

A Russian View of Philadelphia, 1795-96: From the Journal of Lieutenant Iurii Lisianskii

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Among the passengers who stepped out of the Trenton-Bristol-Princeton coach by Independence Hall in Philadelphia, on the evening of October 17 1795, was a twenty-two-year-old Russian lieutenant by the name of Iurii Fedorovich Lisianskii (1773-1837).¹ Eight years later, as commander of the little ship *Nevá* (ex-*Thames*); he was to sail with another Fleet-Lieutenant who had served in British frigates on the North Atlantic Station in the '90s, Ivan Fedorovich (German: Adam Johann von) Kruzenshtern (Krusenstern, 1770-1846), to Oceania and round the world.² Now, as he stretched his legs again after the short journey from Germantown, where crowds had still been thick on 14 October and enjoying horse racing and other favors in the wake of Blair McClenachan's and Edward Tilghman's double Federalist victory in the congressional elections,³ two days earlier, he looked around with happy curiosity. The captain of the frigate, HMS *L'Oiseau*, on which for months he had seen pretty active service in the Caribbean and in North Atlantic waters, Robert Murray, had provided him with "good letters of recommendation," to be used either in Philadelphia ("where the Congress and the Senate are established now") or in New York.⁴ So too, it seems, had other officers attached, like HMS *L'Oiseau* and *Thetis*, to the squadron based at Halifax under the flag of Rear-Admiral George Murray (1759-1819), Captain Robert Murray's brother.⁵ One of these was Captain John Poer Beresford of HMS *Raison*, with whom Lisianskii's comrade, Kruzenshtern, struck up a lifelong friendship.⁶ Like Lieutenant Thomas Hurd and the Hon. Alexander Cochrane, J. P. Beresford had shown much kindness to Lisianskii since July 1794, when in the course of HMS *L'Oiseau*'s capture of half-a-dozen merchantmen escorted by the French frigate *La Concorde*, bound for France, he had provided ample evidence of skill and courage under fire.⁷ Philadelphia, by contrast, offered scenes of sunlit calm. The town awaited the arrival of McClenachan and other representatives to the United States Fourth Congress, the first session of which began, after a heavy downpour, on 7 December.⁸ Still, the weather was in general, as Washington recorded in his diary, "Clear & pleasant", and remained so for "the whole Month of November" ("ground never been froze - but few white frosts").⁹ Lisianskii, a Ukrainian by birth, though he was never to regard himself as anything but Russian and, significantly, chose not to retire in the South, welcomed the warmth. Wasting no time, he rented comfortable rooms and, as the letters he had brought with him were all to persons not in town in mid-October, launched a regular campaign of daily sightseeing and observation. A

perceptive man, he kept a journal with the object of expanding (and of course polishing) entries written rapidly, under the pressure of events, in the despatches and reports which, by the terms of his secondment to the British Fleet and as a serving naval officer, he was obliged to send the Russian Naval Ministry.¹⁰ Into that journal (*putevoi zhurnal*), which has survived intact despite a long exposure to the fluctuating temperature and dampness in the basement of the former Stock Exchange Building of St. Petersburg, went data on the size and population, institutions, trade and commerce, academic and political distinctions, major buildings, roads, and bridges, wealth, and port of Philadelphia. At the same time, however, Lisianskii wrote a set of private letters, free and casual in tone, that form a welcome counterpoint to observations made with half an eye at least to later use, or publication in St. Petersburg. One such letter was addressed to his own brother, Ananii, then commanding the *Margarita*, transport, in the Baltic Sea.¹¹ It was dispatched from Philadelphia to Kronstadt on 4 November 1795, and read as follows:

Dear Brother, Ananii Fedorovich!

A chance to converse with you always gives me pleasure, especially when it allows me to bring you up to date on much of what has happened to me since a previous letter. So: after leaving Halifax, we cruised for five weeks on end, but then I saw the Bermuda Islands. Our frigate remained there fourteen days. Nowhere have I met with such kindness and cordiality as I did in that out-of-the-way spot. Will you credit me when I say that, having known the local Governor only three days, I met all the ladies? Unfortunately, the clime itself prevents their being truly beautiful. Still, nature has endowed a number of them with very fine faces and figures. And so well disposed are those ladies toward travelers that I couldn't have known them any better, had I lived there for twenty years.

Leaving these delightful islets, we put out to sea again. But since the poor condition of our frigate obliged it either to winter in Halifax, where I thought I had seen enough of everything, or to make for England, I resolved to take my leave and to see as much as might be possible of the United States. I duly took passage for New York on the first available merchantman. It was my intention to remain there not less than a month, New York being one of the foremost places in America; but the plague drove me out within seven days—though I did manage to get a look at some of the surrounding areas, because my new acquaintances often dragged me from one country house (to which they had removed from the city in view of the sickness) to another.

I went on by land from New York to the chief city of the State of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Knowing that I could not go there before the expiry of a ten-day quarantine period, however, I did not hurry off on that trip until October 17 [sic].

Philadelphia is, by its standing and thanks to its merchants, one of the world's finest cities. I mean to spend the winter here, then go along the coast to Boston, and thence sail up to Halifax in the spring. You may expect to get the whole saga from me when I return to Halifax, but in the meanwhile, be satisfied with trifles.

The Americans are complaining at present that a number of their vessels have been given 24 hours in which to leave Russia. Since they consider me a citizen of the world, however, they do not harass me with such complaints, which, in truth, interest me much less than my expenses for this winter coming. The point is that there are now as many as 7,000 *émigrés* from France here. They not only cannot understand the language, but also pay such inflated prices that room and board will cost me up to 15 pounds sterling a month. I hope, on the other hand, to acquire some information here that will not be without its usefulness, for me and for my country.

Tell His Excellency Aleksandr Ivanovich Kruz [the Admiral who had recommended Lisianskii to the Russian Admiralty College as one of the 16 young officers to be sent to England in November 1793 for advanced practical training aboard Royal Navy ships], that there are no true humming-birds here. In Bermuda, though, I did get hold of two perfect specimens, complete with nests and eggs. I will deliver those and other rarities of natural history myself and will entrust them to nobody else, since the items include very precious corals and shells...

Your brother,

Iurii.¹²

Superficial though it is, as an account of Lisianskii's service life over a six-week period, and of his movements since embarking in the *Fanny*, New York bound, off Nova Scotia on October 1, such a letter casts an interesting light on Philadelphian realities that month. First, it reminds us of the point to which *le fait français*, the problems of establishing new trade and diplomatic policies toward post-Revolutionary France, even the *tricolor* and recognition of a new consular system and a changed West Indies trade, were on the minds of Washington and the entire Administration.¹³ Though the President had ratified the Jay Treaty in August, British ratification of its final text had yet to come, even in late December; and the new French minister plenipotentiary, Pierre Auguste Adet, chose to provoke a minor crisis on the eve of full discussion of that treaty, by objecting in the strongest terms to Washington's decision not to hang a *tricolor* (brought by Adet) in Congress, but to place it in the archives.¹⁴ Did Lisianskii understand the implications of the Jay Treaty for France? Or why the Federalists chose to view Adet's gesture as nothing but a poor attempt to work on public sentiment, while Congress discussed it?¹⁵ Very likely. He

himself had been involved in the results of international trade embargoes, was acquainted with the workings of the French West Indies trade, had daily contact with intelligent Americans, spoke fluent English, and was pre-disposed by temperament and training to acquire information (as he put it) that was not “without its usefulness”.

In any case, the local merchants were reminding him that strains imposed on international seaborne trade by war in Europe, and by diplomatic dances and alliances, were damaging the interests of Philadelphia—in Russia.¹⁶ Of his own financial strains, suffice to note that he was actually far from poor, if he could offer fifteen pounds a month for lodging; and the numerous French Royalists in town, who so despised Adet, had undeniably inflated lodging prices, *inter alia*. But as a group, their wealth was quickly on the wane.

Turning, lastly, to Lisianskii's tantalizing comments on a brief stay in a plague-ridden New York: it was cut short, in his own view as expressed in his holograph journal, “by infectious disease, to wit: the yellow fever, which was causing 25 deaths every day, sometimes no less than 33”.¹⁷ In his opinion, summer heat and rain had very possibly contributed to the return of “plague”; but the arrival of a swarm of poor, practically destitute, new immigrants, who now lived “squeezed into their little, dirty shacks,” was the essential catalyst of epidemic, such as Philadelphia was spared. Here, at least, he was misled by the conditions that prevailed in the balmy early winter by the Delaware in 1795. Two years before, the poor of Philadelphia also had been struck by yellow fever. “When frost ended the epidemic in November, over thirty-six thousand dollars had been spent housing the sick and needy.”¹⁸ Lisianskii had a rosy view of Philadelphia, and kept it to the end. While in New York, nevertheless, he had admired German smallholdings and farms, as well as “spas like English warm springs,” on Long Island. From New York, on October 8, he had taken the ferry to Elizabeth and so, next day, travelled by coach to Patterson, “so celebrated for its waterfall on the Passaic River..., and its paper mill, the most remarkable in all America.” Returning to Elizabeth, after this side-trip, he had waited for a southbound coach to Pennsylvania (October 12, 1795). All round were fruit gardens and orchards.¹⁹

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Coming to Russia from a land-locked German duchy, Anhalt-Zerbst, the future Catherine the Great had little knowledge of the sea or ships. She was a strategist, however, ever conscious of the need to bind herself, for public purposes, to Russia. Not only was she very willing to be seen to further Peter I's naval enterprise—and her accession to the throne (1762) marked the beginning of another naval age, after a night of deep neglect of all such matters by the Crown; she also took a certain interest in naval renovation, thus

distinguishing herself from all her German predecessors in St. Petersburg.²⁰ Both her administrative innovations and her hiring of experienced but impecunious and disillusioned foreign officers were to have visible effects on the development of Russian naval policy and strength. Incidentally, such policy decisions and appointments made it possible, and practicable, for the Admiralty College to accumulate new, first-hand information on the harbors, climate, products, and conditions in assorted British colonies in North America from Nova Scotia to Virginia. Such places, after all, were known to several of the ambitious Scottish officers and under-officers who joined the Russian naval service in the early years of Catherine II's reign (1762-69),²¹ and which a number of particularly promising young Russian officers were free—in view of Anglo-Russian amity—to visit for themselves.

