captaine Duke Alfonas Evanowich Vazemskie* and our secretarie Petro Gregoria† to give aunswere and to furnishe your ambassadye as it is meete our brotherhood and frendshippe to continewe, and they accordinge to our commandment with your our sisters ambassadour Thomas Randolphe have agreed vpon the same: wherefore wee haue sent to thee againe our sister your ambassadour and with him our trustie and faithfull gentleman who is neare about our person Andrew Gregoriwich Saviena‡ and with him our secretarie Symon Sobastana§ and of all our affaires to thee our sister, wee haue giuen commission to our ambassadour Andrew Gregoriwich Savine with your ambassadour Thomas Randolphe how loue and frendshippe should continewe between us and that peace maie continew betwixt both (*these landes*) for (*wel fare*) and our common wealthes.

Further that it would please your highnes to thinke no (*pertinances*) that wee kept your ambassadour so longe from our presence, the reason thereof he was so longe kept backe was when I lett departe youre messenger Anthonie Jenkinson and with our affaires committed unto him to speake by worde of mouthe when the time was come that wee did looke for aunswere by Anthonie againe wee hard no worde of him and as then your ambassadoure was not come. But your messenger George Middleton was come to the Marve (*i.e.*, Narve) and with him manie other naminge themselues to be your messengers and wee willed to enquire of them whether your our sisters messenger Anthonie were come to youre presence, and whether they had anie

* Prince Athanasius Ivanowich Viasemsky.

† Peter Gregorieff. ‡ Andrew Gregorievich.

§ Simon Sevastianoff.

thinge to saie to vs of the messaudge or whether Anthonie should come or anie other in his steed, and they beeing embrased with pride would make vs no aunswere, that they would not come to our neare and privie counsaile and would make them privie of none of theire affaires, all that they saide was of marchant affaires and settinge our highnes affares aside as it is the use of all countries that princes affaires should be first ended and after that to seeke a gaine. . . .

And your ambassadour Thomas Randolphe when he was come was kept from our presence in like manner wee sent to him five or six times that he would come to our counsaile for he that wordes that wee willed to be spoken to thee our sisters authoritie and that it was not meete, that these affaires should be oppened and your ambassadour would not goe to our counsaillers to giue aunswere of the secrite affaires vppon which that occasion, he was longe delaied.

But your ambassadour had seene our eies and had shewed to our counsaile, what affaires was committed to him and that he had commission of that, I sent to thee by Anthonie then wee shewed our gracious favour to him, and then wee beganne to haue to doe in those affaires and endinge those affaires wee haue sent your ambassadour to you our sister and with him our ambassadour Andrew Gregoriwich Ssavina. And for that you sent your letters by George Middleton your messinger with the marchants of trade of marchantdize and of accompte wee haue committed this matter to our counsailler and capitaine of vologerie (Vologda) Duke Alfonas Evanowich Vasemskie with Thomas your ambassadour that they should seeke the right and your marchants did reckon with those marchaunts Thomas Glover that is with vs in our realme, and they could not come to anie agreement and we uppon that occasion of accompte have sent into thy kingdome Thomas Glover with our ambassadour Andrew Gregoriwich that the marchaunts maie accompte there with him.

To thee our sister Q. Elizabeth as concerneinge the marchaunts Glover, Rutter, and Bennett, wee have given commission to our ambassadour Andrew Gregoriwich Savina in what so euer those marchaunts be guiltie before thy highnes, that it would please thee for our sake to show favour unto them and to take awaie thy displeasures from them for that these marchaunts Glover and Rutter in these affaires were the first beginnors how betweene thee and me brotherhood and frendshippe should be.

Priviledge.*—We haue giuen to thie marchaunts at thie request a priviledge to traffique thorowe our realme and to passe with marchaundize thorowe our realme in other realmes accordinge to ther supplicacons and wee haue taken our priviledge from the marchaunts Thomas and Raphe and theire fellowshippe which was given to them for the loue and freindshippe of thee our sister.

Our letter written in the Empire of Muscovia at our auncient towne of Vologdaye from the beginning of the world seven thousand seaventie and seaven the xx-th of June fuortieth of our ege, the xxx-th yere of our Lordshippe and the 23 yere of our Empire since the wyning of Casane vij yere and of Astrecane XV yere.

Articles agreed uppon on the part of the right high, right mighty and right excellent princesse Elizabeth by the grace of God Q. of England France and Irland defensor of the Christian faith etc. for a League of amitie betweene her Highnes and the (great Duke of Muscouia) right high right excellent right mightie prince John Basiliwich K. and great Duke of all Russia, Volodomere etc. and others, her dearest brother and cousin.

[The original of this document is written in a beautiful hand ; on some letters remain grains of gold sand ; corrections seem to have been made in a very hurried manner. All this leads us to suppose that it is an original draft laid before Queen Elizabeth, and corrected under her own dictation by one of her under secretaries.]

1. Whereas it hath ben requested of her ma-ty on the behalf of the (great Duke of Muscovia) said right high and mightie Prince John Basiliwch K. and great D. of all Russia that there might be a perpetuall amity betweene her ma-ty and the said D.

It is accorded on her ma-ts part there shalbe a perpetuall perfect and sounde amity betweene her said Highnes and the said D. and that euery of them shall vse all other Princes that are friends to eyther of them both, with good offris of frendshippe : and if any of them shalbe iniuried by any other Prince, vppon significacon made thereof by the party iniuried and the justice of his cause made manifest the other party shall in most earnest sort and without vnnecessary delays require the Prince that the iniury to desist from further offence and to returne to honnorable condicons of peace according to the lawes of Almighty God and the rules of justice that ought to be betweene Princes that professe Christianity, which if the Prince so offending

* This word is written on the margin.

shall wilfully and against reason peremptorily refuse to do that then the Prince confederate after such refusall to his request shall in no wise continew amity with the Prince so refusing but shall ayd the other Prince confederate that shalbe so iniuried to withstand the wrong don to his confederate.

2. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie prince that the said amity be offensiue and defensiue, so that the frends to the one may be taken and reputed frends to the other and the ennemyes to the one the ennemyes to the other.

It is fully accorded and agreed on her ma-ts behalf as in the former article appeareth.

3. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie prince that as oft as neede shall require and the same be demaunded the one be ready to ayd and assist the other with men treasure, municon and all things necessary for warre.

It is accorded on her ma-ts part that eyther Prince so confederate, shall in all cases, where by force of the former articles ayd is to be giuen yeld the same being required as frendly and readily as the same may be donne according as oportunity of tyme and place may permitt the party required to yeld the same hauing consideracon of the present state and condicon of the party so required.

4. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie p. that neyther of them do assist by any meanes whatsoever the ennemye or ennemyes to the other or do willingly or wittingly suffer directly or indirectly, any aide to be giuen.

It is accorded on her ma-ts part that after the tyme the party which shalbe an enemy shall vppon request to be made—as in the first article is contayned—refuse to desist from doing further wrong or iniury, to the other party, the party confederate so required shall in no sort ayd the party doing and continuing wrong against the said confederate, nor shall willingly suffer any aide—which conveniently may be impeached—to be giuen to the party offending and doing the iniurye.

5. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie p. that her ma-ty do suffer and giue licence to such artificers and handycrafts men to go to the seruice of the said D. as he shall provide here within the realme for his better seruice in the warres.

Her ma-ty is content and agreeth that vppon knowledge giuen of the parties being artificers and handycraftsmen that shalbe content to depart to the said D-s seruice, the same shalbe licensed so to do if they be not already lawfully imprested by bonde or otherwyse into any other especiall seruice within their natie country.

6. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie p. that the subiects of eyther may haue free accesse and regresse in and out of all and euery the kingdomes, dominions and territories of each other without any lett or molestacon (or without other especiall licence or salfe conduct but only by vertue of the league).

It is on her ma-ts behalf agreed that it shalbe lawfull for all naturall borne subiects of eyther Prince so to do that are not by their office or bonde tied to remaine within their natie countries and the same be not restrayned by the forme of any priuilege graunted by eyther Prince.

7. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie p. that it may be lawfull to all marchants, subiects to eyther of the said Princes to bring in and carry out of all and euery of the kingdomes dominions and territories of each, all sorts and kinds of marchandizes without lett or molestacon or without *forcible* taking any part or parcell of the said goods to eyther of their proper vses (without the good will, consent and agreement of the said marchants and the prices of the said marchandizes duly before paid or due order giuen for the payment).

It is accorded on her ma-ts part that it shalbe lawfull for all and euery the marchants which are naturall borne subiects of eyther prince to bring in and carry out all marchandises out of eyther their dominions and contries in lyke sort as at this day they lawfully do or may bring or carry out from or into any other contries of any other king with whome her ma-ty is in amity, so it do not with offence of priuiledge graunted by eyther Prince, and that it be without coulloring the goods of any borne subiect of any other Prince, on the only payne of confiscacon of the goods so to be coloured and without vsing factors or ministers of other nacon, and that neyther prince shall take any part of such marchandise from any marchant against his or their will, but in case where eyther of the princes shall haue manifest neede to buy the same for the priuate vse of the said prince about his person, or for his houshoulde

and in those cases that ready money at reasonable prices be paid to the marchant or owner.

8. Item where it is requested by the said right high and mightie p. that the said marchants on both partes may salfly sojourne abyde tary and remayne (and haue houses for their necessary residence and warehouses for their marchandises).

It is on her ma-ts behalf agreed and accorded that the said marchants be (they) his naturall borne subiects (of eyther P. and that they obserue the ciuill lawes of the contries where they remaine).

9. Item it is on her ma-ts part required that this treaty or any part thereof shall not be drawn construed or taken to the diminucon or preiudice of anie priuiledge heretofore graunted by the said (D.) right high and mightie p. to her ma-ts subiects and that the said priuiledge and euery clause and article thereof be from henceforth inuolably kept obserued and maintayned by the said (Duke) right high and mightie p. his heires and successors especially the article that excludeth all strangers from trafficque in his dominions without her ma-ts lycence anything in this treaty or other things notwithstanding.

10. Lastly where it is requested that this league may be mutually confirmed by ambassadors sent from the one to the other and by othes and seales of the one and the other. It is on her ma-ts part accorded so that convenient tyme be allowed in respect of the long and doubtfull passage by sea for the ambassador to be sent forth at good purpose.

After nearly a year of fruitless negotiations (July, 1569, to May, 1570) the queen dismissed Sovin charging him with two letters to the Czar. One was the formal epistle which usually accompanied the dismissal of an ambassador, the other was a secret letter sealed with her private signet. In the former* an answer is given to Sovin's ostensible mission—a conclusion of a league between Russia and England for mutual, and against common enemies. In the secret epistle† a secure asylum in England is promised to the Czar

* State Paper Office, London.

† Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS. Nero, B. xi., 331.

and his family. We reproduce the text of these two letters here—under from the original rough drafts.

ELIZABETH TO IVAN BASILY.

[There are extant in the Office three rough Public Record drafts of the letters of Queen Elizabeth to the Czar John Vassilivich which were to be sent in answer to his two letters brought by his ambassador Andrew Sovin, and dated from Vologda on the 20th of June, 1569. From these drafts it appears that at first it was proposed to give but one answer to the two letters, but afterwards (it may be presumed at the request of Sovin) the original draft was divided into two separate ones, of which the second (with the exception of the commencement) was at first inserted in the primitive draft. These letters are here reproduced in their final form under *A* and *B*. The corrections in the original are in the handwriting of Lord Burleigh: those made in the first draft are here printed in italics, those in the last are enclosed in brackets.]

LETTER A.

Because we vnderstand from you Emperour and great Duke our good brother first by the report of our trustie servant Anthony Jenkinson whom we sent as our ambassadour to you *the* emperour, certen yeres past, and now last by your embassadour the noble parson Andrew Gregoriwiche Saviena and with hym your secretary Sevastyana whom ye sent to vs as your highnes ambassadours in company with our last ambassadour Thomas Randolph, that you the said emperour do earnestly deseir to entreir into some streight contracts of amity with vs, and for that purpose where the said Andrew Gregoriwich hath delivered vnto vs certen writings in the Russian tongue, which becawse we could not vnderstand for lack of knowledge of that tongue, the said ambassadour hath delivered to vs in certen other writings both in the Romane tongue and in the Italian, which are sayd to be the trew translations of the said lettres in the Russian tongue; both which (wrytyngs) we do well vnderstand and therby do conceave that the said writings are devised only as a forme of such a league and confederation, as you—our deare brother emperour—wold have with vs for a mutuall streight amity, wherevpon we have with good deliberation resolved to accept in most friendly maner this the offer of the good will of so mighty a prince and to contract amity with yow the said emperour, so farr furth as

the treaties and confederations which we have had of long time and receaved by succession of our progenitors Kings of England (and do yet continew) with ether Christian princes emperours kinges and potentats may *any wise* permitt vs. And in consideration of your the said mighty emperours favour shewd to our *loving* subjects trading your contreys for merchandize and *specially* in respect of your further inward and secret * disposition which by sundry good meanes we are informed ye beare towards vs; we are pleased to contract with you emperour and great duke as followeth with the same words as nere as we may, as we find conteyned in your highnes writings *as they are translated*.

