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Patrick Gordon and the Westernization of Russia¹

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On the border of Europe and Asia, in the Urals city of Ekaterinburg in front of the pub called ‘Gordon’s’ stands a monument to Patrick Gordon (1635–1699).² Of course, the famous Scot had never been to the city (founded nearly a quarter of a century after his death), but the fact is very symbolic. Europe and Asia were fused in Gordon's fate. More than that, the development of the Urals region as a mining centre of Russia and its weapons arsenal began at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries due to the needs of the Russian army. That was the army, in the creation of which General Gordon played a very important role. At the pedestal of the monument its sculptor engraved the phrase: ‘I gave you a handful of earth and you gave me Russia’ signed ‘Peter the Great’. Thus, Peter's last words to Gordon which the tsar allegedly said at the general's tomb, and referred merely to the state's southern borders, were extended to the whole of Russia.



¹ *The article was prepared within the framework of the research project ‘The Waves of Westernization in Russia (XVII–beginning of the XXth century)’, supported by the Russian Foundation for Humanities, grant № 13-01-00114.*

² The sculptor of the statue is Alexander Selnitsky.

Stone or bronze figures of Vladimir Lenin are still standing in all Russian cities. Modern young architects produce new urban sculptures, but monuments dedicated to the historical figures of the Petrine epoch are extremely rare. The number of monuments to Peter I in Russia exceeds thirty, yet only a handful of his followers were honoured in the same way.³ All the more remarkable is the fact that Patrick Gordon's bust was set in Ekaterinburg. Explaining the pub's name, its owners say that Peter Ivanovich was a famous doctor in his regiment and treated any ailment with a cup of whisky, for which he earned the nickname 'Dr. Scotch'. Thus, after three hundred years, the person of Patrick Gordon still acquires legendary details and the Russians continue to romanticize his image as an 'incorruptible and stern warrior', 'severe and calm', 'cheerful, honest' and as a 'Glorious General' created by the Soviet writer Alexei Tolstoy in his famous novel *Peter I*. Along with historical legends and fictionalized images of Patrick Gordon, an extensive historiography as well as publications of his diaries exist.⁴ Gordon himself gave a kind of indulgence to all those interested in his fate or person. He wrote in the beginning of his diary: 'leaving to others, if any shall take pains to read it, the free censure of any thing here done'.⁵ We are intending to use the given opportunity and approach the activity and deeds of this great man keeping in mind the major changes that took place in Europe and Russia in the second half of the seventeenth century.

These changes are associated with the birth of the modern world and the process of modernization which came to life in Russia under the strong

³ Svod petrovskikh pamyatnikov Rossii i Evropy // <http://spp.lfond.spb.ru/russia/types/search?filter=99> 2013

⁴ Among them: Aleksandr Brikner, *Patrick Gordon i yego dnevniki* (Sankt-Peterburg, 1878); Kirill Stankov 'Patrick Gordon i partiya yakobitov v Rossii v kontse XVII v.' in *Voprosy istorii*, 10 (2011), 108–121; Yekaterina Boltunova, *Gvardiya Petra Velikogo kak voyennaya korporatsiya* (Moskva, 2011); A. F. Steuart, *Scottish Influences in Russian History from the end of the 16th to the Beginning of the 19th Centuries* (Cambridge, 1972); Paul Dukes, 'Scottish Soldiers in Muscovy' in Paul Dukes and others, *Scots in Russia* (Edinburgh, 1987), 9–23; M. Cornwall and M. Frame (eds) *Scotland and the Slavs: Cultures in Contact, 1500–2000* (Newtonville, St.-Petersburg, 2001); Patrick Gordon, *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, J. Robertson (ed.) (Aberdeen, 1859); Patrick Gordon, 'Dnevnik Gordona vo vremya prebyvaniya yego v Rossii' in *Russkaya starina* (1916), Kn. III; Patrick Gordon, 'Dnevnik generala Patrika Gordona, vedennyi im vo vremya yego prebyvaniya v Rossii 1661–1678 gg' in *Istoriya Rossii i doma Romanovykh v memuarakh sovremennikov XVII–XX vv. Moskviya i Evropa* (Moskva, 2000); Patrick Gordon 'Dnevnik' 1635–1659 (Moskva, 2000); Patrick Gordon 'Dnevnik' 1659–1667 (Moskva, 2003); Patrick Gordon 'Dnevnik' 1677–1678 (Moskva, 2005); Patrick Gordon 'Dnevnik' 1684–1689 (Moskva, 2009); etc.

⁵ Gordon, *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, 3.

influence of the West. The importance of the interaction between Russia and the West on the one hand, and its diversity on the other hand, is proven by countless attempts to reflect and make sense of it in thousands of scholars' texts, works of literature and the arts. A network resource 'Russia and the West: the relationship and interaction (IX–beginning of the XXth century)', which reflects but a limited number of these results, for now contains more than 13,400 entries.⁶ In a single electronic library it unites bibliographic descriptions of publications and full-text files (more than 800 full-texts entries, about 35,000 pages) in Russian and many European languages which contain materials on various aspects of interaction between Russia, its regions and the western countries at different stages of historical development—from the ninth to the first decades of the twentieth century. On 'the shelves' of the electronic library are monographs, articles from scientific journals, essay collections, conference proceedings, dissertation abstracts, bibliographies, memoirs, diaries, correspondence, legislative regulations, illustrative materials, works of fiction, etc. The earliest of the books included in the resource was published in 1517, and numerous current publications complete the corpus. In accordance with the specific needs of the scholars they can perform four different types of search: in the 'search window' where one can type a word or a combination of words; geographical (Russia, the West, their territorial and administrative units); thematic (general questions, the state and the army, economy, art, knowledge, society, ideas and concepts, everyday life—each of these areas are subdivided into specific fields); chronological (any century from the ninth to the early twentieth century).

