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Harned, Mary Lou K. A Proposal for the Publication of the Correspondence between Elizabeth I of England and Ivan IV of Muscovy. (1972) Directed by: Dr. Roy Schantz. Pp. 100.

Europe in the sixteenth century viewed Muscovy with fear and suspicion. Westerners saw Russia mainly as a semi-barbaric threat and refused her direct, regular contact with Europe. England, seeking unhindered trade routes and new markets, was attempting like Russia to cross a blocked threshold. In this effort, English mariners reached Muscovy where Tsar Ivan IV shrewdly seized the opportunity to inaugurate regular intercourse with the island nation.

The correspondence between Ivan IV and Queen Elizabeth I of England comprises the most important part of the official communications of the first thirty years of Anglo-Russian relations. These letters have never been systematically compiled and published. This thesis attempts to demonstrate the need and worth of such a collection by the following means: (1) a description of the historical background of the period as it relates to the founding of Anglo-Russian relations, (2) a discussion of known sources and of possible repositories of the Elizabeth-Ivan letters, (3) a chronological list and general-content description of the letters available to this writer in the context of events surrounding them, (4) a discussion of certain factors of influence on the monarchs and their correspondence to show that study in these terms would

lead to valuable information for the researcher and compiler of such a work, and (5) a table listing all the letters to which this writer has found reference in the available sources.

A PROPOSAL FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE
CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN ELIZABETH I
OF ENGLAND AND IVAN IV OF MUSCOVY

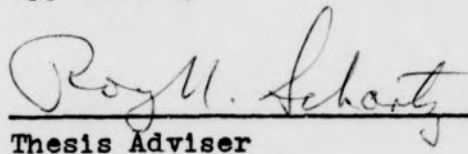
by

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

In the sixteenth century two countries on the opposite edges of Europe had monarchs whose lives and problems bore interesting similarities. Elizabeth I of England and Ivan IV, the Terrible, of Muscovy ruled countries which stood on uncertain thresholds. Their realms would soon take quite dissimilar paths, England to flower culturally and to grow strong economically and politically, Muscovy to decline into the "Time of Troubles," which would leave the land exhausted and broken for a generation.

Elizabeth and Ivan spent their childhoods surrounded by court machinations and personal danger. Both monarchs used themselves as pawns in marriage negotiations with European powers. Elizabeth's efforts in this area were generally successful since they usually gained her needed time or played one power against another. Ivan's marriage offers in the West had a ludicrous aspect to the rest of the world and were never accepted. Both ruled over areas that were developing a sense of nationhood. Both were astute enough to know that to survive and progress, they must break through the economic blockades set against them by the powers of Europe. Elizabeth's long struggle to free England from bankruptcy and subservience to Spain ended in

success. Ivan's quarter-century struggle to annex Livonia and a western outlet failed utterly and was partly responsible for the economic ruin that overcame Russia.

The correspondence of these two historical figures is important for several reasons. The Queen and the Tsar limned their conceptions of their roles in these documents, and, in doing so, forecast the directions their governments would take in the following centuries. Their letters and related records demonstrate differences in government, commerce, and culture between England and Russia. The correspondence has already proved valuable in the study of England's first joint stock company and clearly describes the problems of trade in the sixteenth century, particularly among the lesser nations. Their letters add to information concerning certain economic and political conditions confronting Elizabeth and Ivan and shed light on the personalities of the monarchs, especially the enigmatic Ivan.

These letters, however, have never been systematically compiled, never published in toto. It is possible that there are surviving letters not yet found nor recognized as such. In suggesting their publication, this thesis attempts first to paint the contemporary background in which the letters were written. Following that, there is a description of the letters themselves and a discussion of the repositories holding them and of those historians who have studied them. Chapter IV lists the letters in sequence

with events and conditions surrounding them. Finally, factors having a direct influence on the Anglo-Russian relationship and correspondence and therefore useful to a compilation of the letters are discussed.

The period during the nineteenth century seemed to be marked by two events. The revolutionary changes of religion, still, political governments and people, but was aware of the world and activities witnessed some of the greatest, the abolition, the discovery, and the scientific. Increasingly modern scientific conducted governments. They showed changes in the perspective of relations among nations, state of war, rights of nations, treaties and rights of individuals. They struggled with problems of international relations, migration, revolution, and freedom of the press. They saw the state control of developing agriculture, scientific discovery, and more war. The influx into Europe of gold and silver from the New World added to the inflation which was a serious financial threat of the century. This was done and aggravated by unbridled population increase and the desire of established governments and the scientific change to be increased competition from the national states and important trade centers. Political control of development and war making efforts began to increase. Influence was also exercised by revolution in the 1840's and 1850's. Political movements in Europe seemed almost every

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

Europe during the sixteenth century seemed to be bursting at the seams. The cataclysmic issues of religion still racked governments and peoples, but new areas of thought and activity engrossed many of the educated, the ambitious, the adventurous, and the patriotic. Increasingly complex problems confronted governments. They became absorbed in the intricacies of relations among nations--rules of war, rights of neutrals, treatment and rights of ambassadors. They struggled with problems of trade--monopolies, smuggling, contraband, and freedom of the seas. The age saw state control of developing mercantilism, economic blockade, and much war. The influx into Europe of gold and silver from the New World added to the inflation which was a dominant financial trend of the century. This condition was aggravated by significant population increases and the decline of established institutions such as the Hanseatic League due to increased competition from the new national states and important trade cities. Markets shifted or disappeared and new trading patterns began to emerge. Inflation was interrupted by depression in the 1540's and 1550's. Famines somewhere in Europe during almost every

decade added to the need to reach out beyond known areas.¹

Spain and Portugal monopolized the southern routes to the lands rich in precious metals, spices, drugs, silk, etc. In 1550 the Hanse still dominated the Baltic trade which was lucrative in the carrying of staples such as grain, naval stores, and cloth. The disintegration of Hanse control and the increase in English and Dutch shipping in the Baltic would occur in the next few years.

By mid-century the far northern route to the riches of the East seemed to be the only way left to any who dared its dangers and uncharted seas. Cathay was the great prize. Europeans believed that fabled land to be located in the extreme northeast of Asia, a country distinct from its southerly neighbor, China. Very little was known of inland Asian geography. In Europe the Caspian was not thought to be an inland sea: the Aral Sea was unknown. The Don River, called the Tanais by Europeans, was considered the eastern edge of Europe.² Clashes between the Turkish and Persian empires cut off the caravan routes to the East at mid-century.

¹R. B. Wernham, ed., The Counter-Reformation and Price Revolution, 1559-1610, Vol. III of The New Cambridge Modern History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), ch. 1.

²M. S. Anderson, Britain's Discovery of Russia, 1553-1815 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1958), p. 5; E. Delmar Morgan and C. H. Coote, eds., Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and Other Englishmen (New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.), I, cxiii ff.

The most feasible route toward Cathay, therefore, was the sea--by the cold, hazardous, unknown northern waters. It was thought that the northern coast of Asia ended near the Ob River and that, by sailing south from there, one could reach the Cathaian trade centers.³

The idea was not new. In 1527 Robert Thorne proposed sailing north to the Pole and east "to the land of the Chinas."⁴ Muscovite ambassadors in Augsburg early in the century urged explorations to search out northeast and northwest passages to Cathay,⁵ but they did not arouse sufficient continental interest. In England, however, where old Sebastian Cabot had retired full of honors and with a state pension for life, there were more receptive ears.

Some knowledge of the Russian lands as a nation was beginning to spread in western Europe. From the reign of Ivan III, Papal and Imperial ambassadors had journeyed to Moscow to conclude military and diplomatic alliances. Europe was threatened with Turkish invasion, and it was hoped that Russia would aid in driving back the infidels.

³N. M. Karamzin, A Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia, trans. Richard Pipes (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 5.

⁴Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903), II, 163.

⁵John F. Baddeley, Russia, Mongolia, China (New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.), pp. cxii-cxvii.

Russian ambassadors came to Europe to obtain European architects and artisans and to negotiate the marriage in 1472 of Ivan III to Sophia Paleólogue, niece of the last Byzantine emperor and a ward of the Pope. Sigmund von Herberstein, twice envoy to Moscow from the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, wrote the most important early account of Russia, which was published in Vienna in 1549.⁶ Enough was known in Europe of Muscovia and its semi-barbarism to make those more advanced states want to keep the behemoth to the east in its lair. Bits of this information must have found their way into informed English circles, but almost nothing was known of Muscovy to the English people.⁷

England at mid-sixteenth century was suffering from all the ills of the time. She was weak and in danger of being overcome by her powerful neighbors. There was still much discontent and confusion from the break with Rome and the resulting takeover of Church property and wealth. The people were impoverished and loath to suffer more taxation. European markets for England's chief export, textiles, were gone, and the Hanse stranglehold on her trade increased her distress. The navy Henry VIII began was almost nonexistent now. The island nation could not survive without trade, but she was not strong enough to compete in established

⁶Karamzin, pp. 1-4.

⁷Anderson, p. 3.

markets. She desperately needed raw materials and markets for her finished products. In 1552 England's Privy Council abolished all trade privileges of the Hanse, ending the domination of English trade by foreign merchants. This incurred the enmity of some of the powerful Hanse members who, for many years afterward, preyed on English merchants in various ways.⁸

Cabot and his group persuaded the government of the possibilities of a voyage of discovery to the northeast and formed "The Mysterie and Companie of the Marchants Adventurers for the Discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and Places Unknowen." This company outfitted three ships and placed them under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby with Richard Chancellor, Pilot Major.⁹ They were armed with letters from Edward VI in several languages commending them to "all Kings, Princes, Judges, and Governours of the earth, and all other having any excellent dignitie on the same, in all places under the universall heaven."¹⁰ They hoped, of course, to find Cathay, but there is reason to believe that they expected they might chance upon those unfamiliar

⁸N. R. Deardorff, "English Trade in the Baltic During the Reign of Elizabeth," in Studies in the History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period, University of Pennsylvania (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1912); S. Jakobson, "Early Anglo-Russian Relations, 1553-1613," Slavonic Review, XIII (Apr., 1935), 1.

⁹Hakluyt, II, 195.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 209.

lands of the Duke of Muscovy.¹¹

The small fleet's harrowing voyage is well known and well documented in Hakluyt. Willoughby with two ships perished during the winter on the coast of Lapland, while Chancellor found his way into the White Sea and to the monastery of St. Nicholas at the mouth of the Dvina River. Ivan IV received the explorer in Moscow with the utmost hospitality and sent him back to England with a letter to Edward (dead by then) granting Englishmen liberty to trade duty-free throughout his dominions.¹² Philip and Mary then granted, February 6, 1555, the incorporation of a formal company with a monopoly of trade to Russia. England's first joint stock company was known as the Muscovy or Russia Company, or the Company of Merchants trading with Russia.¹³

The Russia Company soon opened a regular commerce with Ivan IV, sending back Chancellor with its agents to Muscovy to obtain the Tsar's recognition and the grant to it of trading privileges in Russia. The articles of the

¹¹Ibid., p. 239. Richard Eden testifies here that Chancellor happened upon Muscovy "in his voyage toward Cathay, by the direction of M. Sebastian Cabota, who long before had this secret in minde."

¹²February, 1554. Hakluyt, II, 271; Iuri Tolstoi, The First Forty Years of Intercourse between England and Russia, 1553-1593 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1963), pp. 6-8.

¹³The formal title was "Marchants adventurers of England, for the discovery of lands, territories, iles, dominions, and seigniories unknownen, and not before that late adventure or enterprise by sea or navigation, commonly frequented."

Company's royal commission for this voyage revealed England's objectives in the new relationship:

. . . set such high prises of your commodities, as you may assure your selves to be gainers in your owne wares, and yet to buy theirs at such base prises, as you may here also make a commoditie and gaine at home, having in your mindes the notable charges that the companie have diffrayed in advancing this voyage: and the great charges that they sustaine dayly in wages, victuals and other things. . . . use all wayes and meanes possible to learne howe men may passe from Russia, either by land or by sea to Cathaia¹⁴

Ivan readily granted the Company trading privileges, the exact extent of which is not certain since the ship carrying his envoy, Osip Nepea, to the English court was lost off Scotland with most of the Russian's papers and royal gifts. Chancellor drowned rescuing the ambassador in this shipwreck. The Company and the sovereigns went to such lengths to entertain Nepea that they must have approved of what he reported Ivan had granted.¹⁵ Nepea returned home the next year with reciprocal trading privileges for Russian merchants, an almost meaningless gesture on Philip and Mary's part since Russia had no merchant fleet to carry on trade.

This new commercial liaison had all the requisites for profit for the new Company and the English government. An economically backward country like Russia was the ideal

¹⁴Hakluyt, II, 285.

¹⁵Hakluyt, II, 297-303, has a "copie" of these privileges which was not considered correct by Russian historians J. Hamel and I. Lubiemenko.

market for English goods and could supply England with sorely needed raw materials, especially those supplies necessary for shipbuilding. While the route was dangerous, it was free from harassment by Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and the Hanse; and it had the added advantage of providing a base for further probes toward Cathay. As the trade developed, ships would leave England in late May or early June and return as soon as possible laden with cables, wax, flax, furs, timber, tar, and train oil. The interchange appeared to be free of political friction as well as economically promising.

To Ivan IV, too, the budding Anglo-Russian relationship seemed potentially profitable, but in a different way. When Chancellor arrived in his dominion so unexpectedly in 1553, Ivan had just subdued Kazan and would soon annex Astrakhan. After centuries of suffering and humiliation under the Tartars, Russia was experiencing a rebirth with a masterful, conquering prince. Chancellor wrote admiringly of the prosperous villages and impressive towns he saw in the north and central areas.¹⁶ Yet Ivan was beset by serious problems within and without his kingdom. He must maintain autocracy against a scheming nobility, and he must

¹⁶This is in contrast to other descriptions like that of Giles Fletcher, twenty years later, of Muscovy's economic collapse (Lloyd E. Berry and Robert O. Crummey, eds., Rude & Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968], p. 104).

continue to build the strength of an awakening but backward nation in the face of hostility from its more sophisticated neighbors to the west and marauding tribes in the south.

