

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- ¹ Marx on zoology; Bismarck on Coburg as studfarm of Europe, both quoted in A. N. Wilson, *Victoria: A Life* (henceforth Wilson) 19.

PROLOGUE

- ¹ This account based on GARF 601.2.27 Yakov Yurovsky's notes 1920 and 1 February 1934 plus unpublished notes (five in total); Empress Alexandra diary, June–July 1918, stored in GARF 640.1 and published *Last Diary of Tsaritsa Alexander*, V. Kozlov and V. Khrustalev (eds.) (henceforth 'Alexandra diary'). Nicholas II diary, April–June 1918, GARF 601.1.217–266 (henceforth 'ND'). These sources are also quoted in Mark D. Steinberg and Vladimir M. Khrustal'ev, *The Fall of the Romanovs* (henceforth Fall) 320–66. Also Greg King and Penny Wilson, *The Fate of the Romanovs* (henceforth Fate) 282–317 and Helen Rappaport, *Ekaterinburg: The Last Days of the Romanovs*, 184–202.
- ² Offer of throne to Michael Romanov based on: RGADA 135.III.1.2.1–5, Gramota tsaryu Mikhailu Fedorovichu, poslannaya v Kostromu s arkhimandritom Feodoritom i boyarinym F. I. Sheremetevym 2 Marta 1613 (The Charter of the Zemsky Sobor to Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich of his election to the throne, 2 March 1613) RGADA 135.III.1.2.28–44, March 1613, Gramota arkhiepiskopa Feodorita i F. I. Sheremeteva k Zemskomu Soboru (Formal report of the Kostroma delegates to the Zemsky Sobor on Tsar Mikhail's consent to be tsar). Sergei Soloviev, *History of Russia* (henceforth Soloviev) 16.1–15. George Vernadsky, *History of Russia* (henceforth Vernadsky) 5.1.278–83. Robert Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors: The Boyar Elite* 1613–89 (henceforth Crummey), 1–28. Michael: Olearius, *Travels of Olearius* (henceforth Olearius) 62, 191, 262. G. E. Orchard (trans. and ed.), I. Massa, *A Short History of the Beginnings and Origins of These Present Wars in Moscow: Under the Reign of Various Sovereigns Down to the Year 1610* (henceforth Orchard), 30–4. Presence of Saltykov brothers as advisers: Russell E. Martin, *A Bride for the Tsar: Bridesshows and Marriage Politics in Early Modern Russia* (henceforth Martin) 180–2.

ACT I: THE RISE

SCENE I: THE BRIDESHOWS

- ¹ RGADA 135.III.1.2.28–44, March 1613, Gramota arkhiepiskopa Feodorita i F. I. Sheremeteva k Zemskomu Soboru (Formal report of the Kostroma delegates to the Zemsky Sobor on Tsar Mikhail's consent to be tsar). Soloviev 16.1–12. Vernadsky 5.1.278–83.