From documents held in the Public Record Office, London, notably Admiralty Records I (In-Letters from Captains and Stations), from the *Calendar of Home Office Papers* for 1760-1765, from the *Russian Imperial Navy List* (*Obshchii Morskoi Spisok*: 1885-1907), and from the published Archive of Prince Aleksandr Vorontsov (*Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova*, ed. Bartenev, St. Petersburg 1870-95), it is clear that a number of Russian officers, seconded (voluntary in *most* cases) as Russian Volunteers to the British Navy, did reach British North America in 1763-67.²² One of several who had occasion to examine Philadelphia during those years, while serving on the British frigate *Coventry* (Captain Archibald Kennedy), was Sub-Lieutenant Ivan F. Seniavin. As Russian naval records show, Seniavin "sailed To America and spent time in New York, Halifax, and Philadelphia," in the course of 43 months' service (October 1763-January 1767).²³ Among the papers he submitted to the Russian Admiralty College on 31 May 1767, having finally returned to Kronstadt and the Baltic Fleet, was one providing information on the port defences of New York and Philadelphia. ("I also submit a log, in which I describe locations visited and dates of our calls at those places in America, as well as Navy charts and tables, portions of the rigging of our frigate, mast and spar sizes, etc. As for journals, I have several, written in English").²⁴ A number of Lieutenant Seniavin's descendants reached flag-rank in the Russian naval service, as did other Volunteers who had strolled through Philadelphia in the mid-1760s, such as Petr Ivánovich Khanykov (1743-1813) and Efim Maksimovich Lupándin. Of the other Russian visitors whose service papers and reports may be supposed to touch on Philadelphia, and are preserved in the files of the Central State Naval Archive of Russia (TsGAVMF) in St. Petersburg, suffice to mention Fleet-Lieutenants M. G. Kozhukhóv and I. O. Selifóntov;²⁵ the brothers V. I. and S. I. Pleschéev;²⁶ Midshipmen P. Kozliatev, Valles (Wallace?), and Gzel';²⁷ and Sub-Lieutenant Iakov T. Kartáshev.²⁸ All eight were based at New York and had opportunities to visit Philadelphia in 1763-67, with the exceptions of the Anglophile Pleshcheevs, who would probably have called a

little later.²⁹ Sergei Ivanovich, a lifelong traveller, became a trusted friend of Samuel Bentham.³⁰

With very few exceptions, Russian Volunteers who had distinguished themselves in British ships and, like Seniavin, had returned to Russia with certificates of "competent and worthy service" from their captains,³¹ then went on to fine careers in the Russian Fleet. P. I. Khanykov, for example, was Commanding Officer at Kronstadt Port by 1801. Sergei Pleshcheev, patronized by the Tsarevich, whom he cautiously escorted on a Western European tour (1781), became a young Adjutant-General and courtier of real influence. Axiomatically, such men tended to use their rank to reinforce the Russian Navy's almost institutional (and certainly traditional) benevolence toward the British Navy, and to keep respect for it alive.³²

The Russo-Swedish War of 1787-90 served as another testing ground both for the British naval officers in Russian service and, especially, for Russians who had served as Volunteers abroad in recent years. Among the former were ambitious ex-subordinates of Captain James Cook, like Lieutenant James Trevenen and Able Seaman (later Captain) Joseph Billings. Both, returning to Great Britain from the North Pacific, had been led by mounting economic stress to sell their North Pacific ("Coast-to-China") fur-trade projects to the Empress Catherine II.³³ As a result of such exchanged service and training, it was recognized at least by Catherine's key naval aides and by advisors like Counts Semeon and Aleksandr Vorontsov, powerful Anglophile grandees with naval interests and mercantile intelligence, that "many officers who... won distinction in the war, [had] learned their trade and *metier* in England's Fleet."³⁴ The key to future naval strength and to the maintenance of an alert officer corps, Count S. I. Vorontsov believed moreover, did not lie in the continuing recruitment by the Empress of efficient British citizens, but rather in extension and expansion of the Volunteering program overseas. The war had fully demonstrated that experience acquired in the Royal Navy, and in distant British colonies, was a commodity of value to the Crown. If the returning Russian officers had something like intelligence reports on the defences of New York or the resources, trade, and port of Philadelphia, so much the better for the Admiralty College.³⁵

It would be desirable [wrote Vorontsov a few years later] if twelve youthful but well disciplined lieutenants in our Fleet were selected and sent... to serve for a period of four uninterrupted years aboard English ships at sea. It would then be expedient to send a similar group of officers for the same period, to replace them; and this process might be repeated consistently, so that within twenty years, we should have 60 men qualified to take command of warships...³⁶

Count Vorontsov's efforts were frustrated for a while by the British Admiralty Board, as well as by his empress's preoccupation with political and military matters (1789-92) that did not concern the Fleet. After delays, however, Catherine did formally consent to the resumption of a regular despatch to England of "outstanding youthful officers." A party of sixteen set out in mid-October 1793 for Helsingfors and thence, by merchantman, for Hull in Northeast England.³⁷ Among the Volunteers, whose return was not expected by the Admiralty College in St. Petersburg till 1797, were Lieutenants I. F. Kruzenshtern and Iurii F. Lisianskii. The two would take the Russian flag around the world in 1803-06, as seen in the first and scientifically most noteworthy of all the Russian circumnavigations of the globe during the age of sail.³⁸

On the maternal side, Lisianskii was related to the influential, land-owning families of Kiev Province; but his father, an enlightened man of priestly antecedents, was by no means well-to-do. It was in part because the training that it offered was comparatively inexpensive that Lisianskii, aged just ten, was sent to the cadet corps in St. Petersburg for future naval officers. Like many boys, he suffered at the barrack-like, profoundly inhospitable yet architecturally beautiful, Morskoi Kadetskii Korpus, ever afterward connected in his mind with idle bullying and sleepless, freezing nights.³⁹ He displayed natural aptitude for sciences connected with his calling: trigonometry, geometry and algebra, hydrography, shipbuilding, navigation, and marine astronomy. But for the moment, three years difference in ages barred familiarity with Kruzenshtern, with whom, however, he was well acquainted.

War, and the passing of another year, made such age gaps immaterial. Allowed to pass out of the Corps "before his time" as midshipman, Lisianskii was in June 1788 appointed to the 38-gun frigate *Podrázhislav*. Aboard that ship, he played an honorable part in major actions of the Russo-Swedish War fought off the Aland Islands, Gotland, and at Revel in Estonia. For him, as for so many others in the Russian Navy, peace came less as a reward for service rendered and a respite from the sound of gunfire than as a wearisome impediment to action and continuing advancement through the ranks. After excitement and assorted victories, a posting to a transport vessel, the *Emmanuil*, then on the Kronstadt-Reval-Riga run, depressed him greatly. Matters brightened six months later. First, he was promoted to lieutenant, then included in the list of hopefuls to be sent to England for a course in higher seamanship and, as events transpired, "long-range cruising."