The Westernization of Russia was a part of the global process of Westernization. Being a common phenomenon in many countries it followed in its development certain laws. A number of theories deal with the description and the study of these laws, among them are three theories: of the military revolution, diffusion of innovations and modernization.⁷

⁶ 'Russia and the West: the relationship and interaction (IX–beginning of the XXth century)' <http://i.uran.ru/ruswest/> The resource was created in Russian by the author of the article together with the bibliographers from the Central Scientific Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Ural Branch with the support of the Russian Foundation for Humanities.

⁷ These theories along with the others are applied to the study of Russian history by Sergey Nefedov. See for example: Sergey Nefedov, *Istoriya Rossii. Faktornyy analiz. T. I. S drevneysbikh vremen do Velikoy Smuty* (Moskva, 2010); idem, *Istoriya Rossii. Faktornyy analiz. T. II. Ot okonchaniya Smuty do Fevral'skoy revolyutsii* (Moskva, 2011), etc.

A theory of the military revolution

The main idea of the theory of ‘the military revolution’, substantiated in 1950s by Michael Roberts and developed by his followers, is that over the last 3000 years there was a number of military revolutions, and each of them ushered a new stage of history.⁸ Analyzing changes in warfare in Western Europe between 1560 and 1660, Roberts pointed to a true revolution, the core of which was the birth of new, linear tactics, artillery, and regular armies. These innovations had major social consequences, led to tax increases, growth in the bureaucracy and the strengthening of the royal power. That is why it is so important to analyse the changes in the military sphere: they ushered the way to the modern state and a new social order. The fiscal-military state that eventually grew out of these changes was characterized by an unlimited power of the monarch who at the same time was in fact a military leader; mobilization of all public resources to support the army; strict military discipline, whose principles diffused into the civilian sector as well; effective bureaucracy; statutes and regulations, censuses and inventories; and the ideological monopoly of the state. A concept of the regular state has been much explored over in the last decades by Western scholars.⁹ Researching the origins of the regular state in Russia, Sergey Nefedov affirms that until the time of Peter I, the Russian tsars in their decisions strongly depended on the Boyar Duma and Zemsky Sobor. The ideology and practice of the fiscal-military state were most clearly manifested in Petrine Russia.¹⁰ But its roots are much deeper: the first Russian military-bureaucratic monarchy appeared in the sixteenth century under the strong influence of the Ottomans. Its founder was Ivan the Terrible. Peter the Great called Ivan IV his ‘precursor and foregoer’,¹¹ The origin of Peter’s absolutism can be explained by the theory of the military revolution that illuminates how the military changes influenced the transformation of socio-economic development.

Geoffrey Parker tied the military revolution in Europe with the ascent

⁸ Michael Roberts ‘The Military Revolution, 1560–1660’ in Michael Roberts (ed.), *Essays in Swedish History* (London, 1967); Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1988).

⁹ Christopher Storrs (ed.), *The Fiscal-Military State in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Ashgate, 2009); M. S. Anderson, *War and Society in Europe of the Old Regime, 1618–1780* (Leicester, 1988), etc.

¹⁰ Sergey Nefedov, ‘Proiskhozhdeniye «regulyarnogo gosudarstva» Petra Velikogo’ in *Voprosy istorii*. № 12. 2013; № 1. 2014; № 2. 2014.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 2014. № 2, 43.

of the West to the world domination, emphasizing the global importance of this phenomenon. He proposed to extend the time frame of the military revolution from 1530 to 1710 and drew attention to a number of military-technical innovations that had a significant impact on the development of military affairs in the sixteenth century, above all, to a new system of fortification, *trace italienne*¹². Parker proposed a new interpretation of the concept of Roberts: the transformation of military affairs in Europe at the dawn of modern times included three main components—the widespread use of firearms, the spread of a new fortification system and the growth of armies.¹³

The creation by 1630 under the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus of Europe's first regular army and the development of light cannons underpinned Swedish military victories and made Sweden a major political and military player in Europe¹⁴. Radical changes that took place in the West also encompassed Russia. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century there were several attempts to organize regiments of a new type. Sweden was not the only participant in these transformations. Polish Hussars served as a model for the creation of the Russian hussar units. By 1654 the hussar regiment commanded by Colonel H. Rylsky numbered a thousand men.¹⁵ During the Russian-Polish war of 1654–1667, the new type regiments became a major part of the armed forces. By 1663, the fifty-five regiments of 'foreign order' with Russian soldiers and foreign officers numbered 50,000–60,000 people. The reform was not limited to the organization of the infantry regiments; the old aristocratic cavalry was trained to fight in ranks and formed the Reiter regiments.¹⁶ Yet, the growing share of infantry in the armed forces was one of the most important features of the classical model of the military revolution—by 1680 the Russian army numbered about 126,000 soldiers, dragoons and musketeers.¹⁷ Regiments of the 'new

¹² Geoffrey Parker, "The Military Revolution," 1560–1660—a Myth?"; *The Journal of Modern History*, 48 (1976); idem, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1988).

¹³ Parker, *The Military Revolution*.

¹⁴ Roberts wrote, that the military revolution associated with Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden stood 'like a great divide separating medieval society from the modern world', and had a wider influence on European society at large. See Michael Roberts 'The Military Revolution, 1560–1660', 195.

¹⁵ Vitaliy Penskoj, *Velikaya ognestrel'naya revolyutsiya* (Moskva, 2010), 369.

¹⁶ Chernov A.V. *Voornuzhennyye sily Rysskogo Gosudarstva v XV–XVII vv.* (Moskva, 1954), http://militera.lib.ru/research/chernov_av/05.html.