- ² Isabel de Madariaga, *Ivan the Terrible* (henceforth Madariaga), Mongols 5–6; tsar title 17. Ivan the Terrible, Anastasia, bridesshows 50–9. Sergei Bogatyrev, Ivan IV 1533–84, in Maureen Perrie (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Russia*, vol. 1: *From Early Rus' to 1689*. Troubles: Chester Dunning, *Russia's First Civil War* (henceforth Dunning), 33–72. False Dmitris: this is based on Maureen Perrie, *Pretenders and Popular Monarchism in Early Modern Russia*. Catherine Merridale, *Red Fortress: The Secret Heart of Russia's History* (henceforth Merridale) 75–102. Martin 112–21; Romanov descent 114–15.
- ³ P. Grebelsky and A. Mirvis, Dom Romanovykh 1–12. G. K. Shchutskaya, *Palaty boyar Romanovykh*. W. Bruce Lincoln, *The Romanovs* (henceforth Lincoln) 26; Lindsey Hughes, *The Romanovs* (henceforth Hughes), 1–10. On Michael: Orchard, 30–4.
- ⁴ Madariaga 140–5, 295, 342, 357; effect of Ivan 371. Circassian princes/Cherkasskys: Paul Bushkovitch, 'Princes Cherkasskii or Circassian Murzas: The Kabardians in the Russian boyar elite 1560–1700', *Cahiers du Monde Russe* (2004) 45.1–2.9–30. Filaret: J. L. H. Keep, Regime of Filaret, SEER (1959–60) 38.334–43 (henceforth Keep). Michael: Orchard, 30–4. Michael character: Vernadsky 5.1.308–11. RGADA 135.III.1.2. 28–44, March 1613, Gramota arkhiepiskopa Feodorita i F. I. Sheremeteva k Zemskomu Soboru (Formal report of the Kostroma delegates to the Zemsky Sobor on Tsar Mikhail's consent to be tsar).
- ⁵ Keep 334–43. Vernadsky 5.1.205–20. Dunning 50–9; serfdom 60–73. Ian Grey, *Boris Godunov* 13–14, 134–9, 159–62. Soloviev 16.44. Dunning 94–100.
- ⁶ Soloviev 15.27. Vernadsky 5.1.225–51. Dunning on uprising, 415–39. Michael in Kremlin: Soloviev 15.283. Filaret: Soloviev 15.160–231; Pozharsky and Minin 275–86. Kremlin charnel-house: Merridale 130–3. Hughes 8–12. Keep 334–43.
- ⁷ Soloviev 15.240–89, 16.1–15; Filaret's reaction 16.44–5. Vernadsky 5.1.275–83. Dunning 415–48. Hughes 12–14, 31. Richard Wortman, *Scenarios of Power* (henceforth Wortman) 9–13. Susanin: Soloviev 16.243–50. Hughes 12–13.
- ⁸ Madariaga 1–22. Dunning 28–44. Merridale 13–100.
- ⁹ Coronation: L. E. Morozova: T. B. Knyazevskaia (ed.), *Kultura slavyan i Rus*, Morozova, L. E., *Dve redaktsii China venchaniia na tsarstvo Alexeia Mikhailovicha*, 457–72. Madariaga 49–52. Wortman 10–16. Lincoln 30–3. Hughes 12–13.
- ¹⁰ Olearius 62, 191, 262. Orchard 30–4. Soloviev 17.92. Clocks, Merridale 140, 146. Amusements: J. T. Fuhrman, *Alexis: His Reign and his Russia* (henceforth Fuhrman) 4–6. Paul Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great* (henceforth Bushkovitch) 14–16 and 28–9.
- ¹¹ Soloviev 16:16–44, 96–114. Dunning 448–59. Vernadsky 5.1.283–93. Saltykovs: Martin 180.
- ¹² Crummey 1–28, 56, 70–82, 143, 141–2; wealth lists of boyars 108. See also: Sergei Bogatyrev, *The Sovereign and his Counsellors: Ritualised Consultations in Muscovite Political Culture, 1350s to 1570s*. Soloviev 17.85–92. Bushkovitch 14–16, 28–9. Hughes 38–9. Lincoln 82–5. Processions: Wortman 15–18. Word and deed: C. A. Ruud and S. A. Stepanov, *Fontanka* 16 (henceforth Ruud) 5–7. Terem culture: Fuhrman 38, 75–6. Pharmacy: Soloviev 25.11.
- ¹³ Martin 9–11; 20–1; 57–94; 170–1; 174, 180.
- ¹⁴ Martin 169–85. Madariaga 50–9. Soloviev 16.165–6, 313. Lincoln 34.
- ¹⁵ Soloviev 16.129–50, 174–200, 17.105.
- ¹⁶ Filaret: *Pisma russkikh gosudarei* (henceforth PRG) 1.10–14. Soloviev 16.156–65, 17.90–3. Filaret's vanity: Vernadsky 5.1.308–11. Lykov and Filaret: Soloviev 16.222–4. Dunning 459–80. Filaret exiles boyars: Bushkovitch 49–51. Paul Bushkovitch, Shvedskie istochniki o Rossii 1624–26, *Arkhiv russkoi istorii* (2007) 8.359–81. Precedence: Soloviev 17.93–102; Crummey 136–40.