Taking passage in an English merchantman from Finland, Lisianskii and his fellow-countrymen arrived in Yorkshire in the early part of January 1794. Thus far, his knowledge of English was passive, quite sufficient for the purposes of reading, but inadequate for conversation. Soon enough, he understood that such inadequacy would be costly in a country full of quick-witted,

unsentimental traders. "To sum it up," he told his brother Ananii in an early letter, "every step we take here costs at least a shilling!... They took cash because we are Russians, because we are headed for London, and another half-guinea at least because we don't speak English!"⁴⁰ It was fortunate that, of the "group of '93", he was perhaps the brightest linguist and was fluent in the language of his hosts within six months. Later, he would need no help to write an elegant and entertaining English version of his narrative, *A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1803, 4, 5, & 6... in the Ship Neva* (London 1814), or, for that matter, to investigate the Polynesian languages of the Marquesas Islands and Hawaii.⁴¹

Shortly after their arrival in London, the Russians were posted to their ships or shore establishments, as earlier agreed by Vorontsov and by the Admiralty Secretary. Kruzenshtern went to the frigate *Thetis*, while Lisianskii was appointed to HMS *L'Oiseau*, ex-*Cléopâtre*, "a former fifth rate prize."⁴² As would-be players in the international game of war and empire, so recently resumed by Britain and a revolutionary France, the Russian newcomers had timed their own arrivals to perfection. For they found themselves delightfully caught up in preparations for a major fleet engagement. Admiral Lord Howe proposed to intercept the Brest Fleet, commanded by Villaret-Joyeuse, and by 4 May 1794, more than 150 British ships stood off the Lizard. The objective was to intercept a Franco-American convoy bound for France from the United States, laden with West India goods urgently needed in a country torn by violent dissention, war, and want.⁴³

It was by chance, and to their disappointment, that Lts. Kruzenshtern Lisianskii, Mikhail Ivanovich Baskakov, and M. K. Polikuti now discovered that the squadron to which *Thetis* and *L'Oiseau* were both attached, under the flag of Rear-Admiral George Murray (1759-1819), was one of three small units that were not to fight with Howe and the main Channel Fleet.⁴⁴ Murray's squadron, in fact, "after performing a specific service, was not to rejoin the main body, but to cruise in a different spot."⁴⁵ Sailing from England on 17 May 1794, therefore, Admiral Murray (and Lisianskii) simply left the Battle of June the First astern, seeking engagements with the French far to the west, and/or reporting convoy sightings.⁴⁶

Though the bulk of the Franco-American convoy that Howe had hoped to meet and scatter reached France safely, other convoys quickly followed; and Lisianskii had the good fortune to stop one. As he put it, in the introduction to his English-language version of *A Voyage Round the World* (1814):

Near the coast of the United States, he was at the taking of a large fleet of American ships, which were bound for France under the convoy of the French frigate *La Concorde* and other armed vessels. By her superior sailing, the *L'Oiseau* captured, besides many merchant-vessels, an armed brig called *Chigamoga*, on board of which was Monsieur

Belgard, a black general, well known in the French West India islands. After this capture, the *L'Oiseau* repaired to Halifax to refit, and then sailed on a winter cruise.⁴⁷

"Monsieur Belgard", it seems, was the soldier son of Louis Bellegarde of Martinique, who had wed at Fort-Royal in 1773.⁴⁸ The *Chigamoga* was purchased for the British Navy, to the profit of Admiral George Murray. Of the merchantmen captured by *L'Oiseau*, some carried goods belonging to established Philadelphia merchants. More annoying to the President and Congress, though, was the impressment of American seamen such as those duly impressed from vessels (sorrily) protected by *La Concorde*, by Murray.⁴⁹ Thus, abruptly, did Lisianskii gain a first-hand understanding of at least two of the major public issues of the day in Philadelphia, viz.: the British attempt to throttle trade between a past and present enemy, and to impress neutral foreign subjects on the high seas, one full year before he went to Pennsylvania.⁵⁰ Taken together with his several encounters with Americans between September 1794 and his arrival at New York thirteen months later, and especially his conversations there,⁵¹ Lisianskii's service in *L'Oiseau* prepared him well to understand what Philadelphians frankly told him about neutral rights, the Jay Treaty, impressment, and the arrogance of England. He sailed to Halifax, the British bastion in Nova Scotia, in the wake of HRH Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, the new, defence-minded commander of that colony. What he observed therefore was, fundamentally, the pre-Edwardian old wooden town, "defended by the tumbledown remains of forts hastily thrown up or repaired at the time for the American Revolution."⁵² Crescent-shaped and star-shaped forts were yet to come, as they were yet to come even to vital ports of the United States.⁵³

L'Oiseau's refitting in Halifax dockyard brought an interval of busy leisure to Lisianskii's life. Six months of active service had been punctuated by alarums and collisions with the French; and to the last days, as his journal shows, he and his captain had expected an encounter with a squadron led by Rear-Admiral Joseph-Marie Nielly in *Sans-Pareil*, of 80 guns.⁵⁴ "Our frigate," he records phlegmatically, "will seemingly not meet with the four French men-of-war that are heading here from Europe. So farewell to *them*!"⁵⁵

As was appropriate, given his altered circumstances, energy, and youthfulness, Lisianskii viewed this time ashore in North America as an inevitable but potentially amusing intermission in the struggle with Napoleonic France. And, as a conscientious officer and tourist, he resolved to make it useful to his government as well as pleasant for himself. He drafted lengthy notes, for the attention of the Naval Minister, on the defences, sea approaches, port, and town of Halifax.⁵⁶ For, as a welcome representative of Russia and a socially acceptable and recommended agent of an ally of King George III, he was allowed much liberty in British North America as, shortly afterwards, in

the United States. His access to strategic information was controlled, of course, by his position as a foreign officer; but, on the basis of his first-hand observations and incessant conversations with his British fellow-officers, he could and did draw sound conclusions of strategic relevance, on the inevitable future value and significance of Newport, Rhode Island, for example, to the "Fleet of the United States."⁵⁷ As a Russian whom the port authorities at Halifax regarded as a trustworthy albeit curious associate, Lisianskii had a freedom of movement that Americans and other foreign subjects were denied.⁵⁸ Perhaps the Russian Fleet itself was viewed with condescension by the likes of Howe and Murray.⁵⁹ Still, an able Volunteer like Lisianskii had a status that effectively removed him from surveillance in the British colonies and left him free to gather data for reports, many of which must be supposed to lie unread and under dust in the Central State Naval Archive (Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Morskoi Arkhiv), on Khalturin Street, St. Petersburg.⁶⁰ In Philadelphia, to make things even simpler, he was treated as a *citoyen du monde*.⁶¹

L'Oiseau, with Lisianskii aboard, sailed for Antigua and Nevis in the British West Indies in the early days of 1795—or, more precisely, for the Chesapeake (to join the hunt) only again to be frustrated (by a leaking hull) and carried to the Caribbean Islands. On Antigua, he contracted yellow fever and was forced to convalesce, despite a serious intention to examine the "mechanics" of the sugar industry and local rum production. He was shocked to see the Negroes pulling heavy loads like horses, and wrote on the subject to his brother: "Never would I have believed that Englishmen could deal so cruelly with men, had I not witnessed it myself on Antigua."⁶² He recuperated well enough from yellow fever and was glad, in early May 1795, to leave the Caribbean heat for Nova Scotia once again, and further duties with his ship. He duly served aboard *L'Oiseau*, now commanded by the Hon. Alexander Francis Cochrane, and participated cheerfully in two minor engagements with the French before enjoying two grand weeks ashore at Hamilton, Bermuda. Ornithology and dancing were among the entertainments offered.⁶³

It was, apparently, *L'Oiseau's* failure to call at New York as planned, in mid-September 1795, that crystallized Lisianskii's wish to take a look at the United States when opportunity arrived. As he puts it in his journal:

We sailed northward, on 11 September, under a NNW wind, and we set a course for New York; but the frigate was in such poor shape that our captain decided to spend the whole winter in Halifax or even to go to England for repairs. I had the idea, now, of leaving the ship in order not to lose the opportunity before spring came of seeing parts of the United States, which had won such celebrity already in the fields of commerce and shipbuilding...⁶⁴

Cochrane and Murray were agreeable, and so, on 1 October, Lisianskii took passage in an American merchantman, as seen, and sailed with the *Fanny* straight to New York. He arrived, on 3 October, with sufficient funds to survive for several months, letters of introduction, ample stamina, and a persistent curiosity about the city and its hinterland where, as usual, he hoped to gather "articles of natural history." Within a day of putting up at a tavern called the Trontine (Tontine?), however, he was conscious of the danger to his health that even early autumn in New York could represent ("infectious disease", "unbearable heat", "violent rains").⁶⁵ Having looked over the city's fine stone buildings and, presumably, its shipyards, and enjoyed Long Island's calmer, more salubrious attractions ("finely cultivated areas," "new spas," "great pleasure, little cost"), he headed south.

The journal from which the preceding and all following extracts are taken is one of three connected with Lisianskii and held by the Central Naval Museum (Tsentral'nyi Voenno-Morskoi Muzei, TsVMM) in the former Stock Exchange building of St. Petersburg. It is entitled, "Journal of Lieutenant Iurii Lisianskii From 1793 to 1800" (Zhurnal Leitenanta Iurii Lisianskago s 1793 po 1800 god), contains 70 sheets, and is kept under archival reference: MS No. 41821 (ex-9170/1938). Preserved with it, but not similarly on semi-permanent public display, are the contemporaneous journal kept by Lisianskii in 1797-1800 while serving aboard HMS *Raisable*, *Sceptre*, and *Loyalist* in South Africa and India (*Vakhtennyi zhurnal...*, No. 41820/2); his later "Journal of Fleet-Captain and Chevalier Iurii Lisianskii for 1813-1814" (No. 9170/1, 183 pp.); a log maintained on Lisianskii's expeditionary ship, *Neva*, 1803-06, by himself and the ship's master, Danilo Kalinin (No. 9170/8); and "Rough Drafts of Letters from Lisianskii to Various Persons, from 1803 to 1832" (*Chernoviki pisem*, No. 9170.3, 69 sheets).