¹⁷ Penskoj, *Velikaya ognestrel'naya revolyutsiya*, 362.

order' made up 62.5% of the Russian armed forces, with 90,035 officers and soldiers, while regiments of the 'old order' numbered 52,614 men.¹⁸

Foreigners who participated in the organization of the new Russian army (up to twenty per cent of the officers were foreigners¹⁹) often had the experience of serving several European crowns, and transitions from one army to another were common. Along with them went the dissemination of warfare experience. Before going to the Russian service, Gordon fought on the side of the Swedes (which had the best infantry of the time), and then the Poles (famous for the best cavalry). This period of Gordon's life in *Rzeczpospolita* is reflected in his diary and provides us with valuable information on military matters, political systems and the struggle of the parties, the life, manners and character of the Poles.

The role of Patrick Gordon in radical military changes in Russia was essential. From the very beginning of his service in Russia (1661) in a 'new type' Dragoon regiment under Daniel Crawford, Major Gordon taught mounted soldiers the European military order, firing guns, sword drill, guard duty, military discipline, and understanding of different orders.²⁰ His daily work of many decades—Gordon stayed in Russia for thirty-eight years—on the transformation of Russian troops into the army of the new model is detailed in his diaries. They give us the information on how the military forces were formed and trained, how they were armed and paid, how the military actions went, and fortifications were built.

The success of the new tactics was directly dependent on the intensity of the drill. Foreigners and the Russians, committed to train soldiers and dragoons, were ordered from 1650 to drill their men at least one or two times a week.²¹ Patrick Gordon, on assuming his duties in Moscow got under his command 700 former fugitive soldiers whom he trained 'twice a day in good weather'. Sometime later he taught the proper volley firing to 1,200 men for five days. He did it 'with officers on the Neglinnaya stream from dawn until dark, giving an hour at noon for lunch'.²² Strict discipline and order, worked out for almost a week of enhanced drill, allowed the regiment to show off the art of coordinated burst firing on 14 January 1664 at the Novodevichy

¹⁸ Tat'yana Chernikova, *Yevropeizatsiya Rossii vo vtoroy polovine XV–XVII vekakh* (Moskva, 2012), 606.

¹⁹ Aleksandr Kutishchev, *Armija Petra Velikogo: yevropejskij analog ili otechestvennaya samobytnost'* (Moskva, 2006), 94.

²⁰ Aleksey Shishov, *Znamenityye inostrantsy na službe Rossii* (Moskva 2001), 13.

²¹ Penskoj, *Velikaya ognestrel'naya revolyutsiya*, 387–388.

²² Gordon, *'Dnevnik' 1659—1667*, 138–9.

Convent. There were many other occasions when Gordon's soldiers showed their skills and gained the approval of the monarch. For example, on the occasion of the birth of tsarevich Alexei, Gordon drew up his regiments in lines three deep, the first rank kneeling, the second stooping, the third standing. In this position they fired all at once, while their drums beat, and banners waved. The tsar was so delighted with all this, that he ordered it to be repeated again and again.²³

Patrick Gordon turned to be one of the best military engineers in Russia. In November 1678, Gordon presented at the *Malorossiysky prykaz* his proposals concerning the necessary changes to be made to the Kiev garrison in view of the Ottoman danger. He insisted on increasing the number of armed men in the garrison, enhancing the presence of the necessary specialists, and on addition of cannons. As a result, Major General Gordon and his European assistants as well as Russian and Ukrainian soldiers turned dilapidated and obsolete Kiev fortifications into a modern European well-fortified military fortress with a trained garrison. Neither the Poles nor the Crimeans together with the Turks, nor the Swedish King Charles XII dared to attack it in 1708–1709.²⁴ Gordon was guiding these works from 1678 to 1685, and they were completed after his departure to Moscow. His diary describes in detail the construction works aimed at the transformation of Kiev in accordance with European ideas and practices of modern fortress construction.

Gordon played an active, innovative role in a gradual transition from a medieval Russian army to the regular one. Butyrskiy soldier regiments became a nucleus of the new regular Russian army. Patrick Gordon took the second Butyrskiy Regiment under his command in 1686. At the parade in the Kremlin in February 1687 the 'passage' of Gordon's soldiers delighted the fifteen-year-old Peter I. On 2 September 1688, Peter made the transfer of eight soldiers from the Butyrskiy regiment to his Poteshniye regiments, which marked an important change in their composition: from 'all ranks' people to the best professional soldiers. On 7-8 September, Peter also demanded five flutists and five drummers from Gordon's regiment. Altogether according to Gordon's 'Diary' in September–November 1688, about forty people from the Second Butyrskiy Regiment were transferred to the Poteshniye regiments of the young tsar Peter.

The Kozhukhovskiy campaign organized in accordance with Gordon's plan in autumn 1694 became the first large-scale military exercises in Russia's

²³ Ibid, 139.

²⁴ Chernikova, *Yevropeizatsiya Rossii*, 608.

history which proved in combat the advantages of the ‘new order’ regiments and the necessity of military reforms in the Russian state. In the course of the manoeuvres in Kozhukhovo Gordon showed the tsar the art of linear tactics, combined with the use of ‘regementsstycke’: the troops made different rearrangements, took field fortifications by storm and fired artillery.

Experience of the exercise was applied during the Azov campaigns. In 1696 at Azov, in a real combat situation, European rules of siege engineering were also applied. Twelve Austrian officers—cannoneers, sappers, gunners—arrived in the Russian camp. They helped to build siege trenches and other constructions. Immediately after the Russian units captured the city, Peter commissioned engineer Antoine de la Valle with the planning and construction of a harbor and the building of an Admiralty at the Azov Sea. Through the efforts of many people, rounded up to Azov (deportation there often replaced the death penalty), the fortress was built as a bastion fortification system. The appearance of the bastion fortifications (or *trace italienne*) in early-modern Europe was a key element of the military revolution, rivaling in importance the development of linear tactics.

