

ANGLOPHILIA IN THE ENTOURAGE OF TSESAREVICH PAVEL PETROVICH

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The actions of the Emperor Paul in the last months of his reign consigned him to a place of dishonour in the British consciousness, his melancholy end by assassination was accepted as just reward for a tyrant, and suspicions and more of British involvement were lightly borne. The dominant visual image was that of the caricatures of Cruikshank, Rowlandson, Williams, and in particular of James Gillray, who in his 'Magnanimous Ally' portrayed Paul as a ridiculous small figure, lost in gigantic jackboots and carrying a similar sized tricorne under his arm.¹ It had been, however, only a matter of months earlier that the British had looked with favour on its stalwart supporter in the Second Coalition against Napoleon and a Member of Parliament waxed lyrical, comparing Paul with Peter the Great in his "cordial offering from an English Muse, \ Who free from dread, from adulation free, \ Beholds that Monarch realiz'd in thee, \ Lifts up the voice of truth; and sings from far \ The blest descendant of the mighty Czar".² Paul as ruler of the great Russian empire for better or worse inevitably commanded British attention; as tsar-

in-waiting in the long years up to 1796 he was, however, all too often obscured and forgotten behind the towering figure of his mother, the great Catherine.

British diplomats at the Russian court, from Guy Dickens at the time of his birth to Charles Whitworth at the time of his accession, were dutiful in including in their dispatches any newsworthy items about the Grand Duke and recording the ups and more frequent downs in his health, speculation about his true father, his relationship with his mother, his marriages, his travels.³ No British ambassador seemed, however, to have been close to Paul and they were often content to feed off snippets supplied by others, as evidenced, for example, in the Earl of Buckinghamshire's noting that "Those who frequently see the young Prince assure me his parts are beyond his age".⁴ Buckinghamshire, however, was very alive to the growing tension between the Empress and her son and commented towards the end of his embassy that "Her son, if he lives, will be her fate. When I have seen them together I have frequently observed the changes of his countenance. If her looks were directed towards him, he immediately put on that air of deference and respect due from a child to a parent, from a subject to his Prince. But if her attention was otherwise engaged, he would sometimes eye her with the apparent resentment of a son whose father she had dethroned, and whose birthright she had usurped".⁵

It was rather Count Nikita Panin (1718-83) with whom Buckinghamshire and his immediate successors Sir George Macartney and Charles, Lord Cathcart were in constant and inevitable contact. Panin, one of the most powerful of Catherine's courtiers and a dominant influence during the 1760s in the conduct and direction of Russia's foreign affairs, had been appointed Paul's governor or *oberhofmeister* in 1759 and it was he who supervised the Grand Duke's education and upbringing over the following thirteen years and decided the composition of the 'young court'.⁶ The close relationship between Panin and his young charge is caught in a sentimentalized description of a prize-giving at the Academy of Arts early in 1769 by William Richardson, tutor to Cathcart's children and later to be Professor of Humanity at the University of Glasgow. The fourteen-year-old Paul is said to have suggested that "as the proper education of youth is of so much consequence in every well-ordered state, it claims, and shall ever obtain, my most constant attention'. He spoke slowly, and with propriety, yet not without the diffidence of an amiable boy. On sitting down, he turned smiling to Count Panin, his governor, with the air of one asking, Have I acquitted myself aright? The Count seemed to assent, and I thought a tear rose in his eye".⁷

During his years as a Russian diplomat in Sweden, Panin had taken particular interest in the education of both the Swedish and Danish crown prince and he was fully conversant with the most progressive educational thinking of the

time, exemplified in the writings of such as Commenius, Locke and Fénelon. In 1760 Panin had submitted to the Empress Elizabeth his 'Vsepoddaneishee pred"iavlenie slabogo poniatia i mneniia o vospitanii Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva, Gosudariia Velikogo Kniazia Pavla Petrovicha', in which he outlined his educational plans, which included a strong emphasis on religion and morality, followed by mathematics, history and modern languages.⁸ The acquiring of collections of books and prints, maps and instruments was seen as an important way of inculcating intellectual curiosity. Paul would of course also receive instruction in fencing, dancing, drawing and music. At a later stage it was intended to introduce Paul to a systematic acquaintance with statecraft, including limited participation in governmental committees. Inevitably Paul's actual education differed in many respects from the blueprint, but he received a balanced and broad education and was generally well served by Panin's choices as instructors and mentors.