The "Journal of Lieutenant Iurii Lisianskii from 1793 to 1800" is written in a plain, legible hand. Corrections are few, deletions even fewer. While chronologically arranged, it frequently skips days and even weeks, which reminds the reader that Lisianskii wrote it periodically, when leisure could be found after dramatic—or at least remarkable—events. It was intended for official eyes, after possible editing, contained much factual material of likely interest to his superiors at Kronstadt and St. Petersburg—for instance, data on New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Newport, Rhode Island—and was in fact submitted to the Russian Admiralty College for inspection (June 1800).

That section of the journal that bears on Philadelphia falls between folios 15 and 18. It is written in Russian, with occasional English words and phrases. A typewritten copy of the whole text was acquired for the State Literary Museum in 1935 by its Director, V. D. Bonch-Bruевич, from the Soviet naval historian, N. V. Novikov. According to the latter, the copy had been typed in 1913 in preparation for publication, which had been canceled following the outbreak

of World War I. Several other typescripts relating to Iurii Lisianskii were transferred from the Literary Museum to the Central State Archive of Literature and the Arts (TsGALI), in 1941, and remain there today.⁶⁶ The holograph however remained in the Central Naval Museum, as observed, and was first examined by the Soviet historian V. V. Nevskii in 1949-50, in preparation for his study of Kruzenshtern's and Lisianskii's 1803-06 circumnavigation of the world, *Pervoe puteshestvie Rossiian vokrug sveta* (*The First Voyage of Russians Round the World*: Moscow 1951). Though Nevskii was prudent enough, in those dark Stalinist times, to dismiss Lisianskii's travels in the United States in eight suitable lines (pages 33-34), he did make the following provocative remark: "Whilst in the town of Philadelphia, Lisianskii was received by President George Washington, who had commanded the American armed forces at the time of the colonies' war for independence with England." Since neither Washington's nor Lisianskii's private journals make any reference to a meeting of this sort, Nevskii's statement must be treated with some skepticism (although, of course, it is entirely possible that Lisianskii was in one room with the President in Philadelphia some time after 20 October, 1795, and even that the President addressed him, singly or with others). All in all, it seems probable that Nevskii was embroidering his source in a politically appropriate and careful manner, bolstering Lisianskii's truly minimal importance as a guest in Philadelphia. Lisianskii's first biographer, Evgenii Lvovich Shteinberg, also working in the grim Moscow of 1948, took an identical approach—even asserting that his hero and the President had chatted amicably.⁶⁷ Nevskii's useful work on the materials at TsVMM and TsGALI, in any case, was not pursued by other Soviet historians until the early 1970s, when V. V. Pertsmaher and others turned belatedly to the Lisianskii folios from 1797-1800.⁶⁸

The "Philadelphia section" of Lisianskii's journal will be followed here by short remarks. Axiomatically, local historians will find their own use for the text:

On 14 October, I reached a town called Germantown, having passed through Bridgetown, Woodbridge, Princeton, Bristol, Brunswick, and Trenton. . . . I never in my life had a more pleasant trip and only regret that it was so very short. The agreeable company in the coach itself included a lady named Pollock, from New York. She would have been entertaining by her figure alone, but it was her charm that captivated me and caused the hours to fly. We parted company at Germantown, full of gratitude to one another for all that had occurred on our short trip; and I imagined that we would never meet again, but it did not turn out that way. For while in Philadelphia, presenting a letter of introduction to a very well-to-do merchant, Antock, I spotted my charming fellow-traveler again. She was the

daughter of a respected old man, to whom she introduced me as the nicest, most obliging gentleman. And she gave me much delight throughout my stay, although I showed her no more than normal civility.

Germantown centers on a single long street, and it is populated mostly by Germans, who were brought over by England during the American War of Independence. The Germans preferred the quiet life to battles, left their regiments, and settled here. The little place was very cheerful, on my arrival, for considerable crowds were gathered for a Senate election and for a horse race, which is normally held there once a year. This offered me a happy chance to witness the great speed of American horses. Three saddle horses were tested for the first time on a circular one-mile track. After three circuits, the winner's owner received a hundred guineas—his steed won in six minutes, covering each mile in two minutes. Winners, I may mention, are selected as in a rubber of whist. The victor in the first race runs a second time, and if it then beats the other entries, it wins outright; otherwise, there must be a third race.

On 17 October, I arrived in Philadelphia. By the regulations, I should really have waited a whole week [before entering the city], since I had been in New York, whence all arrivals had been ordered by the authorities to stop in Germantown for ten days prior to moving into the capital. I was in perfect health, however, and I was in any case so short of time that I considered my disobedience excusable. Nonetheless, two whole weeks passed after my arrival in Philadelphia before I was able to introduce myself, by using my letters of recommendation. Later, though, nothing hampered me from satisfying my curiosity...”

(Here follows the text of Lisianskii's letter to his brother Ananii, cited earlier, which was sent from Philadelphia on 4 November 1795).

As I have mentioned, Philadelphia is the capital of Pennsylvania. It could also be called the capital city of the American States, since their President, Congress, and Senate are established here. The city is two English miles in length, from east to west, and one mile wide, from north to south. It is divided into 24 quite broad streets. These intersect 7 others, which are long and lined with very fine houses, for the most part. Philadelphia lies along the Delaware River, about 140 miles from the sea, and it is famous for its ocean shipping. Still, it cannot be compared with the best European cities, inasmuch as very poor dwellings may be found right in its center, and besides there are

a fair number of narrow lanes that cannot be kept entirely clean. And 17 graveyards detract considerably from its overall appearance, also affecting the air—in the summer months especially, when the thermometer quite often touches 95 or 96 degrees [Fahrenheit]. Nevertheless, there are such regularity and clean lines everywhere that, if the place continues to progress over the next 50 years as it has over the past 20, it will assuredly match any capital in the world.

Certainly, Philadelphia appears to have made a fine start. Its river is always full of ships and it can boast of flourishing institutions, notably Mr. Peale's Museum and the Public Library. The latter was established with considerable support from the celebrated Franklin, who, besides being a man of extraordinary learning, was very active in the struggle for American independence. The center of the Library is much embellished by a marble statue of that giant of our times.

According to the 1791 census, Philadelphia had 6,651 houses and 415 shops. By now, I would think, the former must approach 6,800 and the latter must exceed 500. In the year 1791, the population was reckoned to be about 42,000, but so considerable has been the influx of Frenchmen and other Europeans during the past four years that is now certainly exceeds 50,000. Many have referred to a certain lack of hospitality in Philadelphia and attributed it to the Quakers, who indeed constitute a large part of the population. I myself, however, found those people to be far more courteous to foreigners than others are. As to members of the fair sex, I found them just as friendly as they are in other countries, if not friendlier.

The city offers many facilities for the life and luxury of men. The surrounding country is fertile enough to supply the market with the very best of provisions, on a daily basis; and trade furnishes the rest. Animal husbandry is so well advanced in Pennsylvania that scarcely a year goes by without some extraordinary domestic animal being displayed, such as the pig that I observed. It was 8 feet 6 inches long and 4 feet 3 inches high! It was brought into Philadelphia this very winter [1795-96].

No matter what others may say about the poor hospitality of the local residents, I cannot make any complaints. I made the acquaintance of many families and was well received by them. Even President Washington treated me so kindly that I must remain indebted to him all my life, and must always assert that no greater man lives anywhere. Both the simplicity of his life and his generosity instantly touch the heart...

Each State here constitutes a little republic. United together, the republics enjoy an excellent, free form of government, directed by a

President, a Senate, and a Congress. All are elected for a fixed term from among the citizenry. A State's Governor and Senate handles internal matters, and external affairs are managed by the common, central government. In America, every man who has attained his majority serves as a soldier, but only in case of need. However, the republic does maintain small standing forces, to defend the borders against the savages. But civil and military power is scarcely felt, in America, and even so I saw none of the disorders which, in similar circumstances, could so easily appear in Europe. The reason for this is, certainly, sound laws and sound morals..."

Travelling south from Brunswick on the Raritan River, where he and Mrs. Pollock admired the "famous wooden bridge, 933 feet long and supported by 10 stone pillars", Lisianskii reached the extremity of deepwater navigation on the Delaware at Trenton, thirty miles above Philadelphia.⁶⁹ Since 1776, when the British had occupied New York, Northern goods had been routed to Trenton to be forwarded downriver on the Delaware by boat or barge.⁷⁰ Lisianskii would have seen such traffic even in 1795.

Who, incidentally, was Mrs. Pollock? She evidently told Lisianskii that she hailed from New York, but her elderly and much respected father was in Philadelphia long before Congress and the Senate were to reassemble. The wealthy trader Oliver Pollock (1737-1823) had three daughters. The oldest was 24 in 1795. Pollock's estate at Bloomingdale on the Hudson River, next to Nicholas DePeyster's, was convenient for business in New York. Both "handsome Seats" were admired, in June 1801, by the artist-patriot Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827), whose own museum had attracted the attention of Lisianskii.⁷¹ (And the Pollocks and the Peales had intermarried). Certainly, it is impossible to identify the lady on the basis of the Russian journal. Still, allusions to New York and Germantown, her beauty, sense, and father's reputation, are suggestive.