Artillery played a great role in the military revolution in the middle of the seventeenth century. Gordon was actively interested in innovations in this area. He ordered books from Europe on the art of artillery, discussed them with Peter, experimented with new mortars, hand grenades, bombs, carried out tests of new guns, gave technical advice, and introduced them in combat practice. The first Russian Grenadier company was organized in Gordon’s Butyrskiy regiment in 1694.

As substantiated by William McNeill, Jared Diamond, Ian Morris and many other authors, countries that were faced with the expansion of the West had to give an answer to the challenge from the Europeans.²⁵ Preservation of their independence, culture and way of life depended on the ability of a non-Western society to accept the ideas and practices of the military revolution and adapt them in relation to their own circumstances. Not all of them managed to give an adequate response to the military challenge of Western Europe. Russia was certainly one of those which succeeded. The military revolution in Russia was accomplished and eventually made it a truly great power, an empire. A gradual transition from the medieval to the regular, European-type

²⁵ William McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (Oxford, 1983); Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York, 2003); Ian Morris, *Why the West Rules—for Now: The Patterns of History, and What They Reveal About the Future* (New York, 2011).

army involved turning a considerable part of the Russian armed forces into the regiments of the new order with the officer corps formed according to the European principles.

A diffusion theory

The military superiority of the absolutist states gained in the course of the military revolution induced the surrounding countries to modernize in accordance with the winners' models and to adopt their military, social and political institutions. Processes of cultural interaction are studied in the framework of the diffusion theory.²⁶ Adoption of the fundamental discoveries, e.g. new weapons, comes along with the borrowing of the tactics and military organization, which is often a part of the social organization. In most cases, accompanying cultural elements, such as new professional knowledge, household items, style, clothing, foreign words, etc. are also borrowed. According to the diffusion theory, the fundamental discovery that generated a wave of Swedish conquest and an expansion of a Swedish 'cultural circle' in Europe and Russia in the second half of the seventeenth century was a regimental cannon '*regementsstycke*' (1629). The main components of this circle were ironworks, cannons, the regular army and the absolutism of the Swedish model of government.²⁷ In Russia, the military changes also ran parallel with social and cultural borrowings. These aspects are the subject of numerous special studies.

It is necessary to stress that the Russian state was very prudent regarding the specialists who introduced innovations in the country. Perhaps Patrick Gordon's case is one of the most representative in this context. Many foreigners found themselves 'prisoners' in Russia. Those of them who were really or allegedly at fault, one day could appear in Siberia. Those who, on the contrary, due to their talents and undeniable merits were highly needed by the Russian government, could not leave Muscovy.

²⁶ The concepts of diffusionism were worked out by the German anthropologists in the second half of the nineteenth century and developed in the following centuries. See: Elena Alekseeva, 'Diffuzionistskiy podkhod k issledovaniyu mirovoy i regional'noy istorii: teoretiko-metodologicheskii i istoriograficheskii aspekty' in *Diffuziya tekhnologii, sotsial'nykh institutov i kul'turnykh tsennostey na Urale (XV/III–nachalo XX v.)* (Yekaterinburg, 2011), 23–74.

²⁷ Sergey Nefedov, *Istoriya Rossii. Faktornyy analiz. T.II. Ot okonchaniya Smuty do Fevral'skoy revolyutsii* (Moskva, 2011), 40.

If we focus on mechanisms and channels of diffusion of innovations, we find that the most effective mechanism is the personal contact of the parties involved in the transfer of knowledge. Personal communication of the Russian tsar and Patrick Gordon was crucial for the penetration of innovations in the Russian military sphere and lifestyle. Due to Gordon, Peter used to visit the German settlement (*Nemetskaya Sloboda*) on the right bank of the Yauza river in Moscow and met with the mores of Western Europe. There he feasted, took part in the organization of fireworks, talked about war, politics, commerce and culture.

Constant communication between Peter and Gordon was established in September 1689 at the Trinity Monastery, when Gordon supported the young tsar at the time of the *Strelets* riot. The young tsar regularly participated in military exercises organized under the guidance of Gordon.²⁸ The Scottish General shared his knowledge in the military field with the tsar, and also constantly deepened it. He had a large library and read a lot of military essays on artillery, fortifications, the composition and mode of actions of troops in the European countries. Specially for the tsar Gordon purchased from abroad the latest research on the art of war, the works of famous European generals Montecuccoli and Turenne, and books on fortifications and artillery.²⁹ He talked with the tsar about various military subjects: the structure of armies across Europe, new weaponry, and the variety of strategies and tactics used by the famous generals. During their practical exercises, Peter I worked out the technique of how to use various weapons and organize the parade of the troops. Peter quickly became a skilled bombardier, impressing observers with the extensive knowledge of the artillery, which derived from talks with Gordon and books from his library. 'Poteshniye' Preobrazhensky and Semenovsky regiments, which became the nucleus of the emerging Russian regular army, mastered military knowledge under the tsar's leadership.³⁰ In these exercises, Gordon drew particular attention to target shooting and the actions of the grenadier company of his regiment. Drill of separate regiments expanded to the training of all the regiments of infantry and then the exercises spread to the joint manoeuvres of infantry and cavalry. Manoeuvres were the peak of training. Still at the

²⁸ Gordon, *'Dnevnik' 1684—1689*, 213.

²⁹ Aleksey Shishov, *Znamenityye inostrantsy na sluzhbe Rossii* (Moskva, 2001), 37.