There is little evidence of British influence or presence throughout these early years. It was France through its literature, its theatre, its thinkers, and its language, which Paul spoke with a fluency he never achieved in German, that dominated his work and play. One of very few British subjects to be mentioned was the learned Rev. Daniel Dumaresq (1713-1805), chaplain to the British community in St Petersburg from 1747 to 1762, Fellow of the Royal Society and Honorary Foreign Member of the Academy of the Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Dumaresq had returned to Russia in 1764 to be a member of Catherine's recently created commission on educational reform and was ideally qualified to offer counsel on a wide range of subjects. Kobeko, however, mentions merely that he was called upon to provide maps, chronological charts and books for the Grand Duke.⁹ Paul's foreign teachers were mainly French, occasionally German, but it is to be via the Strasbourg-born scholar and *littérateur* Ludwig Heinrich von Nicolay (1737-1820) that Paul was to receive at least some exposure to British authors. By a happy coincidence it had been in England, where he had recently arrived as tutor and travelling companion to Count Aleksei Razumovskii, that Nicolay received the official invitation from Panin to be one of Paul's tutors and he arrived in St Petersburg in 1769. Nicolay was charged to instruct the Grand Duke in political and social history and his mentor was the Scottish historian William Robertson, whose 'View of the Progress of Society in Europe from the Subversion of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century' he translated into German for Paul in 1772.¹⁰ An Englishman whose concern was not for Paul's education but for his health was Dr Thomas Dimsdale (1712-1800), whose place in the history of Anglo-Russian relations is assured for his successful inoculation against smallpox of the Empress

and her son in 1768. It is Dimsdale who provides in the introduction to his *Tracts on Inoculation...* (1781) a detailed description of the young Paul¹¹ and who earned his trust and respect that were reflected in subsequent letters between them¹² and were reinforced when Dimsdale returned with his wife in 1781 to inoculate Paul's eldest sons Alexander and Constantine.

The Empress's and Paul's successful recovery was celebrated at a service of thanksgiving, described in detail by William Richardson, and in his address the preacher Father Platon spoke of the "assistance from Britain, that island of wisdom, courage, and virtue".¹³ Platon Levshin (1737-1812), who was later to become Metropolitan of Moscow, had been appointed by Panin in 1763 to the crucial post of spiritual mentor to Paul and he encouraged in his charge a tolerant but profound religious feeling and the unwavering belief that he had been chosen by God to rule over Russia.¹⁴ The catechism which Platon composed for Paul, *Pravoslavnoe uchenie...* (1765), was to be translated into English and in later years Platon was much visited by British travellers. To one of them, the young Oxford graduate, Reginald Heber, later to become an Anglican bishop, he mentioned that his youngest brother, Aleksandr Levshinov, had been, "with many other young men intended for orders, sent over to England and educated at Oxford", but the experiment, designed to broaden the intellectual horizons of at least some members of the Russian clergy, had failed since they had largely forsaken the church or in his brother's case became "only a secular priest, so that he ha[d] no opportunity of rising".¹⁵ His brother, who had been especially commended to the special care of the Russian embassy in London by Panin, had been in Oxford from 1766 to 1771. He and his colleagues came under the watchful eye of Father Andrei Afanas'evich Samborskii (1732-1815), a Ukrainian who had served in the Russian Embassy church in London since 1765 but who had been ordained only in September 1769 in St Petersburg, where he had met Platon.

Samborskii is one of the least sung but most remarkable of Russians to have been in Britain in the eighteenth century.¹⁶ He was himself inevitably known to, and admired by, all Russians, humble and mighty, who visited London during the nearly fifteen years he served in the church. His circle of British friends and acquaintances was no less wide, reflecting the multifarious nature of his activities, some of which were not necessarily of his choosing. He combined the assiduous performance of his religious duties and paternal care for the increasing numbers of young Russian students and apprentices who came to Britain for 'enlightenment' with the time-consuming fulfilling of numerous commissions for those items of conspicuous consumption that were evidence of the growing Anglomania among the Russian nobility. But it was agriculture which became

his true passion and in which he saw the salvation of Russia. In keeping with the teachings of his mentor, Arthur Young, the leading agricultural publicist of his day, he wished "to speed the plough" and to introduce into Russia modern farming techniques and tools. In 1775 Samborskii successfully petitioned the Empress that a group of young Russians should be sent to England to study agriculture under his care and, four years later, he again returned to Russia to establish, as he thought, a school of practical agriculture near St Petersburg. In fact Catherine had other plans for him which brought him into the orbit of Grand Duke Paul. In August 1781 he was informed that he was to accompany Paul and his second wife Maria Fedorovna on their European tour. Samborskii was to be the most convinced and knowledgeable Anglophile in the entourage of Paul, where he was, however, by no means unique in sympathies for Britain nurtured by first-hand acquaintance with the country and its people.