As for Germantown itself, Lisianskii's cameo is lively. Other visitors painted considerably duller pictures of a one-street town, "well known for its extensive manufactures..., tanning, butchering, stock-weaving, carriage-making."⁷² As we see, however, it was race time and election time. Writing to Jefferson, the day after Lisianskii entered Philadelphia (18 October 1795), James Madison unwittingly but rightly forecast the excitement that elections based on attitudes toward the Jay Treaty had doubtless caused in Pennsylvania, (he had read the papers only "down to the 12 inst."), and would certainly be causing. "It appears that the State elections in Penna. will be very warm, & are hinged on the Distinction of Treaty & anti Treaty candidates", etc.⁷³ The Republican Blair McClenachan, whose defeat of the Federalist candidate in Philadelphia County (Robert Wahn) was still, it seems, a cause for gaiety and public "cheerfulness"

when Mrs. Pollock and her Russian entered Germantown, remained in Congress until 1799.⁷⁴ It was, presumably, because the Philadelphia men to whom Lisianskii had his letters came to town only a few weeks later, when the government's chief officers were readying for business, that he could not introduce himself in proper form.

Thanks to unusually balmy weather, which persisted (as the President informs his diary) even in January,⁷⁵ tourism was anything but burdensome. As seen, Lisianskii was misled by weeks of sunshine into thinking that, unlike New York, Philadelphia was free of plague. The epidemic that had ended in November 1793 was to be followed by another in mid-August 1797. Hundreds died.⁷⁶ Many, of course, had been the denizens of Philadelphia's "narrow lanes" that, as Lisianskii put it enigmatically, "could not be kept entirely clean." (In fact, 'Tom's Trudge's' accusation of 1769, that garbage was removed only from streets "honoured" by "gentry" and that dung-carts never visited the alleys of the poor, remained quite valid 26 years later;⁷⁷ and as late as 1798, "A Philadelphian" could wince, catching a glimpse of the "neglected, filthy" alleys, where the poor waded through refuse and their houses, "mean low boxes made of wood", were really "sheds", harboring vermin.)⁷⁸

Here, in reality, lay Philadelphia's seed-beds of disease, not in the graveyards that, to the aesthetic tourist, seemed excessive and unfortunate. Still, it is interesting that Lisianskii should have focused on the doubtful charms of seventeen of them. There was Christ Church burial ground, of course, and there were (rather densely populated) cemeteries at St. Joseph's, and St. Peter's, and St. Paul's, all in the city center. In reality, Lisianskii judged the spectacle by Russian standards, as a Russian officer, as was inevitable—and his comments say as much about himself as about Philadelphia. Broad streets set in a grid, an active waterfront, a Public Library embellished by a marble statue, all are good and carry echoes of St. Petersburg (where the necropolis, at Aleksandr-Nevskii Monastery, remains as it was always planned to be, out of the town).

Turning, next, to "Mr. Peale's Museum" or the Philadelphia Museum, which, since 1794, had been housed rent-free in the hall of the American Philosophical Society: it might have been especially designed to hold Lisianskii's interest, largely devoted, as it was, to natural science and technology.

In its philosophy, organization, and arrangement, Peale's Philadelphia Museum embodied much of the spirit of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. The Linnaean classification of species indicated the order, harmony, and regularity of nature. . . . Peale was a pioneer, moreover, in the use of the habitat group, in which animals were displayed in a lifelike manner and in realistic settings.⁷⁹

Had Lisianskii arrived a few years later, he might have enjoyed Peale's reconstruction of the mastodon, exhumed in 1801 in New York State.⁸⁰ He took an educated interest in paleontology which other Russian officers pursued from South America to New South Wales, Australia.⁸¹ In the event, he could at least examine birds and quadrupeds, fishes and shells, from many quarters of the globe.⁸²

As for the Public Library, or more precisely, the building of the Library Company of Philadelphia, it stood across the street from Peale's Museum and indeed owed very much to Dr. Franklin. Built only in 1789-90, to designs by William Thornton, later architect of the United States Capitol, it was a handsome redbrick structure, razed, deplorably, in 1887.⁸³

In the main, Lisianskii's figures are correct enough. He reports, for example, that in 1791 Philadelphia had had a population of "about 42,000" and supposed that, by 1796, the number exceeded 50,000. This was just, for despite outbreaks of yellow fever in which many lives were lost, by 1800 the city contained almost 70,000 inhabitants.⁸⁴ A glance at any map of Philadelphia in the later eighteenth century suffices to explain Lisianskii's simple comments on the streets (seven in early days, laid north and south, two dozen east-by-west), and on the lay-out by the Delaware. While less impressive and exhaustive than contemporaneous reports by I. F. Kruzenshtern, perhaps, Lisianskii's summary is balanced and objective. With its standard praise of Washington himself, and of the striking enterprise and mercantile success of Philadelphians, it is the work of an intelligent observer. As a Russian-language word picture alone, it merits notice, for the literature of early Pennsylvania includes too few such Slavic sources.

* * * *

Lisianskii was back in New York, "after a most unpleasant two-day journey" that involved a broken carriage wheel, muddy roads, and much ill humor, by 12 March 1796. He stayed eight days, then "made a four-day voyage in the packet boat to Newport," "now a town in great decline, despite its being really admirably placed for commerce,... with a bay spacious enough to hold the fleets of the entire world." A rapid look over Rhode Island and the shipyard owned by Obadiah Brown (1771-1822) at Providence ("300 families are now supported by that patriot, who spends his wealth not on himself, but on assisting neighbors"), was immediately followed by a tour of Massachusetts (29 March - 16 April 1796). Using Boston as a base, Lisianskii travelled energetically to Ipswich, Newbury, Salem, and other towns, always reporting on the dockyards, rivers, ports, and seaborne commerce that he saw.⁸⁵ By 3 May he had returned to Nova Scotia in a little chartered schooner.

More than two and a half years had passed, by now, since Lisianskii and his countrymen had left St. Petersburg for England. Neither Alexander Cochrane nor the Murrays were in Halifax. He felt impatient to return to Europe, as did Kruzenshtern, he learned. So, with a third comrade, Baskakov, he requested passage in the frigate *Cleopatra*, homeward-bound under Captain Charles Penrose. All three had further travel plans for Eastern waters, all were aided by the Russophile and patient Cornishman, Penrose, who would be James Trevenen's elegant biographer and Kruzenshtern's good friend.⁸⁶ They made for England—but arrived there only after an encounter with a French squadron supporting an attempted major landing on the coast of Western Ireland. It was a tense meeting and might have ended in their capture and imprisonment, had wind and mist not proved their friends.⁸⁷

Once back in London, Kruzenshtern sought help from his ambassador, Count S. R. Vorontsov, in the development of plans that he had nurtured on the North Atlantic and in North America: to make for the East Indies and, if possible, for China; to examine how the British, with the backing of their navy, were effectively controlling certain sections of the China trade; and to consider what new measures might be taken to increase Russian economic influence in the Far East.⁸⁸

During the time that I was serving with the English Navy in the revolutionary war of 1793-99 [wrote Kruzenshtern a few years later], my attention was particularly excited by the importance of the English trade with. . . . China. It appeared to me by no means impossible for Russia to participate in the trade by sea with China and the Indies...⁸⁹

As is apparent from contemporary correspondence and from several despatches sent from London in the hard winter of 1796-97, Kruzenshtern's enthusiasm for an adequate participation in the China trade by Russia was entirely shared by his associate and future second-in-command, Lisianskii. This, in turn, leads one to ponder on the reasons for Lisianskii's lengthy stay in Philadelphia, and on the fundamental role played by the merchants of that city in the China trade. Even the pioneering voyage to Canton (1784) of the *Empress of China*, after all, had been financed by capital advanced from Philadelphia firms, although the vessel had been built in Baltimore (and managed by a Boston man);⁹⁰ and since the Philadelphia ship *Canton* had left the valley of the Delaware for China (January 1786), on a profitable enterprise, at least a dozen others had been sent. "One Philadelphia merchant, Benjamin Fuller, was interested in *four* Pacific ventures in 1789. Philadelphia remained a leader in the China trade during its first two decades, sending out as many as seven ships per year, in addition to ventures to India and to North America's Pacific coast."⁹¹ Four early Philadelphia ventures to Canton for which reliable

statistics have survived had an average capitalization of 28,513 pounds.⁹² It was a sum that would have covered several dozen local ventures in the better known, at one time irresistible, West Indies trade.⁹³ Nor was this all: several leading Philadelphia firms, including Jones & Clark, Oakford & Co., and Charles C. Wharton, had a stake in ships sent to Canton from other ports, notably Providence and Bristol, Rhode Island.⁹⁴

And at Philadelphia itself [as Louis Dermigny observes], the city where Robert Morris had already illustrated the very type of large financier, one saw Stephen Girard, a speculator on the grand scale, having several vessels built in the one year 1791 for the China trade. A dozen firms participated in his ventures.⁹⁵