- ¹⁷ Streshneva: Soloviev 16.166. Fuhrman 1–10. Martin 186–9. Dolgorukys: Bushkovitch 32. Bushkovitch, *Shvedskie istochniki o Rossii*, 8.359–81.
- ¹⁸ Soloviev 16.211–25, 17.92–5. Vernadsky 5.1.345–61. Fuhrman 106–7. Bushkevich 50–1. Boyar commanders: Crummey 46–9; Fuhrman 106–7. Hughes 38–40. Philip Longworth, *Alexis, Tsar of All the Russias* (henceforth Longworth) 21.
- ¹⁹ Soloviev 17.83–4. Longworth 5–23. *The Domostroi/Terem*: Fuhrman 83. Bushkovitch 33. Giving birth: Lindsey Hughes, *Sophia* (henceforth, *Sophia*) 25.
- ²⁰ Vernadsky 5.1.383–5. Fuhrman 7–11. Longworth 17–26. Waldemar/pretenders: Soloviev 17.55–75. Death of Michael: Soloviev 17.83–4. Fuhrman 1–4. Longworth 17–21.

SCENE 2: THE YOUNG MONK

- ¹ Accession/Zealots: Vernadsky 5.1.382–91. Fuhrman 9–15, 46–7. Young Alexei: Hughes, *Sophia* 5, 25. Longworth 5–11, 19–28; zealots 55–67; negro Saveli 186. Funerals: Wortman 38. Religion and ceremonies: Crummey 141. Matveev: Fuhrman 193. Coronation: *Chin postavlennia na tsarstvo tsarya i velikogo knyazya Alexeia Mikhailovicha* 38. Falconry 119; technological interests 120;
- ² Kindness, tact: Longworth 69, 72, 88, 135–9; Ivan 69 and 259; fury 69–72; ducking 113–14. Hughes, *Sophia* 28. Religion: Fuhrman 32–3; Crummey 141. Pharmacy: Soloviev 25.11. Alexei's order of foreign purchases: RGADA 27.118.119–20. Kind letter to Odoevsky: V. Lamansky, *Zapiski otdeleniia Russkoi i Slavianskoi Arkheologii* (1861) 2.702–6. Letters to steward: ZORI 2.786–8.
- ³ Brideshow organized: Martin 190–2. Samuel Collins *Present State of Russia* 10–12, 111–13.
- ⁴ Marriage: Fuhrman 13–15, 208–10; Martin 192–6. Hughes 30–2. *Sophia* 20. Rich boyars: Crummey 113–14; on Morozov potash 130–3. Fuhrman 116–34. Longworth 22–38; father-substitute 45. Morozov: Fuhrman 16–18. Collins 10–12, 111–13.
- ⁵ 1648 riots and Code: Olearius 203–17. Crummey 83–7. Fuhrman 16–29. Hughes, *Sophia* 34. Longworth 39–46. Law code, John P. LeDonne, *Absolutism and Ruling Class* (henceforth LeDonne) 4, 16, 212–15.
- ⁶ Fuhrman 46–7, 131–45, 155–76. Crummey 97–100. *Sophia* 35–7. Merridale 156–8.
- ⁷ Sergii Plokhyy, *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine* (henceforth Plokhyy) 97–118. Vernadsky 5.1.463–79. Longworth 65.
- ⁸ Polish war: RGADA 27.85; notebooks RGADA 27.82; 27.86. PRG 5.10–12. Longworth 68–91, 161. Fuhrman 57–74, 105–16; Secret Office 104–5. Generals: Crummey 46–9.
- ⁹ Fuhrman 155–79; Crummey 102. Longworth 164–73. *Sophia* 35–7.
- ¹⁰ RGADA 27.337; RGADA 27.85. Bushkovitch 24–7, 225. Secret Office: Longworth 129–39 and 155. Fuhrman 81–105, 166. Crummey 28–32; 141; favourites 97; wealth 146, 113–14; generals 46–9; foreign policy leaders 56–9. Nashchokin: Fuhrman 189–92 and Crummey 97. New men: Bushkovitch 49–65. Longworth 71–2. Sex, boyars: Longworth 154. Pharmacy: Soloviev 125.11. Odoevsky/Khitrovo/Dolgoruky: Bushkovitch 21–3, 51. Miloslavsky/sex: Fuhrman 87–8. Longworth 161. Collins 110–17.
- ¹¹ Copper Riot: Fuhrman 145–53. Longworth 138–53.
- ¹² *Sophia* 38–45. Longworth 164–73, 187. Fuhrman 210–14. Crummey 97. Longworth 125–36. LeDonne 298 on tsar as sole vicar of Christ sanctifying social order. Bushkovitch 51–5.
- ¹³ Crummey 102. Fuhrman 188–95. Bushkovitch 61–78. Martin 196–202; *Artaxerxes* 204.