The late 1760s and the 1770s were a period when Anglo-Russian relations were as productive, varied and, indeed, smooth as at any time in the century and in Samborskii and his ambassador, Aleksei Semenovich Musin-Pushkin (1732-1817), Russia had two long-serving, enlightened, dedicated, anglophile but deeply patriotic representatives. It was also a period that witnessed an increasing stream of noble Russians, adding Britain to their version of the Grand Tour. In their number were at least four young aristocrats who were childhood friends of Paul and two of whom in their turn were also to be attached to his suite during his European tour. Prince Aleksandr Borisovich Kurakin (1752-1818) was not yet twenty when he arrived in London after completing his studies at Strasbourg and Leiden. He was the nephew of Nikita Panin and had been introduced by him at a young age to be one of Paul's few boyhood companions. Kurakin was in England from the end of October 1771 until mid-March of the following year, spending most of his time in London but also undertaking a fairly extensive tour that took him to Yorkshire and Lancashire in the north and to Bristol and Bath in the west. In addition to his tutor Karl-Heinrich Saldern, his travelling companions were Count Nikolai Petrovich Sheremetev (1751-1809) and the somewhat older Prince Gavriil Petrovich Gagarin (1745-1808), both of whom had been much in the company of the young Grand Duke. It was, however, Kurakin who uniquely has left us an interesting description of his travels and impressions (published much later in 1815 as *Souvenirs de voyage en Hollande et en Angleterre...*) and a whole series of detailed letters to Paul, one of which concerns his witnessing the opening of Parliament and remarks on the political scene.¹⁷ It is a record of a young man who responds positively to almost everyone and everything he encounters, but is especially attentive to the way of life of the English nobility, particularly on their estates, to the great in-

dustrial achievements, not least the impressive system of canals, and inevitably to the beauty of Englishwomen, beginning his 'voyage à Cythère' already on the ferry bringing him to Dover. In a letter to Panin he confessed that "si je n'étais attaché à ma patrie par des liens indissolubles, et ayant à choisir en même temps le pays auquel je devrais consacrer et ma vie et mes travaux, l'Angleterre serait sans aucun doute celui que je choiserais par affection autant que par conviction".¹⁸ It was Kurakin who was to accompany Paul in 1781, as was Prince Nikolai Borisovich Iusupov (1750-1831), who paid a brief visit in early 1776 to London, where, according to the poem 'K vel'mozhe', addressed to him by Aleksandr Pushkin, it was the workings of Parliament which held his attention.

It was not, however, among the Grand Tourists that other close companions of Paul were to be found but among the young Russian naval officers whom Catherine had sent to England to learn the skills that would improve a Russian navy which on her accession she had compared to a "flotte pour la pêche des harengs".¹⁹ Paul showed considerable interest in the navy, of which he was formally Grand Admiral, and in the Naval Cadet Corps.²⁰ It was to be on his specific recommendation that in 1774 Nikolai Semenovich Mordvinov (1754-1845), the son of the admiral and his boyhood friend, was sent to England "to study naval matters".²¹ Mordvinov more than justified Paul's high assessment of his ability, but not only did he gain experience in the British navy but also became an enthusiast for British farming methods which he attempted some years later to introduce on his Ukrainian estates. It was from there that he wrote to Samborskii in English: "I come more nearer to you: I become a Farmer; give me good instructions, & I'll go in your ways of Glories".²²

Also frequently in the company of the young Paul had been Andrei Kirillovich Razumovskii (1752-1836), the younger brother of the Razumovskii to whom Nicolay had been tutor. Andrei served briefly with the British fleet in 1768-9, but gained an excellent knowledge of English.²³ On his return he became particularly close to Paul, but betrayed that trust by cuckolding him with his first wife Natal'ia Alekseevna, who died in childbirth in 1776. It was one of life's little ironies that the disgraced Razumovskii, otherwise known to posterity for the quartet he was to commission from Beethoven when he became ambassador in Vienna, was the Russian representative in Naples when Paul arrived with his second wife on their European tour. In Paul's retinue, apart from Kurakin, Iusupov, and, of course, Nicolay, he would have known from England Samborskii and Sergei Ivanovich Pleshcheev (1752-1802).²⁴