One of the Boston-registered vessels in which Philadelphia capital was placed in the '90s was the *Hancock*. Russian has no aspirate "h", and cursive "k" and "t" are not so different, in the Lisianskii manuscript, as to preclude the probability that the successful merchant, "Antock", whom Lisianskii met (and planned to meet), was actually Hancock. John Hancock (1737-93), nephew and heir of Thomas, the immensely wealthy merchant whose displays had so annoyed John Adams, had himself passed on his riches to adult relations, more than one of whom had town houses in Philadelphia. The Hancocks were related to the Pollocks. It would be unreasonable to exclude either the Hancocks or the Pollocks from the list of local families by whom, in 1795, a handsome foreigner of gentle birth (and with an educated interest in shipbuilding and seaborne trade) would have been "well received."⁹⁶

Accompanied by Kruzenshtern, Lisianskii sailed from Spithead on the southern coast of England for Cape Colony (South Africa), aboard the Royal Navy frigate *Raisable* (Captain Boyles).⁹⁷ They arrived in May 1797. With the aid of Admiral Sir Thomas Pringle, then commanding at the Cape, Lieutenant Kruzenshtern was soon *en route* for India. Lisianskii was delayed by a recurrence of the yellow fever he had managed to evade in Philadelphia, and was obliged to stay several months in southern Africa. There, he travelled on the Veld, collected specimens of local fauna, bones, and shells, as he had done in many parts of North America and would be doing in the North and South Pacific, and acknowledged the significance of what—if either he or Kruzenshtern had known the term—they might have called ethnography.⁹⁸ With Pringle's and the Navy's aid, he voyaged on at last, in HMS *Sceptre*, to Calcutta and Bombay, of which he made a careful study.⁹⁹ But he went no further east toward Canton. He was instructed to return to active duty in the Baltic, and took passage, in a homeward-bound East Indiaman, taking his plans to visit China back to Russia for a final eighteen months of incubation.

Lisianskii's vignette of Philadelphia as it was in 1795-96 is one of several

in his journal. Others give glimpses of contemporaneous New York, Madras, Antigua, and Bermuda, among places that he visited in a perceptive spirit of enquiry. To the extent that it illuminates the changing social climate and the economic townscape, so to speak, it has a value to the regional historian. Lisianskii's data are of somewhat greater interest, however, as an element or portion of a specimen of later eighteenth-century intelligence report. For, like the other Russian Volunteers who came to Halifax with Murray (in 1794), Lisianskii had instructions from his government to gather data on the places that he saw, and to submit his service journals (*putevye zhurnaly*) to the Admiralty College in St. Petersburg at the end his secondment overseas.¹⁰⁰ What he wrote therefore was not a diary, replete with passages that might be said to place him or his country in a doubtful light, perhaps revealing private peccadilloes, but a document that could be worked up in another, more official and/or polished format. Not surprisingly, he veered toward factual precision and avoided all frivolity.

That said, however, one must recognize the liveliness and readability of the entire journal, and reflect on its value as an eye-witness report. What, after all, did the Russian Court or Admiralty know of Philadelphia in 1795? Not till July 1809 would Andrei Ia. Dashkov arrive, as Russia's first *chargé d'affaires*; nor had St. Petersburg accepted any envoy (let alone a full ambassador) from the United States, despite the best efforts of John Miller and Thomas Russell in the years of Lisianskii's North American and Caribbean service (1794-96).¹⁰¹ It is not without significance, perhaps, that the only funeral Lisianskii would appear to have attended, while a guest in the United States, was that of the Bostonian philanthropist and merchant, Thomas Russell (on 12 April 1796). It was Russell who, in 1794, had sought the help of Robert Morris and of Washington to have his Russian-speaking son appointed Consul in St. Petersburg.¹⁰² Had Russia had a consulate in Philadelphia, Lisianskii's stay there would no doubt have been the easier. As for his government's sources of factually solid information on the place, they were effectively restricted in the mid-1790s to assorted works of travel literature by recent *émigrés* from France and others and, of course, to items in the press. For good enough though they had been when he submitted them, on 31 May 1767, Sub-Lieutenant I. Seniavin's plan and word-picture of Philadelphia were so outdated, by the time Lisianskii entered the United States, as to be useless.¹⁰³

Notes

1. See Glynn R. Barratt, *The Russian discovery of Hawai'i: the ethnographic and historic record*. Honolulu 1987: 199-202, on Lisianskii.
2. I. F. Kruzenshtern, *Puteshestvie vokrug sveta v 1803, 4, 5 & 1806 godakh*. [A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1803, 4, 5 & 1806.] St. Petersburg 1809-12, 3v.; Iu. F. Lisianskii, *Puteshestvie vokrug sveta... na korable Neve*. [A Voyage Round the World... in the Ship 'Neva'] St. Petersburg 1812; G. H. Langsdorf, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803 bis 1807*. Frankfurt am Main 1812.
3. Central State Archive of Literature and Art, St. Petersburg [hereafter TsGALI]; f. 1337, op. 1, *delo* 135, fols. 50-51; TsVMM Central Naval Museum, St. Petersburg [hereafter TsVMM]. No. 41821 (9170/1938); *Aurora General Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 12-13 Oct. 1795.
4. TsGALI, f. 1337, op. 1, *delo* 135, fol. 48; V. V. Nevskii, *Pervoe puteshestvie Rossiian vokrug sveta*. [The First Voyage of the Russians Around the World]. Moscow 1951: 25; P. Crowhurst, *The French war on trade: privateering, 1793-1815*. Aldershot 1989: 181; PRO (London, U.K.), Adm. 1/498, cap. 370.
5. Lisiansky, *A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1803, 4, 5 & 6... in the Ship Neva*. London 1814: xviii; A. J. von Krusenstern (Kruzenshtern), trans. R. B. Hoppner, *A Voyage Round the World... on Board the Ships Nadesbda and Neva*. London 1814, 1: 32-33; J. Ralfe, *Naval Biography*. London 1828, 3: 212 & 4: 98-99; N. N. Bolkhovitinov, ed., *Stanovlenie otnoshenii, 1765-1815: Rossiia i SSHA*. [The Establishment of Relations, 1765-1815: Russia and the USA]. Moscow 1980: 196-203; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 11: 342 (Murray in India); G. R. Barratt, *The Russians and Australia*. Vancouver 1988: 36-37.
6. See E. James, *Naval history of Great Britain from the declaration of war by France*. 2d ed., London 1859; 1: 138-40, 384-85 (Beresford's action against the French frigate *Vengeance*, etc.); Krusenstern, *Voyage*, 1: 32-33; Lisiansky, *Voyage*, xxvii; *DNB*, 2: 329-30; Ralfe, *op.cit.*, 4: 97.
7. TsGALI, f.XVIII veka, no 5196 ("Zapiski..."); Lisiansky, *Voyage*: xxvii; James, *Naval history*, 1:138.
8. J. C. A. Stagg, ed., *The Papers of James Madison*. Charlottesville, Virginia 1989, 16: 141-42; D. Jackson & D. Twohig, eds. *The Diaries of George Washington*. Charlottesville 1979, VI: 214.
9. Jackson & Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington*, VI: 214ff.
10. Central State Naval Archive, St. Petersburg, [hereafter TsGAVMF]; f. 1152, op. 1, *delo* 1 (S.Ia. Unkovskii, "Istinnye zapiski moei zhizni"), fol. 1; TsVMM, No. 41821/1 "The Journal of Lt. Iurii Lisianskii from 1793 to 1800"; ("Zhurnal leitenanta Iurii Lisianskago a 1793 po 1800 god"); V. A. Bil'basov, ed., *Arkhiv grafov Mordvinovykh*. [Archive of the Counts Mordvinev]. St. Petersburg 1902, 3: 338-39.
11. TsVMM, No. 9170-3 (1938), 69 fols, bound as "Chernoviki pisem Lisianskogo k raznym litsam s 1803 god o 1832." [Drafts of Lisianskii's Letters to Various Persons from 1803 to 1832]. Neither the letters nor even Lisianskii's journal (1793-1800) have been published in full. The journal holograph (at TsVMM), (MS No. 41821) was copied in 1913 (see N. N. Bolkhovitinov, ed., *Stanovlenie otnoshenii* [The Establishment of Relations]: 202-03, for details of archival holdings & transcriptions) and later moved to TsGALI, under ref.: f. 1337, op. 1, *delo* 135. See V. V. Pertsmaeker, in "Iu.F. Lisianskii in India, 1799" *Strany i Narody vostoka*, [Lands and Peoples of the East], XII (1972): 248-52, for details of Lisianskii MSS and his activities in India; also Krusenstern, *Voyage*, 1: xxv and W. James, *op.cit.*, 1: 495, on Russian officers in actions at sea against Revolutionary France. 1794-97.
12. TsVMM, No. 9170-3 (1938), fol. 20. See Bolkhovitinov and Bashkina, eds., *The United States and Russia: the Beginning of Relations, 1765-1815*. Washington, D.C. 1980: 11-15, and T. Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America*. New Haven 1835: 230, on the legitimacy of American merchants; concern over their trade with Russia. In 1795, 42 vessels carried raw cargoes worth \$1,168,715 to ports of the United States, including Philadelphia.
13. J. C. Stagg, ed., *Papers of James Madison*, 16: 141-45.
14. D. Jackson and D. Twohig, ed., *The Diaries of Washington*, VI: 215; Alexander DeConde, *Entangling Alliance: Politics and Diplomacy Under George Washington*. Durham, N.C. 1958: 424, 435-36.
15. See J. C. Stagg, ed., *The Papers of James*

Madison, 16: 144, 182, 358.