The Kazan triumph had boosted national feelings, and Ivan knew the time was ripe for more economic and geographic expansion, but he had been frustrated in his efforts to obtain the knowledge and tools he needed for such undertakings. He recognized that further progress depended on the importation of western technicians and their skills and products. He had attempted several times to recruit such aid from abroad but had been thwarted by his western neighbors. Also he was severely hampered by the lack of a Baltic port. In effect, Russia was blockaded by Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Livonia, and the Empire. These nations were fearful of the stirring giant to the east and were resolved to use every means to keep him from establishing direct and regular contacts with the West. Until Chancellor's epic voyage, they had succeeded. Ivan, therefore, most heartily welcomed this opportunity to open an unhindered and direct contact with England. Here was his chance, and he seized it.

When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558 on the death of Mary Tudor, the first Russian ambassador to England already had been received in a manner "not bene seene nor shewed here of a long time to any Ambassadour."¹⁷ The

¹⁷Hakluyt, II, 379.

Anglo-Russian trade had been launched. Mary left England divided by religious differences, treated by the rest of Europe as a servitor of Spain, disgraced by the loss of Calais, her army, navy, and war stores at their lowest. The nation was gripped by economic depression brought on partly by the loss of markets for her chief export, textiles. The European trade wars also made it difficult to obtain war materials and naval stores to replenish and add to the navy. But Russian hemp, then cables and cordage, heavy timbers for masts, etc., were helping to fill the shipbuilders' needs. The English set up a ropewalk in Russia to manufacture cables when they found Russian hemp to be superior to Danzig's.

Besides this unexpected dividend in the new trade, the search for the northern route to Cathay was not forgotten. In 1556 the Russia Company had sent Stephen Burrough to explore the coast east of the White Sea. He was able to advance only to the island of Vaigatz. However, Ivan's conquests of Kazan and Astrakhan opened the Volga all the way to the Caspian Sea, turning the government's and the firm's attention toward inner Russia and a possible land route. Anthony Jenkinson departed from Moscow in the spring of 1558 with the hope of making his way to the East by way of Russian rivers and the Caspian Sea, one of the old medieval trade routes. This journey did not end in Cathay; the route was closed by wars in the area. It did

result in the founding of a trade with Persia which could mean other rich markets.¹⁸

The first letter in the correspondence establishing regular contact between England and Russia has already been mentioned. It was the dying Edward's greetings to any rulers in whose dominions the travelers found themselves. This letter also requested protection for the expedition and the opening of commerce.¹⁹ The first letter from Tsar Ivan and the first document known to be received in England from Russia is dated February, 1554, and addressed to Edward, who had died in July, 1553.²⁰ The Tsar requested that a representative of the crown be sent to him to arrange for trading "with all free liberties through my whole dominions with all kinde of wares to come and goe at their

¹⁸Due to the unsettled conditions in that area, this promise was not fulfilled, and the Persian trade had practically ceased by 1581 (E. V. Vaughn, "English Trading Expeditions into Asia under the Authority of the Muscovy Company [1557-1581]," in Studies in the History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period, University of Pennsylvania [New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1912], pp. 142-92).

¹⁹Hakluyt, II, 209-11.

²⁰The original of this paper has not been found, but apparently Hakluyt, II, 271-72, saw it because he appended to his version a paragraph describing the writing and the seal which displayed a knight in armor fighting a dragon. Hamel searched for the original in 1814 but found only a copy which he believed to be the first English translation of it (Joseph Hamel, England and Russia; Comprising the Voyages of John Tradescant the Elder, Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, Nelson, and Others, to the White Sea, Etc., trans. John Studdy Leigh [London: Richard Bentley, 1854], pp. 102-103).

pleasure, without any let, damage or impediment" ²¹

Richard Chancellor delivered this offer to Philip and Mary, who chartered the Russia Company giving it a monopoly of trade with Russia, to the "Northwards, North-eastward, and Northwestwards, or any partes thereof" not frequented before the recent discovery. ²² Chancellor returned to Russia with a letter from Philip and Mary thanking Ivan for his cordial reception of their subjects and asking for the liberties and privileges he had promised to be conveyed to their agents who sailed with Chancellor.

The Tsar's answer conveyed to England by Osip Nepea was lost, but in their next message, April, 1557, Philip and Mary refer to its friendly assurances and his bestowing on the Company of "privileges, liberties, and immunities" for purposes of trade. ²³

Mary Tudor died soon after, but since the voyages to and from the White Sea continued, it is odd that no regular correspondence has been found between Ivan and Elizabeth until 1566. In this interim, Ivan precipitated

²¹Hakluyt, II, 272.

²²Ibid, II, 304.

²³Tolstoi, pp. 9-10, #3; Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1553-1558, p. 300. Although there are differences between English and Russian versions of the first trade charter, it is agreed that it granted the right of untaxed trade and protection of the Russian government.

a European crisis by invading Livonia and further menacing eastern Europe. This threat brought together the Empire, Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, and Denmark in league to stop him. At first the Muscovite seemed invincible; but although he took and held the strategic Baltic port Narva until 1581, his enemies gradually pushed him back behind his former border in an enervating twenty-five-year war. By 1564 they had effectively checked his advance. The military setbacks were accompanied by the deaths of the Tsarina Anastasia and the Metropolitan Makarius and by the defection of Ivan's close friend Prince Andrei Kurbsky. These losses, added to a persecuted, frightening childhood, helped to plunge Ivan into the mental instability which characterized the rest of his life.

During these years Anthony Jenkinson emerged, first as captain of the fleet of three ships with which Nepea returned to Russia, than as instigator of trade with Persia (as noted, page 13). With the Tsar's permission, he ascended the recently opened Volga to the Caspian Sea, crossed it, and proceeded to Bokhara where he found the ancient caravan route to China closed by clashes between the Persians and the Turks. The Englishman Jenkinson became a favorite with Ivan and an important link between "The Terrible" and "Gloriana."

Thus in 1558 England, in a severe economic depression and with a young Queen newly crowned, found herself in a

cordial commercial relationship with a feared and fearsome autocrat who threatened to overrun Europe from the northeast at the same time the Turks were advancing from the southeast. Reports from its representatives all over the continent to the English government abstracted in the Calendars of State Papers for these years abound in rumors and reports of the Muscovite's doings.

CHAPTER III
HISTORIOGRAPHY

The correspondence between Elizabeth I and Ivan IV reveals much about the two and their nations. The Queen's letters are short, simple, and clear; the words carefully chosen, the style modern. They are well composed and demonstrate the considerable diplomatic skills of Elizabeth and her advisers. In answer to Ivan's rudeness, the language remains restrained, businesslike, and friendly. Elizabeth uses a short title, "Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.," and dates her correspondence from the year of the Incarnation. The Queen probably did not compose all the letters, but it is certain that her ministers' policies therein expressed were hers also. Much ornamentation adorns her letters to Ivan. Dr. Hamel, a Russian official discussed later in this chapter, found an order given by Sir Nicholas, Keeper of the Seals to Thomas, the under Clerk of the Hamper, on June 1, 1561:

. . . ye shall allowe for certene lace myngled with gold and silver, putt to several lettres patents sent by the Queene's Maiestie, as well to the Emperour of Russia as to the Sophie, which lace amounteth in yards to the number of viii after the rate of vj s viiiij d. [sic] for ever yard¹

¹Joseph Hamel, England and Russia; Comprising the Voyages of John Tradescant the Elder, Sir Hugh Willoughby,

Ivan's letters exhibit a heavy, medieval style: they are lengthy, loosely constructed, and repetitious. It is difficult even for a Russian to understand their meaning.² They are the outpourings of one accustomed to absolute power and are characteristic of the Tsar's personality in their energy, force, haughtiness, and intelligence. The "long title," which named all Ivan's provinces and which he required to be on correspondence addressed to him, opens his letters. A preamble discussing previous messages and negotiations follows. These preambles are valuable because they often mention letters which have not been located or preserved. Ivan's messages are dated from the Creation.

The royal Russian letters are said to be beautiful, the first lines written in gold on parchment with the double-headed eagle seal, some unbroken still.³ Elizabeth customarily used the Privy Seal, but when she used her signet on a secret message, Ivan took offense. She had to explain to him that there were too many officials involved

Richard Chancellor, Nelson, and Others, to the White Sea, Etc., trans. by John Studdy Leigh (London: Richard Bentley, 1854), p. 167. The letters mentioned here are those of April 25, 1561, to Ivan and the Shah of Persia anent Jenkinson's projected voyage.

²Inna I. Lubimenko, "A Suggestion for the Publication of the Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Czars," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 3rd Series, IX (1915), 114.

³Inna I. Lubimenko, "The Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Czars," American Historical Review, XIX (1914), 527.

in the use of the great seal to insure the secrecy he demanded.

Language presented problems in the developing association. Neither monarch understood the language of the other although Elizabeth was an accomplished linguist. The diplomatic language of Europe was Latin, but Ivan did not understand it, and there were few Russians who did since Muscovy's religious tradition stemmed from the Greek church. Until the early eighteenth century, Russian books and formal writing were in the ecclesiastical form of the Cyrillic alphabet, Church Slavonic, which differed from the vernacular. Ivan's preserved letters were written in this, not in Latin; two were rendered in German also (April 10, 1567, and April 1, 1569). On May 18, 1570, Elizabeth wrote that

for lack of knowledg of that tongue [Russian], the said ambassadour [Savin] hath delivered to us 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 understand.⁴

The Queen's letters were written in Latin until May, 1570, when Savin asked that her secret answer to the Tsar be translated from English into Russian in his presence because Ivan "cannot understand anie language but his owne."⁵ The

⁴Iuri Tolstoi, ed., The First Forty Years of Inter-course between England and Russia, 1553-1593 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1963), p. 90.

⁵E. Delmar Morgan and C. H. Coote, eds., Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and Other Englishmen (New York: Burt Franklin,

contemporary Russian translation was made by Daniel Silvester, who swore an oath attached to it that this was the "trew copie of the letter, whiche is written in the Englishe tongue by the Queenes Maiestie of England."⁶ In 1572 Silvester requested an English translation of Elizabeth's Latin letter because he did not understand Latin, and there was almost no one at that time in Moscow who could translate Latin into Russian.⁷ The oprichniks had rid Muscovy of many of her educated people.

In England, originals and copies of the Elizabeth-Ivan correspondence and pertinent materials are scattered throughout many collections: some copies are found in more than one place. Six volumes of the Hakluyt Society are valuable repositories. The Public Record Office, London, has six original letters from the Tsar and many contemporary translations of Russian letters and drafts and copies of the Queen's letters preserved in the State Papers Foreign, SP 70, the State Papers, Russia, SP 91, and the Royal Letters, Russia, SP102/49.⁸ The British Museum contains

n.d.), II, 285; Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1569-1571, p. 242, May 6, 1570.

⁶Tolstoi, p. 98, from secret letter of May 18, 1570.

⁷Hamel, p. 221.

⁸Letter from N. Every for the Keeper, Public Record Office, London, April 19, 1971, to Mrs. E. J. Holder, Head Reference Librarian, the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

important documents relating to this correspondence in the Cottonian, Lansdowne, and Harleian MSS collections. In the Marquis of Salisbury MSS at Hatfield House, in the Ashmolean Museum of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and in the Baker MSS at the University Library, Cambridge, there are others. The calendars and catalogues of these collections, most of which were made up in the last century, are at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The Royal Commission on Historical MSS has assembled all these guides in its volumes. These publications offer good clues to letters and their whereabouts, but their abstracts and summaries necessarily omit much of importance. Example: a letter of October 20, 1572, from Elizabeth to Ivan reproduced in full in Morgan and Coote, II, pp. 303-304, compared to its abstract in the Catalogue of the Collection of Baker MSS in the University Library, Cambridge. It is necessary to go beyond the calendars and catalogues to the originals or their copies for a comprehensive compilation of the correspondence in England.

Until the twentieth century the only English works to touch on the subject of these letters were the first three volumes of Richard Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, and the Hakluyt Society's nineteenth-century volumes by E. A. Bond, 1856, and by Morgan and Coote, 1886, concerned with the accounts of Horsey and Fletcher and the exploits of Anthony Jenkinson, respectively. The Early History of

the Russia Company, 1553-1603, published by T. S. Willan in 1956, displays a masterly command of the English sources, but Willan utilizes no Russian sources. His emphasis, of course, is on Company history.

In Russia it is possible that some materials were lost in the fires that ravaged Moscow during the Time of Troubles and the fire of 1812. N. M. Karamzin was the first Russian historian to use the letters.⁹ He relied on Hakluyt and the collection in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1842 the Russian Archeographical Commission published A. I. Turgenev's collections of documents taken mostly from the Cottonian collection and covering the years 1557-1605. In 1814 Dr. Joseph Hamel visited England in the retinue of Tsar Alexander I and investigated museum and library collections for information on the history of the exploratory voyages made by the English in Russia. He made copies of many of the pertinent documents, and these were placed in the Manuscript Department of the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. Hamel was a Privy Councillor and a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and therefore had access to Russian materials in St. Petersburg and Moscow.¹⁰ In 1846 he wrote a book about his findings, Anglitchane v'

⁹Histoire de l'Empire de Russie, trans. by M. St. Thomas (Paris: n.p., 1823). Karamzin relied on Hakluyt and the Collection of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

¹⁰Entsiklopedicheski Slovar, 1901, XV, 65.

Rossii. In 1854 a translation from German, England and Russia, by John S. Leigh was published in London. The translator unfortunately omitted Hamel's references, but the work remains a generally trustworthy source of information on several facets of English and Russian sixteenth-century history. Some of the letters Hamel mentioned have not been located, leading the researcher to believe that fruitful detective work remains to be done in both countries.