³⁰ Zapiski Ivana Afanas'yevicha Zhelyabuzhskogo in *Rossiyu podnyal na dyby...: v 2 t. / sost., predisl., vstup. st., komment. N. I. Pavlenko; komment. V. A. Artamonova* (Moskva, 1987).

Trinity Monastery, the tsar held a week-length military exercise under Patrick Gordon's command near the Alexandrovskaya settlement. In May 1694, near the village of Preobrazhenskoye, Gordon demonstrated the results of the military drill. Various exercises of the cavalry were conducted. His men stormed the yard in Semenovskaya village, used hand grenades—clay pots filled with gunpowder. In September 1690, Gordon led the largest military exercise near the village of Preobrazhenskoye. The most important manoeuvres—Kozhukhovsky—were held in 1694.

As already mentioned, cultural phenomena spread along with the military borrowings. To meet the spiritual needs of the foreigners in the *Nemetskaya Sloboda*, two Protestant German churches and a Dutch Calvinist church were built. Gordon was the respected head of the Catholic community in Russia. With the assistance of Sophia's favorite V.V. Golitsyn, Gordon managed to open the Catholic mission in the German settlement in Moscow where two Jesuit monks served. Again with the help of Gordon in August 1684 the monks got permission to open a Catholic chapel and a school.³¹ Due to his efforts and close contacts with the tsar the first Catholic church was built in Russia in 1694 in Moscow. Gordon's diary reads: '20 (November 1694) his Majesty came to me at 11 am and stayed for about an hour. Then we went to George Ritz wedding ... Driving down the street, where is our church, I spoke to his majesty, that he permit us to build a stone house of God, to which he graciously deigned'.³² Peter was the first of the Russian sovereigns to attend celebrations in the Catholic church in the German settlement (as well as the Protestant ones). Yet, he remained an Orthodox man and the monopoly rights of the Russian Church as the state church persisted.

The channels of obtaining information include travel, books, newspapers and letters. Travelling through Europe, Gordon became acquainted with the life of various countries and peoples, each time with a sharp eye fixing the condition of fortifications—the ramparts, towers, walls of the cities through which his way ran.³³ In London, where he met a Scottish battalion, the Russian 'servitor foreigner' noted that it was well outfitted, armed and trained, and the king and the queen watched its parade in Hyde Park.³⁴ He was ordered to bring

³¹ Chernikova, *Yevropeizatsiya Rossii*, 816.

³² Moskva. Pervyy katolicheskyy http://proatholic.ru/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=408:2008-03-15-12-40-09&catid=71:moscow&Itemid=62

³³ Gordon, *Dnevnik' 1684—1689*, 94–100.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 108–9.

from England to Russia junior rank officers, engineers, miners and *feuernwerkers*.³⁵ He brought from overseas books on fortification, artillery, history, religion as well as fiction, and ordered books from his friends and merchants. He studied them himself and gave them to Peter and fellow officers.³⁶ Gordon requested the merchant Meverall to inform him of the new inventions in mechanics, etc., published by the Royal Society in England and to send him a model or a detailed description of the new bullets. He got the news from the European newspapers and Russian 'Courants'. For example, in his diary, on 4 October 1684 Gordon wrote that in Kiev he knew from a Dutch news dispatch from Moscow about the dismissal of his cousin as Lord Chancellor of Scotland. From the newspapers and letters from Moscow on 23 April 1685 he knew about Charles II's death. On 19 November 1688 he left the following note: 'We got the courants, or a newspaper, on November 4.' etc. Gordon himself dispatched news from Russia to be published in Britain.

Gordon corresponded intensively, sending and receiving more than a dozen letters a day. The letters talk about different tools for drawing and ballistics, the circulars and quadrants. Russians themselves shared quite a different view from the British on the postal service, as seen, for example, from I. T. Pososhkov's letter to Gordon, where he proposed 'to block out that hole and set it firmly, for news not to spread.' Pososhkov seemed offended by the fact that 'news of everything done in our country spreads into all lands'.³⁷ Gordon, on the contrary, learnt about current events in the world from the letters he received: the Eastern question, the English Revolution, the wars between England, France and Holland, and so forth.

Exchange of knowledge and traditions went in both directions. Being in Britain, Gordon repeatedly provided detailed answers to the questions of King James II about Russia, the tsars, the situation, the army, the way of government, garrisons, soldiers, weapons, methods of warfare, discipline and much more.³⁸ The king asked Gordon's opinion of British fortifications in the fortresses Skons, Tilbury and Sheerness, which they visited.³⁹ In typically Russian style Gordon sent lady Melfort sables as a gift.⁴⁰

On return from the Great Embassy, Peter I regularly shared with his

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 115.

³⁶ Gordon, *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, 169, 181.

³⁷ Aleksandr Brikner, *Patrick Gordon i yego dnevmik* (Sankt-Peterburg, 1878). The chapter 'Obshchestvennoye i ekonomicheskoye polozheniye Gordona'.

³⁸ Gordon, *'Dnevmik' 1684—1689*, 103–4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 105–6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

Scottish mentor the plans of the military reform in the state, showed new items of arms bought abroad. On a September day during the reception in the village of Preobrazhenskoye the tsar gave Gordon a bayonet, which can be considered as quite a symbolic gift. The appearance of a bayonet and flint lock—the two major military innovations—marked an important step in the military revolution.