Pleshcheev was in the first group of naval officers sent to Britain in 1765 and remained until 1770, when he joined a squadron of the Russian fleet sailing to the Mediterranean to engage the Turkish fleet. Pleshcheev to a greater degree

than even Samborskii and Mordvinov became a convinced Anglophile, who was said to have forgotten his native tongue, which he had to re-learn, although all his life he preferred to write in English. Unlike Mordvinov and Samborskii, however, he did not marry an Englishwoman, but tried his hardest to persuade Samuel Bentham to marry his sister! Bentham spoke highly of his accomplishments and character, calling him "master of the practical part of his profession, and to be well-informed and capable of judging of everything relating to the marine department in general. [...] a perfect master of [English] and pronounces it as well as if he knew no other. [...] and is in all personal accomplishments just what I should wish to be", an opinion endorsed by Nicolay's "excellent homme et demi-Anglais",²⁵ Unlike Razumovskii, it was with Paul and his second wife that he became close and never betrayed the trust.²⁶ For Maria Fedorovna, whose tutor he became, he wrote his *Obozrenie rossiiskoi imperii...*(1786), a work translated into English in 1792.²⁷

In what has gone before, the attempt has been made to highlight how many of Paul's few boyhood friends (Gagarin, Kurakin, Mordvinov, Razumovskii, Sheremetev) were soon to gain first-hand acquaintance of England, in some cases extending over a number of years, and how their number was swelled by others with similar or greater exposure who subsequently joined Paul's circle (Iusupov, Samborskii and Pleshcheev). The last three, together with Kurakin and Nicolay, were to accompany the comte and comtesse du nord on their momentous travels through Europe in 1781-2 and all five, together with Mordvinov, were to remain closely attached to them during their remaining years in waiting and during their short reign. They were imperially rewarded with favours, lands and promotions.

The question that obviously remains is to what degree the presence of so many people in Paul's retinue with direct experience of Britain and, by and large, an informed admiration for its way of life and its institutions influenced the Grand Duke in his own attitudes? Could he be characterized as an Anglophile among Anglophiles? Sadly, the answer would seem to be no. British diplomats, very sensitive to such matters, never recorded any particular expressions of sympathy for Britain and things British. On the contrary, all the signs pointed to other European allegiances, dictated in part by his education, the languages he knew, the women he married. In March 1764 the Earl of Buckinghamshire was conveying that "I am told from good authority that it is surprising the partiality which the Grand Duke has already conceived for the Court of Vienna",²⁸ but his abiding Euromaniacs were for France and Prussia. His early immersion in French culture was stimulated and given a political dimension at the time of his brief marriage (1773-6) to Wilhemina of Hesse-Darmstadt (Natal'ia Alekseevna) precisely by Andrei Razumovskii, reputed to be in

the pay of the French embassy. Iusupov, who was included in Paul's retinue for his recognized eminence as a connoisseur and collector of European art,²⁹ and Kurakin were essentially francophile in their cultural sympathies. It was not for cultural reasons that Paul had become fascinated with Prussia. Despite the discouragement of Panin, the Grand Duke had from an early age been attracted by parades, military drill and pageantry and his first foreign journey, to Berlin in 1776 to meet his chosen second wife, Sophia Dorothea of Württemberg (Mariia Fedorovna), when he was everywhere greeted by parades and ceremonials, only served to confirm Frederick the Great as the ruler to be emulated. Despite the resistance of an empress, keen to foster an alliance with Austria, it was precisely France and Berlin that the comte and comtesse du nord insisted on including in their itinerary.