16. Those interests were large by 1795, when Stephen Girard was approached by John Miller Russell and John Matthew Bulkeley and Co. (Bolkhovitinov, ed., *op.cit.*: 293) with a proposal for collaboration in importing American and Southern European wares to St. Petersburg. Within a year, Girard was readying his new ship, the *Voltaire*, for a voyage via Hamburg (*ibid.*: 308-09), and she returned to Philadelphia in 1797 with a mixed cargo of iron, hemp, tallow, and candles. See also n. 12 above.

17. TsGALI, f. 1337, op. 1, d. 135, fol. 49.

18. J. K. Alexander, *Render Them Submissive: Responses to Poverty in Philadelphia, 1760-1800*. Amherst, Mass. 1980: 125.

19. TsGALI, f. 1337, op. 1, d. 135, fols. 50-52.

20. See Glynn R. Barratt, *Russia in Pacific Waters, 1715-1825*. Vancouver 1981: 23-25, 50-51; F. F. Veselago, *Kratkaia istoriia russkogo flota*. [A Brief History of the Russian Fleet]. Moscow 1939: 85-86; M. S. Anderson, "Great Britain and the Growth of the Russian Navy in the Eighteenth Century," *Mariner's Mirror*, 42 (1956): 132-46.

21. A. G. Cross, "Samuel Greig, Catherine the Great's Scottish Admiral," *Mariner's Mirror*, 60 (1974): 251-54; R. Anderson, "British and American Officers in the Russian Navy," *ibid.*, 23 (1947): 17-27 (incomplete list); and W. Laird Clowes, *A History of the Royal Navy*. London 1899-1904, 3: 326-27.

22. *Obshchii morskoi spisok*. General Navy List; St. Petersburg 1885-1907, 2: 240-41, 456-59; William Tooke, *Life of Catherine II*, 5th ed. Dublin 1800, 3: 280; George Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England*. London 1798, 2: 264; Andrew Swinton, *Travels into Norway, Denmark, and Russia*. London 1792: 486; P. Bartenev, ed., *Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova*. [The Archives of Prince Vorontsov]. Moscow 1870-95, XXII (1881): 54; A. G. Cross, *By the Banks of the Thames: Russians in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Newtonville, Mass. 1980: 156-60.

23. TsGAVME, f. 212, op. 1765, delo 25, fol. 99/obv.

24. *Ibid.*, delo 26, fol. 31. Also submitted were certificates signed at New York by Captains Archibald Kennedy and John Cover, RN of HMS *Coventry* (17 March 1766, 24 Sept. 1766), attesting to Seniavin's good service (*Ibid.*, fols. 28-29).

25. Papers held in TsGAVME, f. 212, op. 1765,

d. 25, fols. 108 & 118/obv. (Kozhukhov) and 97/obv & 101 (Selifontov); later careers summarized in *OMS*, 2: 81-82.

26. *Obshchii morskoi spisok*, [General Navy List, hereafter *OMS*], 5 (1890): 571-72 & 4 (1888): 571, 442; also I. R. Christie, ed., *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham*. Oxford & London 1968-89, 3: 4: 83; 2: 422.

27. TsGAVME, f. 212, op. 1765, d. 25: fols. 97/98/obv., 105/obv., 73-77; *OMS*, 2: 176, 70.

28. TsGAVME, f. 212, op. 1765, d. 25: fols. 101, 105/obv., 175; *Materialy dlia istorii russkogo flota*. [Materials for a History of the Russian Fleet]. St. Petersburg 1866-96, XI: 40-43, 607 (on Valles) & 1-2 (on Kozhukhov).

29. *OMS*, 4 (1890): 572-73; *Materialy dlia istorii*, XI: 213, 607-09.

30. See n. 26 and A. G. Cross, 'By the Banks of the Thames': 158-59.

31. TsGAVME, f. 212, op. 1765, d. 26: fol. 27; *Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova*, [The Archive of Prince V]. XXXIV (1888): 287 & XXII (1881): 54 (Count Semeon on S. I. Pleshcheev, "excellent homme et demi-Anglais"); also see *The Calendar of Home Office Papers, 1860-1765*. London 1878: 270.

32. Barratt, *Russia in Pacific Waters, 1715-1825*: 140-41.

33. C. V. Penrose, *A Memoir of James Trevenen, 1760-1790*, ed. R. C. Anderson and C. Lloyd. London 1959: 85 ff.; G. R. Barratt, *The Russian Discovery of Hawai'i*: 3-6.

34. *Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova*, [Archive of Prince Vorontsov] IX: 178; A. G. Cross, 'By the Banks of the Thames': 165.

35. *Materialy dlia istorii russkogo flota*, [Materials for a History of the Russian Navy], XIII: 133, 162, 442-44; HIV: 576-77; *Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova*, [Archives of Prince Vorontsov] III: 284-85 & IX: 198; Barratt, *Russia in Pacific Waters, 1715-1825*: 108-09.

36. V. A. Bil'basov, ed., *Arkhiv grafov Mordvinovykh* [Archive of Prince Vorontsov]. St. Petersburg 1902, III: 338.

37. *Ibid.*, III, 339; *Materialy dlia istorii*, [Materials for a History of the Russian Navy], HIV: 439; TsGAVME, f. 1152, op. 1, d. 1; TsVMM, No. 41821/1, fols. 1-2; V. V. Nevskii, *Pervoe putesthestvie Rossiian: [The First Voyage of the Russians Round the World]* 32-33.

38. See n. 2; also A. G. Cross, 'By the Banks of the Thames': 170-72, V. V. Nevskii, *Pervoe putesthestvie Rossiian, [The First Voyage of the Russians Round the World]* *passim*, and N. A.

- Ivashintsov, trans. G. R. Barratt, *Russian round-the-world voyages, 1803-1849*. Kingston, Ont. 1980: vi-vii, 1-10.
39. F. F. Veselago, *Admiral I. F. Kruzenshtern*. St. Petersburg 1869: 2-3; E. L. Shteinberg, *Zhizneopisanie russkogo moreplavatel'ia Iurii Lisianskogo*. [An Account of the Life of the Russian Mariner Iurii Lisianskii] Moscow 1948: Chap. 1.
40. "Zhurnal", TsVMM, No. 41821/1. fol. 2.
41. See Barratt, *The Russian Discovery of Hawai'i*: 209-13, 184-85 (the 202-word "Vocabulary of the Sandwich Islands", etc.); V. V. Nevskii, *Pervoe putesthestvie Rossiian: [The First Voyage of the Russians Round the World]* 193-94 (problems associated with Lisianskii's publication of his narrative, his preparation of a modified English-language version, etc.)
42. PRO (London), Adm. 1/498, cap. 370; Lisiansky, *Voyage*: xvi-xvii; P. Crowhurst, *The French War on Trade*: 181; N. Hampson, *La marine de l'an II: mobilisation de la flotte de l'océan, 1793-1794*. Paris 1959: 203.
43. W. James, *Naval History of Great Britain*, 1: 138-39.
44. Lisianskii, "Zhurnal", fol. 5.
45. W. James, *op. cit.*, 1: 138.
46. *Ibid.*, 1: 142; W. Laird Clowes, *History of the Royal Navy*, 4: 223; J. Ralfe, *Naval Biography*. London 1828, 1: 106.
47. Lisiansky, *Voyage*: xvii.
48. E. Hayot, *Les gens de couleur libres du Fort-Royal, 1679-1823*. Paris 1971: 88.
49. *Annals of Congress*, 4th Congress, 1st session: 344, 350, 381-93; J. F. Zimmerman, *Impressment of American Seamen*. New York 1925: 11-61; J. C. A. Stagg, ed., *Papers of James Madison*, XI: 61, 71, 239-40.
50. Lisiansky, *Voyage*: xvii; *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, 1: 532; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States*. 9v. Washington 1826, 2: 448, 450, 453-54.
51. With men who "dragged" him "from one country house to another" in the country adjacent to New York: TsGALI, f. 1337, op. 1, d. 135: fol. 49. On American traders on Bermuda in 1794-95, the presence at St. George's of Bingham's, Meigs, and other families with Philadelphia links, desertions to American shipping, etc., see H. C. Wilkinson, *Bermuda From Sail to Steam: a History of the Island from 1784 to 1901*. Oxford 1973, 1: 61-63, 102-04. Shipmasters employed by Daniel W. Cox and other wealthy Philadelphia merchants offered seamen such inducement to desert, at Bermuda, that their average wage trebled from \$2 to \$6 monthly between 1794 and 1798.
52. T. H. Raddall, *Halifax, Warden of the North*. Toronto 1971: 115.
53. *Ibid.*, 117-18 and H. Piers, *The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress, 1749-1928*. Halifax 1948-19.
54. W. James, *Naval History*, 1: 138, 140-41; J. Ralfe, *Naval Biography*. London 1828, 1: 106.
55. Lisianskii, "Zhurnal", fol. 11.
56. On this, see *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 12 (1992), No. 2: 55-58; TsVMM, No. 9170/1938 (41821); Nevskii, *op. cit.*: 33.
57. TsGALI, f. 1337, op. 1, d. 135: fol. 63.
58. *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 12, No. 2: 65; T. B. Atkins, *History of Halifax City*. Halifax 1895: 83. See V. Kolgushin, comp., *Opisanie starinnykh atlasov, kart i planov XVI, XVII, XVIII, i poloviny XIX vekov...* [A description of Ancient Atlases, Maps and Plans of the 16th, 17th, 18th, and First Half of the Nineteenth Centuries.] Leningrad 1958, for details of eighteenth-century British maps and charts held in the archive of the Naval Ministry's Cartographic Production Depot (ATKP-VMF) in St. Petersburg. Further on this, see also my *The Russians and Australia*: 214.
59. N. Nicolas, ed., *The Despatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson*. London 1844, 5: 448-49; 6: 42-43; W. Laird Clowes, *History of the Royal Navy*, 4: 279, 378; Camperdown, Earl of, *Admiral Duncan*. London & New York 1898: 56, 368-69.
60. "Svedeniia", in *Zapiski Voenno-Topograficheskago Depo, Records of the Military Topographic Department*; Pt. 1 St. Petersburg 1837; F. A. Shibanov, *Ocherki po istorii otechestvennoi kartografii. Sketches in the History of the Cartography of the Fatherland*. Leningrad 1971: 106ff.
61. TsGALI, f. 1337, op. 1, d. 135: fol. 54.
62. Cited by Nevskii, *Pervoe putesthestvie Rossiian: [The First Voyage of the Russians Around the World]* 33. Both Lisianskii and Kruzenshtern saw a number of the British Caribbean and Atlantic colonies (Barbados, Antigua, Nevis, the Bahamas, Bermuda, Guiana) and had frequent encounters with American shipping involved in the West Indies trade. They were reminded that Russia, too, had island colonies—in the remote North Pacific—and with that in mind both sought extensions of their leave from active service in