Certainly, Gordon was but one of the ‘agents of Westernization.’ By 1650 Russia was inhabited by about 11 million people;⁴¹ The question about the number of the Western Europeans in Russia in the seventeenth century is controversial; accurate statistics do not exist. Yet, it is obvious that their significance for the history of Russia was determined more by the quality of their knowledge and experience than by their number. Vera Kovrigina fixed the population of the German settlement in mid-1660s’ Moscow as about 1,200 people⁴². According to Nikolai Petrukhintsev’s calculation the ‘foreign officers’ corps of Russia by the accession to the throne of Peter I numbered at least 700 foreign officers⁴³. Other foreigners also brought to Russia professional knowledge and innovations in everyday life and leisure. Military changes went paralleled social and cultural borrowings:

Likewise at that very time they started to wear the German dress, as there was an Englishmen, a merchant Andrew Krevet, who purchased all sorts of things for his Majesty from overseas and was admitted to the court. And due to him they started to wear English hats as the Sary (galley workers) use, and camisoles, and belts with dirks. Also during the jollities of the two aforementioned tsars, the noble persons accompanying them were dressed in German dress.⁴⁴

In December 1693 the Englishmen presented Peter with a gold watch and a box of tools.⁴⁵ In February 1694 Gordon received from London via a Novgorod merchant Jacob Meyer rich gifts from the Anglo-Moscow trade

⁴¹ Natal'ya Gorskaya, *Istoricheskaya demografiya Rossii epokhi feodalizma* (Moskva, 1994), 93.

⁴² Vera Kovrigina, *Nemetskaya sloboda Moskvy i yeye zhiteli v kontse XVII—pervoy chetverti XVIII vv* (Moskva, 1997).

⁴³ Nikolay Petrukhintsev, 'Inozemnyy ofiterskiy korpus Rossii v XVII—XVIII vv.' http://militeria.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=614&Itemid=48&limit=1&limitstart=1

⁴⁴ Boris Kurakin, 'Gistoriya o Petre I i bliznikh k nemu lyudyakh. 1682—1695 gg.' in *Russkaya starina*, T. 68, № 10 (1890), 253.

⁴⁵ Gordon, *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, 181.

company for the Russian tsar: magnificent weapons (halberd, sword, pistols) and a hat with a white feather. The tsar in his leisure time played skittles (not a typical game for the Russians) with Gordon and British skippers.

In a letter to Earl Middleton (1687) and a number of other letters Gordon wrote about the importation of tobacco—still an innovation in Russia—for the transportation of which from England to Russia he solicited, though unsuccessfully⁴⁶. Gordon became also one of the ‘pioneers of Russian wines’.⁴⁷ During his stay in Kiev, as the chief of the local garrison, he produced wine from the grapes grown in his garden. The General regaled his Russian and foreign colleagues with this wine. Gordon's diary entry from 14 October 1685 reported: ‘We celebrated the birthday of our King with the usual solemnity and drank for the health of His Majesty and for the others, the wine from my own vineyard’.

To complete this list of human folly imported to Russia from Europe in the seventeenth century, we will mention duelling. This custom was alien to the Russians who habitually defended their honour at court. Yet by the end of the seventeenth century the Russians had become accustomed to foreigners’ duels. And by the middle of the eighteenth century, this ‘noble’ Western tradition spontaneously spread to Russia. None of the Russian monarchs in the first half of the eighteenth century, even such an enthusiast for Western habits as Peter I, promoted duels. Indeed, the ‘Sea Charter’ adopted under Peter I prohibited them.⁴⁸ Patrick Gordon mentions several duels between foreigners and even tells about his own duel with Major Montgomery, with whom he quarreled at a party in his own house.

European music of course was played in the German settlement. It also became quite common at the court of the princess Sophia during her regency (1682–1689). ‘We were celebrating Halloween with vocal and instrumental music’, remarked Patrick Gordon in his ‘Diary’ on 1 November 1688 probably about a night passed with other foreigners in the settlement. From his notes we may have an idea about the constant communication of foreigners and Russians. Gordon’s ‘Diary’ tells us about celebrations of the Orthodox and Catholic holidays by Russian nobles, foreign officers and Cossack chieftains together in Kiev in the late 1670s and 1680s. On these occasions people of different confessions might be united thanks to St. Andrew—the patron saint of Scotland and Russia, said to have once preached at the Dnieper steep slopes

⁴⁶ Gordon, *‘Dnevnik’ 1684—1689*, 222.

⁴⁷ Chernikova, *Yevropeizatsiya Rossii*, 707.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 533.

foretelling the appearance of the great city of Kiev there. Gordon reports about participating in the voyevoda's wife funeral ceremony in the Orthodox church and celebrating with the Russians their holidays: Vladimir's day, Pokrov holiday, St. Boris and Gleb day. All these, as well as mutual celebrations of tsar's name-days, British kings' birthdays, home events like name-days and birthdays in the Russian noble families, hunting and dinners with lavish viands and an abundance of alcohol (that so often made Gordon suffer the next morning), provide evidence of everyday close and warm relationships. Friendly meals together with women accompanying their husbands, and dances after midnight (about three decades earlier than the assemblies, established by Peter I in St. Petersburg) point to a more open way of life in Kiev than in Moscow.

The diffusion of ideas in the 'Kiev' period of Patrick Gordon's life also occurred in meetings and talks with the orthodox clergy, teachers and students of the *Mogilyanskaya Collegia* which at that time was a kind of university. The Scot met with them at the theological 'dialogues' or disputes, as well as at lunch. His engineering knowledge was applied to practical matters too. Gordon advised the hierarchy of the Pechersky monastery how to avoid the rockslide of the hill with a church at its top leading to the underground caves where the holy ancients laid.

So, by corresponding with many people in different parts of Europe, and visiting these countries personally, Gordon was kept aware of what was happening in the world. Ordering books, tools, and luxury goods from abroad, he maintained a close connection with the western culture which was so attractive to Peter I. Being older than the Russian Tsar by thirty-seven years, Gordon was a mentor and a powerful mediator in the rapprochement with European culture.