We enter into a frendly and sisterly league to continew for ever with yow—great Lord and Emperour—as a mighty prince and our deare brother Emperour Lord and great Duke of all Russia. Which league we will so observe and kepe for ever, as to bind ourselves with our *mutuall* and commen forces to *withstand* and offend all such as shalbe common enemies to vs both and to defend both our princely honours the estate of our realmes and contreys and to help ayde and favour eache of vs the other with mutuall helpes and aydes against our common enemies as farr furth as the effect of these our lettres shall stretch.

Then follow in the primitive draft the contents of the secret letter given under B, from the words, “And if at any time yt so mishappe, &c.”

(And we will not ayde comefort or suffer any parson or potentate to offend you or your contreys, that we may to our power and by justice with reason stay or impeache.)

(Further more your highnes shall vnderstand that) your ambassadour Andrea Gregorivich (hath bene with vs) at sundry times (and) by his behaviour and discrete vsage of himself, wee do think you the emperour and great duke, have made a very good choice of him as well for the wisdom we perceave to be in him as for the reverence care and duty he beareth vnto your highnes and to the conservacion of your highnes estate and honour, and in all things which he hath communicated to vs, we trust by our answers he hath receaved good satisfaction.

Wherefore we meane not to inlarg our lettres any further, but do

* These words have been erased.

give your highnes our harty thanks for the priviledge which your highnes have granted to our trusty and wel-beloved subiects S-r Will-m Garrard Knight and his company, being parsons whom we singularly do esteeme, douting not but your contreys and people shall be ther resort into the same receive great profit and estimation.

And according to your highnes ambassadors most earnest desires and that only for the love and regard we have to shew your highnes pleasour in your request, we have ben content to license Thomas Glover, to returne vpon his othe and bond that he shall mak full payment to our said merchants of such things as by his accompt he hath confessed to be due to them, douting not but your highnes will of your honour and for love of justice cause him so to do.

And we most earnestly requier you to give furder order that Raff Rutter, Chrestofer Bennett, John Chappell, Francs Byrkett and such others englishmen as our said subiects S-r W-m Garrard and his company shall by name requier, may be safely delivered to be sent into these our contreys as of naturall duty they are bound, who (notwithstanding ther faults) shall find such favour and mercy at our hands as shalbe reasonably by you required that with our honour we may grant.

And further we requier your highnes to permitt such other honest englishmen our subiects as came over thither of good will and have ben stayed in your service, and are (now very) desirous to returne that they may with your highnes favour come home hither into their native contrey, where they have their wives and children. (Who do dayly mak request to vs for the same purposes.) And in so doing your (highnes) shall minister good cause for many others of like quallities to repaire thether to serve your highnes being such as we know you will for their coming and knowledge much esteeme when they shall come.

And so wishing that this intelligence (and amyty betwixt vs twoe maye have long contynvacon and the) mutuall trade betwixt (our subiects) the people of both our contreys may hereafter encrease to both our contentations and (specially) to the honour of Almighty God, who hath ordeyned and chosen kings and princes to employ their (whole) cares to governe and defend the people of God committed to their charge in peace welth and tranquillity for his honour and service. We commit you to the tuition of the same Almighty God.

Given at our honour of Hampton courte the xviij-th day of the moneth of may in the xij-th yere of our reign and in the yere of our lord one thousand fyve hundred threescore and tenne.

LETTER B.

THE COPPIE OF THE Q-S MAT-IES LETTRES TO THE EMPEROUR OF
RUSSIA.—[MAIJ 15, 1570.]

When wee have by other our lettres deliuered to your highnes ambassadour the noble person Andrew Gregoriwiche Savina made aunswere to the greatest part of such messages and lettres as the said ambassador declared and brought to vs, wee haue thought good in some secreite manner to send your highnes for a manifest and certaine token of our good will to your highnes estate and suertye: this our secret lettre wherevnto none are privie besides our selfe, but our most secreite councell wee doe so regard the suertie of you the Emperour and great Duke, as wee offer that *yf at anie time* it so mishappe that you L. our brother Emperour and great Duke bee by anie casuall chaunce either of secreite conspiracie or outward hostilitie driven to change your countries and shall like to repaire into our kingdome and dominions, with the noble empresse your wife and youre deare children, the princes, wee shall with such honors and curtesies receive and intreate your highnes then, as shall become so great a prince, and shall earnestlie endeavour to make all thinges fall out accordinge to your ma-ties desire, to the free and quiett breeding of your highnes life, with all those whom you shall bringe with you: and that it maie be lawfull for you the Emperour and great Duke to vse your Christian religeon in such sorte as it shall like you; for nether meane wee to attempt anie thinge to offend either your ma-tie or anie of your people nor intermeddle anie waies with your highnes faith and religeon, nor yet to severre your highnes household from you or to suffer anie of yours to be taken from you by violence.

Besides wee shall appointe you the Emperour and great Duke a place in our Kingdom fitt vpon your owne charge, as longe as ye shall like to remaine with vs.

And yf it shall seeme good vnto you the Emperour and great Duke, to depart from our countries, wee shall suffer you with all yours quietlie to depart either into your empire of Muscovia, or els whither

it shall best like you to passe through our dominions and countries. Neither shall wee anie waie lett or staie you, but with all offices and curtisies let you our deare brother Emperour and great Duke passe into your countrie or elsewhere at your pleasure.

This wee promise by virtue of these our lettres and by the word of a Christian Prince, in wittness whereof and for the further fortificacon of this our lettre wee Q. Elizabeth doe subscribe this with our owne hand in the presence of these our nobles and counsellors.

Nicholas Bacon Knight great Chauncellor of our Realme of England.

W-m L. Parr L. marques of Northampton Knight of our order of the garter.

Henrie Earle of Arundell Knight of our said order.

Frauncis L. Russell Earle of Bedford Knight of our said order.

Robert Dudley L. of Derbigh Earle of Leicester m-r of our horse and Knight of the same order.

Edward L. Cleaton and Say Lord Admirall of England and Knight of our said order.

W-m L. Howard of Effeingham L. Chamberlayne and Knight of the same order.

Ffrauncis Knolles Knight Treasurer of our house.

James Croft Knight Comptroller of our said house.

W-m Cicill Knight of our Principall Secretarie.

and haue also thereto hanged our privie seale, promisinge that wee against our common enimies shall with one accord fight with our common forces and doe euerie and singuler things menconed in this writinge, as longe as God shall lend vs liffe, and that by the word and faithe of a Prince.

Given at our honor at Hampton Court the xviii-th daie of the moneth of Maie in the xij-th yere of our Reigne, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred threescore and tenne.

The contemporary Russian translation of this curious document bears the following inscription :

"This writinge in the Russian tongue is affirmed by Daniell Silvester Englishman, the interpretor of the ambassador of the Emperore of Russia, being sworne upon his othe to be the trew copie

of the letter, whiche is written in the English tongue by the Queene's Maiestie of England."

Furious that the Queen of England preferred to secure the interests of her merchant subjects rather than assist him in his ambitious projects, the Czar despatched a letter* in reply, couched in gross and insulting terms. He intimated to the Queen that he had protected and favoured the "boorish merchants," as he styles them, not for their own sakes, or from any enlightened motive, but simply to win the good-will and assistance of the English Government. Their countenance being denied to him in any act of aggressive warfare, he now sought to revenge himself by annulling the privileges he had previously granted to the White Sea Company, and seizing their property. We reproduce a faithful copy of the contemporary English translation of the Czar's epistle.

THE COPPIE OF THE MUSCOVITTS LETTRE IN ENGLISH BROUGHT
BY DANYELL SILVESTER (1570, 24 Oct.)

Ffor that before time certaine subiects of your brother Kinge Edward namelie Richard Chansler and others beinge sent for some occasion to all people and places and haueinge wriunges to all kinges, emperours, dukes, lordes, and rulers (but namelie vnto vs not one word was writen,) and those your brothers subiects Richard and his fellowes, wee know not after what sort whither it were willinglie or vnwillinglie came and anchored in our haven, by the sea side, and to our towne of Dwena, and wee as it behooved a Christian prince, shewed them so much favour that wee received them with honor, and at our princely and appointed dynners, wee of our goodness sent for them, and wee sent them backe againe vnto your brother. And after that it pleased your brother to send the said Richard Chansler and one Richard Graie vnto vs, and wee in like cause shewed our goodnes vnto them and sent them backe againe. And after that your brother sent the said Richard to vs the third time, and there vppon wee sent vnto your brother our messinger Osipe Gregorie Nepeu. And to your brothers marchaunts and to all Englishe men wee gaue our lettres of priuiledge so large as the like was given to our

* Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS., Nero, B. xi., 16.

nation never thinkeinge to haue had received freindshippe of your brother and of you and service of Englishmen. And in the meane time that wee sent our messenger the same tyme your brother dyed, and your sister Marie succeeded his place, and so married with Phillippe King of Spaine, the which kinge and your sister received our messenger honorablie and so sent him backe againe vnto vs. But they sent no word to vs. And at that time your marchaunts did worke much deceit against our merchaunts, and begann to sell their weares deare takeinge for all thinges more than thinges were worth. And since that time the Q. your sister died, and that the Kinge Phillippe was sent awaie and that you were crowned Q. of England, and wee all that time did your marchaunts no harme, but willed them to traffique, as they had donne before time.

And how manie lettres haue beene brought to vs hither, and no one lettre that hath beene sealed with one seale, but euerie lettre hath had a contrarie seale, which is no princelie fashion, and such lettres in all places be not credited, but euerie prince hath in his realme one proper seale; but wee did give credit to these lettres, and accordinge to your lettres wee wrought.

And after that you sent vnto vs your messenger Anthonie Jenkinson aboute the affaires of marchaunts, and wee thinking him to haue had creditt with you, wee had therefore sworne him, and also your marchaut Raphe Ruttar because of interpreting for that in such weightie affaires wee stood neede of trew interpretinge, and wee sent you by word of mouth of our great and secreat meaninge desireinge freindshippe of you and that you would haue sent ouer to vs some neere and trustie servaunt of yours and Anthonie to haue come with him, or ells Anthonie alone for that wee know not whither Anthonie did tell you all our wordes or no, for wee hard not of him in a yere and a half after, and here came not from you neither messenger neither ambassadour. And therefore wee of our godnes gaue vnto your marchaunts another priuledge thinkeinge how to haue beene in good creditt with you and therefore our goodnes was the greater to them.

And after that wee had newes, that a subiect of yours was come to the Narue by name Edward Goodman, which had manie lettres, but wee sent to him to enquire of Anthonie but he told vs nothing of him, and commaunded him to be serched for lettres and wee found

manie lettres ; and in those lettres were written wordes not allowable against our princelie state and empire, how that in our empire were manie vnlawfull thinges donne, and he gaue evill language to our messingers which were sent to him, but wee of our goodnes caused him to be staied honorablie till such time as wee should haue aunswere from you of those affaires that wee sent of to you by Anthonie.

And after that there came from you a messenger to the Narve aboute marchaunts affaires, namelie George Middleton* and wee sent to him to know whither Anthonie were come to you or no, and when he should come from you to vs. But your messenger George would tell vs nothing of this matter, but did miscall our messingers and Anthonie also and wee commaunded him to be kept, till such time as wee had and knew of the matter, that wee committed to Anthonie.