- ¹⁴ Ruud 7. Bushkovitch 49–65. *Sophia* 37–46 (description of Natalya, pleasures, palaces, dwarfs by Reutenfel). Fuhrman 195–9. Longworth 200–3. Palaces: Crummey 61. Theatres: Bushkovitch 43–8; Matveev 70–9. Fuhrman 195–6. Longworth 207–8; Peter and Natalya 224. Pharmacy: 25.11–20
- ¹⁵ Soloviev 25.11–17; Bushkovitch 80–7. Fuhrman 176–81, 218–19. Longworth 214.

SCENE 3: THE MUSKETEERS

- ¹ Tokmakov (ed.), *Istoricheskoe opisanie vsekh koronatsii rossiiskikh tsarei, imperatorov i imperatrits* (henceforth Tokmakov) 52–3. Soloviev 25.9–36; death 94–6. Bushkovitch 86–123. *Sophia* 45–8, 182. Fuhrman 219–23. Marriages: Martin 211–16; 216–19.
- ² 15–26 May 1682 – this account is based on the following: A. A. Matveev, *Zapiski grafa Andrey Matveeva*, in N. Sakharov (ed.), *Zapiski russkikh lyudei. Sobytiia vremeni Petra Velikogo* 6–43. Count MacDonnell (ed.), Johann Georg Korb, *Diary of an Austrian Secretary of Legation at the Court of Czar Peter the Great* (henceforth Korb) 2.114–15, 250–4. *Sophia* 53–88. Bushkovitch 125–37.
- ³ *Sophia* 73–88; Windbag 101. Golitsyn 177. Bushkovitch 131–8.
- ⁴ *Sophia* 182–98. Bushkovitch 139. General Gordon: Dmitry Fedosov, *Cock of the East: A Gordon Blade Abroad* (henceforth *Cock*), in Mark Erickson and Ljubica Erickson (eds.), *Russia: War, Peace and Diplomacy: Essays in Honour of John Erickson* 3–11.
- ⁵ *Sophia* 221–33. Bushkovitch 142–59. Romodanovsky, Lefort, Gordon: L. Hughes, *Russia in the Age of Peter the Great* (henceforth Hughes, *Russia*) 378/9, 433. LeDonne 122–3. Korb 1.196. Friedrich Christian Weber, *The Present State of Russia* (henceforth Weber) 1.5, 137. Sigizmund Librovich, Peter Velikiy i zhenshchiny, *Smena* (1993) 6.80–97 (henceforth Librovich). Dated diary entries quoted from Patrick Gordon diary: RGVIA 846.15.1–7, published as: Patrick Gordon, *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries* ('Gordon'). *Cock* 3–11. Play regiments: Hughes, *Russia* 16–18; Peter's looks and convulsions 357–8; marriage to Eudoxia 394; Lefort 422. Marriages: Martin 219–28. Streshnev: John LeDonne, 'Ruling Families in the Russian Political Order, 1689–1825: I. The Petrine leadership, 1689–1725; II. The ruling families, 1725–1825', *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* (henceforth LeDonne, Families) 28.236.
- ⁶ *Sophia* 198–215; Shaklovity 102, 223–41, 160–9. Martin 216–23.