Count Iuri Tolstoi, a Russian civil official and historian, lived in England for many years and studied in the State Paper Office and the British Museum the papers relevant to the early Anglo-Russian relationship. He supplemented this information with research into the Moscow archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and published several Russian articles on the subject.¹¹ His book, The First Forty Years of Intercourse between England and Russia, 1553-1593, appeared in 1875. It is a collection of letters and other documents in Russian, Latin, German, and English, prefaced by an introductory essay in Russian and English. It suffers from clumsy English translations for which the author apologized, citing the difficulty of re-translating often faulty contemporary Russian translations of Elizabeth's letters. The book received little notice in England when published. Tolstoi's work is extremely useful but not by

¹¹Ibid., LXV, 458, translated for this writer by Dr. Ludmilla Jasenovic, Department of German and Russian, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

any means complete. Neither Tolstoi nor Turgenev used the Baker MSS. Contemporary with Tolstoi, Nicholas Casimir, Baron de Bogoushevsky, published some observations on the diplomatic relations between England and Russia which utilized the Russian Foreign Ministry materials such as Pissemsky's instructions for his mission to England.¹²

In the early years of this century, scholars in several countries began to delve into the past of the Russia, or Muscovy, Company in connection with studies in the history of commerce. The firm's own records had been destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666, but its affairs were so much a part of the government's interests that much was gleaned of its history from the collections mentioned above and from such sources as the Port Books. Serious information gaps remained, however, for the ups and downs of the Company's trading rights in Russia could not be satisfactorily explained. The answer was found in the letters between Ivan and Elizabeth, in her refusal to accede to his repeated demands for an alliance and reciprocal sanctuary. The firm suffered, it became apparent, from each refusal.

Mme. Inna Lubimenko, who specialized in Anglo-Russian relations and in Russian commercial affairs in history,

¹²Nicholas Casimir, Baron de Bogoushevsky, "Historical Notes Relating to Czar John 'The Terrible' of Russia, and Queen Elizabeth of England," The Reliquary, Archaeological Journal and Review, XVI (1875-76), 9.

became interested in the Elizabeth-Ivan correspondence while investigating the English and Russian materials. In 1915 she penned "A Suggestion for the Publication of the Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Czars,"¹³ but she never followed her suggestion. In 1933 she published Les Relations commerciales et politiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie avant Pierre le Grand, which is rich in bibliographical details and charts concerning the letters. According to Mme. Lubimenko, the Russian sources were in the archives of the Ministry of Justice in Moscow in 1933, having been moved there from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the 1917 revolution. She explained that the documents were divided into four groups according to subjects (in contrast to the English materials which have been kept in the collections of their origins). In the fond entitled "Anglyskija Gramoty" (English Letters), Mme. Lubimenko found eighteen originals of Elizabeth's letters, many from the period after Ivan's death. Contemporary Russian copies of Elizabeth's letters in the Russian archives are often defective, she wrote, and do not adequately express the Queen's meaning, but some are copies she did not find in England.¹⁴

Since this thesis urges a compilation of the royal

¹³Lubimenko, "A Suggestion," p. 114.

¹⁴Inna Lubimenko, Les Relations commerciales et politiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie avant Pierre le Grand (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1933), p. 12.

letters of Ivan and Elizabeth, an effort has been made to determine the location of these "archives modèles de la vieille Russie tsariste."¹⁵ When they were moved, they were incorporated into TsGADA (Central State Archives of Ancient Acts), but after World War II, much of the pre-1802 collection of diplomatic materials was moved to the present Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. According to Patricia K. Grimsted,¹⁶ what remained in TsGADA in 1965 was not clear in the guide to the collection. Mrs. Grimsted found that some foreign scholars were being admitted for "limited research" to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but admission was extremely difficult to obtain. She found TsGADA hard to use because of inadequate cataloging and the withholding of inventories. Soviet historians, she noted, were voicing complaints in these matters.

The archives of the Imperial Russian Historical Society are located in the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. Volume XXXVIII of the Society's published collection, Sbornik imperatorskago russkago istoricheskago obshchestva, has accounts of the Pissemsky and Bowes embassies (pp. 1-133), taken from the old Foreign Ministry papers. This volume was published in

¹⁵Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁶"Soviet Archives and Manuscript Collections: A Bibliographical Introduction," Slavic Review, XXIV (1965), 115.

1883. Sobranie gosudarstvennik gramoti dogovorov, V (Collection of Letters and Treaties of State) contains correspondence, and Severnii Arkiv (Northern Archives) hold information especially on diplomatic negotiations. Other possible repositories of information are TsGIAL (Central State Historical Archives in Leningrad), containing many personal and private collections and papers anent foreign trade; the Lenin Library, holding the extensive Rumyantsev Manuscript collections; the Leningrad Public Library; and the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

Interestingly, documents concerning the first Russian embassy to England have been found in Scotland, scene of Chancellor's shipwreck. There is extant a safe-conduct pass for Osip Nepea and his party through Scotland to England.¹⁷ All such collections and papers offer possible clues to more Elizabeth-Ivan correspondence.

¹⁷J. Robertson, "The First Russian Embassy to England," Archaeological Journal, XIII (1856), 77.

CHAPTER IV

ELIZABETH VIS-À-VIS IVAN: THEIR LETTERS

This section attempts to place the Elizabeth-Ivan correspondence in chronological sequence as the letters were received. Only the barest outlines of their contents have been included except in cases such as Ivan's first treaty offer, which was repeatedly revived and became the crux of the problems in Anglo-Russian relations. Some excerpts have been given for exactness of meaning and are here described in the context of events germane to them. It was not considered pertinent to relate details of the embassies and missions themselves although these are often quite engrossing.

The occasion of the first known letter from Elizabeth to Ivan was Jenkinson's second voyage to Russia whence he planned to go on to Persia. In the letter, dated April 25, 1561, Elizabeth thanked Ivan for graciously receiving and aiding Jenkinson and expressed hope that he would continue to do so. She requested that the Tsar furnish the Englishman with letters of recommendation to the Shah of Persia.¹

¹Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903), III, 3-5; Iuri Tolstoi, ed., The First Forty Years of Intercourse between England and Russia, 1553-1593 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1963), pp. 15-19.

On June 23, 1564, Elizabeth wrote to Ivan recommending Raphael Barberini, who wished to travel in Russia.² Unfortunately, Barberini had duped the Queen, for her next preserved missive, April 20, 1566, is a repudiation of the Italian.³ That entrepreneur had made an agreement with an Antwerp firm to split profits if he could persuade Ivan to grant him trade privileges at Narva. With Elizabeth's good reference, he had succeeded and returned to Antwerp from where he dispatched a ship of salt and silver coin to the Baltic port. The Company was greatly exorcised over this matter, for at this time they were exerting every effort to have the English government prohibit interlopers from the Narva trade and recognize what they considered their monopoly inherent in the organization's charter.⁴ Elizabeth

#5; Joseph Hamel, England and Russia; Comprising the Voyages of John Tradescant the Elder, Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, Nelson, and Others, to the White Sea, Etc., trans. by John Studdy Leigh (London: Richard Bentley, 1854), p. 166. In the Catalogue of the MSS in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum (London, 1802), Nero B, vii, viii, p. 225, #8, this writer found listed a letter from Ivan to Elizabeth dated only 1562 anent Elizabeth's "remonstrances . . . for grievances complained of by her merchants." This is the only reference to this letter I have seen.

²Hamel, p. 170; Tolstoi, pp. 22-24, #6.

³Hamel, p. 175; Tolstoi, pp. 24-27, #7; E. Delmar Morgan and C. H. Coote, eds., Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and Other Englishmen (New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.), II, 184.

⁴The Act of 1566 acknowledging their monopolies of the Narva and Persia trades was their triumph (Armand J.

sent this letter with Jenkinson, who, she wrote, would explain personally to Ivan the Barberini affair. Jenkinson also was to request that Ivan grant a monopoly of the White Sea trade to the Company, for the Company feared Dutch competition on the North Cape route. By this time Ivan had inaugurated the oprichnina and was persecuting and executing the hereditary nobility whom he suspected of treachery. Fear and turmoil ruled the land. Nevertheless, he received Jenkinson and granted his requests and other liberties and privileges which placed the Company in a favorable position for a profitable future.

Jenkinson returned to England in the winter of 1566-1567 bearing a request from the Tsar for an architect, a doctor, an apothecary, and others to search for gold and silver.⁵

Ivan commended his merchants, Stephen Twerdico and Feodota Pogorello, to Elizabeth in a letter April 10, 1567.⁶

Gerson, "The Organization and Early History of the Muscovy Company," in Studies in the History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period, University of Pennsylvania [New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1912], pp. 50-54).

⁵Tolstoi, pp. 36-37, #11; T. S. Willan, The Early History of the Russia Company, 1553-1603 (Manchester: The University Press, 1956), p. 88, n. 4. Willan found the fragment of a copy of this letter in the Harleian MSS. Tolstoi's is a very clumsy contemporary English translation of it which Willan believes should be dated September 16, 1566 rather than 1567 as in Tolstoi.

⁶Hamel, pp. 181-82; Tolstoi, pp. 34-36, #10; Catalogue Cotton MS. Nero B, vii, viii, p. 225, No. 1. Tolstoi printed two versions of it, in Russian and in German. Hamel claimed finding the German version and considered it to be the oldest document in England from a Russian sovereign.

The Tsar asked that his goods be admitted to England duty-free, ". . . like as in our land we use your subjects, not sufferinge any duties to us belonginge of them to be receyved." The Queen, however, waived only aliens' duties for the Russians, making one wonder why she dared not allow Ivan's traders the same free privilege he allowed hers.

Her answer of May 18, 1567, to Ivan's letter of the previous fall was taken to Muscovy by Jenkinson. She informed the Tsar that she had granted permission for the specialists he desired to leave for his realm, and asked him to support the Company against the English interlopers' machinations. She also requested that Ivan bestow on the Russia Company the new charter he had promised the year before.⁷

With unexpected generosity, the Tsar granted the Company new privileges which included for the first time a monopoly of the White Sea trade, a monopoly of the English trade to Narva, license to trade with Persia and Cathay through Russia, all duty-free, and several other rights relating to the Company's activities and needs in Russia. This charter was granted September 22, 1567, and conveyed

⁷Inna I. Lubimenko, "The Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Czars," American Historical Review, XIX (1914), 529, in mentioning this letter refers to "MSS of Hamel, t. 33, no. 3576." Hamel, in his discussion of it, p. 177, gives no reference. Ivan mentions it in a letter of September, 1567. Morgan and Coote, II, 230, n. 2, could not find it.

to the Queen by Anthony Jenkinson. Its terms seemed to give the Company its best prospects so far.⁸ Jenkinson also carried a letter of September, 1567, in which Ivan thanked Elizabeth for sending the technicians he had requested, and informed her of his grant of new trade privileges and of his "increased friendship towards her."⁹ Furthermore, he wished her to send "her great messenger" to talk with his council. This last remark was the result of a secret message the Tsar entrusted to Jenkinson to deliver in his own words to the Queen. This secret communication marked the beginning of a critical period in Anglo-Russian relations.

In order to preserve chronology, it is necessary to insert here a letter of October 14, 1567, from Elizabeth to Ivan. Narva interlopers had not ceased their activities --had been attempting, in fact, to discredit the Company wherever possible. Jenkinson had not yet returned home with the new grant of 1567; therefore, Elizabeth, unaware of the recent charter, sent two Company agents, Lawrence Manley and Nicholas Proctor, with another request for Ivan's endorsement of the Company's privileges.

The Company now occupied a fortuitous position in

⁸Hakluyt, III, 92-97.

⁹Calendar of the MSS of the Marquis of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House, Pt. I, Historical MSS Commission, No. 9 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1883), p. 347, #1140; Morgan and Coote, II, 238-39.

Russia, but as the firm and Elizabeth knew well, its future depended on the caprice of the increasingly unstable Tsar. Ivan had usually demanded of the English merchants the right to first choice of luxury articles they brought from England and the East. He had required them to sell furs and wax for him and to buy for him.¹⁰ It has already been noted that he asked for and received English specialists who not only set up factories such as ropewalks but also taught their arts to his subjects. In short, the Queen and the Company seemed always ready to comply with Ivan's more or less commercial terms. The political considerations he now raised added complex factors to the relationship.

At this period the Tsar felt himself besieged from within and without. The terror sustained by himself and his oprichniks made enemies for him at home. Company agents reported a rumor from Moscow "by talke that hath passid there when they be in there cowppes" that Ivan wanted one hundred Englishmen for a personal bodyguard.¹¹ His western campaigns had increased the enmity and opposition in Europe, and the war dragged on. In the summer of 1567 he discovered that Sigismund II of Poland had sent a spy to Russia with letters implying that English merchants there as well as

¹⁰Hakluyt, II, 277. Ivan was the most active and the richest merchant in Muscovy in spite of his attitude toward such "boorish" affairs.

¹¹Morgan and Coote, II, 263.

some Russians were in his service. This, Ivan learned, was a ruse "to have by that meanes caused the indignacon of th'Emperor to have fallen upon th'Englysh nation and to have broke frendship betwyxt the Quenes Maiestie and hym."¹² He did not put his new demands into writing. Rather, he intended this to be "a message unto the quenes excellent Maistie from th'Emperor his highnes of Moscovia, to be doone in secrett unto her highnes by me her graces servant A. Jenkinson."¹³

Ffurther, the said Emperor requireth that the Quenes Maiestie and he might be (to all their enemyes) joynd as one: to say, her grace to be ffrend to his ffrends and enemy to his enemyes and so p. contra. And that England and Russland might be in all matters as one.

Ffurther, the sayd prynce hath willed to declare to the Quenes Maiestie That as the King of Pole is not his ffrend, even so he sheweth hym self not to be frend to the Quenes Maiestie. . . . Wherefore th'Emperor requireth the Quenes maiestie that she wold bee joynd with hym (as one) upon the Pole and not to suffer her people to have trade of marchandyze with the subjects of the Kinge of Pole.

Ffurther, the Emperor requyreth that the Quenes Maiestie wold lycense maisters to cum unto him wich can make shippes and sayle them.

Ffurther, that the Quenes Maiestie wold suffer hym to have owt of England all kynde of Artyllery and thinges necessary for warre.

Ffurther, th'Emperor requyreth earnestly that ther may be assurance made by othe and fayth betwyxt the Quenes Maiestie and hym, that yf any mysfortune might fall or chance upon eyther of theym to goe owt of ther

¹²Ibid., p. 237.