And not long after that wee were enformed that your ambassadour Thomas Randolph† was come to our porte of Dwena, and wee of our goodnes sent to meete him, the sonne of a gentleman, and wee commaunded the said gentleman to be his guide, and wee did intreate him with great honor and wee commaunded our said gentleman to enquire of him whither Anthonie were with him or no, but he told our gentleman nothinge; for Anthonie was not with him, but all his talke was of bowrishnes and affaires of marchaunts. And when he was come to our empire wee sent vnto him manie times, that he would come and conferre with our counsaile that wee might haue had knowledge of those great affaires that wee sent you word of by Anthonie, but he after a rude manner denyed to come; but he wrote supplicacons against Glover and Rutter and uppon affaires of marchauntise he writt, but of our princelie affaires he made them of none effect and therefore your ambassadour was kept the longer from our presence and after that our cittie was stroken by the hand of God with the plague, so that it was not possible for vs to give him presence, but so soone as it pleased God to withdrawe from vs the plague of sicknes, wee gaue him presence, and all his talke was vppon marchaunts affaires; and then wee sent vnto him our councellor and captaine of Wologhdaie Duke Afonace Evanovetch Vosemske and our seale

* On the margin, "Midelton." † On the margin "Randall."

keeper Evan Meholova and our secretarie Andrew Vasilova * wee willed them to enquire of him yf he had commission of those affaires which wee sent you word of by Anthonie and he told them that he had commission for those affaires also there vppon wee did augment our goodnes vnto him after that he was divers times with vs and euer he spake about bowrishe and affaires of marchaundise and verie seldome would talke with vs of our princelie affaires, and at that time wee had occasion for to ride to our inheritaunce of Wologhdaie and wee gaue commaundment to our gentlemen † that they should conducte him thither, and he beinge ariued thither wee sent vnto him our presaid councellor and our secretarie Peter Gregoreva‡ and willed them to treat with him how those affaires of amitie might be betweene vs, but the talke which your ambassadour had was to establishe marchaunts, and wee willed him to talke with vs of our affaires, and we talked of them and wee did agree how those affaires should passe betweene vs, and then wee wrote our lettres, and to our lettres wee sett our seale and then yf they had liked you, that then you would haue caused your lettres to haue beene written and to haue sent some trustie ambassadour, and that Anthonie Jenkinson might haue been sent with him. The cause which wee were so desirous to haue had Anthonie Jenkinson to haue come, was that wee would haue knowen of him whither he did declare vnto you the wordes which wee commaunded him to tell you by mouth, and to haue knowen of him whither the wordes did like you, or no, and how you were minded of that matter. And so wee sent in companie with your ambassadour our ambassadour, Andrew Gregoriwch Savin.

And you haue sent vs our ambassadour backe, but you haue not sent your ambassadour to vs, and you haue not ended our affaires§ accordinge as your ambassadour did agree vppon your letters be not thereto agreeable, for such weightie affaires be not ended without some golde || or without ambassadours, but you haue set aside those

* Prince Athanasius Ivanowich Viasemsky, John Mikhailof, and Andrew Vassilef.

† On the margin, "Reported by m-r Randolf honorable."

‡ Peter Gregorief.

§ On the margin: "Former lettres of the Q to be seen how much is aunswered and a fitt aunswere to be now made, and the lettres framed and brought by the Russ. Ambassadour to be seene."

|| Incorrect translation: the original signifies, "without confirmation by oath."

great affaires, and your counsell doth deale with our ambassadour about marchaunts affaires; and your marchaunts Sir W-m Garrard and Sir W-m Chester did rule all business. And wee had thought that you had been ruler over your lande and had sought honor to yourself and profit to your countrie, and therefore wee did pretend those weightie affaires betweene you and vs. But now we perceiue that there be other men that doe rule, and not men but bowers and merchaunts the which seeke not the wealth and honour of our maiesties, but they seeke there owne profit of marchauntise: and you flowe in your maidenlie estate like a maide. And whosoeuer was trusted in our affaires, and did deceave vs, it were not meete that you should creditt them.

And now seeinge it is so, wee doe sett aside these affaires. And those bowrishe marchaunts, that haue beene the occasion that the pretended welthes and honors of our ma-ties hath not come to passe but doe seeke their owne wealthe, they shall see what traffique they shall haue here, for our cittie of Mosco before their traffique to it, hath not greatlie wanted Englishe commodities. And the priuiledges that wee gaue to your marchaunts and sent to you, that you would send it vs againe and whither it be sent or no, wee will give commaundement that nothinge shalbe donne by it, and all those priuiledges which wee haue given aforetime be from this daie of none effect.

Written at our honor of Mosco since the fundation of the world 7079 yeres the xxiiij daie of October.

As soon as intelligence of these high-handed proceedings reached London, the Directors of the Company invoked the intervention of the Queen. A special messenger, Robert Best, was despatched to inquire how "her subjects had incurred such disgrace." The queen was aware of the fact that shipwrights and other artificers hired by Sovin had not been permitted to leave England; and that duty had been charged on the Russian goods imported. These acts (and not her refusal to sign the treaty as the Czar demanded) were, as Elizabeth at first fancied, the causes of his anger. But the Czar did not leave the Queen long in doubt. In the following letter* dated August, 1571, he himself speaks plainly:—

* Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS., Nero, B. xi., 341.

CZAR JOHN TO QUEEN ELISABETH.

[At the end of this copy is written : "The lyk. letter was sent" from the Emperor of Moscovia to Phillip and Mary in high Duch dated in February.]

Wheiras you haue sente vnto vs your servaunte Robert * withe a letter wherein you have wrytten vnto vs that Wyllyam Gerrart and William Chester, after the monneth of September last past by manye and diuers menne and writtinges have hadde intelligence that the goods off the merchaunts (and their servaunts also) were stayed, and kepte straigtlie vnder areste vnder owre jurisdiction, the which was at the first not onelie scarslie beleved, but rather thought to be a vayne dispersed rumer as in your conscience you did iudge it to be; and that there has neither by you, nor by any ells any soche offence comitted or done, as shoulde meritte the same, and that oure imperiall ma-tie therefore must nott be offended, and that it ys well knowne vnto you what greate frendship there hath bene betwixt vs manye yeares and the great advancement and trewe dealinge that hath bene showed vnto your subiects, and likewise also the newe compacte and agreement which of late hath bene concluded betwixt vs and that therefore you cannot departe from the same, nor withdrawe your frendshipp from vs. So that we might be good and christian rulers together.

But consideringe that there haue bene vnto you letters uppon letters, making mencion thereof at the earneste instance and request of the sayde merchaunts you coulde not forbear to wryte vnto our highnes, and so far forthe as the same letters were founde be trewe, that th' envious doo aunswere and if the letters be not trewe, yt may be possible that the dissobedient not being our ffrends have doone itt to alter and change owre hartes, and soe saye those that doo houlde the forsayde rumore to be trewe, and that those shoulde be the causes of the stayinge of the goodes.

Ffirste, because certayne freebuters mariners the which owre highnes ambassadors Andrewe Grogergewich Sawin hadd taken vppe, shoulde haue bene stayed in your dominions, and not permitted to come vnto vs. That our subiects did paye custome for their goods and wares that they hadd brought, with our ambassador vnto you: and that you shoulde not have esteemed owre ambassador

* Robert Best.

beinge with you and that the same hath bene soe devised by soche as beinge currupt by giftes theirvnto ; or by reason of their owne private profitte and comoditie cannot abyde any suche greate frendshipp in the trade of merchaundize betwixt our people sayinge that the ambassadors (or howsoever they are otherwise named) shoulde neuer haue spoken to you nor to your merchants concernynge the sendinge over of maryners vnto vs and as towchinge the custome, you haue so favourable, and lyberallye dealed : as ever any ambassador was deallte withall, howe great soever he was. And as touchinge the ambassadeur himselfe ; that it most manyfest be knowne to all menne that all honor and ffrendshipp hath bene shewed vnto him refferinge your self to the wittness of all them that haue bene present, and of th' ambassadeur him selfe. Prayinge therefore earnestly oure highnes that (you beinge our sister) your persuasion might have more creditte then the evilldisposed people, that the enymyes and evill willers to our mutuall amytie and frendshippe and cannot abyde the trade of merchaundize that is betwene vs and you, we woulde shewe our selves good and gracious towards your subiects, as they knowe they have deserved itt by their service towards owre ma-tye. That our harte hath conceived anger by the evill reporte of evilldisposed people and that we woulde by wrytinge advertise you thereof, and that at the instaunce of your people you had sent vs your letter, to th' ende we might suffer your merchaunts freely to traffike over all our dominions. Trough the great ffrendshipp and the new compact made betwixt vs and in consideracon of the mutuall comoditie and profytte betwene our subiects ; and you doute nothinge thereof, but hope that itt will lyke vs well.

We have redde oute your letter, and well understanden the same, and we have written vnto you before withe Daniell * the interpreter : yt may please you to looke vpon the same letters, and their to see the occasion of our anger vpon your highnes ; and whereas you have written that Willin Garrett and Willin Chester have gyven you the knowledge beinge gouerneours of the foresaide marchaunts, lett vs vnderstande what manner of men they be with you. Yf they be men of warre with you so ys itt reasonable, butt if they be marchaunts so were it against reason to wryte for them : as not beinge worthy of ytt ; and that they have sayde as concernynge merchaundize, the same

* Daniel Sylvester.

cann you aske your merchaunts Vlgan Garrethe and Vlgan Chester, howe that our ambassadour Andre Gregorivitch Savin hath bene with you, and they have lette our matters and exercyced marchaundize, and nowe have the vnderstandinge what gaynes and profittes they have vpon the merchaundize and what goods and wares have bene taken. And the same ys happened, bycause that your merchaunts have employed themselves to their trade of marchaundize and not to our matters, and have disdayned our merchaunts and not esteemed them as righte merchaunts; and have not suffered them to buye anye good wares.

And you have not kiste the crosse vppon the letter in the presence of Andrew our ambassadeur, and not done that which of right is vsed to be donne. And so far forthe as you will have our frendshipp towards you, send vnto vs your good servaunte Antona* and then will we with the same your ambassador conclude of all things that may tend to mayntayne our frendshipp, and also commvne together concernynge the same goods which you have written for : as touching the marinor, we have not bene angrie, he hath brought vs oure ambassador, and as concernynge the custome, we have harde nothinge, neither hath anye mane thereof made any complaynt vnto vs ; our ambassador hath bene entertayned and served of vittels, and that shoulde wee vnderstande off your ambassador Robert and havinge asked him, he hath spoken vnto vs by the same wordes that were wrytten in your letter, and we haue caused aunswere to be gyven vnto hym vpon his talke, accordinge as we haue wrytten vnto you in our letter, and as concernynge the talke that your ambassador Robert hath had towchinge Thomas Greene and Raffe,† to th' end wee might shewe them grace and send them to you. Howe be yt those your merchaunts whyles they have bene vnder oure jurisdiction have very ewill behaved themselues, and haue daylie vsed the companie of our trayteurs both in frendshipp and counsell, wee beinge a christian governor haue doone no hurte to them, and so far forthe as all things doe falle owte well betwixt vs, and amytye and frendshipp doe contynewe we will delyver Raffe vnto you : and Thomas Greene ys accordinge to the will of God departed : and whatsoever you have wrytten concernynge the traffique and trade of merchaundize that shalbe donne whensoever your ambas-

* Anthony Jenkinson.

† Ralph Rutter.

sador shalbe come layinge downe our angre, and agreeinge towching the angrie matters. And so will be carefull of all matters vntill your ambassador be come to vs and talke of them : and vntill soche tyme, canne we not helpe the matter ; and yf you meane nowe to have frendshipp with vs : you will send your ambassador by tymes.

Written at the Schlebode, anno 7079 (1571), in the month of August. "And even nowe have we hadd tydings that Anthonye is here arrived, and when Anton cometh vnto vs, we will gladlye here hym, and forther advertise you thereof," adds the Czar at the end of his letter.

Jenkinson was, indeed, already in Russia, and had despatched Daniel Sylvester, an Englishman acquainted with the Russian language, to announce his arrival and request permission to come to Moscow. That messenger, and another subsequently despatched, were detained in this journey on account of the plague then raging at Moscow. For four months Jenkinson remained at Kholmogora, hearing dreadful accounts of the confiscation of English goods ; of the burning of Moscow by the Crimean hordes, in which twenty-five Englishmen and the Czar's favourite physician Arnolph Lindsay, perished ; and of the constant massacres of the nobility which made the latter years of Czar John a veritable "reign of terror." At last the Czar consented to see him, and he was admitted to two interviews at Alexandrovskaya Sloboda and Staritza, which are fully described in the pages of Hakluyt.*

The result of these conferences was that the question of a secret treaty of alliance was waived for the time ; the English merchants were graciously pardoned, and their privileges restored. At the same time arrived Queen Elizabeth's dignified response to the Czar's insulting epistle. "No merchants," writes the daughter of Henry the Eighth, "govern our country for us ; but we rule it ourselves with the rule befitting a virgin queen appointed by God ; and no sovereign has more obedient subjects, for which we render thanks to God."

* Hakluyt's "Navigations," pp. 455, 456, 549, and 550.

On the 23rd June, 1572, his mission being ended and his object attained, Jenkinson sailed for England with a letter from the Czar, of which a copy is appended.*

CZAR JOHN TO Q. ELIZABETH.