According to diffusion theory, innovation inevitably meets with traditionalist reaction. Its most vivid, explosive manifestation in the Russian case was a rebellion raised by the *Streltsy* on 6 June 1698. Their leaders shouted: 'Go to Moscow! Destroy the German settlement and beat the Germans for making orthodoxy narrow-minded, beat the nobles... and not allow the sovereign into Moscow and kill him for his sympathy to the Germans!'.⁴⁹ Patrick Gordon was one of the main actors in the suppression of a riot in 1698. In his 'Diary', he gave the most detailed and reliable description of the dramatic events. Perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to call Gordon twice saviour of Peter I: if it were not for the brave actions of the Scot, who stood firmly in the protection

⁴⁹ Sergey Solov'yev, *Sochineniya*. Kn. VII (Moskva, 1991), 545.

of the young tsar, whose life and power in the riots of 1682 and 1698 was subject to immediate danger, Russian history would have been different.

Controversies between tradition and innovation are typical for all the cultures in transit. Westernization was promoted in Russia by the 'Moscow foreigners' and a group of the Russian elite as well. Confrontation between them and proponents of the old Russian tradition in the seventeenth century became sharper and encompassed more people. This struggle of the old traditions and the new European trends eventually divided Russian society and culture deeply.

Examples of rejection of the foreign, the alien, may be found on many pages of Gordon's diary. This applies not only to common Russian rejection of foreigners in everyday life, for example strife with townspeople who did not wish to let foreign officers be quartered that Gordon faced upon arrival to Moscow; or the zeal of the customs' officers, ransacking his possessions when he went abroad⁵⁰), but also to opposition to the proposals of the European engineering officers. Gordon's orders were regarded by Russians as unnecessary; they were reluctant to fulfill them. There were cases when the troops would not work, and Gordon had to convince, persuade or change his plans. There were frequent disagreements with regard to proposed constructions. Gordon's relentless drive, especially as commandant of the fortress of Chigirin, in the maintenance of strict military discipline and order in the regiments caused strong dissatisfaction among the people under him, especially on the part of the *streltsy* musketeers. Gordon's supporters did not dare to express their agreement with him. Sometimes Russian officers, who had not seen fortifications such as Gordon suggested constructing, expressed their surprise and doubt, and tried to impede the execution of his projects. When the preparations for the second Crimean campaign started, Gordon was actually removed from its planning and direct involvement in the mustering of the troops. During the meeting on the coming campaign, on 26 October 1687, the Patriarch denounced Gordon, claiming that Russian weapons cannot succeed or achieve anything, as 'a heretic has under his command the best people in our country.' But Gordon narrates that the Patriarch was strongly repelled by the nobles who even laughed at him.⁵¹ Commander Vasily Golitsyn had the opportunity to learn the contents of Gordon's 'Reflections on the coming campaign', but considerations of the experienced military man were not taken into account. It was not the only occasion that Gordon experienced

⁵⁰ Gordon, *'Dnevnik' 1659—1667*, 88, 108.

⁵¹ Gordon, *'Dnevnik' 1684—1689*, 179.

the Patriarch's hostility to foreigners. Invited to the ceremonial table to celebrate the birth of tsarevich Alexei Petrovich (in February 1690), he could not take part in the dinner because the Patriarch declared emphatically that involving foreigners in such events was indecent.⁵²

The creation of the regular army after the European model, as noted above, was the main goal of the reforms of Peter I. The need to provide that army with powerful artillery and infantry weapons caused the creation of a metallurgical and weapons factories complex in the Urals. Over 300 years about 300 metalworking factories and mills were built there. They fully determined the economic and socio-cultural identity of the region. Hundreds of foreign specialists helped to organize the production at the established enterprises. Among them there were many Britons, including Scots. Their activities should be seen as part of another, even more powerful diffusion wave generated at the end of the eighteenth century in Great Britain. The Industrial Revolution brought a whole series of fundamental innovations: spinning and weaving machines, steam engines, steamboats and locomotives, precise machine tools, mass production of cast steel.

In 1786 a Scottish engineer Charles Gascoigne invited by Catherine II, arrived in Russia.⁵³ The first steam engines were built in Russia in 1790s by the Scottish engineers George Sheriff and Charles Baird. In 1792, Charles Baird founded a mechanical works in St. Petersburg, where more than 140 steam engines were built in twenty years. A little later, another Scot who worked with Gascoigne, Joseph Major, moved to the Urals and from 1804 constructed mechanisms for private and state-owned mining plants. In 1812 he became a mechanic at the Perm Mining Board and in 1826 founded a private mechanical factory, the first in the Urals. From 1804 to 1829 Joseph Major built at least eighteen steam engines, and trained more than fifty specialists at the Ural factories.⁵⁴ Thus, European countries have repeatedly become centres of fundamental discoveries in weaponry and industry, to name but two, which extended to other countries. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Westernization of Russia and its modernization continued. Europeans again took an active part in it and many of them were the compatriots of Patrick Gordon.

⁵² Gordon, *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, 169.

⁵³ Elena Tarakanova, 'Karl Gaskoy n i russkiye pushki' in *Sever*. № 4-5-6 (2001), 99–114.

⁵⁴ Fedor Bondarenko, Vladimir Mikityuk, Vladimir Shkerin, *Britanskije mekhaniki i predprinimateli na Urale v XIX–nachale XX vv* (Yekaterinburg, 2009), 5–22.