¹³Ibid., pp. 236-38. Morgan and Coote found two transcriptions of this message, one in the Cotton MSS, Nero B, xi, f. 332, and one in the Ashmolean MSS, No. 1729, f. 148ab. The latter they believed to be in Jenkinson's handwriting. Tolstoi has a copy, pp. 38-40, #12; Hamel, a summary, pp. 178-79.

contreys, that yt might be lawfull to eyther of them to cum into the others cuntrey for the saulfgard of them selves and ther lyves. And ther to lyve and have relyff without any feare or danger untill such tyme as such mysfortune be past, and that God has otherwyse provyded, and that the one may be receyved of th'other with honner. And this to be kept most secret.

And of all this matter, th'Emperor requyreth the Quenes Maiestie most humbly to have answer by sum of her trusty counsellors, or by one of more greater estimacyon than my self [Jenkinson]. And whatsoever the Quenes Maiestie shall requyre of hym yt shalbe granted and fully accomplyshed.

The Quenes Maiestie answer to be geven th'Emperor requyreth by St. Petars day next. (June 29, 1568)

Ivan needed help, and England was the only place he could hope to obtain it. Elizabeth was willing to take some chances to maintain Anglo-Russian trade, but she was not prepared to become embroiled in Ivan's Baltic quarrels. Poland and Sweden were her friends, and her growing trade with "Eastland" was much too valuable to give up. Clearly, the Queen was in a difficult position, for the Company's welfare was ever her chief concern, and the firm was pressuring her to concede to Ivan. Now the Tsar could use the interlopers as well as the new commercial privileges to force her into an alliance. Accordingly, she pursued her characteristic policy of delay.

Company pressure to rid Narva of the English interlopers caused her to write Ivan, February 10, 1568, asking for his aid in arresting them before they could flee to Poland. She omitted any mention of the crucial matters Ivan had proposed and informed him that she would send merchants to him in the spring to discuss business affairs.

She acknowledged receipt of his letter of September, 1567, delivered by Jenkinson, and thanked him for his goodwill.¹⁴

George Middleton bore this document to Russia intending with Ivan's help to round up the culprits at Narva and dispatch them to England. Furious upon learning that Middleton had not been sent to treat of political affairs, Ivan granted trading rights to the interlopers with the promise of protection for them if the Company interfered.¹⁵

Before this news reached her, Elizabeth wrote again, May 9, 1568, on the departure for home of the Russian merchants, Twerdico and Pogorello. This was a friendly letter concerned only with the usual commercial matters.¹⁶

The crisis in the Company's affairs caused the Queen finally to respond to Ivan's embarrassing demands. She resolved to send a seasoned diplomat on this delicate mission, the first formal embassy to Russia from England. Thomas Randolph, who had demonstrated his diplomatic prowess in difficult times in Scotland and on the Continent, received his instructions in June, 1568.¹⁷ Randolph was to say that Jenkinson must have misunderstood the Tsar's

¹⁴Hamel, p. 186; Tolstoi, p. 41, #13, a fragment in Latin and Russian.

¹⁵Willan, p. 98.

¹⁶Hakluyt, III, 101, in Latin; Tolstoi, pp. 42-43, #14, in Latin and Russian.

¹⁷Morgan and Coote, II, 240-43; Tolstoi, pp. 43-49, #15.

secret request for a mutual refuge pact since Elizabeth had heard good reports of Ivan's power and wisdom in his kingdom, and she had no fear for her security. Nevertheless, Randolph was to reopen the matter in order to clarify it and was to inform the Tsar that if indeed he were asking for asylum, he might be assured he would be received in a friendly manner. Randolph was not to enter into "any speciall Treaties or Capitulation of any such legue as is called offensive and defensive betwext us," for, although Jenkinson had mentioned it, Randolph should try to avoid discussing such matters because of the hostility between Ivan and the Holy Roman Emperor, Poland, and Sweden. The only "convenyent" treaty would be one granting more merchants' privileges, "in which cause our speciall intencon is to have you to travell and that is our speciall cause of sendyng you thither." In dealing with this "speciall cause," Randolph was to take the counsel of the two merchants the Company had chosen to accompany him. Further, he was to present Ivan with a

riche standing cupp . . . which when you shall present, you shall recommend it for the Rarytie of the fashon, assuring him that we doo send him that same rather for the newnes of the devise than for the value, it being the first that ever was made in these partes of that manner.

Was Elizabeth penny-pinching in the matter of a royal gift to the Tsar?

Randolph carried a letter from Elizabeth dated

June 12, 1568, which acknowledged Ivan's of September, 1567, thanked him for his goodwill to her and her subjects, and introduced her "envoy plenipotentiary."¹⁸ She counted heavily on the persuasive powers of her ambassador to satisfy the Tsar. However, on September 16, 1568, she sent a letter to the officials at Narva expressing surprise to learn that they had detained her messengers, Manley and Middleton, and ordering them to forward her accompanying letter to Ivan in Moscow immediately, for it contained important matters "which it will interest His Majesty to hear."¹⁹

Randolph arrived at the harbor at St. Nicholas to find the country and the Company's affairs in an uproar. Bannister and Duckett wrote to Cecil that if they "had not come the holle trayde had bene utterlye overthrowen."²⁰ Learning "that of late he [Ivan] hath beheaded no small number of his nobilitie," the ambassador hoped soon "to be owte of hys Countrie whear heads goe so faste to the potte."²¹ In Moscow, Randolph was subjected to several

¹⁸Hamel, pp. 188-89; Tolstoi, p. xxii, "In her letter to the Czar, Elizabeth only mentions trade affairs" Hamel states that Bannister and Duckett, the merchants who accompanied Randolph, also carried a letter from the Queen to the Tsar, but this writer has found no other reference to such a letter.

¹⁹Hamel, *loc. cit.*; Tolstoi, pp. 64-66, #16, in Latin and Russian; Willan, pp. 102-103.

²⁰Morgan and Coote, II, 259.

²¹Ibid., p. 257.

months of humiliating and frightening treatment, kept under house arrest, and refused audience with the Tsar. During this period many atrocities were committed in the city, the Metropolitan was disgraced and imprisoned, and Ivan probably wished to keep Randolph from seeing all this. Also, Company employees who were in trouble with the Queen and the firm but had found favor with Ivan were slandering the ambassador at court. They intercepted the Queen's and Randolph's letters in the attempt to discredit Randolph.²²

Elizabeth's letter of September 16, 1568, eventually reached Moscow from Narva. Again the Queen dealt only with the business of her merchants. She described the structure of the Company and how it functioned; i. e., no member was allowed to trade with Muscovy for himself, and all profits and losses were shared equally among the share holders. The Company was subject to direction by Parliament and the Crown, who decreed it illegal for members or other individuals to seek trading rights from the Tsar. Rumors that the Company planned to abandon its port at St. Nicholas and move to Riga and Reval on the Baltic were untrue.²³

Thus the Queen persisted in her avoidance of reference to Ivan's political alliance; and when negotiations

²²Ibid., pp. 277-78.

²³Tolstoi, pp. 49-64, #16, in Latin and Russian; Willan, pp. 102-103.

finally began in February, 1569, between Ivan and Randolph, the envoy followed the same course over a harrowing four months of haggling.²⁴ At length, on June 20, 1569, the Tsar bestowed on the Company the most generous rights it had ever received, and he canceled the interlopers' privileges. Indicating his favoritism toward the firm, he included its properties in the oprichnina, placing it under his protection and jurisdiction.²⁵ The many advantageous provisions of the charter are germane to this paper merely in observing that they were almost all one-sided. The Tsar required only that the Company continue to do business for him in England and in Persia as well as give him first opportunity to buy its wares in Russia.

Such terms would seem to indicate that Randolph was totally successful. In fact, the Company was so pleased with the mission that for once the merchants did not object to the expense (the costs of such missions were generally borne by the Russia Company). Ivan, however, had no intention of dropping his project. In 1567 his grants had not been rewarded with the political alliance he desired, and

²⁴At this point in the correspondence chronology, there is a letter from Ivan to Elizabeth, April 1, 1569, dismissing an English doctor for home (Tolstoi, pp. 66-67, #18, in German, Russian, and English).

²⁵Hakluyt, III, 108-19; Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, of the Reign of Elizabeth [I], 1547-1580, p. 338 (hereinafter referred to as CSPD, Elizabeth).

he had retaliated by favoring the Narva interlopers. Knowing the Company would fear similar or worse retaliation now, he expected the more irresistible concessions of 1569 to be followed by serious negotiations in England. He dismissed Randolph in July to return to Elizabeth with a Russian ambassador, Andrew Savin, who carried a brief letter of introduction from the Tsar (June, 1569)²⁶ and a document outlining the Autocrat's exceptional demands.

The years 1569-1572 were ones of crisis for England and Muscovy. Poland and Lithuania effected a political union, and the Northern Seven Years' War ground to a halt. Ivan's western neighbors were free to concentrate on their blockade of Russia or even to attack her in order to recapture such areas as Narva which the Tsar still held. With senseless slaughter of thousands, Ivan destroyed Novgorod the Great in 1570 because he suspected the city's magistrates of treason. In the south the Tartars were making ever deeper incursions into Muscovite territory and, with Turkish aid, attacked Astrakhan. In 1571 the Tartars penetrated to Moscow, which they sacked and burned. Plague, drought, and famine afflicted Russia.

Elizabeth in 1569 was confronted with the problem of Mary Stuart, who had fled to England the year before, and

²⁶Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, of the Reign of Elizabeth [I], 1569-1571, p. 82 (hereinafter referred to as CSPF, Elizabeth); Tolstoi, pp. 67-68, #19, in English and Russian.

with the Northern Revolt. The next year the Queen was excommunicated in a Papal Bull which exacerbated the internal religious situation she strove to becalm. French ambitions and the growing naval power of Spain presented an especially dangerous outlook in the Netherlands. Protests from the Baltic nations against the Anglo-Russian trade mounted.

Both monarchs occupied precarious positions. Ivan hoped to improve and strengthen his by a close association with the English. Elizabeth knew she would only multiply her problems with an alliance such as Ivan demanded.

Ivan's letter by Savin is dated June 20, 1569. It explained that the delay in Randolph's reception at the Russian court was caused by Ivan's disappointment that Jenkinson also was not sent to him and by the confusion created by the scheming interlopers. These matters resolved, talks began and "marchunt affaires" settled. Savin was commissioned now to settle "how love and frendshippe should continewe between us."²⁷

The Tsar expected Elizabeth simply to ratify the provisions of a defensive and offensive treaty he outlined

²⁷Hamel, pp. 280-83; Tolstoi, pp. 68-74, #20, in English and Russian; Morgan and Coote, II, 280-83; Catalogue Cottonian MSS, p. 231, xi, #90, labeled "Two Papers, Russian." Hamel discovered it and described it as having been damaged by fire. He believed it to be the oldest Russian message from a Tsar in England. This writer found what appears to be an abstract of a copy of this letter in the same Cotton MSS Catalogue, Nero B, vii, viii, p. 225, #4.

(the document has not been discovered), for Savin requested the Queen's "Right Honorable Maister Secretarie" to "cause her highnes lettres of Secrit to be written in Rowsse, word for word as the coppie of lettre of the Emperour sent. . . . The Emperour would dislike of the lettre yf it be not written word for word as that lettre which he sent." Plainly, Ivan had decided to brook no further delay on this issue. Savin also asked that the Queen send her ambassador to Russia so that he could witness the Tsar's endorsement of a "word for word" edition of the agreement. Further, she was asked to send Anthony Jenkinson, too, "because he was made privie by the Emperour to the beginnings of this love and amitie, and therefore the Emperour will better credit his wordes."²⁸

Negotiations dragged on for almost a year and ended in a near disaster for the relationship. Tolstoi included in his book an English document which appears to be a working draft of articles Elizabeth and her Council would agree to sign,²⁹ but Savin could not accept modifications of Ivan's demands. These articles promised that Elizabeth would come to his aid only if convinced of the justice of

²⁸Morgan and Coote, II, 285.

²⁹Tolstoi, pp. 74-82, #21. Lubimenko found a Russian translation of a "Letter of the English councillors written in answer to the proposal made by the Russian ambassador on the subject of an alliance between Russia and England" in Sobranie gosudarstvennik gramot i dogovorov, V, No. 135. This appears to be Tolstoi's source.

his cause and after consultation with the third party. The Queen and the Council procrastinated once more to avoid an impossible entanglement. Perhaps they felt that since Ivan had granted the 1569 privileges contrary to reasonable expectations, they could again successfully avoid his wishes. Randolph was concerned over this policy, for he wrote to Cecil during the negotiations that he would dislike seeing his work in Russia overthrown and the Russian trade lost. He believed that if Savin and Ivan's requests were treated well, the Company's position would be safe.³⁰

However, the Queen ignored the Tsar's demand for Jenkinson and for an ambassador to return to the Tsar with Savin, sending instead two letters with the Russian and an English interpreter, Daniel Silvester. An open letter consented to enter into

a frendlie and sisterlie league to continewe for ever with you . . . to binde our selves with our commen forces to (withstand and) offend all such as shalbe commen enemies to us both. . . . And we will not ayde, comfort, or suffer anie person or potentate to offend you or your contries, that we maie to our power and by justice with reason staie or impeache.³¹

This was a far cry from Ivan's provision that the Queen consider his enemies her enemies. The balance of the letter contained the usual expressions of gratitude for favors

³⁰April 22, 1570. CSPF, Elizabeth, 1569-1571, p. 227, #838.

³¹May 18, 1570. Morgan and Coote, II, 287-90; Tolstoi, pp. 90-96, #25.

granted and requests for favors desired, all relating to the commerce.