You have sent to us your ambassador Anthony Jenkinson with your letters. And in those letters you wrote to us that you wish our favour and our love and you wrote to us on other matters. And Anthony told us some speeches on his ambassage; the which letters and speeches of your ambassador Anthony we did hear. And this you do wisely that you wish for our favour and our love. And the business about which you wrote to us in your secret letter, the time for this business is past, because such business amongst princes cannot be done without an oath and furthermore this business has tarried too long. And when we sent to you our ambasadour Andrew Sovin about this business you did not write anything to our imperial majesty on this matter about the oath, but wrote only about trade. And whereas you wrote in your letter with your ambassador Anthony that you do not so much desire to be in such brotherly love with any as with our imp. ma-ty, you do wisely that you seek for our favour and brotherly love. And our imp. ma-ty wishes to keep you in our love. And whereas you wrote to us about your merchants, that we should grant them in our dominions liberty of trade according to our former privileges and give to your merchants our charter for their trade. And for your sake we have granted to your merchants and ordered them in all our realms to trade free and have given order to let them pass out of our dominions into any other dominions according to their wish without any lett or hindrance. And we have ordered for your sake to give them a charter of privileges such as is convenient. And we have lovingly received your letters which you sent to our imp. ma-ty brought by your ambassador Anthony. And therefore our imp. ma-ty wishes to keep love unto you.

Given in our dominion of the granduchy of Tver in Staritza in the year 7080 May.

Arriving in London Jenkinson gave an account of his embassy, and presented to the Company a memorial of his

* Public Record Office, London.

twenty years' travel in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Russia, which concludes in these terms:—"And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine owne house, chiefly comforting myselfe in that my seruice hath bene honorably accepted and rewarded of her Majesty and the rest by whom I have bene employed."

In 1573 Daniel Sylvester, the new agent of the Company, was despatched to Russia, returning in the following year with a letter from the Czar to Queen Elizabeth,* which is appended.

CZAR JOHN TO Q. ELIZABETH [Aug. 20, 1574].

You have sent to us your messenger Daniel Sylvester with your letter; and in your letter you write to us about the letters which were brought to you in the month of July; and from the letters which Daniel your interpreter brought unto you, you have understood that we have shown great favor to your merchants, have allowed their directors Thomas Bannister, Geoffrey Ducket and Nicholas Proctor, according to your demand, to have free trade in our realms. And what have we done in the business of Thomas Glover and Ralph Rutter and their confederates who lived disorderly and did much harm?—we have driven them out of our empire. And we did it from our love, for that you honor us and send us often your greetings; because the said Glover did not trade for England, but only cheated his companions, who did not trade according to our privileges but brought trade from other countries, from France and Germany.—And your interpreter Daniel told you that when he was in our town of Novgorod he was apprised by our governors that many Englishmen stood up against us with the Swede and fought against our people; you wish to know from us if what your interpreter Daniel has told to you be true, as it is not known to you, because you do not intend to change your word and your pledged faith and do not wish to suffer by them; and will not in future send any merchants but those who are faithful to you, and known by name, and trusty; that those who have been in the lands of our enemies, should not come to trade in our land; and that you will contrive that such disagreements should not continue between us and that we should not bear any indignation against your merchants. And you greatly pray us that we should punish those

* State Paper Office, London.

English merchants, who come without your order and apart from your merchants, spoil the trade and promote quarrels and treasons between us. And in case it should be so, your merchants sent many wares with William Merrick as their chief, praying that we should favour him and keep him safe. And that the said Thomas Glover who traded in our empire and took from his companions much merchandise on credit and gave many bonds under his signature and remained in debt for 10,868 roubles; and that now when he came to you from Moscow he has by judgement been proved guilty, and lies now in gaol for this money and has nothing to make payment of it. And you pray us, according to our maties former privileges to pay it out of his property to your merchants that they should not suffer any loss, as he has nothing more to repay it. And that the rumour has come to you that we have taken from your merchants and from your society near Moscow in the Alexandrovskaja Sloboda English wares to the amount of 6,600 roubles, which sum we took upon us to repay to your said merchants. And that your ambassador Anthony Jenkinson told you that before your letter came they had received their money, for which you give us thanks. And you also pray us much that we should favorably receive the request of your merchants to order their debts to be repaid them by our subjects and by others, according to our privilege, which we have granted them that they might willingly bring their wares into our empire, and faithfully and trustfully serve us. And that after the time when Andrew had the direction of their trade in Novgorod and Narva and for their treason which was done by Thomas Glover and his confederates he was punished for his treason and the wares of his companions which were in his hands were by our ma-ty confiscated and given into custody. And you pray us that if there be any fault of his to pardon him, and to grant that those wares which are not his but his companions should be given back, in order that the fault should fall on the culprit and that the innocent should not suffer for the guilty. And that you hope we should do all this for you according to your prayer; and that we may everlastingly expect every friendship from you, our loving sister. And that our ma-ty and prosperity may continue for many years everywhere with great glory and honor.

Also your servant Daniel told us your words that there have happened on the eastern seas great disturbances and freebooting

against all merchants and that the Swedish king disturbs and makes war by consent with the Polish king and the Polish authorities, and they are agreed not to let pass any mariners out of the dominions of our empire and out of our port of Narva in order to do prejudice to us and to our estate. And that you inform us of this not willing to violate your pledged word. And that if the kings of Poland, of Sweden and of France make this agreement, you promise to furnish what shall be requisite to us and to fill our royal treasury with any goods wanted through your merchants by the way of our northern countries, where we have given free trade according to your request.

And we have heard your letter and do understand the same. Whereas you wrote to us in your letter that your interpreter Daniel told you that many Englishmen stood up with the Swede against us; and you wish to know from us if it be true; and you will not change your word and your pledged faith. And afore this we sent to you our nobleman Andrew Grigorievich Sovin about some affair and you transmitted this affair to your counsellors and did not treat this affair yourself because of your maidenly state. And your counsellors set aside this great affair and did deal about boorish merchant affairs, and by this cause this affair came to nothing. And whereas we have given a privilege to the merchants of your country according to your request, that they may come and live in our dominions under our empire, and traffic with all sorts of wares without exception, and go and trade through all our dominions without paying any custom. And the merchants of your country began to live in our dominions under our empire joining our traitors—whoever betrays us becomes their friend—and in every way they began to give them aid, and they concealed the goods of our traitors, living in our empire not as becomes merchants but thieving and spying and taking the side of our enemies that Lithuanian and the Swede. And your subjects began to come with the Swedes to make war on our borders. Even until now they continually do every mischief and iniquity to our ma-ty and everywhere and in every way do prejudice to our realm and have committed many iniquities in our empire, and this was the cause of what befell them. For the future you must order that those of your merchants who come to us, should be good men, who should be only occupied with their trade, be trusty and not spies, so that they should not misbehave them-

selves in our empire and not side with our enemies, but live and trade in our empire, according to our ma-ties orders and to the last privileges, which we have graciously granted to your merchants at your request unto us.

Whereas you wrote in your letter to our ma-ty, that Tho. Glover remained in debt to his companions for 10,868 roubles and that you pray our ma-ty to pay this sum to the said merchants out of his goods, which we took from Thomas during our displeasure because your subjects stood up against us and hired themselves to our enemy the Swede. It is not suitable to give back these goods, and those who gave them must loose them, because they gave them to an evil minded man. And there is no country, where one, who comes from a foreign land, can live by evil practices and by spying. And he ought to be judged and condemned not only to the loss of his goods but even to the loss of his head. Every merchant in foreign countries deals in trade and not in spying and in evil practices. And those your subjects for their evil practices and their spying have come to deserve even death ; but we, being a Christian prince and not wishing to see the blood of such wretches, did not order them to be put to death. As regards Ralph (Rutter) and Thomas (Glover) we sent them to you before this and you ought not to write to us any more about them, the more so as Anthony has already had our answer about them ; you may know it yourself if you question Anthony. Also the goods of your merchants who are in Vologda have been confiscated because your men rose against us with our enemy the Swede and because our merchants Stephen Tverdicof and Phedot Pogorely have not been honorably entertained in your country and because free trade has not been granted to them.

(You write that) at your request we might graciously give favorable hearing to your merchants about that which they shall beg from us about the paying of the debts due to them by our subjects and by others, according to the privileges, which we have granted to them to make them the more willingly bring wares into our realm and serve us in all things faithfully and trustfully. —In future you ought to send us in our empire good men, who will do nothing but trade and be trusty, without dealing in any evil practice or in any way siding with our enemies and our traitors. And we are willing to show them favor at your request according to our last letter of privileges and shall order to give them satis-

faction according to our imperial regulation and let them be indemnified for their wares.

Whereas you wrote to our ma-ty in your letter about what may concern our subjects in our imperial judgement on Andrew Tector (Nicholas Proctor ?) who was chief of your merchants in Novgorod and Narve and whose goods have been confiscated together with those of Thomas. His goods have been confiscated for the same reason that your subjects rose against us.

And whereas your servant Daniel has told our ma-ty from you by speech that there are great disturbances and freebooting on the Eastern seas, the king of Sweden by agreement with the king of Poland and his authorities making these disturbances and piracy ; and that you, not willing to violate your pledged word make it known to our ma-ty and promise to furnish us with all the princely and precious wares we require and to fill our treasury with any goods we need through the way of our northern countries by your merchants, to whom we have given privileges at your request. Our maty even without your request did open the northern way to our empire by the Dwina and by our last letters of privileges did permit your merchants to come into our empire with every sort of merchandise ; and we are willing to provide for their safety and favor them as shall be convenient for the sake of our loving request.

And we have dismissed your servant Daniel with these letters without any delay. And if you wish for more amity and friendship from us, ponder upon that subject and do that business, by which you may increase our amity towards you.

Order also your men to bring to us for sale ammunition, and arms, and copper, and tin, and lead, and sulphur.

Written in our dominion the granduchy of Twer. The year from the creation of the world 7082, the 20th day of the month of August ; indiction 2. Of our age the 41st, and of our empire of Russia the 28th, of Kazan, the 21st of Astrakhan the 19th.

Sylvester reported that the Czar was still furious because the English Government showed no disposition to renew the negotiations for a treaty of alliance. About the same date the privileges of the English traders were restricted, and a duty from which they had hitherto been exempt was imposed on the goods they imported. Having delivered this report

Sylvester expressed his opinion that unless the queen consented to sign the treaty so eagerly desired by the Czar, the English trade in Russia would be entirely ruined. Although astonished to find the Czar returning to the vexed question of the alliance which she had imagined to be definitely abandoned, Elizabeth took prompt measures to provide for the protection of the lives of her subjects in Russia, which might be endangered by any careless action or any delay on her part. She resolved to despatch Sylvester with a letter to the Czar, accompanied by the most minute instructions for his conduct of the affair. He was charged to convey the assurance of her good-will, to apologize for any offence that might have been given by the English residents, and to explain that no *English* subjects had served in the Swedish army against him, unless a few adventurers beyond the pale of the law and some Scottish soldiers of fortune. With regard to the secret treaty, he was to be exceedingly reserved ; but if hard pressed might request the Czar to send a special messenger to England to confer on the subject.

The full text of Sylvester's instructions is subjoined.

Instrucons giuen by here Ma-tie the of May 1575 Sil-
vester being then sent to the Emperor of Russia.

After the deliuary of our letters you shall let him vnderstande that we accepte in verie good parte, the good conceipte he hath of our goodwill and meaninge towards him, being perswaded that we greatlie mislike as we doe in verie deed the evill vsing and behavior of our subjects towards him whome we alwise wished and charged so to gouerne them selues in all theire trafficque and dowinges within his dominions, as the amitie between us, and the entercourse of our countries mighte there by rather be conseruied, then by anie meanes deminished or broken of.

And in handlinge of this pointe, to witte, how well we accepte his good perswasion of our foresaid mislikeing you shall especiallie shew our good brother, how greate likeinge we haue of his princelie and plaine manner of dealing in that his contens (?) soe fraunkely to vtter the ground and cause of his indignacon : which we cannot but interpret as an argument that he highlie esteemethe our frindshippe and

desireth the continuance of the same in that he seketh to remoue the groundes of vnkindese as mighte impaire our said frindship.

But forasmuch as the said empror our good brother at your last cominge frome thence comitted vnto you, twoe speciall matters to be imported vnto vs; one of the yll demenor of our marchaunts exercisinge theire tread in his dominons, the other of certaine our subiects (as he is informed) servinge the King of Swaden in his warres against him, to the which he looketh by you at your returne to receave answer and satisfaccon, and alsoe shewed himself to be not a little greved towchinge a message of greate seacretie sent vnto vs longe sence by our seruant Antonie Jenkinson, to whome about a three yeares paste we returned our answer wherein as yet he conceaueth he hath had no directe answeere made vnto him; our pleasuer is that toucheing all these three points you saye and doe accordinge to this our derecon folloing.