SCENE 4: THE ALL-DRUNKEN SYNOD

- ¹ This is based on Peter the Great correspondence in *Pisma i Bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikogo* (henceforth *PiB*); Hughes, *Russia*, 248–297; Ernst Zitser, *The Transfigured Kingdom* (henceforth Zitser) 157–70. Menshikov punched by Peter: Korb 2.6. Mock Synods: Korb, 1.100, 252–3. *PiB* 4.184, 7.90–1, 6.301, 11.141, 11.167. Peter to Zotov quoted in Hughes, *Russia* 252, 98–9. Zotov wedding Weber 1.89–90. Anna Mons: Librovich 83–7. Royal titles 'which I hate' Hughes, *Russia* 363. Time like death: *PiB* 1.444, 11.281. Death of mother: *PiB* 4.379, 22 September 1694. *Cock* 3–11. Streshnev/Musin–Pushkin: LeDonne 236–9.
- ² Hughes, *Russia* 18–19. Gordon 18–25. *Cock* 3–11.
- ³ Hughes, *Russia* 23–6; necro-fascination 370. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* 3.334–5. Hughes, *Peter the Great* 101–17.
- ⁴ Beards: Korb 1.255–60. Beards decree: *Polnoe sobranie zakonov* (henceforth *PSZ*) 4.282. Cruelty *streltsy*: Korb 1.178, 187, 202, 243. Hughes, *Russia* 327. Later executions: F. W. Bergholz, *Dnevnik* (henceforth Bergholz), 10–12. Preobrazhenskoe

- Prikaz: LeDonne 122–3; Lopukhin opposition 159.
- ⁵ Hughes, *Russia* 26–32. Peter Englund, *The Battle that Shook Europe* (henceforth Englund).
- ⁶ Hughes, *Russia* 31, 210–12.
- ⁷ Menshikov letters to Daria Arsenieva: RA (1877) 2.239–45. Hughes, *Russia* 394–8. Peter to Catherine letters: N. I. Pavlenko, *Catherine I* (henceforth Pavlenko) 168–9. Librovich 83–90. Strength: Bergholz 1722 126–7. Prince from the Dirt: LeDonne, *Families* 241.
- ⁸ LeDonne 68–70. Mazeppa: Plokhly 119–130. Hughes, *Russia* 32–7; also ‘dumb beast’ 444. O. Subtelny, Mazeppa, Peter I and the Question of Treason, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (1978) 2.158–84.
- ⁹ Governors: LeDonne, *Families* 240–2. LeDonne 68–74. Soloviev 28.82–102. Pavlenko 172–3; resurrection of Russia 27 June 1719, 230. Factional politics: Bushkovitch 255–70. Account of battle based on Englund. Hughes, *Russia* 38–45. Celebration: PiB 8.446–7, 473–5. *SIRIO* 50.291.