A secret letter known only to the Queen and ten members of her Privy Council promised asylum for the Tsar and his family in England where they could freely practice their religion and move about unhindered. Always with an eye on her coffers, however, she stipulated that Ivan's residence in her kingdom must be "fitt upon your owne charges."³²

These replies met with an irate explosion from Ivan Grozny (the Dread). Reports of his fury reached England before his formal reply. The Queen learned that the Tsar had revoked her merchants' trading rights and seized their goods. It was said, too, that Savin had complained to his master of his treatment in England. He may very well have been trying to make allowance for his failure to obtain the alliance. Elizabeth, on January 24, 1571, dispatched a letter to Ivan to be taken overland by Robert Best. She wrote that she could hardly believe the news of Ivan's harsh treatment of the Company. She denied that Savin had been ill received in England and that he was charged duty on the goods he had brought with him. She requested that the

³²Morgan and Coote, II, 290-92; Tolstoi, pp. 96-101, #26, in English and Russian; Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamsin, *Histoire de l'Empire de Russie*, trans. by M. St.-Thomas (Paris: n.p., 1823), IX, 169, 620, n. 44. Karamsin found this letter and its Russian translation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. The original is the first letter Elizabeth is known to have sent to Muscovy in English.

Tsar restore the Company's privileges.³³

Best reached Russia via Sweden in the spring of 1571. On May 24 the Tartars burned most of Moscow to the ground. The Russia Company lost much in human life and in wares. Ivan's people were suffering from the plague and from famine. Consequently, Best was delayed in delivering Elizabeth's letter. Hard pressed, Ivan was still hopeful of putting the Anglo-Russian intercourse to practical political purpose, and he answered in August, 1571.³⁴ He wrote more calmly in August, but he was still angry. His tone was haughty: he still expected to wring from the English his offensive and defensive alliance. He told Elizabeth that the reasons for his rough handling of the Company were not those rumors she had heard. Rather, she should read his recent letters "and their to see the occasion of our anger."³⁵ He steadfastly maintained that unless her merchants were also "men of warre," they were not worthy of her concern in her relationship with him. Further, she had failed to kiss the cross on her letter

³³Baker MSS, in A Catalogue of MSS in the Library of the University of Cambridge, ed. by Hardwick (Cambridge, 1856-1857), XXXII, 348, #8; Willan, p. 117. Hamel, p. 214, merely refers to this letter.

³⁴Morgan and Coote, II, 299-302; CSPF, Elizabeth, 1569-1571, p. 500, #896; Tolstoi, pp. 120-27, #32, in English and Russian. Curiously, Hamel made no mention of this communication.

³⁵Morgan and Coote, II, 301.

in Savin's presence. He could do nothing more about the "angrye matters" until her ambassador came. "And yf you meane now to have frendshipp with us, you will send your ambassador by tymes." He concluded upon receiving news that Jenkinson was indeed at St. Nicholas: "And even nowe have we hadd tydings that Anthonie is here arrived, and when Anton cometh unto us we will gladly he[a]re hym, and forther advertise you thereof."³⁶

Soon after, Silvester arrived in England with Ivan's October 24, 1570, response to the results of Savin's mission. Anger and frustration evidently clouded the Tsar's mind because he made curious mistakes of facts in his message, but there is no mistaking his meaning and intentions. The letter began with a review of Anglo-Russian relations from Chancellor's first visit. It recounted at length the details of the events of the Randolph embassy during which the English ambassador "ever . . . spake about bowrishe and affaires of marchaundize, and verie seldome would talke with us of our Princelie affaires." Ivan insisted that after he "willed him [Randolph] to talke with us of our affairs; . . . wee did agree how those affaires should passe betweene us, and then we wrote our lettres" with the understanding that Elizabeth would agree to these documents and return an ambassador with Jenkinson to witness

³⁶Ibid., p. 302.

Ivan's signing of the same. But the Queen did not comply; her letters were "not thereto agreeable." She did not confirm his treaty by oath, did not send back an envoy. She set aside "those great affaires," and her Council treated only of commercial matters with Ivan's ambassador.

And your Marchaunts . . . did rule all our busines. And wee had thought that you had beene ruler over your lande, and had sought honor to your self and proffitt to your Countrie, and therefore wee did pretend those wightie affaires between you and us. But now wee perceive that there be other men that doe rule, and not men, but bowers and marchaunts, the wich seeke not the wealth and honor of our maiesties, but they seeke there owne proffitt of marchandize. And you flowe in your maydenlie estate like a maide, and whosoever was trusted in our affaires and did deceave us, it were not meete that you should creditt them.

And now seeinge it so, wee doe sett aside those affaires; and those bowrish Marchaunts that have beene the occasion that the pretended welthes and honors of our Maiesties hath not come to passe, but doe seeke their owne wealthes, they shall see what traffique they shall have here; for our cittie of Musko, before their traffique to it, hath not greatly wanted Englyshe commodities. And the priviledge that wee gave to your Marchaunts, and sent to you, that you would send it us againe, and whither it be sent or no, wee will give commaundement that nothing shalbe donne by it. And all those priviledges wich wee have given aforetime be from this daie of none effect³⁷

Elizabeth could not indulge in a retort fitting to such insults to herself and her subjects. Every effort must be made to salvage the Russia Company's trade. Her Baltic commerce was growing in spite of opposition from the declining Hanse, but naval stores, especially cables and cordage imported by the Company, were too valuable to

³⁷Ibid., pp. 292-97; Tolstoi, pp. 106-15, #28, in English and Russian; Hamel, pp. 207-208.

give up.³⁸ Thus, it was decided at last to send Jenkinson, as the Tsar had requested, with instructions to discuss certain matters with Ivan "because her ma-tie doth not think it feet . . . to wryte her answer to these secret affaires."³⁹

Jenkinson also delivered a letter from the Queen, her reply to Ivan's angry and insulting one. This letter was restrained and businesslike, a model of regal dignity. Elizabeth wrote that she sent Jenkinson to

treat very fully with you concerning all things
For he will tell you most truly that no merchants govern our country, but we rule it ourselves . . . nor was ever better obedience shown to any Prince than to us by our people.

Her subjects rendered him many services, for not only had they seized "piratical ships" of the king of Poland (Ivan's enemy), but also they

have exported merchandize, and every kind of thing to your Empire, to conciliate your goodwill, which we do not allow to be exported to any other Princes in the world . . . and we can truly assure you that many Princes have written to us to lay aside your friendship; yet we can be influenced by no letters but will be constant in our friendship.

She concluded by holding fast to "the treaty of amity . . . so lately made between us."⁴⁰

³⁸Besides, the Company was still repaying a 1568 loan from the Queen in cordage (Willan, p. 114).

³⁹Tolstoi, p. 116, #29.

⁴⁰June 2, 1571. Morgan and Coote, II, 297-98; Tolstoi, pp. 119-20, #31, a fragment in Latin and Russian; Hamel, pp. 215-18. Hamel wrote that Elizabeth also penned

Jenkinson arrived in Russia in July, but the dreadful conditions there kept him from reaching Pereslavl, where Ivan had removed his court, until March, 1572. The negotiations, which lasted until summer, were concerned with Company matters, for Ivan abruptly dropped his alliance and asylum projects. The Company's affairs were in serious disorder due to the effects of the fire in Moscow and also due to corruption among the firm's employees. There was much to settle, and Ivan was generally agreeable to Jenkinson's requests for redress. The Tsar dismissed him to return home with a letter to Elizabeth dated May 14, 1572,⁴¹ in which Ivan wrote that he was reinstating the Russia Company "to give them a charter of privileges such as is convenient." He informed her loftily that

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.⁴²

It is not clear exactly why at this point Ivan deferred the ambitions which had threatened Anglo-Russian diplomacy. It is true that he had averted a war with Sweden

a very short letter for Jenkinson to send ahead to Moscow to announce his arrival at St. Nicholas to the Tsar. He found two rough drafts of this letter at Cambridge.

⁴¹Morgan and Coote, II, 332, n. 1; Tolstoi, pp. 146-47, #35, in English and Russian; Willan, p. 123; CSPF, Elizabeth, 1572-1574, p. 99, Nos. 325, 326.

⁴²Tolstoi, p. 147.

in late 1571 by signing a truce at Novgorod and that he had liquidated or imprisoned those he considered his enemies at home. Perhaps he felt more secure. At any rate, Elizabeth's relief is evident in the answer she returned to Ivan on October 20, 1572, by Daniel Silvester, who became the principal messenger for the next few years.⁴³ She declared that she could not ask for more than Ivan had done.

And we truly lament that what was contained in our secret letters should have come too late to your Highness. For we certainly, had the occasion presented itself, would have proffered all the offices of a loving sister.

She could only thank him for restoring her merchants to his favor and "if it may so happen in the future that we can in our turn gratify your merchants in any thing, we will not be unmindful." Note that she would attempt to accommodate his merchants--no word of his diplomats. She proceeded with more talk of Company matters and ended with a plea that the Tsar not punish the Company as a whole when individuals had offended him "for this is equitable, that everyone should answer for himself, and not bee responsible for others." By adhering to this principle, Ivan would benefit the subjects of them both.⁴⁴

Silvester carried back the Tsar's reply of April 15,

⁴³Morgan and Coote, II, 303-304; Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, 349, #13; Hamel, pp. 220-21.

⁴⁴Morgan and Coote, II, 303-304.

1573, in which the Queen was assured that her Company now enjoyed complete freedom and that the interlopers had been banished from Russia as she had repeatedly requested.⁴⁵

Elizabeth wrote again on July 26, 1573, to intercede for the Company for payment of debts owed it by Ivan and his subjects. She had heard that the Tsar had once more confiscated some of the Company's property in retaliation for his belief that English soldiers had fought in the Swedish army against him. Only "rebel English" or Scots who were not her subjects could have aided the Swedes, the Queen told him.⁴⁶

On October 27, 1573, she consigned to Silvester another letter advising Ivan that the Russia Company planned to send many ships to his kingdom annually; if the Company were prohibited by a projected blockade of the Baltic route by Poland, Sweden, and France, it would endeavor to ship everything he needed to the White Sea port.⁴⁷ She reported

⁴⁵Hamel, p. 223. The only other mention of the letter this writer has found was in Inna I. Lubimenko, "Les Relations diplomatiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie au XVIIe Siècle," Revue Historique, No. 121 (January-April, 1916), p. 57. Mme. Lubimenko stated here that this document does not seem to have survived.

⁴⁶Hamel, p. 222; Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, 349, #22; Lubimenko, "Les Relations diplomatiques," p. 53, has a reference to MSS Hamel, t. 33, 3683; Willan, pp. 124-25.

⁴⁷Hamel, p. 222; Tolstoi, p. 155, #36, where Ivan refers to it in a later letter; Willan, p. 125, n. 1, in a reference to Baker MSS, XXXII, #56, 58.

to the Tsar on May 26, 1574, that a Company vessel had been boarded and its cargo seized on the Caspian Sea by Cossacks. She requested compensation for the goods lost.⁴⁸

Suddenly, in August, Ivan addressed to the Queen, by Silvester, an outburst of accusations. According to his letter of the twentieth, her merchants had aided and spied for the Swedes; he had therefore confiscated some of their wares. "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 way siding with our enemies and our traitors."⁴⁹ Ominously, the Tsar revived his anger over Savin's mission and the failure of his "great affair." He complained again that Elizabeth consulted her Council in confidential matters "because of your maidenly state" rather than treating of them herself. If she wished their friendship to continue, she must "ponder upon that subject and do that business, by which you may increase our amity towards you." Then, arrogantly, "Order also your men to bring to us for sale ammunition, and arms, and copper, and tin, and lead, and sulphur."⁵⁰

There is evidence that another secret letter accompanied this one of August 20, 1574, but this writer has not

⁴⁸Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, 349, #25; Willan, p. 147, n. 3.

⁴⁹Tolstoi, p. 157.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 148-58, #36, in English and in Russian; CSPF, Elizabeth, 1572-1574, p. 543, No. 1525.

found such a letter in the catalogues and calendars. In her reply of May 10, 1575, Elizabeth wrote that she had received Ivan's secret letter from Silvester, who was returning to Russia with her secret answer.⁵¹

Silvester made a note of the two items which caused Ivan's anger. The first was that Elizabeth had not properly endorsed the alliance of 1570 by oath and had not had it signed by her Council. The second objection was that she had not agreed to make each article reciprocal. This meant that he still expected her to ask for asylum in Russia as he had in England. Silvester noted that if the Tsar were satisfied on these points, "it would cause great security to the state of the company and greate commoditye in trades."⁵²

The tone of these messages alarmed the Company members in England, and they began again to pressure the Queen to effect a more binding political association with Ivan in the hope of avoiding the usual reprisals. The advantages of free access by the northern route were proving profitable, and the Persian trade across Russia held great promise. Nevertheless, Elizabeth could not afford to antagonize Ivan's powerful enemies. Her instructions to Silvester for

⁵¹Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, 350, #34; Lubimenko, "The Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Czars," p. 533, n. 28, refers to MSS Hamel, t. 33, 3690.

⁵²Tolstoi, p. 159.

his next mission to Moscow were explicit. He was to avoid, if at all possible, renewed discussions anent an alliance beyond that of 1570. If Ivan insisted on sending an envoy to confirm their league by oath, Silvester must tell him to send some trustworthy private person "without any pompe or outward shewe," for such an errand must be kept secret. Silvester was to explain that the Queen could not request refuge in Russia because "yt would breed so dangerouse a mislikynge in them towards us, as might put us in perill of our estate."⁵³ The ambassador was to assure the Tsar that he was confusing Scots mercenaries in the Swedish army, over whom Elizabeth had no jurisdiction, with Englishmen. Silvester was charged, too, with settling a number of commercial problems.

The Queen sent two letters with Silvester dated May 9 and May 10, 1575; the latter has already been cited.⁵⁴ The first was the familiar rehearsal of Company complaints, this time another plea for redress for the plundered Persian caravan. She carefully avoided alluding to Ivan's renewed alliance and asylum demands. It was up to Silvester to handle those problems if and when they arose in the negotiations.

⁵³Ibid., p. 165.

⁵⁴Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, 349, #33, 34; Lubimenko, "Les Relations diplomatiques," p. 58, refers to MSS Hamel, t. 33, 3701-3.