And first for our marchaunts you may assuer him that watoseuer they haue donne heretofore ether by transportinge out of our dominons such commodities as warre not merchauntable, or by colloringe of straungers goods to the defraudinge of his customes, or by ratelying (*retailing*) of warres contrarye to theire pryuileges hath byn downe not only without anie our knowledge, or allowance thereof but alsoe much against our will and pleasuer, and as we are informed the offences growinge by our sayd marchaunts retayling there and colloring his subiectes goods, was committed cheiflie by certaine euill seruantes of our merchauntes withoutt conceite of theire whole compaignie and gouernors and now of late also reformed whereof we are right glad. As to that our subiectes trading thither be charged to haue vsed some lighte and comtemptouse behauior to the defacinge of such deuiue seruice and religion as our good brother and his hole countrie vseth; you maye saie that we can hardlie be perswaded that anie of them would haue so littele regarde to themselues and all that they haue therein to (*incur the?*) apparant daunger of soe mightie an emperors indignacon, as he is. But for his better satisfaccon in this behaulfe, yf anie such faulte haue byn or is comitted we haue giuen and doe give comaundement to our subiectes there havinge the gouernement of our said marchaunts that as they tender our good will and favor towardses them and contrarie wise feare our highe displeasuer soe to haue an especiall care that henceforward no

such offence be mynistred; and also that our merchauntes them selues doe as quietly as becometh them and accordinge to the liberties and priuileges graunted vnto them by our saide brother within there owne hovse that form of comon prayer and exercises of religion which they knowe to be agreeable to our lawes of this our realme, and non other. And hereof we charge you to let the gouernour, and hole companie of our subiectes there haue knowledge and commaundemente given them in our name by you, to th' end they maye not onlie give no offence to the naturall people of that countrie but onelie most of all to God, in conforminge themselues contrarie to their knowledge and consciences to the religion of that people more to serve the time and place then for anie true devocon they can haue therevnto.

Secondarelie: whereas he hath byn informed that certaine of our subiects, haue of late serued the Kinge of Sweden, in his warres against him, and requireth that we tooke some order, that hereafter none of our naturall subiects serue anie of his enemies, you maye declare vnto him that excepte per adventuer some one or fewe of our disobedient subiectes whose hauinge deserued punishment to auoide the daunger of our lawes, haue fled to forraigne parties and soe serued the saide kinge; he may be well assured that none other by our knowledge or allowance hath or shall serue ether the Kinge of Sweden or anie other prince against him. And for the better removing cleane awaie of this occason of vnckindenes, which our brother hath or maie conceaue, you shall constantlie affirme vnto him that we know not soe much as one of our subiectes ether loyall or disloyall that haue borne armes anie where against him. The error of misinforming our good brother grewe hereof that certeine Scottes, as we haue learned to the number of fower thowsand, whose vse one language with vs and our poeple and inhabete within the self same island that we doe: serued of late the saide King of Sweden: with (which) Scottes beinge a kingedome of themselues and subiectes to ane absolute prince of their owen, over whom we have noe more power then over any the dominions of ouer good brother, we can in noe wise commaunde or restraine but at their pleasuers, they will serue as mercynarie souldiers, wheresoeuer they be offred enterteynement to their contentacon. And therefore we desier ouer good brother to accepte this our answer, which as it is most true, soe we hope it will satisfie him.

Touching the laste pointe whereas he conceaueth that he hath

receaued no directe answer to the secrat message deliured to Antonie Jenkinson, it semeth to vs verie straunge for that the saide Anthonie at his returne declared vnto vs that our said brother rested verie well satisfied with our answer; notwithstanding for their satisfacon you shall declare to his owne personne and to none other that which we haue by word of mouthe deliuered vnto you.

And if you shall perceauie that he shall not reste contented there with, but shall desier to send some speciall messenger heither to vs for to requier confirmacon by the othe of the league already passed betwene vs then can we be content to yeald theirunto. And yet would we haue you vse all the perswasions you maye to diswade him from the same, soe farre forth as it may breede no alienacon in him towards our subiectes that trafficque in that our (his) countrie. And if you shall see that by noe reasons you can vse he can be diswaded from sendinge: then would we haue you declare vnto him that we thinke it necessarie (to th'end that the conteantes of the league may be kepte secrete) that he sende some trustie minister and seruante of his heither vnto vs in priuate soule (sort?) without any pompe or outward shewe: for that otherwise it will make the subiects that are hereof those princes that are not the beste affected vnto our good brother the empror whose greatlie mislike and envie the good amitie and friendlie intelligence betwene vs, to be more curious to searche and vnderstand the grounde of the league that passeth betwene vs when they shall see a personage of make and countenance sent hither. And though we haue an especiall care to haue all things that passe betwene vs kepte verie secrete yet we seeinge by experience that curious searchers doe sundrie times gett light of things of greatest secreacie we canot but wish all occasions remoued that might anie waie breade a discouery of that which soe necessarlie is to be kepte secreat.

To conclude therefore you shall assure the emperor from vs, that we doe make that valewe and accompte of his frindshipe and good will he professeth towards vs as there is nothinge that he can demaunde of vs which with our hounor and good satisfacon of our subiects may convenientlie be graunted that we will denie vnto him.

The above part of the instructions having been delivered to Sylvester, he found them insufficient in certain respects, which he explained in a note, which has been pre-

served, under the heading "Sylvester's memorial of Aug. 20, 1574," in the Record Office in London, of which the following is a copy.*

The two points wherein th' emperours ma-tie findeth himselfe not fully satisfyed are thes.

The first is for that her ma-ty hauinge graunted to confirme by oth thos thinges which by patent vnder her hand she hath sent him she will not permitt her counsaile to signe it.

The second concerneth a request to be made by her m-tie to repeate each article of his, and to require the same to be as firmly yelded vnto and confirmed with like assuraunce vnto her highnes as of his part he expecteth from her.

Herin consisteth his whole mislike, wherein if he might be to his contentment satisfyed, it would cause great security to the state of the company and greate commoditie in trades. And further by his good satisfaction, they might be restored to their former priuiledges and thes disturbers of their trades, I meane thos that trade beinge not of the company by whom they receaue no small discommodity might be quitt rooted oute and banished those places, which withoute the spetial fauour of the prince there cannott be doon.

The following additions were made to Sylvester's instructions, in consequence of this memorial † :—

Whereas we conceave the secrete message you delivered vnto vs from the emperor to stand in two points. The one that he should mislike our refusall to confirme by othe the league agreed on at the tyme of his ambassador beyinge here, as that it was not subscribed by our counsellers hands: the other, that he found it straunge that wee should make some scruple to require like assurance of refuge at his hands, as wee gave vpon his request made vnto vs for the same graunted vnto him.

Ffor the fyrst you shall declare vnto him, that thoughe wee had well hoped that he had conceived so honorably of vs that no othe could have drawn vs to a more sincere performance of our promise delivered in writynge signed with our hand, than the great respect wee beare to the mayntenance of our princely word, as in

* Daniell Syluester concerninge his yornaye to Mosco.

† A contemporary copy of these instructions is preserved in the British Museum, Cotton, Nero, B. xi., 343 and 393.

honor wee are bound; yet the only and chiefe cause why wee yealded not to the confirmation of the same by othe grewe of the great respect wee had to have the contents of the sayd league kept secreat (a thyng no lesse earnestly by him required, than iudged by vs of itselfe most necessarie considerynge of what importance it was towards him) which with no possibilitie could have been performed with that sollemnitie that is vsuall in that behalfe. For the leagues which wee confirme by othe doe ordinarily passe our greate seale; which can not be done but that the same must runne throughe the hands of so great a nombre of our ministers as in no possibilitie they can be kept secreat.

And as touchyng his mislikyng that the league was not signed by our councell, you maye tell him that such thinges as are signed by our selfe are never signed by our councell.

For that it is held a kynd of abasement of the state and qualitie wee should to have any ioyned with vs in that behalfe.

For the other point touchinge a request to be made by vs vnto him for assurance of refuge in case of necessitie, you shall declare vnto him that yf our subiects should never so litle conceave that wee grewe into anie doubt or suspicion of anie chawng or alteration in them towards vs (as wee knowe they would by consentyng to the makinge of suche a request) yt would breed so dangerouse a mislikyng in them towards vs, as might put vs in perill of our estate. Whiche thinge wee knowe our good brother, in respect of the great goodwill he protests to beare towards vs, wold be lothe to drawe vs vnto. And therefore wee hope he will accept in good part this our answeare touching the sayd points.

Armed with these instructions Sylvester repaired to Moscow, where he was received by the Czar on the 29th November, 1575. To the astonishment of the English envoy, the Czar informed him gravely that, afraid of treachery, he had abdicated in favour of Simeon, the (Tartar) Prince of Kassimof, who was invested with all the insignia of royalty. Had the English Queen, he declared, acceded to his request, his sway would have been strengthened, and every liberty extended to her subjects in his empire. A full account of this interview is appended.*

* Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS., Nero viij., 18 and 19.

A NOTE OF SPECHE THAT TH' EMPEROUR OF RUSSIA VSED VNTO ME
DANIELL SILVESTER IN HIS CITTYE MUSCO AND HOWSE OF
OPRISHENO THE 29 NOVEMBER 1575.

We cannot but againe renewe our first conseaved vnkyndenes for the not accomplishinge of our affayres when first we did pretend them, for we commytted the message vnto the reporte of Anthony in moste seacrett sorte, none of owrs beinge pryue thearvnto, but onely one councilor; owr selfe conveyed him throughe our seacrett passages, familiarlie discoursed our meanynges vnto hym in such sorte that we have vsed the like familiartye with none, and althoughe we vse this lenite in shewing vs thus favorable to our sister for her sake, yet we knowe and are not to seeke howe to vse vs vnto straungers and to extende vnto eache accordinge to their merytte.

We havinge dismissed Anthony he departed, the springe ensuinge thear arryved from our sistar Thomas Randle, with ambassadye vnto vs whose embassade chefly tended for the establishing of merchaunts and towching Glover and Ruttar with other suspected persones.

But as for our affayres whereabout we thought him to have bene sente, they were nothinge spoken of; whereat we marvelynge yett graunted all requests thinkinge to have founde the like liberalitye towardes us. For the occasion why we pretended those proceedings with our sister was, that we highlye foresawe the varyable and dangerous estate of princes, and that as well as the meanest they are subiect unto chaunge, which caused us to suspect oure owne magnificence and that which nowe inded ys chaunced unto us, for we haue reseynd the estate of our government, which heatherto hath bene so royally maynteyned, into the hands of a straunger who is nothinge alied unto us our lande or crowne. The occasion whereof is the preverse and evill dealinge of our subjects who mourmour and repine at use, for gettinge loyauall obedience they practice againste our person. The which to prevent we have gyvene them ouer unto an other prince to governe them, but have reserved in our custodie all the treasure of the lande withe sufficient trayne and place for their and our relyefe. And for these and such like occasions did we moshone those proceedings with our syster and to confyrme the same we sent our messenger Andreas Savine; but our purpose was pre-

uented by practise of trayghtours which interprytyd our meanyng to thear pleasure and misse enformed our syster of vs whos aunswere by him were so contrary to our purpose as nothing might be more. For trulye our onely pretence was to have lyncked us togeather in suche fyrme amyte and thearin so enviolable to have consisted as nothings shoulde empayre the same to the great proffitts of our magestyes and estates and no lesse vnto owre subiects especially of our sisteres who coulde not have deuised that freedome or lybertye that shoulde have bene denyed them, marvelynge that our sister and her counsell considered no better on the messadge the same beinge of soe greate emportaunce.

Moreover we vnderstand of certayne subiects of our sister's resy-
dent in the towne of Lubeck in Saxony whome we suppose to be of
the socyete of Glover whoevse secrett conference with sartayne of
our contentoues subiects by letteres commonly passing betwene them
concernynge vs ar not to be allowed off. And as such do passe betwixt
hem and the evill disposed of our sister whome we wishe by some
meanes might be gotten thence eyther by caulinge suche home or
otherwise which to do we request our sister.*

This mad freak of the Czar, for it was nothing else, did not
long subsist. In two months the "mock Czar" Simeon was
consigned to a monastery, and John the Terrible resumed
the reins of government. On the 29th January, 1576, Syl-
vester was summoned to a second interview with the Czar,
now in his proper character as "sole sovereign of all Russia."
We subjoin the account of the conference, in which the Czar
reiterated his former grievance that Queen Elizabeth "pre-
ferred affayres of merchaunts, and made of more importance
than the affayres of ours whereupon all their successe
shoulde depende," to wit, the secret treaty of alliance.
Sylvester, adhering to the letter of his instructions, made a
very guarded reply, suggesting that it would be well to
send a statement of his grievances and desires to the English
government, who alone were empowered to deal with such
questions of State. With this the audience agreeably ter-
minated.

* Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS., Nero viii. 18 and 19.