ACT II: THE APOGEE

SCENE I: THE EMPEROR

- ¹ Weber 1.285–9. 9. Dwarfs: *PSZ* 1710 23. *PiB* 10.270–1. Alexei: Pavlenko 179–80. Senate: *PSZ* 5.2758/5.3–7/1.102. Hughes, *Russia* 102–5. Praskovia’s court: Hughes, *Russia* 192; drinking 419.
- ² Soloviev 28.158–80. Bushkovitch 306. Hughes, *Russia* 45–50; Shafirov 429–30. Senate: LeDonne 68–74.
- ³ *PiB* 7.451 and 8.20, March/July 1708, Alexei to Peter, Peter to Alexei. Hughes, *Russia* 402–7.
- ⁴ *PSZ* 1712 1–6. Peter to Menshikov: *PiB* 11.230, 496. 12 May 1711, *SIRIO* 61.142–4. Charles Whitworth despatch, 20 February 1712, *PiB* 12.86, 361. Hughes, *Russia* 261. Promotion: Pavlenko 188–9; pen and sword, Peter to Catherine, 2 August 1712, 180. Hughes, *Russia* 50–6; Iaguzhinsky 426. V. V. Dolgoruky: Bushkovitch 292–335. Nubians/Hannibal: I. V. Zimin, *Povsednevnaia zhizn rossiiskogo imperatorskogo dvora: Detskii mir imperatorskikh rezidentsii. Byt monarkhov i ikh okruzhenie* (henceforth Zimin, Negroes) 410–18.
- ⁵ Alexei, Peter’s letters: Nikolay Ustryalov, *Istoriia Tsarstvovaniia Petra Velikogo* (henceforth Ustryalov) 6.345–9. Peter’s second European trip inc. letters with Catherine in Paris, Amsterdam, Spa: Pavlenko 197–216. Zotov wedding: Weber 1.89–90. Hughes, *Russia* 253; Zitser, ch. 4. Alexei crisis: Bushkovitch 339–82. Collegia/senators ‘fishwives’: LeDonne 75–80.
- ⁶ Ustryalov 6.224–6, 240, 307, 346–50, 388–444. J. Crockatt, *The Tryal of the Czarewicz Alexis Petrowitz who was Condemn’d at Petersbourg on 25 June 1718 for a Design of Rebellion and Treason*. Weber 1.229–30. Bushkovitch 383–424. Collegia: *PSZ* 5.3126, 11 December 1717. Zitser 160–3 Peter to I. F. Romodanovsky in Hughes, *Russia* 373; Zotov death/election 254; Rzhenskaya 252–4. Menacing hyperactivity – Lindsey Hughes’s phrase – Hughes, *Russia* 459. Secret police: LeDonne 160.
- ⁷ Hughes, *Russia* 378–9. Time like death: *PiB* 1.444, 11.281. Assemblies: *PSZ* 5.3241.597. Etiquette, *Honourable Mirror of Youth*: Hughes, *Russia* 265; Devier 430. Drinking: *SIRIO* 40.168–9, 49.344, 60.191, Campredon despatches. Bergholtz 1721 50–61. Petersburg. Defecation: *PSZ* 6.3937, quoted in Evgenii Anisimov, *The Reforms of Peter the Great: Progress through Coercion in Russia* 150. Hard labour, *katonga*/Military Code 1716: LeDonne 212–14.