Silvester delivered his letters and transmitted his oral communications in late November when Ivan was setting a puppet, Simeon Bekbulatovich, on the throne. The Tsar assured the Englishman that he had not, however, relinquished his authority. In January, Ivan informed Silvester that he was not pleased with the Queen's messages and that if she had no more favorable replies than these, he would give her merchants' privileges to the Venetians and Germans. "But trulye our systar maketh to (too) scruple to accom-
plishe our request which unto us seme bothe resonable and alsoe commodius for our maiestyes."⁵⁵ Apparently, Ivan, who claimed he had that month discussed refuge for himself with the envoys of Emperor Maximilian, chose not to send a written communication to the Queen. Instead, he ordered Silvester to listen carefully and memorize his replies. He agreed to allow him to fetch from Elizabeth "either a liberall graunte or a flatt denyall."⁵⁶

Silvester gave his message to the Queen and returned to Russia in the summer of 1576 with her reply. While trying on a robe for the royal audience, he was struck dead and his papers destroyed by lightning in the English house in Kholmogory before he reached Moscow. It is strange that no source available to this writer has found records

⁵⁵Tolstoi, p. 185; CSPF, Elizabeth, 1575-1577, p. 224, #116.

⁵⁶Tolstoi, p. 184.

of the reaction in England to Ivan's ultimatum or of the documents Elizabeth sent back to the Tsar by Silvester. Although Anglo-Russian trade continued, no letters have been located or further negotiations known to have taken place from 1576 until 1581. During these years Ivan was occupied with the war with Sweden and Poland. In 1576 Stephen Batory, King of Poland, carried the war into Russia, having recaptured most of the territories Ivan had invaded in the late fifties. Sweden took Narva and Karelia in 1581. The king of Denmark harassed the English traffic around the North Cape, and the Hanse towns and Ivan's enemies tried to halt the Anglo-Russian trade in the Baltic. The loss of Narva increased the value of the northern route, which the Company sought to keep free of interlopers who had begun to operate there from England and other nations. This became a losing battle, for it was clearly not to Russia's benefit to close her one port to all but one country.

Jerome Horsey, an adventurer who had gone to Russia as a clerk for the Company in the early seventies and had ingratiated himself into Ivan's confidence, claimed to have been entrusted in 1580 by the Tsar with a letter to Elizabeth demanding war supplies. He carried the messages in the hollow sides of a wooden bottle under his horse's mane overland, encountering many dangers on the way. He said the Queen "smelled the savor of the aqua-vitae" when

he delivered his papers.⁵⁷ Horsey is the only source for his story and is not considered entirely trustworthy. It is believed possible that he did make such a journey; yet no trace has been found of the Tsar's letters and instructions that Horsey said he delivered. He wrote that the Russia Company, with Elizabeth's approval, complied with Ivan's orders and sent him back to Russia with "thirteen tall ships."⁵⁸

There is extant a letter of January 23, 1581, from Elizabeth to Ivan concerning the merchants' plans and needs.⁵⁹ On May 19, 1581, she sent a letter introducing to the Tsar a doctor, an apothecary, and a barber she had sent at his request.⁶⁰ The next year the Queen wrote anent Denmark's claims to territories along the northern route

⁵⁷Lloyd E. Berry and Robert O. Crummey, eds., Rude & Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), pp. 294-98.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 298.

⁵⁹Lubimenko, "The Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Czars," p. 533, n. 29, refers to Sbornik imperatorskago russkago istoricheskago obshchestva [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society], XXXVIII (St. Petersburg, 1883), 8 (hereinafter referred to as Sbornik IRIO); and Sobranie gosudarstvennikh gramot i dogovorov, V, No. 134.

⁶⁰Sbornik IRIO, XXXVIII, 1-2, translated by Dr. Ludmilla Jasenovic, Department of German and Russian, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

and asked Ivan to clarify.⁶¹ He answered on July 10, 1582, that those territories had long been part of Russia and requested her aid if Denmark attempted to annex them.⁶²

Like a recurring bad dream, the alliance and asylum demands were once more revived by Ivan, this time with a new ingredient--a proposal of marriage to Lady Mary Hastings, a young cousin of the Queen. The Tsar was still married to his seventh wife, who complicated matters by giving birth to a son during the ensuing embassy. Ivan had killed his elder son and only suitable successor in November, 1581, and showed signs of increasing derangement. He recognized, though, that he retained some hold on Elizabeth through her Russia Company. With Narva lost, the Company more than ever pressed for a monopoly of the White Sea trade. Ivan's hopes for help from England through a binding offensive and defensive treaty and now a marriage seem to have become an idée fixe in his mind. Accordingly, he dispatched Theodor Pissemsky to England with a letter of recommendation⁶³ and instructions for oral delivery.⁶⁴

Elizabeth was now even less inclined to conclude the

⁶¹Berry and Crummey, p. 277, n. 1, refer to Sbornik IRIO, XXXVIII, 8-10.

⁶²Berry and Crummey, loc. cit.

⁶³May, 1582. Tolstoi, pp. 189-90, #41, in English and Russian.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 190-93, #42, in English and Russian.

kind of treaty Ivan wanted. She had begun delicate negotiations with the Polish city of Elbing, a rival of powerful Danzig, for a grant of trading privileges for the new Eastland Company.⁶⁵ Spain had taken Portugal and appeared more and more menacing. The first of a series of Catholic-inspired plots against the Queen had occurred. Again, she refused to ask for refuge in Muscovy but offered asylum to Ivan. And, again, she promised to come to his aid militarily only when convinced of the justice of his cause and after warning his enemy to cease fighting. In spite of these obvious denials of his wishes, Elizabeth, never daunted, insisted that the Tsar confirm the Company's monopoly of trade on the northern route. Pissemsky's answer was that Russia's ports were open to all nations.⁶⁶

The Russian's inspection of Lady Mary was postponed until May, 1583, on the excuse that she was recovering from smallpox which had left her scarred. He was permitted to take a portrait of her, but the history of Ivan's marital entanglements and his erratic personality were enough to cause Lady Mary to beg to be relieved of this "dangerous honour."⁶⁷ Elizabeth undoubtedly sympathized with her,

⁶⁵Neve R. Deardorff, "English Trade in the Baltic During the Reign of Elizabeth," in Studies in the History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period, University of Pennsylvania (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1912), ch. 111.

⁶⁶CSPD, Elizabeth, 1581-1590, p. 91.

⁶⁷Karamsin, IX, 543.

for she directed her next ambassador to Ivan to tell the Autocrat that Mary had been seriously weakened by the disease and that the lady's family and friends would not consent to a marriage which would take her so far away.⁶⁸

Having reached an impasse in the discussions, Pissemsky left London with Sir Jerome Bowes, Elizabeth's ambassador (Pissemsky had been instructed to return with a representative to conclude the treaty). Bowes' mission was an almost impossible one. He was to put off the treaty and the marriage and was to press for the White Sea monopoly. To make matters worse, Pissemsky carried a letter saying that Bowes was empowered to conduct discussions of Ivan's demands,⁶⁹ but Bowes' instructions show that he could only refer to the vague answers the Queen and the Council had given to the Russian.⁷⁰ The letters he bore to Ivan added nothing of import. On June 8, 1583, Elizabeth expressed pleasure at the possibility of Ivan's coming to England:⁷¹

⁶⁸Tolstoi, p. 204.

⁶⁹June 13, 1583. Lubimenko, "Les Relations diplomatiques," p. 62, refers to Sbornik IRIO, XXXVIII, 1, 13.

⁷⁰Tolstoi, pp. 201-18.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 223-34, #50, in Latin and English; Lubimenko, "The Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Czars," p. 117. Giles Crow, Pissemsky's English interpreter, was told to inform Elizabeth that Ivan was coming to England (Nicholas Casimir, Baron de Bogoushevsky, "The English in Moscow during the Sixteenth Century," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, VII [1878], 100).

Really this has been so agreeable to us to learn, that nothing could better fulfill our wishes! . . . May your honor come freely and friendly at any time to see his affectionate and friendly sister in her English kingdom⁷²

One wonders if Elizabeth could have been at least partly sincere in this otherwise uncharacteristically effusive letter. While Ivan in England could not have presented to her the most pleasurable prospect, still she must have been somewhat curious to see at last the Terrible Tsar with whom she had corresponded for over twenty years.

A letter of June 19, 1583, introducing Bowes, was as conciliatory and cordial as the above but contained no explicit replies to Ivan's stipulations. Both messages seemed to anticipate Bowes' difficult task.⁷³

Sir Jerome was rude, arrogant, and impertinent, but his intense loyalty to his Queen aroused the Tsar's admiration. He and Ivan had several stormy interviews during which the ruler displayed amazing tolerance toward him--probably because he still clung to the hope of

⁷²Lubimenko, "The Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Czars," p. 117; Tolstoi, pp. 223-24, #50, in English and Latin; Catalogue Cotton MSS, Nero B, 111, p. 231, #106.

⁷³Hakluyt, III, 313-14; Tolstoi, pp. 225-26, #51, in English and Russian; Lubimenko, "Les Relations diplomatiques," p. 64, refers to Sbornik IRIO, XXXVIII, 83-84. Karamsin, IX, 543, says Pissemsky was given two letters from the Queen to Ivan. One thanked him for the alliance proposal, and the other acknowledged Ivan's intention of visiting England, not in flight but to become acquainted with "une tendre soeur" whose kingdom would be as his own.

agreement on the alliance and sanctuary. Ivan was ready to settle several commercial matters in the Company's favor, but he died suddenly on March 18, 1584. His weak son, Theodor, succeeded him, and a struggle for power began. Bowes made many enemies at the Russian court and was lucky to be permitted to leave Moscow on May 29 after being kept prisoner in his house. He returned to England with a secret letter from Ivan in which the possibility of a visit by the Tsar to that country is mentioned.⁷⁴

With the death of Ivan Grozny, the correspondence between Elizabeth and Ivan's successors, Theodor and then Boris Godounov, dealt almost entirely with affairs of trade, and a new chapter began in the Anglo-Russian relationship.

It is obvious from this correspondence that the two monarchs expected concrete, practical results from their association. To different degrees and on different levels, they cultivated it--Ivan for political reasons, Elizabeth for commercial ones. At all times in her dealings with Ivan, Elizabeth was concerned with the welfare of the Russia Company's trade. Toward this end she sought the Tsar's goodwill. Thus, she compromised in small things but never in any matter relinquishing the rights or initiative of

⁷⁴Lubimenko, "The Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Czars," p. 535, refers to the account of the secret Ivan-Bowes talks in Svernii arkiv [Northern Archives], V, 109-20. Hers is the only mention of such a letter known to this writer.

the Company or of her nation. She maintained a queenly calm throughout Ivan's pressuring and his tantrums, but one can appreciate the Tsar's frustration when she ignored or delayed his "princely affairs." She never ceased importuning him about commercial matters. Her refusals to agree to seek refuge in Russia must have rankled him since they proved she felt more secure on her throne than he on his.

Their correspondence was at no time entirely satisfactory to Ivan. He managed to get the English technicians he needed, but he did not achieve his alliance or his English marriage. He was a businessman dealing in wax and sables especially, but he insisted to the Queen that it was "the use of all countries that princes' affairs should be first ended, and after that to seeke a gaine" ⁷⁵ To him, matters of state were more important than trade. To Elizabeth, everything--politics, economics, fiscal matters, etc., even survival--depended on trade.

If the Tsar had managed to ally Russia with England, such an alliance would not have been popular in Muscovy. Russian merchants disliked the English competition, and the boyars resented the Tsar's lenient and affectionate attitude toward most of the Englishmen who came to his court. Ivan's own retinue had to do abject obeisance to him. When Ivan died, a messenger brought the news to Bowes

⁷⁵Letter of June 20, 1569. Morgan and Coote, II, 282.

that "your English Emperor" is dead.

There is a tradition adhered to by some historians, including Hamel, that Ivan secretly proposed marriage to Elizabeth by Jenkinson in 1567 or by Pissemsky in 1583. This has never been proved, and at least the latter offer can be traced to the unreliable Horsey.⁷⁶ The story of the earlier proposal stems from a remark made by Randolph in a letter to Cecil upon arrival at St. Nicholas on his embassy. Randolph found letters awaiting him from "Chaynie" of the Company explaining conditions in Russia and in the firm. One letter referred to "some matter of mariage" either with Ivan, "which is unlykelye," or with his son, "th'one being married, th'other farre unfeete for suche a partie."⁷⁷ Randolph wrote that Chaynie was furious with Jenkinson for not dealing with this matter "with this Prynce" (Elizabeth). This could mean several things and is too enigmatic in itself to consider as evidence of a proposal to the Queen. It may be added that although Ivan's father and grandfather had married foreigners, the Russian court were offended on patriotic and religious grounds by the Tsar's efforts to secure an English bride not long before his death. It is possible that more light would be shed on this subject if more of the Elizabeth-Ivan letters were discovered and published.

⁷⁶Berry and Crummey, p. 293.

⁷⁷Morgan and Coote, II, 257.

CHAPTER V
FACTORS AFFECTING THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN
RELATIONSHIP

Several factors affected the early Anglo-Russian relationship. These include the political and economic blockade of Muscovy, the influence of the Russia Company on the English side, and the completely different purposes the two monarchs had for pursuing the association. More letters as well as more information concerning the known letters might be gleaned from a study in terms of these factors.

The Political and Economic Blockade
of Muscovy

Even before Ivan's reign began, there was great fear in Europe of the newly freed giant in the East. Although Ivan III had built the port of Ivangorod to give Muscovy her own outlet to the Baltic and to free her from the domination of the Narva middlemen, he was not successful in drawing Baltic trade there. Russian goods continued to be traded only in foreign ports by the Hanseatics, the Danes, and eventually the Dutch. No commerce in military or industrial goods of any consequence was allowed in the direction of Muscovy. In 1506 the Assemblage of the Hanse was disturbed

over a rumor that the Dutch planned to send a mission to Muscovy and would even learn the language. There were excited remonstrances over reports of Danish plans, unrealized, to found a trade center at Ivangorod.¹ In 1518 the Muscovite Gregory Istoma, on a diplomatic mission to the Emperor, clandestinely hired five master gunners for the Tsar and sent them to Moscow. According to Hamel, Herberstein wrote that Istoma was reduced to using the services of "common women about the court" to make secret contact with these men.² Hans Schlitte, a German, engaged 123 skilled workers in 1547 and brought them to Lübeck on the way to Russia. Pressure from the Hanseatic League and Reval caused the Lübeck authorities to arrest Schlitte and disperse the men. Schlitte escaped and tried again; but Poland intervened, sending warnings to the Pope and the Emperor, and Schlitte gave up.³ Thus, the "Easterlings," from fear of Muscovy, sought to hinder her development as a European entity and, by refusing her her own Baltic port, monopolized her trade. As Europe suspected, Ivan was

¹T. Esper, "Russia and the Baltic, 1494-1558," Slavic Review, XXV (1966), 466 ff.