A NOTE OF SPECHE WITH TH' EMPEROR OF ROWSIA VSED VNTO ME
 DANIELL SILVESTER IN HIS TOWNE OF MUSCOUIA THE 29TH
 OF JANUARY 1576.

We haue pondered vppon the messadge which thou broughteste vnto vs, and fynde the same as vneffectuall as the others before this and in no thinge agreeable to our purpose, nor sufficient to accomplish so heyghe affayres. At which as we not a little marvell, so we imagine the occasion therof to proceede of the information of merchants practized vnto by our trayghtors to prevent our securitye. Wherefore we certifie vnto our sister by them, that neather her answeares by our messenger Sauin, nor the ambassade of Anthony ne this messadge of thyne that ar to our contentment, nor importe that effecte of frendshipp that we expect from our syster. Interpretinge thereby a kynde of haughtynes in our syster moved tharto by th' abasyng of our selfe towards her in that we purpose that with her which she nothinge lesse accompteth of.

By which occasion we ar pretended in the like league with th' emperour Maximillian our holy and good brother ; ffor who or what prince woulde willingly or without occasion leave or forsake his dignity or land to enthrall hym under the beneuolence of a strange and vnknowne prince? Or who enforside to forsake his lande and dignite will not in that distres of aduersite gently submit himselfe to the frendly pleasure of the prince or potentate by whome he ys re-fugid. Even so by our self that yf contrary to our expectacion we should at any tyme be enforced out of our empire and then succoryde by England or others must in reason yealde vs lyall vnto the auctoryty of the protectour.

My replye: Your magistye muche myslyketh the aunsweres of the queen's ma-tie my m-res which by sundery have bene brought vnto you. It woulde thearfore please your excellencye to certifie vnto your sister the occasion of your so greate myslike: peradventure her ma-tie vnderstanding the certayntyte tharof may satisfye your expectation therin.

His answer: Our mislyke consisteth in the scruple aunsweres of our syster and in the doubttes and acceptions containyd in them (as herein) that she maketh dayntyte to requiar the like of us as our requeste is to have of her accordinge to the symple and

playne meanyng of our demaunds the coppys were brought by Sauine our messenger in the Italian and Lattyne tounes.

Moreouer affayres of merchaunts ar preferred and made of more emportance then the affayres of ours wherevpon all theire successe shoulde depende. And how ample our goodnes hathe bene and ys towards them ys aparaunte by the manyfoulde lybertyes whear-with we have graced them.

Also howe beneficiall the commodityes of our countryes to England we pertely vnderstand especially in that we have permitted them to sett vpp howses for the makinge of cordage which benifyte ys not onely profittable to the merchaunts, but very commodious for the whole state of England which to all other nations ys inhibited. Of all the which with the rest of all their lybertyes they ar to be restrayned yf we fynde not further lyberalyte then this from our syster. And will traunsporte the same trade vnto the Veneatians and Germaines from whome they receyve most of thear commodities, whearewith they serve vs; whearin wee will yett staye vntill we shall here from our sister towchinge her determynatioun therin: either a liberall graunte or flatt denyall. For althoughe we manifested to thyne aparaunce to have enthronysed an other in the emperyall dignitee and therevnto have enthrawled bothe vs and others yet not so muche and not the same not so farr resyned, but that at our pleasure wee can take the dignitee vnto vs againe and will yet do thearin as God shall instructe vs, for that the same ys not confirmed vnto him by order of coronacion ne he by assent elected, but for our pleasure. Behoulde also seaven crownes yet in owr possession with the scepter and the rest of the stately ornaments apertaynyng vnto th' empyre with all the treasures belonging vnto eache.

We taulke vnto thee in owr owne langwadge knowinge they perfection thearin as our (your?) owne wherefore attend the speche well which we commytt to thy memory. Yf our syster hadd so frendlye delte with vs in the accomplishinge of thes affayres as we thought she woulde trewly our whole countrye of Russia hadd bene as much at her pleasure as England ys as frelye to haue sent or commaunded anye thinge thence as out of her owne treasurye or wardrope. Ffynally, the whole dominion had bene at her commaundement as notwithstanding the same ys vnto the merchaunts whoe are as free as in England to ryde and goe when and whether they shall haue occasion, the which to none but vnto them ys adhibetyd.

But trulye our syster maketh to (too) scruple to accomlishe our request which vnto vs seme bothe reasonable and alsoe commodius for our maiestyes.

To conclude, we haue shewed more fauour then sounde frendshipp for that nothinge that since the first hath bene pretended betwixt vs that ar in aney thinge to our expectment accomplished not onely in this her matters but in all other thinges which to fornishe our wante we have sent for, and allwayes served with contraries, wherefore we have iuste occasion to repyne.

So kissing his hande and the prince his sonnes I was dismissed.

On returning to England with a report of these interviews, it was seen that further delay in the affair would be dangerous. Sylvester accordingly was despatched again to Russia, bearing the Queen's answer. Neither the messenger nor the letter reached the Czar. At Kholmagora, while preparing for his journey to Moscow, Sylvester perished from a stroke of lightning, and with his life ended apparently all knowledge of his mission. For three years after the tragical death of Sylvester, we find no record of any direct communication between the Russian and English courts; indeed, the Czar was too much occupied with his Swedish and Polish campaigns to revive his pet project of an alliance with England.

About the year 1580 the Czar despatched a secret envoy to England to negotiate the purchase of such munitions of war as his campaigns rendered necessary. The messenger was one Jerome Horsey; and the letter for Queen Elizabeth entrusted to his charge was secreted between the false sides of a wooden bottle containing spirits. This was done as there was a risk of his falling into the hands of the Poles or Swedes, and being treated as a Russian spy. To the Czar's request Queen Elizabeth readily acceded, and thirteen ships heavily laden with the munitions required were despatched in the spring of 1581.

The ships arrived in good time, as the warlike King of Poland—Stephen Bathory—was preparing for the invasion

which terminated in the siege of Pskof, the Treaty of Zapolya, and the loss to Czar John of nearly all his Livonian possessions.

The skill and daring with which Horsey conducted this perilous negotiation commended him to the favour of the Czar, and he became the leader of English enterprise in Russia. To his interesting and valuable narrative, published in London in 1621, under the title of a "Treatise of Russie and the Northern Regions," we are indebted for much information concerning the affairs, manners, and customs of the Muscovite Empire.

In 1582 the Czar sent to England as his ambassador Theodor Andreevitch Pissemsky; and with a brief account of this embassy and the counter-embassy of the English agent Bowes, reproduced from Mr. Tolstoy's valuable work "England and Russia," we may fitly conclude our relation of the events of Czar John's reign, and bring to a close the first part of our paper on the English in Russia.

"They (*i.e.*, Pissemsky and his secretary Khovralef)," says Mr. Tolstoy, "were empowered to bring to a conclusion the negotiation of the league of love and friendship, and to propose a marriage for the Czar with a relation of the Queen, Princess Khantinsky (*i.e.*, with Lady Mary Hastings, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon)." Pissemsky's English interpreter, Giles Crow, was also instructed to inform the Queen privately that the Czar intended coming to England.

This intention, however, did not remain a secret; public rumour ascribed it to "the wicked German magician, called Eliseus" (Bomelius had been burnt to death at Moscow two years previously), who, according to the Russian annals, had instigated the Czar to flee to England and there marry. This is also very plainly mentioned by Horsey, who during twenty years' residence in Russia, with the exception of a few visits to England, lived constantly at Moscow, where he had admittance to the Czar's court, and personal interviews with John. "Elizius Bomelius deluded the emperor, making him

believe the Queen of England was yonge and that yt was very feacable for him to marry her." *

Both the account in the annals and the remark of Horsey respecting Bomelius are refuted by comparing the dates of the commencement of John's secret correspondence with Elizabeth, the arrival of Bomelius, and the circumstances of the life of John. The message containing John's request for a promise, to be confirmed by oath, that he should have shelter in England was presented by Jenkinson in November, 1567, and Bomelius, who had been imprisoned on account of one of his predictions, was allowed to leave England for Russia, and the petition of Savin, the ambassador of the Czar to Elizabeth, for the negotiation of that refuge, only two years and a half later, in May, 1570. Bomelius also would scarcely have dared to deceive the Czar about the appearance and age of the Queen; Savin had been several times received by her, and during his ten months' residence in England could scarcely have remained ignorant that Elizabeth was already thirty-seven years of age, and only three years younger than the Czar. Besides which the proposals made by him for the hand of the daughter of Sigismund, King of Poland, continued even after her marriage (in 1562), and were only finally given up when the Russian ambassadors were expelled from Stockholm by her husband, John King of Sweden, in July, 1567, that is, two months before the date of the letter brought by Jenkinson. Consequently before the despatch of that letter John could scarcely have contemplated a marriage with Elizabeth. It is also improbable that he could have had such an idea after the return of Savin from England, as towards the end of the following year he married his third wife, Martha Sobakin, and at her death, called a council to authorize his fourth marriage with Anna Koltovskoy.

* For a full and detailed account of Pisseinsky's Embassy, and the affairs connected with it, see our article in the *Reliquary*, (quarterly journal of Archæology, edited by Llewellyn Jewitt, F.L.S., and entitled "Historical Notes relating to Czar John, 'the Terrible,' of Russia and Queen Elizabeth of England," vol. xvi., pp. 1—18 (July, 1875), with illustrations.

Besides which, in all the interviews of the Czar with Jenkinson in 1572, and with Sylvester in 1575 and 1576, he mentions Elizabeth with an exasperation incompatible with the thought of entering into marriage with her.

By the aid of these indisputable facts, it may be positively affirmed that John had conceived the idea of a flight to England nearly three years before the arrival of Bomelius, and that the tradition as to his intended marriage with Elizabeth is without foundation.

On his arrival in England, Pissemsky could not be immediately received by the Queen, on account of the prevalence of an infectious disease, probably the small-pox, which also attacked the chosen bride of the Czar; the inspection of Mary Hastings, which was also entrusted to Pissemsky, was consequently deferred until her entire recovery, and her portrait, by order of Elizabeth, was forbidden to be taken until the marks left on her face by the illness had become smother and less inflamed. The negotiations for the league also proceeded very slowly, on account of the inflexibility of the ambassador. The chosen bride herself was evidently but little charmed by the prospect before her, and although there were still living in England contemporaries of the six times wedded Henry VIII., still a young English girl would hardly be captivated by the idea of becoming the sixth or seventh wife of a Czar fifty years old. Thereupon, during the stay of Pissemsky in London, news was received that the present wife of John, Maria Nagoy, had been delivered of a son. Finally, Sir William Russel, who had been named to accompany Pissemsky on his return, refused to go to Russia. The ambassador was weary of his inaction, and with the coming in of spring hurried on the conclusion of the affairs committed to him by the Czar. On the 18th of May he was admitted to see the intended bride, on the 5th of June Sir Jerome Bowes was named ambassador to John, and two weeks later (June 23) Pissemsky and Bowes sailed for Russia.

Bowes received the following most explicit instructions respecting the treaty of alliance.

COPIE OF INSTRUCTIONS GIUEN TO SIR JEROME BOWES, MAY, 1583.*

Whereas our good brother K. and great Duke of all Russia hath of late sent an ambassadour vnto vs to treat with vs of certeine matters touching his seruice, which require some answer from vs by some especiall minister to be sent theiter. We haue thought good to make choise of you for the service as well in respect of the opinion conceiued by vs of your sufficiency to performe it to our good liking, as for the satisfaction of the said emperor, who by his said ambassadour requested that a gentleman so qualified, as in our opinion you are, might be sent vnto him.

Hauing therefore receiued this charge from vs, and being arriued there, our pleasure is that after deliury of our letters accompanied with such complements, as in like cases are requisite you shall giue him to vnderstand, in how acceptable sort we take the sending of an ambassadour vnto vs, receiuing thereby great satisfaction and contentment by the report his said ambassadour make vnto vs of his good estate as well of health, as of peaceable and happy gouernment, which was deliuered vnto vs in so good sort, as that we can not but think ourselves greatly honored by him in sending so graue and wise a counsellour and minister to vs, who hath not failed to performe such good offices as by his carefull trauail therein it seemeth he receiued in charge, and were comitted to his trust.

And as one part of his message was to treat with vs of a league defensiu and offensiu, so you shall declare vnto him, that for his satisfaction therein, and to make it appear vnto him how acceptable that motion was vnto vs, we haue ordered vnto certaine of our counsell to conferr with his said minister thereabout, by whom he shall vnderstand what resolution is taken here, the same being deliuered vnto him in writting, wherewith we hope he will rest contented, hauing yeelded (as one that greatly desireth his satisfaction) so farr forth, as may stand with our honnor, and due consideration had of our present state.