the Baltic Fleet (1797-99), to study not the West but the East India trade. See Barratt, *Russian Discovery of Hawai'i*: 12-13.

63. As the second son of the 8th Earl of Dundonald, and the owner of a pretty house at St. George's, Captain Cochrane was a significant figure in the island's social life. He even brought his family out from England (Wilkinson, *Bermuda from Sail to Steam*, 1: 102). Lisianskii and all other officers aboard HMS *Resolution*, *Thetis*, *L'Oiseau*, and the other ships in Admiral the Hon. George Murray's squadron were received with enthusiasm and kindness (1794-96) by the island's Governor, Colonel Henry Hamilton. The ladies at hand, as dancing partners, included Americans (*Ibid.*, 1: 62ff.) and Philadelphia merchants were active at St. George's (1: 125).

64. TsGALI, f. 1337, op. 1, d. 135: fol. 48.

65. *Ibid.*: fol. 49.

66. See V. V. Nevskii, *Pervoe putesthestvie Rossiian [The First Voyage of the Russians Around the World]*: 271; also N. N. Bashkina and N. N. Bolkhovitinov, eds., *The United States and Russia*: 307, n 1.

67. E. L. Shteinberg, *Zhizneopisanie russkogo plavatel'ia Iurii Lisianskogo [An Account of the Life of the Russian Mariner Iurii Lisianskii]*, 12 (1972): 248-52, preceded S. F. Fedorova, V. M. Pastetskii, and D. D. Tumarkin into the TsVMM & TsGALI materials.

69. Lisianskii's text may usefully be compared with the Marquis de Chastellux's *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782*, trans. H. C. Rice, Jr. Chapel Hill, N.C. 1963, 2: 483 ff., where road travel is concerned.

70. Discussion in T. M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia*. Chapel Hill, N.C. 1986: 75 & n11.

71. L. B. Miller, ed., *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*. New Haven & London 1988, 2, pt. 1: 322; L. B. Miller and D. C. Ward, eds., *New Perspectives on Charles Willson Peale: a 250th Anniversary Celebration*. Pittsburgh 1991: 219-35.

72. T. M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*: 75.

73. J. C. A. Stagg, ed., *The Papers of James Madison*, 16: 105.

74. *Ibid.*, 16: 410, n4.

75. See n. 9.

76. *Aurora General Advertiser*, 9 Aug. 1797;

R. Folwell, *Short History of the Yellow Fever, That Broke Out in the City of Philadelphia in July 1797*. Philadelphia 1798: 16-19.

77. "Tom Trudge", *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, 27 March 1769; C. S. Olton, "Philadelphia's First Environmental Crisis", *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* [hereafter PMHB] 98 (Jan. 1974): 90-100; J. K. Alexander, *Render Them Submissive*: 21-22.

78. *Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 24 Aug. 1797; *True American and Commercial Advertiser*, 9 Aug. 1798.

79. S. Hart and D. C. Ward, "Peale's Philadelphia Museum", in L. B. Miller and D. C. Ward, eds., *New Perspectives*: 221-22.

80. *Ibid.*, 227 & n 15.

81. G. R. Barratt, *The Russians and Australia*: 95.

82. S. Hart and D. C. Ward, in *New Perspectives*: 223.

83. C. E. Peterson, "Library Hall: Home of the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1790-1880", *Historic Philadelphia From the Founding Until the Early Nineteenth Century*. Philadelphia, Trans. of the American Philo. Society, 43, Pt. 1, 1953: 96-128; also R. J. Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved: Catalog...* Philadelphia 1976: 56-57.

84. J. K. Alexander, "The Philadelphia Numbers Game...", in PMHB, 98 (July 1974): 324; T. M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*: 342, table 22; *Return of the Whole Number of Persons... for the Second Census...* Washington, D. C. 1802: 49.

85. TsGALI, f. 1337. op. 1, d. 135: fol. 64ff.

86. Lisansky, *Voyage*: xviii-xix; Ralfe, *Naval Biography*, 3: 212 and 4: 98-99; Nevskii, *Pervoe putesthestvie Rossiian*: 34; Barratt, *Russia in Pacific Waters*: 109.

87. Arkhiv Geograficheskogo Obshchestva, [The Archive of the Geographical Society], St. Petersburg: AGO, razr. 119, d. 361: I. F. Kruzenshtern, "O ekspeditsii frantsuzov v Irlandiiu v 1796 godu" "Concerning the French Expedition to Ireland in 1796" (MS dates from 1841); Nevskii, *op cit.*: 25; H. C. Wilkinson, *Bermuda From Sail to Steam*, 1: 128ff.

88. Krusenstern, *Voyage Round the World* (1813), 1: xxiii-xxiv; Barratt, *Russia in Pacific Waters*: 108-09; A. G. Cross, 'By the Banks of the Thames': 171.

89. Krusenstern, *Voyage*, 1: xxiv-xxv. Kruzenshtern had spent some time at Norfolk, Virginia, in the winter of 1794-95, while HMS

- Theris* underwent repairs in the dockyard there.
90. F. R. Dulles, *The Old China Trade*. Boston 1930: Chap. 1; T. M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit*: 291-92.
91. Doerflinger, *op. cit.*: 292; also J. E. Cooke, *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic*. Chapel Hill, N.C. 1978: 77; J. Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China Trade, 1682-1846*... University Park, Pa. 1978: 34.
92. Dulles, *The Old China Trade*: 26; Cooke, *Tench Coxe*: 46, 75-76. See also, for data that further explain Lisianskii's interest in the Philadelphia waterfront, T. Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America*. New Haven 1835: 230, and Bashkina & Bolkhovitinov, eds., *The United States and Russia* (1980): 115.
93. Discussion in Doerflinger, *op. cit.*: 293.
94. K. S. Latourette, *History of Early Relations Between the United States and China, 1784-1844*. New Haven, Trans. Connect. Academy of Arts and Sciences, XXII, 1917: 69-70; L. Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident: le commerce à Canton au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris 1964, 3: 1169-73; F. W. Howay, *A List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1785-1825*, ed. R. A. Pierce, Kingston, Ont. 1973: 47, 29, 50.
95. Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident*, 3: 1174; see n. 16 above, on Stephen Girard's earlier dealings with St. Petersburg.
96. Bashkina and Bolkhovitinov, eds., *The United States and Russia*: 302; *Dictionary of American Biography*, ed. Malone, 15: 50-51.
97. PRO (London), Adm. 1/1516, cap. 404 (Boyles to Evan Nepean, 16 March 1797); Lisiansky, *Voyage*: xix.
98. TsGALI, f. 1337, op. 1, d. 135: fol. 89; Nevskii, *Pervoe puteshestvie: [The First Voyage of the Russians Around the World]*: 34; Cross, 'By the Banks of the Thames' 171; S. Ryden, *The Banks Collection: An Episode in 18th-Century Anglo-Swedish Relations*. Stockholm 1963: 67-68.
99. TsVMM, No. 41821/1: fols. 52ff; *Strany i narody vostoka*, 12, ed. Ol'derogge. Moscow 1972: 251-52.
100. TsGALI, f. 1337, op. 1, d. 135: fol. 1 & op. 1, d. 1671-72.
101. Details in Bashkina and Bolkhovitinov, eds., *The United States and Russia*: 289, 111, etc.
102. *Ibid.*: 289, 306.
103. TsGAVMF, f. 212, op. 1765, d. 26: fol. 30 ff.