Modernization theory

For the Modern time period, the processes determined by technological innovations and foreign influences are broadly discussed in the framework of the modernization theory. According to the definition of one of the founders of this theory, Cyril Black, modernization is a process of adapting a traditional society to the conditions generated by the technological revolution.⁵⁵ ‘Modernization’ is not the only word that describes this process, the words ‘Europeanization’ and ‘Westernization’ are used in the same sense’.⁵⁶ For the peripheral countries of Eastern Europe and Asia, the modernization process is often directly equated with the process of Westernization. For example, the Russian historians A. N. Medushevsky and A. B. Kamensky indicate that modernization in Russia has taken the shape of Europeanization or Westernization – the transformation of Russian society along the Western lines.⁵⁷

Gordon’s diary shows that Russia in the second half of the seventeenth century was, no doubt, a traditional society. This is proved by many facts and circumstances which he had to encounter. For example, a natural part of the salary was paid in cloth, damask, and sables. Their subsequent sale was a constant problem for the serving foreigner. Traditional oriental features were the bribes, all kinds of gifts that Gordon at first was amazed at, and then quickly adapted to, regarding them as an effective mechanism of traditional Russian administration. The contrast between European societies, already moving along the path of modernization, and Russia that remained deeply traditional, struck Gordon immediately after he changed his European masters for the Russian service. He formulated it as follows:

For having served in such a countrey, and amongst such people where strangers had great respect and were in a great reputation, and even more trust as the natives themselves; and where a free passage, for all deserving persons, lay open to all honour, military and civill; and where, in short tyme, by good husbandry and industry, an estate might he gained; and, in marrying, no scruple or difference was made betwixt the natives and strangers whereby many have attained to great fortunes,

⁵⁵ Cyril Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History* (New York, 1966), 7.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵⁷ Andrey Medushevskiy, *Utverzheniye absolyutizma v Rossii* (Moskva, 1993), 47; Aleksandr Kamenskiy, *Ot Petra I do Pavla I: Reformy v Rossii XVIII veka* (Moskva, 1999), 41.

governments, and other honourable and profitable commands; as indigenation, also, being usually conferred on well qualified and deserving persons; where a dejected countenance or submissive behaviour is noted for cowardice and faintheartedness, and a confident, majestic, yet unaffected, comportment for virtuous generosity the peoples high mindedness being accompanied and qualified with courteousness and affability, wherein, meeting with the like humours, they contend for transcendence. Whereas, on the contrary, I perceived strangers to be looked upon as a company of hirelings, and, at the best (as they say of women) but *necessaria mala*; no honours or degrees of preferment to be expected here but military, and that with a limited command, in the attaining whereof a good mediator or mediatrix, and a piece of money or other bribe, is more available as the merit or sufficiency of the person; a faint heart under faire plumes, and a cuckoo in gay cloths, being as ordinary here as a counterfeited or painted visage; no marrying with natives, strangers being looked upon by the best sort as scarcely Christians, and by the plebeians as meer pagans; no indigenation without ejection of the former religion and embracing theirs; the people being morose and niggard, and yet overweening and valuing themselves above all other nations.⁵⁸

From this passage we may confirm the opposition of such features immanent to traditional and modern societies as: rigid traditional attitudes regarding personal and professional progress, obedience to prevailing norms of behaviour, social humility, restrictions with regard to foreigners and, in particular, marriages with them; protection of traditional religious values—on the one hand; and a positive attitude towards changes in persons' social status through their own merits and qualifications, recognition of the value of personality, recognition of transnational and social mobility—on the other hand.

Texts left by many other foreigners that travelled across Russia or lived there for some time affirm that the Europeans perceived Muscovites as humiliated Asians rather than as the free peoples of the West. Those Asiatic features seemed them to be archaic, uncivilized and backward. Europeans remarked that the Russians were not interested in science and modern medicine, and the splendour of their despotic tsars contrasted with the primitiveness and dirt of all other people.

⁵⁸ Gordon, *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, 47. Orthography of the original.

Russia modernized slowly and its own original impulses were substituted by artificial, constant borrowings of the western innovations. Thus, Russia became in some sense dependent on Europe. At the same time, expanding western patterns into its life, Russia became more and more a part of Europe. The traditional Russian society in the second half of the seventeenth century embraced new features as well. Gordon's Diary is 'inhabited' by many foreigners, experts in different areas, whose performance in Russia was objectively aimed at its modernization. Foreigners—merchants, technicians, pharmacists, doctors, and others—were of great importance for the modernization of Russian life, not only in Moscow but also in other places. For example, Gordon, passing via Tula in 1687, noted that all the specialists in the factories were Germans or Swedes, and then reported some comments of a wealthy industrialist Marselis, the owner of Tula ironworks. In 1684, in Vologda (on his way to Archangel'sk), Gordon noted that the eastern part of the town, where 'foreigners lived in spacious and comfortable homes', was built up better than other districts.

The modernization of Russian civilization was a response to the challenge of the West. In the seventeenth century it took only its first important steps. Meanwhile, the further development of the process from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries went towards the total transformation of Russian social and cultural foundations. An agrarian type of subsistence was changing to an industrial one; Orthodox spirituality was eroded by secularization and rationalization; villages provided cities with goods to their own detriment; a spirited traditional consciousness was replaced by standardized education, science and professions; autocracy, that always performed as sanctified by the church, was forced to change towards representative political power; territorial and social sedentary life was replaced by mobility; folk customs and culture were marginalized by the new theater, music, visual arts, literature; Russian as the national language was undergoing substantial changes under the influence of borrowings from European languages. This development was destroying the Russian civilization in its traditional quality. The borrowing of the European order of things modernized it.

Theories of military revolution, diffusionism and modernization are interrelated and have common elements, but they illuminate the historical process from different perspectives and complement each other. They provide an effective tool for the study of the early-modern period in Europe and in Russia, allowing us to understand more clearly the different events in which the life of Patrick Gordon—the Scot who made a significant contribution to the

modernization of Russia in the second half of the seventeenth century—was so significant.

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