And for that his minister did not at the first rest satisfied in some points of our said answer, which we caused to be deliuered to him in writting you shall declare vnto him (in case any occasion be there vnto ministred) that we thought good to referre the further enlargement of our mind therein to you, whom we haue expressly charged

* Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS., Nero, b. viii. 29.

to make such deliuey of our said meaning in our said answer, as we doubt not shall remoue all matter of doubt, and work that good acceptation in him of our said answer as we desire.

And therefore you shall declare vnto him first that whereas his said minister required of vs that the treatty might be sett downe in the same forme that he deliuered it vnto vs, and our answer accordingly to each point, we thought good for the better explanation of the matters therein comprised, and that our answer might be more orderly framed to cause it to be so distinctly sett downe in articles, as is presented to him, not doubting, but he will conceiue well of our meaning therein, considering that it was done vppon no other respecte, but for the better furtherance of that he most desired, wherein after wee had yeelded our answer to such demands as by his minister was propounded, we found it expedient to adde thereunto a request of our owne, tending to no other end, but to the confirmation of that which he hath already graunted to our subiects, and we conceiue he meaneth to continue rather with encrease of faeuer then otherwise.

As for that matter of sommars contained in the first article, which his said minister somewhat insisted vppon, that it might be left out for such reasons as he then deliuered, you shall declare vnto him, that we could not assent thereunto, thinking it requisite both in Christianity, and by the law of nations, and common reason not to professe enimity, or enter into effects of hostility against any prince or potentat, without warning first giuen to the party so procuring enimity to desiste from his wrong doing or cause giuing of hostility, which kind of capitulating is vsuall, between vs, and all other princes, be they neuer so remote from vs, as some of our confederates are in a manner as farr distant from vs, as he and his kingdomes are, and therefore you shall praye our good brother the K. to conceiue well of our meaning therein.

Touching the traffique of our subiects to all and euery the hauen and hauens of Duina, and euery part of the north side thereof, which his said minister in like sort thought much to be appropriate only to the company of our merchants trading those his dominions, and required that it might be sett at libertie for all nations that would trade theter, in liker sort, as it is lawfull for all nations to trafficque freely into all and euery our dominions and countreyes nothing therein but that he hath already graunted to the said company, in respect of the great charges ther haue bene at in finding

out that trade, we trust he will take our said request in good part, and so consider of our subjects in that behalfe, as that their liberties may not be abridged, but rather receiue such ratification as the good intelligence between vs requireth, and we doubt not but our said subjects will deserue in orderly, and merchant like carrying themselues towards him, and his subjects, as from time to time we haue giuen them charge. And whereas our said subjects haue lately complained to vs of certeine greeuances, and chiefly of some new exactions laid vppon them, these three yeares last past, namely the first yeare 1,000 roubles, and the last yeare 500 roubles yearly, contrary to all priuiledge in that behalf prouided, and we therein moued his minister here to be a meanes to him that the said new exaction might be remoued; you shall in our name pray our good brother K. that in that behalf our subjects may be reliued, and according to his former fauors bestowed vppon them, vsed as the subjects of so friendly a confederate, as we are, and meane to be vnto him.

Hauing in this sort deliuered our meaning vnto him vppon the treaty of amity, you shall declare vnto him, touching the secrete message and request he made vnto vs, by this said minister for and concerning the matter of marriage how the lady motioned is fallen into such an indisposition of health as that there is small hope she euer will recouer such strength as is requisite for the state, especially considering the long and tedious voyage, she were to make, in case should vppon report of his amb-r and view of her picture, haue any disposition to proceede therein, and therefore our pleasure is you vse all the best perswasions you can to dissuade him from that purpose, laying before him the weaknes of the lady, when she is in best state of health, and difficulties, that are otherwise like to be stood vppon by the lady, and her friends, who can hardly be induced to be so farr separate the one from the other, wherby the greatest comfort of them that are neere of blood are cutt of, that vnlesse their good wills and consent might be procured (which is a matter very doubtfull) the match could not in any sort be brought to passe, considering that in those cases, as ouer the rest of our subjects, so especially ouer the noble houses, and families, we haue no further authority then by waye of perswasions to induce them to like of such matches as are tendred them, and by good apparante reasons maie tend to their aduancement.

And for the other motion deliuered vs in like secrett manner (by the interpreter, as heretofore it hath bene by some of our owne ministers sent vnto him) vppon occasion, as those times offred, touching hisselferepaire hether in our dominions, you shall declare vnto him, that as occasion shalbe ministred to him, and he so shall thinke good, he shalbe as welcome to vs, as any prince conferate whatsoeuer, and receiue at our hands the best offices, our small meanes can yeeld him, so deare he is vnto vs, and so willing we are to gratefy him in any thing, that maie lye in vs.

Further our pleasure is that at some fitt and conuenient time you sound the said King our good brother, in what disposition he standeth towards the K. of Sweden, and whether he could not be content that by way of mediation of some prince affected to them both, there might be some peace or truce concluded between them, whereunto in case you should find him inclined, then shall you vse towards him such reasons as may best serue to induce him to assent either to the one, or to the other, offering in our behalfe anie mediation, we can any way performe therein. And to the end this our intent may be accompanied with effects, we thinke it meete you should let him vnderstand, that we haue giuen you charge (if he shall so allow thereof) to lett the K. of Sweden vnderstand so much of his disposition, and to perswade him to send some ambassador into Russia, during your abode there, to the end you maye doe some good offices in remouing such difficulties, as maye arise in the said treaty. In which time our pleasure is, you haue regard to the time you are to make your abode there, that any such treaty may not drawe you to stay longer in those partes, thun that you may returne with the next yeare's shipping. In which meane time our meaning is you shall doe all the best offices you maye for the aduancement of the cause aforesaid; otherwise to forbear to deale in any other sort in that matter, then that your returne may be at the liberty before mentioned, to the end our merchants be not ouerburdened with charge.

As for other causes of our merchants, which is the cause of our sending you into those parts, you shall particularly deale for them with the said K., in as good sorte, as you can accordinge to suche remembrances as they shall from time to time deliuer you.

Lastly our pleasure is you shall earnestly recomend to our good brother the K. the sending home of John Fensham one of his

apothecaries, whose father being a man very aged, desireth greatly to see him before he dieth, and to leave him possession of such lands and goods as he hath gotten for him.

AN ADDITION VNTO HIR MAIESTY INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN VNTO
SIR JEROME BOWES HIR HIGH-S AMB-R VNTO THE EMPEROR
OF MOSCOUIA.*

Hir ma-tye being very carfull that some good accomde by hir mediation might grow betwene the sayd emperor and the King of Swethia and being giuen to vnderstand that the sayd King hauing had some aduantage in these late warres happened between him, and the said emperor, is drawen by the victories, that he hath gotten, vppon some meere termes of reputation, then otherwise he would; whereby it is to be doubted, that he would be loth to send any ambassador to the Emperor of Moscouia (vnto his towne of Mosco) according vnto such direction, as is contained in the instructions, signed by her ma-tie as a thing that he may conceiue that in the opinion of the world the same would be interpreted as though he sought the peace, which might breed in the emperor a disposition to stand vppon harder terms. Her ma-tie therefore hath thought meet, that you shall perswade the emperor, in case you shall find him inclinable to give eare vnto her ma-tie's motion for mediation of peace, to allowe that there may be some such place chosen vppon the confines of their dominions, subiect to some other prince, that standeth indifferent as a person neutral, where without touch of either of their honour the treaty may proceede a great deale more aptly, then if it should be dealt in either of their kingdomes or dominions.

That in case the emperor shall assent vnto this motion, as a thing grounded vppon due respects had of either of the prince's honors, then is it thought meete that you shall aduertise the King of Swetia thereof. And as for such difficulties as may fall out and hang vndetermined for lacke of the mediation of some person neutrall you may offer on her ma-tie's behalf, vnto the said emperor that she would be glad in case he can be content to make her an arbitrator to interpose her mediation in qualesying the said difficulties, in case he maye be induced on his parte to referre

* Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS., Nero, B viij. 31.

them ouer into her. In the meane time vntill the said difficulties may be by her ma-tie considered of, and her iudgement gett downe for qualification of the same, as maye agree with iustice and due regard of either of ther honors, whereof if you find he shall haue any liking, then is it her ma-tie's pleasure, that you shall aduertise the said K. thereof, and to learne from him whether he can yeeld thereunto. And so both their assents being giuen vnto the said motion, you maye perswade the said princes the one by speech, the other by letters to be content to yeeld to an abstinence of armes for so long time, as it is likely (the difficulties of the passage duely considered) that she may returne her opinion in that behalfe.

And in case you shall be pressed to resorte to the said place where the treaty shalbe dealt in with the mutuall assent of both princes you shall in that case for your excuse declare vnto the emperor, that for as much as you haue receiued no direction so to do; you can not without offence of her ma-tie add your owne particular assent thereunto. On the other side if the emperour not yeelds to haue a treaty in some neutrall place, but shall insist to haue the same dealt in within his owne dominions, then shall you aduertise the K. of Swetia of your proceeding with the said emperor both in the one degree, and in the other, letting him vnderstand, how carefull her ma-tie was for the regard that she had to his honor to haue procured, that the said treaty might haue passed in a neutrall place. And yet notwithstanding that her highnes is of that opinion that princes for the auoyding of the efusion of Christian blood, and other inconueniencies that depend vppon the continuance of warres, the K. should not in so important a cause insist vppon ceremonies of place and time, and such like circumstances but rather haue regard to the matter, weighing withall that in respect of the great riches that the emperor of Muscouia hath, and the number of marshall men both horsemen and footemen, in which he is not inferior to any prince in these parts of the world, he ought to be moued in, to thinke that a deere disaduantagable peace is more worth then an aduantagable and victorious warre all things duely considered.

Sir Jerome was to insist on the insertion of a clause stating that one of the allies was not bound to go to war with the enemies of the other until every effort had been exhausted to reconcile the belligerents, and was to offer the intervention of

the Queen between the Czar and the King of Sweden, without however taking upon himself the obligation of going to Sweden, nor delaying, on that account, his departure from Russia. As to the marriage with Mary Hastings, he was to decline it under pretence, first of her ill health, and then, if the Czar insisted, by saying that the lady's parents would not give their consent, and that the Queen had no power to oblige them to do so. In case of the Czar coming to England, he was promised by the Queen a welcome as affectionate as the most beloved ally could expect, and that everything should be done for him which the Queen's "small meanes can yeeld him." The principal aim of Bowes was to be the confirmation to the company of all its privileges, the exclusive right of trade in the White Sea, and exemption from all duties.*

Several documents have been preserved relating to the embassy of Bowes; his own memoir, with a short account of his stay in Russia, which is full of boasting; the complaints presented by him on his return to England about the offences he had endured, which show him to have been vain, quarrelsome, and fond of gossip; the accounts of his embassy in the memoirs of Horsey, which cannot but leave the conviction of his effrontery and vanity; and finally the documents of the ambassador's office, which unanswerably prove that in the course of the negotiations Bowes constantly prevaricated in his answers, contradicted his own words, and when he was detected appealed to the insufficiency of his instructions. He accused the Chancellor Schelkalof before the Czar of being bribed by the Dutch merchant de Wale; the officers of the Czar of not delivering to him the full provision of victuals allowed, and the person sent to accompany him from Colmogor (Kholmagora) of intending to sink his barge. When not consenting to the change of religion for Mary Hastings he assured the Czar that Elizabeth could offer for his choice a dozen other ladies more nearly related to herself and of greater beauty than Mary Hastings, and the next day at the ambas-

* Hakluyt's Navigations, p. 513.

sador's office affirmed that he had given no such assurance. When convicted of the falsehood of this statement he replied that he had no instruction to name these ladies ; but if Elizabeth would permit it, he would send their portraits to the Czar. On the very day of his reception by the Czar he went on foot to the Kremlin, because in his opinion the horse brought for his use was not so good as that mounted by the lord sent to accompany him. At his first audience, when the Chancellor Schelkalof, according to custom, advanced to receive Elizabeth's letter from him, he began, in the presence of the Czar, surrounded by his Court, to argue that the Queen had addressed no letters to Schelkalof. In his personal interviews with the Czar he caused John to lose patience : to the Czar's remark that he, Bowes, was unacquainted with the customs of ambassadors, he answered that he knew them very well, and had learned them in France. When the Czar mentioned the Roman Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain, he replied that they were not fit to be compared to his Sovereign.*

To show the style and way of thinking of Sir Jerome Bowes, we reproduce the following curious instrument intitulated :—

COMPLAINTS OF SIR JEROME BOWES.

Ffirst yt is to be vnderstood that the emperor's ambassador beinge sent hither vndesired of her ma-tie was honorably brought hither bothe by see and land all at her ma-tie's chargis and was here entertayned and used bothe by her ma-tie and all others most honorably.