²Joseph Hamel, England and Russia; Comprising the Voyages of John Tradescant the Elder, Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, Nelson, and Others, to the White Sea, Etc., trans. by John Studdy Leigh (London: Richard Bentley, 1854), pp. 36-37.

³George Vernadsky, The Tsardom of Moscow, 1547-1682, Part I (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 65.

interested in developing outside contacts only so far as those contacts gave aid to his expansionist policy. He was not attempting to bring the benefits of the western Renaissance to Muscovy.

Did the Queen allow the Russia Company to make regular shipments of arms and munitions to Ivan? It has been assumed by many that she did, but the evidence available to date does not warrant that assumption. It has been noted that England at Elizabeth's accession was in a precarious position between Spain and France. In the first few years of her reign, she bought war stores in Antwerp and employed them in upholding the Protestant revolt in Scotland. Elizabeth was so short of saltpetre that she felt it necessary to buy it illegally from Moroccan heathen.⁴ Considering the problems she had in acquiring arms for England, it is not probable that the Queen would have spared some for shipment to Ivan during this period. She was not above suspicion, however. In fact, the Anglo-Russian relationship had aroused suspicion in Europe almost from its inception.

From the beginning, there was fear in Europe that England would ship or was shipping arms to Russia. During Nepea's embassy the Venetian ambassador in London reported

⁴R. B. Wernham, ed., The Counter-Reformation and Price Revolution, 1559-1610, Vol. III of The New Cambridge Modern History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 214, 190-91.

home that the Muscovite demanded loans of ammunition and artillery of Philip and Mary and that an envoy from the king of Sweden had arrived to prevent such an agreement, threatening to break with England. The Venetian added that the English merchants, expecting to profit from trade with Muscovy, so favored Nepea that they could do him no more honor than already. Their Majesties had not yet decided on a course in this matter, he wrote.⁵ There is no evidence that Philip and Mary sent arms to Ivan; but if Nepea did ask for them, that would have been enough to start the rumors and accusations.

The next year, 1558, Thomas Alcock, a young Englishman on his way to England overland from Muscovy, was stopped by the Poles and held in prison for questioning. His account is fascinating:

Then he [a magistrate of Danzig] demaunded of mee what wares wee brought into Russia, and what wee carried from thence. I declared the same unto them. [That he had been sent overland by the Company to take advantage of the expected early navigability of the White Sea because of a warm winter and to have a ship prepared to find the way to "Cataia."] Then they burdened mee, that wee brought thither thousandes of ordinance, as also of harnels, swordes, with other munitions of warre, artificers, copper, with many other things: I made them answere, that wee had brought thither about one hundred shirtes of mayle, such olde thinges newe scowred as no man in Englande woulde weare. Other talke they had with mee concerning the trade of Moscovia too long to commit to writing.⁶

⁵Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1556-1557, VI, Pt. II, 1005, #852.

⁶Thomas Alcock to Company agents in Moscow, April 6, 1558, in Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages,

Elizabeth had to intervene with appeals to the king of Poland and the authorities of Lithuania and Wilna asking that Alcock be allowed to continue his journey home.

This occurred in the same year of Ivan's invasion of Livonia, which caused the Emperor Ferdinand to seek a pledge of support from Elizabeth and other "Christian Princes"--all of whom, he warned, would be in danger if Ivan were allowed to conquer Livonia unchecked.⁷ The Queen declined to join Ferdinand in aiding the Livonians. Ferdinand continued to warn her of the terrible danger to Christendom from the ravaging Muscovites; and, giving strict orders that no one in his domain was to ship arms or provisions to Muscovy, he entreated Elizabeth to do the same.⁸ In 1561 the Senates of Hamburg and Cologne stopped arms shipments to England until the Queen gave her guarantee that they were for her defense only.⁹ She then issued two proclamations: one banning all English exports of arms to Russia "or to any other place in war

Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903), II, 399.

⁷Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, of the Reign of Elizabeth I, 1558-1559, p. 484, #1208 (hereinafter referred to as CSPF, Elizabeth).

⁸July 28, 1560, CSPF, Elizabeth, 1560-1561, p. 203; May 31, 1561, CSPF, Elizabeth, 1561-1562, p. 126.

⁹April 14, 1561, and April 30, 1561, CSPF, Elizabeth, 1561-1562, pp. 59, 90.

with any nation in Christendom,"¹⁰ and another declaring the rumors of her aid to Muscovy "false and malicious."¹¹ She sent William Herlle to Antwerp to deny the stories and to assure arms shipments for England. He was to insist that England's only purpose in going to Russia was to reach Cathay, which would benefit everyone. Herlle reported to her that the German princes had been told that Livonia was lost because of English aid to Russia. "These rumors were launched by the Hanse and the house of Burgundy who do England all mischief possible." This agent also saw a book circulated in Antwerp telling of the cruelties perpetrated by the Russians against Livonian prisoners. "It seems to have been published only to turn people against anyone who would be a confederate of a Prince who is a common enemy to the empire. Other slanders rife here about England."¹²

In the bellicose sixteenth century, guns were very important items, and governments did their best to control their production and export. Arms sales were so lucrative that there was much smuggling and great competition over sales licenses for legal trade. Gunpowder, too, was

¹⁰July 8, 1561, Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, of the Reign of Elizabeth [1], 1547-1580, p. 179, #10.

¹¹CSPF, Elizabeth, 1561-1562, p. 171.

¹²Ibid., p. 174.

government controlled to make certain the state had ample supplies.¹³ It was conceivable that Elizabeth could control arms shipments to Russia as long as the northern route was the only road there; but when Ivan took Narva, interlopers from England swarmed there, and regulation became difficult. Several of these men, favored in later years by the Tsar, probably smuggled arms and munitions to him. Apparently, they were not alone. Henrie Lane, a Company agent and interpreter, wrote to Richard Hakluyt that the Narva traffic especially caused "displeasure" with the Anglo-Russian trade. He recalled telling "Polacks, Danskers, and Easterlings" that because he had lived in Russia, he could "better reply and prove that their owne nations and the Italians were most guiltie of the accusations" of the king of Poland. He knew

the Muscovites were furnished out of Dutchland by enterlopers with all arts and artificers, and had few or none by us. The Italians also furnished them with engines of warre, and taught them warrelike stratagemes, and the art of fortification.¹⁴

Sigismund of Poland eventually undertook to prohibit all English ships from trading to Narva and explained to the Queen that this was as much to stop the "artificers" she sent there as the arms. The artificers, he feared, would teach the Russians the use and manufacture of arms newly introduced to them.¹⁵ Elizabeth never hid the fact

¹³Wernham, pp. 190-91.

¹⁴Hakluyt, III, 99.

¹⁵March 2, 1568, CSPF, Elizabeth, 1566-1568, p. 424.

that she sent architects, doctors, shipbuilders, apothecaries, mariners, etc., to Russia at Ivan's behest. It was well known, too, that Ivan welcomed and paid good wages to such persons, including those from other nations, especially mercenaries.¹⁶

Through most of Elizabeth's reign the protests continued from Sweden, Denmark, Poland, the Hanse cities, and the Emperor, and they seem better founded during the last twenty years of the sixteenth century. Stronger than the Queen exported war stores to the Porte where they were sold openly.¹⁷ She was much berated by Europe for trading with the Infidels against Christendom, but, according to Lawrence Stone, she was able to pressure the Turks to leave Poland alone.¹⁸ By this time Poland was the source of much of the naval stores and saltpetre necessary to her security. And yet the Russian government was not satisfied with whatever arms it was receiving from England because it offered to renew the trade monopoly if, among other conditions, England sent enough of certain war supplies. Elizabeth must have continued to hold back, for in 1589 her merchants

¹⁶Mildred Wretts-Smith, "The English in Russia during the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th Series, III (1920), 99.

¹⁷Wernham, p. 368.

¹⁸"Elizabethan Overseas Trade," Economic History Review, 2nd Series, III (1949-1950), 55.

were told they could no longer buy wax; they must trade it for saltpetre, powder, or sulphur.¹⁹

Horseley's account of his 1581 voyage to the White Sea with thirteen ships laden with war supplies is the only source for this exploit.²⁰ Ivan was desperate, and the Queen may have allowed some such stores to be sent him at that time to protect the Company, but thirteen shiploads is doubtful. During this period Elizabeth was actively seeking the Polish king's friendship for the Eastland Company and surely would not have jeopardized the negotiations to export his goods vital to English security.²¹

In a 1580 Company memorandum suggesting ways in which the dying Persian trade could be revived, young gentlemen were to be taken to the East with the merchants to be trained in the arts of warfare. Such a project could be financed by selling to the Persians "our old superfluous dagges and harqabusses . . . now to noe use."²² This item

¹⁹Lloyd E. Berry and Robert O. Crumme, eds., Rude & Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 290.

²⁰Ibid., p. 254.

²¹Neva R. Deardorff, "English Trade in the Baltic During the Reign of Elizabeth," in Studies in the History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period, University of Pennsylvania (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1912), pp. 297 ff.

²²T. S. Willan, The Early History of the Russia Company, 1553-1603 (Manchester: The University Press, 1956), p. 149.

and Alcock's testimony of 1558 suggest that the Company, and probably its royal mistress, were not above cheating the natives a bit.

Much of the prejudice directed at England derived from the fear of competition which the White Sea and Persian trades created and from Hanse anger at English movement into the Baltic. The route around the North Cape also robbed the king of Denmark of his Sound tolls, an important source of his revenue. When England's situation in the sixties and seventies is considered, it seems probable from the evidence available that Elizabeth did send Ivan token shipments of war supplies when she felt it necessary to curry favor for her merchants. It was natural for her and the Company to remind the Tsar, when he was angry at her refusals to ally England closely to Russia, that they had shipped him goods they sent nowhere else:²³ they were typical businessmen advertising their services. Certainly Elizabeth never clearly alluded to arms shipments to Russia in her correspondence with Ivan, and he, even when demanding such supplies, never belabored the point or referred to earlier shipments. The subject did not figure prominently in their communications now available. Perhaps the research suggested in this thesis would reveal more information in this area.

²³Letter of June 2, 1571.

The Influence of the Russia Company

The Company's influence on the Anglo-Russian association was evident to the Autocrat and infuriating to one steeped in absolutism. It was difficult for him to appreciate Elizabeth's dependence on her intrepid merchant-adventurers who were indispensable to England's economic health.

Early in her reign, Thomas Gresham, the financier, advised Elizabeth in regard to the Hanse never to restore privileges to the Steelyard, a factor "which hath bine the cheffest poyntte off the undoinge off this your reallme." He further warned her "to kepp your credit, and specially with your owne merchants, for it is thaye must stand by youe att all eventes in your necessity."²⁴ The Queen seems to have followed this counsel as closely as she could in the case of the Russia Company except in the matter of the offensive and defensive alliance demanded by Ivan and urged on her by the firm's directors.

There were good reasons for the Company's influence over diplomatic relations. The firm paid most of the expenses of the English and Russian embassies.²⁵ The

²⁴J. W. Burgon, The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham (London: n.p., 1839), I, 484, 486.

²⁵E. Delmar Morgan and C. H. Coote, eds., Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and Other Englishmen (New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.), I, Ixix; Inna I. Lubimenko, "The First Relations of England

Company, which had borne the expense and hazards of exploring the northern route, was not only instigating a Persian trade but also continued for some years to probe the northern coasts for the passage to Cathay. Its agents conducted business, diplomatic and commercial, for Ivan in Persia and in England. It was consulted on the choice of ambassadors and messengers, and its directors usually submitted to Cecil or the Privy Council memoranda advising on matters for a prospective mission or the negotiations with a visiting Russian envoy.²⁶ From around 1564-1566 the firm was involved in litigation to confirm its monopoly of the Narva trade. Other English merchants held that the original charter granted by Philip and Mary did not include Narva, then a Livonian city. The Company won its case in the Act of 1566, which confirmed its monopolies of all trade to Russia and to Persia²⁷ (problems with interlopers did not disappear, however). There were high government officials on the Company's list of stockholders. Sir Francis Walsingham was one of these, and he also was brother-in-law of Sir Thomas Randolph, the first diplomatic envoy sent by Elizabeth to the Russian court.²⁸

with Russia," Russian Review, February, 1914, p. 63.

²⁶ CSPF, Elizabeth, 1569-1571, p. 243; Hamel, pp. 171, 221; Morgan and Coote, I, lxxix.

²⁷ Willan, pp. 67-69.

²⁸ Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), III, 370 ff.

In his instructions to Randolph before his mission of 1568, Cecil ordered the ambassador to consult with and take the advice of the Company's merchants, Bannister and Ducket, who accompanied him to Russia.²⁹ The merchants reported to the directors and to Cecil upon arrival that the firm's trade and relations with Ivan stood "vareye evill." They maintained that Jenkinson must not have imparted all of his commission from Ivan to Elizabeth, and that the Queen should try to placate the Tsar by writing to him answering all that Jenkinson had reported or saying that Randolph would treat of it.³⁰

During the protracted negotiations of Savin's embassy, the Company's influence was apparent in a paper of May, 1570, entitled "Serten instroksyons geven me [Anthony Jenkinson] by Sir William Garard, Knyght [Governor of the Company], to move the Ryght honorabell Sir William Syssyll of, etc."³¹ Included here was advice on sending another envoy to Ivan, on granting of trade privileges, on having returned home some Englishmen remaining in Russia against the firm's wishes. There was also a request that Savin be given the answers he sought because the Company's ships awaited him and the time for sailing was late. The

²⁹Morgan and Coote, II, 242-43.

³⁰Ibid., p. 263.