It is a moot point whether a visit to Britain would in any way have evoked a strong and favourable response in either Paul or his consort. Kurakin, writing of his own visit to England, suggested visitors were "poussés par le double motif et de satisfaire leur curiosité et de connaître d'une manière approfondie les moeurs et les usages du pays, connaissance que les livres ne peuvent donner qu'imparfaitement et qui ne peut s'acquérir qu'en observant sur les lieux mêmes".³⁰ Paul and Maria evinced no such curiosity or thirst for knowledge and Italy at first hand had, its art apart, largely disappointed them. Such a visit was indeed proposed in the years immediately following their return but Catherine seems to have been more enthusiastic about the idea than the ducal couple. Sir James Harris, the British ambassador, reported to London that the empress had expressed her regret that her son would not have the opportunity to observe Parliament and the British constitutional monarchy in action,³¹ but Paul voiced no similar sentiments. It was the aspect of British life which had inspired respect in his mentor Nikita Panin (who was gravely ill at the time of Paul's return and died soon afterwards), had brought an enthusiastic response from Kurakin ("leur excellente Constitution est l'égide redoutable qui les garantit de toute injustice")³² and, seemingly, from Iusupov; indeed, it was a lynchpin of the political ideology of the Panin group — Denis Fonvizin who travelled in the 1770s through France and Italy, disapproving of much that he saw, voiced in contrast the view that "ravenstvo est' blago, kogda ono, kak v Anglii, osnovano na dukhe pravleniia";³³ but it was not reflected in the few political writings of the tsesarevich.³⁴ If not in politics and not, beguiling though it might seem, in freemasonry,³⁵ then perhaps British influences might be detected in the two related areas of agriculture and landscape gardening. The first could hardly have had a more eloquent spokesman than Samborskii or enthusiastic disciple than Mordvinov and the second, a more willing pupil in Kurakin, who, while not abandoning his admiration for the formal French gardens of Versailles, was ready, dur-

ing his period of exile, following his return from the European tour with Paul, to develop his estate of Nadezhdino in distant Saratov after the English fashion. While still Grand Duke, Paul had been called upon by Semen Desnitskii (educated in Britain) to follow British example and encourage agriculture;³⁶ soon after his accession he established the 'Ekspeditsiia gosudarstvennogo khozaistva ...', under the supervision of Aleksandr Kurakin's brother, Aleksei, the Procurator-General, and including on its board Samborskii, who was at last able to realize his dream of a school of practical agriculture at Tiarlevo, between Pavlovsk and Tsarskoe Selo.³⁷ Paul's beloved Gatchina and Mariia's no less loved Pavlovsk both present entrancing Russian versions of the English landscape garden: both to be sure had British input into their design and development,³⁸ but the Grand Duke and Duchess would have seen, not least in France, many European variants to admire. En somme, it would appear that while Anglophilia was very evident in the entourage of the ducal couple both before, during, and after their European travels, their own needs were well satisfied by what they found in continental Europe and their glance hardly strayed across the Channel.

¹ See my "'Crazy Paul": Paul I and the British' in Joachim Klein, Simon Dixon, Maarten Fraanje (eds.), *Reflections on Russia in the Eighteenth Century* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 2001), pp. 7-18.

² Charles Small Pybus, *The Sovereign: Addressed to His Imperial Majesty Paul Emperour of All the Russias* (London, 1800), p. 12. See "'O thou, great monarch of a pow'rful reign!": English Bards and Russian Tsars', in my *Anglo-Russica: Aspects of Cultural Relations between Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford and Providence, 1993), pp. 170-4.

³ Such dispatches are effectively used and footnoted by Roderick E. McGrew, *Paul I of Russia 1754-1801* (Oxford, 1992).

⁴ Adelaide D'Arcy Collyer (ed.), *The Despatches and Correspondence of John, Second Earl of Buckinghamshire, Ambassador to the Court of Catherine II of Russia 1762-1765*, II (London, 1902), 84.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

⁶ For an illuminating study of all aspects of Panin's career, see David. L. Ransel, *The Politics of Catherinian Russia: The Panin Party* (New Haven and London, 1975).

⁷ William Richardson, *Anecdotes of the Russian Empire. In a Series of Letters, Written, a Few Years Ago, from St. Petersburg* (London, 1784), p. 40. Richardson was the first author to provide the British public with a glimpse, entirely favourable, of Paul before he achieved his majority. See also p. 17.

⁸ *Russkaia starina*, XXXVI (November 1882), 315-30. See Ransel, pp. 201-11.

⁹ D. Kobeko, *Tsesarevich Pavel Petrovich (1754-1796): Istoricheskoe issledovanie* (St Petersburg, 2001), p. 28. On Dumaresq, see my *By the Banks of the Neva: Chapters from the Lives and Careers of the British in Eighteenth-Century Russia* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 99-102.

¹⁰ This was Part I of Robertson's *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1769) and hailed as a milestone in the philosophy of history. See Edmund Heier, *L.H. Nicolay (1737-1820) and His Contemporaries* (The Hague, 1965), pp. 32-4.