I beinge sent thither ambassador from her ma-tie by his owne intreatie, was after my arryvalle, fyve weeks in his land before he would take anye knowledge of mee ; myselfe and all my companie liveinge all this while at her ma-tie's chargis.

At fyve weeks end ther came a gentylman to me frome the emperor, who beinge a follower of the chauncellor Shalkan and by hym (I may well gesse foysted into that servyce of purpose) vsd hym selfe verie proudly, and mee verie badly, amongst other, his ill and prowd speaches he towld me that I was no Christian.

* See Document, State Paper Office, London.

This man beinge my guyde a thowsand myles vp the ryvers and feede me all that while, with verie bad vyctuals, nor in theis manye myles would suffer, that my bote at anye tyme should go before anye of his. But rather then yt should . . . as at one tyme havinge a good gale yt was lykelye to hav don, he forced my guydes to runne mee on the sands to the hazard of all owre lyves.

Two myles short of Mosco, ther mett me fyve gentelmen of the emperor, who having somewhat to say to mee from the emperor, would nedes that I should haue lightid on foote to haue hard yt, and would yet them selves have sytt on horsebacke.

The same night, the emperor sent mee a supper by a meane gentleman of his who deliveringe his messadge with his capp on his hedd, did challenge me, and stooode longe vpon prowde terms with me because I would not be bare.

At my first comynge to the presens of the emperor, after offeringe me to kysse his hands, he caused mee to bee put backe, abowt ten yeards, before he would here mee speake, and ther made me delyver my messadge openlye, as yf I had beene to have made a proclama-tion, and then demandinge my lettars, and I goinge towards hym to delyver theme, his chaunceller Shalkan came to have taken theme from mee esteminge me as yt semid (thowghe hir ma-tie's ambas-sador) vnworthy to delyver them my selfe nether did the emperor vowchsafe to towche her ma-tie's present, but caused the same Shalkan to take yt of me at the place wher I stooode.

The same day beinge to dyne at, a syde bord in the presens of the emperor, when I was (to) sytt downe and goinge by the vpper end of (the) table to the place wher I was to sytt, I was chal-lengid for yt from the emperor, and caused to go abowte to my place by the lower end of the borde: he would also (had I not vtтарыe refused yt, and my dynner too of that pryce) haue forced that all my servants should haue dynid at the same table with mee; and that refusid, did neverthesse cause the table to be furnyshid with a companie of meane gentilmen of his owne.

After I had bene dyvers tymes before the emperor, and had often had conference with his cowncell and that he fownd I had not comysion to yeld to every demande that he thowght reasonable, he one day mongst other vsed theis speaches. "I doo not este-me (quoted he) the Queene your mystris for my fellowe: ther bee that are her bettars, yea hir worstars" wherunto answeringe as I

thought flytt (wheche no way was vnreasonable) he towld me in fure, he would throwe me owt of the doores, and bade me gett me home.

Shalkan supposinge that I did not put in vse the full auctoretie of my comysion, sayd that I deserved to be whipt, and Mekita Romana and hee, beinge of the Dutche faction, and so enymies bothe to her ma-tie's ambassade, and all their mastar's good purposes towards owre nation ; did delyver to my truchman, theis dysgracefull speaches of mee ; the one sayd : I gatheryd the greace and fees of my kytchyn to carrye into England. The other that I would make myselfe rytche with skyns of the sheepe that the emperor allowid me.

The late emperor was resolvid to have made her ma-tie some perte of amends for theis indignities vsed agaynst her, but died before he had performyd awght so as the dishonors doe still remayne and have bene syns then, muche increasid by this Mekita and Ssalkan, who onelye governid aftar hym : ffor presently vpon the emperor's deathe I was shutt vp (thowghe in my owne howse), a close presoner for eight or nyne weekes, with this extreeme vsadge, that yf enye of my people that lay vpon the street syde, did happen at enye tyme to looke owt at enye wyndowe, they were by and by (by the watchmen who were ther sett to gard me) beaten in, with clotts end suche things as lay in the streets.

I had then taken frome me suche lyberale allowance of diet as the late emperor had allowed me and was nowe to content myselfe with suche slendar and badd fare, as by this Mekita and Shalkan was appoyntid me, and beinge in this meane tyme of my impresonment dangerously sicke, they denyed me nor would suffer, that anye pheis-sion should come at me.

I all this while suyd for my dispatche, whiche I should have had before the emperor's deathe. But could nowe by no means obtayne yt, such was the pleasure of Mekita and Shalkan, and when they had held me presonar as longe as pleasid them, they then sent me word overnight to come to court the next day to have my dispatche : whither beinge come, wheras ever tofore I was met wythe at cowncell, with manye of the greatist and gravest cowncellors ; I was nowe entertaynyd onelye by Shalkan, a brother of his and one other gentilman whom I had never seene afore who delyvered unto me for a resolution frome the nowe emperor, that he had no meaninge to procede fardther in those treaties that his late

father had before delt in, nor then would gyve me enye further hearinge.

Ere longe after I was hastyd awaye to take my leave of the emperor. But ordar gyven withall that my repire and dagger should be taken from me, and all my men dysweopenid which lyke dysgrace was never offerid me before. This myslykinge me muche, as well in respect I dowtid the mallyce of theis men, as also that I thowght yt uncomly beinge in verie short garments, to come before a prynce and state without a sword, rather lyke a presonar than lyke an ambassador I made some stay wher I was, and seemyd (syns I sawe they ment to vse me with suche dysgrace, and that they had alreadie delyvered me the resolution of the emperor, which was, not to grante anye part of that I came fore) to be willinge rather to retorne to my lodginge, then with theis dysgraces to see the emperor ; and in this meanwhile, I sent for a longar garment meetar to be worne without a sword : but they fyndinge my purpose, a brother of Sholkans came vnto me, with sterne contenance and bad behaviour, to hasten the takinge away of my weapons, and my cominge to the emperor. Thus fyndinge no remedye, and dowtinge some outradge to be purposed vnto mee, leaving my weepens, I went to the emperor, as well with purpose to complayne of the iniuries don me as also to receave what he would fardar say to me towchinge my ambassadege, and by the way I mett with my man, with the garment that I sent for whome they perceavinge, either he could come to delyver yt me, heapes of them with furye ran vpon hym, and trust hym quyte owt of my sight myselfe beinge still hastid to the emperor with offer of to muche occation, to haue bred me myscheefe, yf I would haue taken howld of yt.

In this meene space, theis men, Mekita and Shalkan, thinkinge of the iniuries they had offerid me : and suspectinge my purpose to complayne had ere I could come to the emperor, commandid away my truchman, and so made suer worke, that I should say nothinge of that I would.

When I was come before the emperor he tould me a verie short tale, not muche to other purpose, but that he desirid suche leage of frendship with hir ma-tie, as his father tofore had had and for the time of my dyspatche offerid me a lettar to delyver to hir ma-tie wherin I well knewe, was no mattar of importance or grant of owght I came for ; and therefore refusid yt ; but they earnestly pressinge me

to take dowtinge their vsadge yf I still refuse yt, agreed to receuve yt, vntill I might fynd some meeter tyme to rydd myselfe of yt.

The day followinge doctor Jacob had occation to speake wythe Shalkan; who tellinge hym in howe ill part I tooke the entertaynment I had the day before: he answerid hym thus: "Lett hym thank God: God was his gud God; for, had he not comme to the emperor, even when he did, he had bene torne in peeces and throwne over the walls."

It was a fortnight after this er that I could by anie intreatie wyne them to gyve me means to go homwards, and when, at lengthe, they sent me post horsse, they sent with them, nether brydells nor would provyde me anye; so as, had I not, at my owne charge, suddenlye made provysion for all my companye, my servants had bene forcid to have rydden post vpon the bare horse backs.

The morninge before my cominge away to doo me yet more dysgrace, by means of theis men, ther was retornid, vnto mee (brought by verie meane fellowes) suche things as I had before gyven to the late emperor, and ther withall, was presentid vnto me in the emperor's name, three tymber of sables, no question the verie worst that were to be fownd in all Mosco for in every man's opynion they all were not ther worthe above fortie pownds. It was also determynid over night by theis kynd men that the gyft I presentid frome hir ma-tie, should have beene sent backe.

He. BOWES.

Ther war also besyds theis, manye iniuries don me in my retorne to St. Nycholas. But supposinge theis alreadie sett downe to be manye I forbere to speake of them.

And the terrible Czar John Vassilievich not only bore with this insolence, but held it up as an example of zealous loyalty, and even condescended to apologize to Bowes for giving way to impatience. Having once called Bowes a "boor," he sent him the same evening his favourite Belsky with excuses, grievously beat Schelkalof with his own imperial hands, and ordered the officers complained of by Bowes to be thrown into prison. Another time, in a fury of passion, he drove Bowes from the palace, and directly afterwards sent to assure him that the negotiations need not be interrupted, increased the ambassador's allowance of victuals, acceded to all his requests,

confirmed and enlarged, at his intercession, the privileges of the English merchants, and loudly proclaimed before his courtiers that if Elizabeth did not send him a bride he would himself go to England to seek one.

It is easy to comprehend how much hatred was felt by the Russians towards the detested match-maker, who arrogantly boasts in his memoirs that at that time whosoever wished to obtain the Czar's favour sought for notice from him, Bowes.

The delusion of Bowes was not of long duration ; on the 18th of March, 1584, the Czar John Vassilievich was sitting half dressed after his bath, "sollacing himself and making merie with pleasant songs as he used to doe," and calling for his chessboard, had first placed the men, and was setting up the king, when he fell back on his bed in a swoon, which put an end to his reign. That night the government of the Empire passed into the hands of the five lords named by him as guardians to his weak-minded son, and in the morning messengers were flying to every part of the Muscovite realm with the news of the accession of the Czar Theodore Ivanovich. The chief power was, in fact, assumed by his uncle, Nikita Romanovitch Yoorieff, the principal accomplicher of whose will was the man who had long been ill-disposed to the English, and was the inveterate personal enemy of Bowes, the chancellor, Andrew Schelkalof. "Thy English King (the Czar) is dead," he sent word to Bowes, and ordered the house to be surrounded, Bowes and his attendants to be kept under strict guard, and no one to be admitted to them on any pretext whatever, mud and stones being thrown at any one who put his head out of the house.

For more than two months Bowes was kept in this confinement, fearing every moment for his life ; and his fear was not unfounded, for the animosity against him was so great that, if we may believe Horsey, the question was discussed by the supreme tribunal of the five members whether he should not be given over to execution, and his life was only saved by the representations of Horsey that Elizabeth would

not leave his death unavenged. At the end of nine weeks Bowes was ordered to the Kremlin ; in the ambassador's hall he was met by Schelkalof and his brother, who announced to him that the new Czar did not intend to continue the negotiations with England begun by the late sovereign ; notwithstanding the resistance of Bowes, they took from him his sword, and, not even letting him throw on his upper garment, dragged him before the Czar, without allowing him to be accompanied by his interpreter. Paying no attention to his refusal, they forced upon him a letter for the Queen, then seizing him by the arms, they turned him out of the palace, ordering him to quit Moscow immediately.

"Let him thank God : God was his gud God," Schelkalof sent word to him next day, "for had he not comme to the emperor, even when he did, he had bene torne in pieces and thrown over the wales."

A wiser man than Bowes might have lost patience under such indignities ; he foamed with furious, powerless spite, and at the same time fearing for his own safety he ordered all the English merchants to leave Moscow and accompany him to the sea-coast, but naturally was not obeyed. Horsey, however, accompanied him as far as the first halting-place, and privately gave him a present of forty sables from Boris Feodorovich Godoonof, with the request that he would assure the Queen of his (Godoonof's) devotion and persuasion that affairs would be satisfactorily arranged at last.

After a long journey, and more insults (real or supposed) from the gentleman sent to accompany him, Nicephorus Sooschoff (whom he calls a mean sinaboiarsky, *i.e.*, an inferior officer), on the 12th of August 1584, Bowes at length reached the port of St. Nicholas ; he no sooner stood on the deck of an English vessel than he sent back the Czar's letter "wherin was no matter of any importance," and the Czar's gift, three timbers of sables, "not worthe above fortie pounds, no question the verie worst that were to be found in all Mosco ;" at the same time he wrote a letter in which he pours out all his

wrath against the boyar Yoorieff and the chancellor Schelkalof, expressing his hope that Theodore, whom he had heard was now crowned emperor, would "soon cut the heads from the shoalders of those two usurping emperors."

"Wolde he had never come here ! The Lorde sende us all his grace, writes the "London company's English agent at Kholmogora, when sending by the same vessel which carried Bowes, a hurried copy of the latter's angry epistle.