³¹Ibid., pp. 286-87.

State Papers have many such instances of Company recommendations to the government. The firm itself worked hard to retain the Tsar's favor. In 1570-1571 corn was shipped to Russia to relieve the famine conditions.³² In a communication to the agents in Russia in 1567, there was the following:

Item. The benevolence of the yong prince [Ivan, elder son of the Tsar who killed him in 1582] is to be sought and contynued from tyme to tyme towards this fellowship by some small giftes or otherwise as you shall knowe most meetest.³³

In 1574 and in 1582 when Ivan renewed his demands for a political alliance, the Company exerted pressure on Elizabeth to comply. The directors feared the Tsar's wrath would fall on the organization again. Michael Lock, the firm's London agent, wrote "certain notes towchinge the benefit that may grow to England by the traffyke of Englishe marchaunts into Russia through a fyrme amytie betwene both the Prences." In this paper Lock alluded to Ivan's wish for asylum in England, a supposedly secret matter, and added that "yt may be thought he wolde be a good help unto England againste the Kings of Denmark and Swethen and other esterne prences, yf they wolde make anye quarrel againste this realme."³⁴ No argument, however, ever made Elizabeth yield

³²Ibid., p. 325.

³³Ibid., p. 223.

³⁴E. A. Bond, Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century (New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.), p. xii.

to considering "that England and Russland might be in all matters as one." She knew the risks were too great.

There was only one other matter in which the Queen disappointed her merchants. She often was in arrears up to two years in paying her debts to them. This was especially true of the wax the Company imported for the Queen's household and of the cordage the Admiralty used.³⁵

When Giles Fletcher's book Of the Russe Commonwealth was published in London in 1591, Company directors complained to the government that its derogatory descriptions of certain aspects of Russian life would cause their trade to be ruined.³⁶ The work was duly suppressed.³⁷

The Russia Company, therefore, did exert much influence on the Anglo-Russian relationship. Its members were consulted in major policy decisions affecting its Russian trade and were even privy to what Ivan considered top secret diplomatic affairs. The correspondence shows that Elizabeth, for all her tact and diplomatic finesse, never seemed to shrink from importuning the Tsar about Company matters, even at the most sensitive moments.

³⁵CSPF, Elizabeth, 1582, pp. 371-72, #373.

³⁶Catalogue of the Lansdowne MSS in the British Museum (London, 1819), p. 216, #39.

³⁷Berry and Crummey, p. 107.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Elizabeth's and Ivan's collected letters, studied in themselves and from the points of view suggested, would provide a useful tool for historians in several subject areas. There are problems, however, in the preparation of such a work. The researcher must read Russian and Church Slavonic for a critical study of originals and their contemporary copies and translations. The French language has been a valuable tool in the preparation of this paper since several French books and articles have contributed to the research. The scholar would find it necessary to journey to or correspond with Leningrad and Moscow. This writer cannot tell which method of gathering the Russian information would be more feasible at this time. Gaps in the English source material indicate the advisability of more investigation in England, too. The study of English relations with Poland and Sweden and of Russian dealings with the Empire and with Sweden would be useful in approaching such a work. With selections from embassy accounts, Company records, and government documents, the book suggested would be a valuable reference in the histories of the two kingdoms and in the diplomatic and commercial history of Europe.

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APPENDIX
TABLE OF SOURCES

Introduction

The following table (p. 93) lists the letters discussed in Chapter IV, giving source information according to dates. Mistakes in dating are not uncommon in the various English calendars and catalogues of public and private documents and manuscript collections. Sometimes the errors are attributable to confusion over Russian Old Style dating, particularly the fact that the Russian year began on September 1. An error was found by this writer (it is certain that this has come to light before) in the Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1575-1577, pp. 4-5, #978, where a letter of October 24, 1576, is listed as one in which Ivan insults the Queen and revokes the Company's charter. This must have been confused with the letter of October 24, 1570. There is another obvious mistake in the Catalogue of the MSS in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum, Nero B, 111, p. 231, #101. This is a reference to a letter from "The emperor of Russia, to Q. Elizabeth; demanding protection for some of her merchants. 1553." The date is too early for such matters, and Elizabeth was not yet Queen.

This writer found another letter from Ivan dated only "1562" in the same catalogue, Nero B, vii, viii, p. 225, #8. The summary states, "Remonstrances of her's for grievances complained of by her merchants. Schlebode, 1562." The trade was under way, but I am suspicious at not finding another reference to this letter in any of the sources which utilized the Cottonian collection.

Only the Hakluyt, Tolstoi, and Morgan and Coote volumes include any of the letters in full. All other references are to summaries, quoted portions, or mention of the documents. The old catalogues of formerly private collections often contain tantalizingly cryptic references. For instance, the Catalogue of the Cotton MSS, Nero B, iii, p. 231, #92, states simply "A paper, Russian." This only points up the desirability of a systematic and critical compilation of the correspondence in England and in Russia.

The table has references to forty-four of the Elizabeth-Ivan letters, five more than Mme. Lubimenko listed in her book Les Relations Commerciales et Politiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie avant Pierre le Grand, p. 284.

TABLE OF SOURCES

Elizabeth	Ivan
<p><u>April 25, 1561</u> Hakluyt, III, 3-5. Hamel, p. 166. Tolstoi, pp. 15-19, #5.</p>	<p><u>1562</u> Catalogue Cotton MSS, Nero B, vii, viii, p. 225, #8. This could be a wrong date. It is the only reference I have found to this letter.</p>
<p><u>June 23, 1564</u> Hamel, p. 170. Tolstoi, pp. 22-24, #6. Morgan and Coote, II, 184, refer to SP Foreign, Elizabeth, Royal Letters, Russia (Public Record Office).</p>	
<p><u>April 20, 1566</u> Hamel, p. 175. Tolstoi, pp. 24-27, #7. Morgan and Coote, II, 184.</p>	<p><u>September 16, 1566, or 1567</u> Hamel, pp. 176-77. Tolstoi, pp. 36-37, #11. Willan, p. 88, n. 4, refers to Royal MSS 13 BI, ff. 189v-190.</p>
	<p><u>April 10, 1567</u> Hamel, pp. 181-82. Tolstoi, pp. 34-36, #10. Catalogue Cotton MSS, Nero B, vii, viii, p. 225, #1, describes this as a frag- ment in German with seal.</p>
<p><u>May 18, 1567</u> Hamel, p. 177. Lubimenko, "Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth," p. 529, n. 1, refers to "MSS of</p>	

TABLE OF SOURCES--Continued

Elizabeth	Ivan
<u>May 18, 1567 (cont.)</u>	
Hamel, t. 33, no. 3576." Ivan's reference in letter, September, 1567, in Morgan and Coote, II, 238.	<u>September 22, 1567</u> Hakluyt, III, 92-97.
	<u>September, 1567</u> Morgan and Coote, II, 238-39. Calendar MSS of Marquis of Salisbury Preserved at Hat- field House, Part I, Hist. MSS Comm., No. 9, p. 347, #1140, an extract.
<u>October 14, 1567</u>	
Willan, pp. 97-98, refers to Royal MSS, 13 BI, f. 196v.	<u>November, 1567</u> Secret message "to be doone in secrett" by A. Jenkin- son, therefore not written by Ivan. Morgan and Coote, II, 236-38. Ashmolean MSS, No. 1729, fo. 148 ab (orig.). Cotton MSS, Nero B, xi, f. 332.
<u>February 10, 1568</u>	
Hamel, p. 186. Tolstoi, p. 41, #13, fragments. Referred to in letter of Sept. 16, 1568, Tolstoi, p. 50, #16.	
<u>May 9, 1568</u>	
Hakluyt, III, 101. Tolstoi, p. 42, #14. Referred to in letter of Sept. 16, 1568, Tolstoi, p. 50, #16. Hamel, p. 182, in Latin.	

TABLE OF SOURCES--Continued

Elizabeth	Ivan
<u>June 12, 1568</u>	
Hamel, pp. 188-89. Tolstoi, p. xxii.	
<u>June 2, 1568</u>	
Hamel, pp. 189-90.	
<u>September 16, 1568</u>	
Hamel, pp. 190-91. Tolstoi, pp. 49-64, #16, in Latin and Russian. Lubimenko, "Marchands," p. 7, a French translation of a portion. Catalogue Cotton MSS, Nero B, vii, viii, p. 231, #114, in Latin. Willan, p. 103, n. 1.	
<u>April 1, 1569</u>	
Tolstoi, pp. 66-77, #18.	
<u>June 20, 1569</u>	
Catalogue Cotton MSS, p. 231, xi, #90 under "Two Papers, Russian," and p. 225, vii, viii, #4. Hamel, p. 199. Tolstoi, pp. 68-74, #20. Bond, p. xxvi. Original now in PRO, SP 70/ 107, #249.	
<u>June, 1569</u>	
CSPF, Elizabeth, 1569-1571, p. 82, with seal, letter mutilated. Tolstoi, pp. 67-68, #19.	
<u>May 18, 1570</u>	
Tolstoi, pp. 90-96, #25. Morgan and Coote, II, 287-90.	

TABLE OF SOURCES--Continued

Elizabeth	Ivan
<u>May 18, 1570</u>	
Morgan and Coote, II, 290-92. Tolstoi, pp. 96-101, #26. Catalogue Cotton MSS, Nero B, vii, viii, p. 231, #100.	<u>October 24, 1570</u>
	Morgan and Coote, II, 292-97. Catalogue Cotton MSS, Nero B, iii, p. 231, #103. Tolstoi, pp. 106-15, #28. Hamel, pp. 207-8, English trans. of a portion. Original now in PRO, SP 102/ 49, #1.
<u>January 24, 1571</u>	
Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, 348, #8. Willan, p. 117. Lubimenko, "Relations diplo- matiques," p. 48, n. 1, re- fers to "MSS of Hamel, t.33, no. 3663." Hamel, p. 214. Morgan and Coote, II, 315, n. 1.	
<u>June 2, 1571</u>	
Morgan and Coote, II, 297-98. Hamel, pp. 215-18. Tolstoi, pp. 119-20, #31, frag- ment in Latin and Russian. Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, p. 349, #12.	
<u>June, 1571</u>	
Hamel, p. 215.	
	<u>August, 1571</u>
	Morgan and Coote, II, 299- 302. Catalogue Cotton MSS, Nero B, viii, p. 231, #9. CSPF, Elizabeth, 1569-1571, p. 500, #896.

TABLE OF SOURCES--Continued

Elizabeth	Ivan
	<u>August, 1571 (cont.)</u>
	Tolstoi, pp. 120-27, #32. Original in PRO, SP 70/119, #1255.
	<u>May 14, 1572</u>
	CSPF, Elizabeth, 1572-1574, p. 99, #325, the original; #326, the contemporary trans.
	Tolstoi, pp. 146-47, #35.
	Willan, p. 123.
	Morgan and Coote, II, 332, n. 1.
	Original in PRO, SP 70/123, #160.
<u>October 20, 1572</u>	
Morgan and Coote, II, 303-4.	
Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, 349, #13.	
Hamel, pp. 220-21.	
Lubimenko, "Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth," p. 532, refers to "MSS of Hamel, t. 33, 3676."	
Willan, p. 123.	
	<u>April 15, 1573</u>
	Hamel, p. 223.
	Lubimenko, "Relations diplo- matiques," p. 57, says this document does not seem to have survived. I have found no other men- tion of it.
<u>July 26, 1573</u>	
Hamel, p. 222.	
Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, 349, #22.	
Lubimenko, "Relations diplo- matiques," p. 57, n. 3, refers to "MSS of Hamel, t. 33, 3683."	
Willan, pp. 124-25.	

TABLE OF SOURCES--Continued

Elizabeth	Ivan
<u>October 27, 1573</u>	
<p>Hamel, p. 222. Tolstoi, p. 155, #36, refers to it. Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, 350, #57, 58. Willan, p. 125, n. 1, says this letter is lost, but Lubimenko, "Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth, p. 532, n. 24, refers to it as though she had seen the letter without giving her source. Referred to in Ivan's letter of August 20, 1574, Tolstoi, pp. 148-58, #36.</p>	
<u>May 26, 1574</u>	
<p>Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, 349, #25. Willan, p. 147, n. 3.</p>	
<u>August 20, 1574</u>	
<p>Tolstoi, pp. 148-58, #36. CSPF, Elizabeth, 1572-1574, p. 543, #1525. This letter possibly accompanied by secret one mentioned May 10, 1575, by Elizabeth. Original in PRO, SP 70/131, #924.</p>	
<u>May 9, 1575</u>	
<p>Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, 349, #33. Lubimenko, "Relations diplomatiques," p. 58, refers to "MSS of Hamel, t. 33, 3701-3703."</p>	
<u>May 10, 1575</u>	
<p>Catalogue Baker MSS, XXXII, 350, #34.</p>	

TABLE OF SOURCES--Continued

Elizabeth	Ivan
<u>May 10, 1575 (cont.)</u>	
Lubimenko, "Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth," p. 533, n. 28, refers to "MSS of Hamel, t. 33, 3690."	
<u>January 23, 1581</u>	
Lubimenko, "Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth," p. 533, n. 29, refers to Sbornik IRIO, XXXVIII, 8, and to Sobranie gosudarstvennikh gramot i dogovorov, V, No. 134.	
<u>May 19, 1581</u>	
Sbornik IRIO, XXXVIII, 1-2.	
<u>1582</u>	
Berry and Crummey, p. 277, n. 1, refer to Sbornik IRIO, XXXVIII, 8-10.	
<u>May, 1582</u>	
Tolstoi, pp. 189-90, #41. Original in PRO, SP 102/49, #2.	
<u>July 10, 1582</u>	
Berry and Crummey, p. 277, n. 1, refer to Sbornik IRIO, XXXVIII, 8-10.	
<u>June 8, 1583</u>	
Tolstoi, pp. 223-24, #50. Catalogue Cotton MSS, Nero B, 111, p. 231, #106. Lubimenko, "Suggestion," p. 117.	
<u>June 13, 1583</u>	
Lubimenko, "Relations diplomatiques," p. 62, refers to Sbornik IRIO, XXXVIII, 13.	