¹¹ Thomas Dimsdale, *Tracts on Inoculation Written and Published at St. Petersburg in the Year 1768 by Command of Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress of All the Russias, with Additional Observations on Epidemic Small-Pox, on the Nature of that Disease, and on the Different Success of the Various Makes of Inoculation* (London, 1781), pp. 46-52.

¹² See the letters from Paul of 2/13 September 1769 and 8/19 May 1776: Barkway House, Barkway, Dimsdale Papers, A-3 and A-4.

¹³ Richardson, *Anecdotes*, p. 36.

¹⁴ See K.A. Papmehl, *Metropolitan Platon of Moscow (Petr Levshin, 1737-1812): The Enlightened Prelate, Scholar, and Educator* (Newtonville, Mass., 1983).

¹⁵ The conversation took place in 1805: *Life of Reginald Heber*, I (London, 1830), 179. On the Russian students in Oxford, see my *By the Banks of the Thames: Russians in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Newtonville, Mass., 1980), pp. 98-116; *U temzskikh beregov: Rossiiane v Britanii v XVIII veke* (Spb., 1996), pp. 116-35.

¹⁶ The most detailed study of Samborskii's career, and of his English years in particular, is in my *By the Banks of the Thames*, pp. 39-44, 60-91.

¹⁷ V.N. Smol'ianinov (ed.), *Arkhiv kniazia F.A. Kurakina*, VI (Saratov, 1896), 317-26.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

¹⁹ *Sbornik Imperatorskogo Russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*, X (Spb., 1876), 28.

²⁰ Kobeko, *Tsesarevich Pavel Petrovich*, p. 48.

²¹ *Arkhiv grafov Mordvinovykh*, I (Spb., 1901), 190.

²² Pushkinskii dom, St Petersburg, Arkhiv A.A. Samborskogo, Fond 620, ed. kh. 127, no. 3, f. 4. On Mordvinov and England, see my *By the Bank of the Thames*, pp. 75-7, 160-2.

²³ On his return he is said to have presented his report in English: A.A. Vasil'chikov, *Semeistvo Razumovskikh*, III (Spb., 1882), 5.

²⁴ Razumovskii and Pleshcheev, incidentally, both commanded ships in the flotilla that was sent to escort the Landgräfin of Hesse-Darmstadt and her daughters from Lübeck to Russia in 1773.

²⁵ Ian R. Christie, *The Bentham's in Russia, 1780-1791* (Oxford and Providence, 1983), p. 36; *Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova*, XXII (Spb., 1881), 54.

²⁶ Paul, on the other hand, paid court to Natl'ia Fedorovna Verigina, one of his wife's ladies-in-waiting, until it was pointed out that she was Pleshcheev's fiancée.

²⁷ Andrew Swinton, a British visitor to Russia in 1791, was very impressed by Pleshcheev and his work, which he said should be translated: *Travels into Norway, Denmark and Russia* (London, 1792), p. 486.

²⁸ *The Despatches and Correspondence of John, Second Earl of Buckinghamshire*, II, 158.

²⁹ See the articles in the special issue, 'The Seductions of Europe: Prince Yusupov and Arkhangel'skoe', of *Rossica: International Review of Russian Culture*, no. 5 (Winter 2002).

³⁰ *Arkhiv kniazia Kurakina*, V(1894), 384.

³¹ McGrew, *Paul I of Russia*, p. 143.

³² *Arkhiv kniazia Kurakina*, VI, 332-3.

³³ D.I. Fonvizin, *Sobranie sochinenii*, II (Moscow-Leningrad, 1959), 483.

³⁴ See Ransel, *The Politics of Catherinian Russia*, pp. 222-6, 283-6.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 255-61. Gagarin, Kurakin, Mordvinov, and Pleshcheev were all prominent masons, but Mordvinov apart, joined the Order after they had been in England. Swedish freemasonry with its more elaborate system of degrees and ceremonies, of which Gagarin became the Russian Provincial Grand Master in 1778, proved more appealing to them than the more restrained English variant.

³⁶ In the dedication to his translation of Thomas Bowden's *The Farmer's Director: Nastavnik zemledel'cheskii* (1780).

³⁷ See my *By the Banks of the Thames*, pp. 87-8.

³⁸ Charles Sparrow at Gatchina (when it still belonged to Grigorii Orlov) and Charles Cameron at Pavlovsk, but Mariia Fedorovna's own ideas and tastes were decisive.