- ⁸ Compulsion: *PSZ* 7.4348.152, 8 November 1723. Our people are like children: *PSZ* 7.4345.150, 5 November 1723. Savage ruler, Hughes, *Russia* 129–132; 384; the state/common good: 387. Executions: Bergholz 1724 9–11 and 75–6. Military Code: LeDonne 212–14.
- ⁹ Evgenii Anisimov, *Five Empresses* (henceforth Anisimov) 35–9, inc. ‘best-looking man’. Mistresses: Librovich 87–97. Mistress Eudoxia Rjevskaya, S. Bonnet (ed.), Comte Fyodor Golovkine, *La Cour et le règne de Paul Ier* (henceforth Golovkin) 9. Matrena Balk/Princess Anastasia Golitsyna: howling in *SIRIO* 1.19. Hughes, *Russia* 253. Time to go home, old man: Bergholtz 1724, 67. Elizaveta: P. Bartenev (ed.), Duke of Liria, *Pisma o Rossii v Ispaniiu*, in *Osmnadsatyi vek* (henceforth Liria, *Pisma o Rossii*).
- ¹⁰ Librovich 94–7. M. I. Semevsky, Kamer-Freilina Maria Davilovna Hamilton, *Slovo i Delo* (1884) 185–268. Execution: J. B. Scherer, *Anecdotes Interresantes et Secrets de la Court de Russia*, 2:272. Nyastad/Procurator: *PSZ* 6.3979, 27 April 1722. Law of succession including new title ‘Caesarevich’: *PSZ* 6.3893. Hughes, *Russia* 97, 104–5, 273, 410–11; Iaguzhinsky, 426. Serfs ownership: LeDonne 4–6. Osterman married to Streshneva by Peter the Great: LeDonne, *Families* 298.
- ¹¹ Soloviev 32:57–98. Bushkovitch 428–31; 376. Peter’s ‘Heads will fly . . .’ Anisimov 60. Hughes, *Russia* 57–9; exposed body 153.
- ¹² *PRG* 4.2–54. Praskovia, Anna, Catherine: Anisimov 68–70; Soloviev 32.13–17; Mina Curtiss, *A Forgotten Empress: Anna Ivanovna and her Era* (henceforth Curtiss) 37–45. Praskovia freaks: Bergholz 2.30. Peter and Mecklenburg: *PRG* 2.3562. Anisimov 131–3. Crams-Prick: Zitser, 167.
- ¹³ *Koronatsionnye torzhestva. Albom svyashchennogo koronovaniia ikh imperatorskikh velichestv gosudarya imperatora Nikolaia Alexandrovicha i gosudaryni imperatritsy Alexandry Fedorovny* (henceforth *Koronatsionnye torzhestva*) 6. Bergholz 1724 30–44. Soloviev 34.155. Wortman 34–9. Peter’s illness/urine problems: Peter to Catherine, 4 June 1724, Pavlenko 260. Bergholz (1724) 67.

SCENE 2: THE EMPRESSES

- ¹ Anisimov 35–9, Mons poem. Hughes *Russia* 130. Librovich 95–7. *SIRIO* 52.358–9 Campredon, 9 December 1724. Bering Soloviev 32.149. Succession, Anna, Holstein: Anisimov 39. Mons’s body: Bergholz 1724 9–11 and 75–6.
- ² Bassewitz, H. F., *Zapiski grafa Bassevicha, sluzhashchie k poiasneniiu nekotorykh sobytii iz vremi tsarstvovaniia Petra Velikogo*, RA 3 (1865) 93–274 especially 173, 259. *SIRIO* 52.425–37 Campredon. VD: *SIRIO* 3.400, 454–91. Soloviev 34.155. PZh (1725) 3. Feofan Prokopovich, *Kratkaia povest o smerti Petra Velikogo* (henceforth Prokopovich) 3–4. Hughes, *Russia* 445–47; funeral 262–3. Anisimov 39–40.
- ³ Catherine elected: Anisimov 3–8. *SIRIO* 52.436/58.23. Ustryalov 4.135–40.
- ⁴ Wortman 38–9. Anisimov 40–2. Hugh Barnes, *Gannibal: the Moor of Petersburg* (Gannibal) 173.
- ⁵ Bergholtz 1725 102. Hatred, neglect, greed: Grigorii Esipov, *Zhizneopisanie A. D. Menshikova*, RA (1875) 7–12 (‘Esipov’) 247. Parties: Bergholz 1725 90–4. Soloviev 10.70–5. Menshikov: Christof Herman von Manstein, *Contemporary Memoirs of Russia from 1727 to 1744* (henceforth Manstein) 1–3. Anisimov 39–51. Catherine I’s drinking rules: Mrs William Vigor (Mrs Rondeau), *Letters from a Lady Who Resided Some Years in Russia, to her Friend in England* (henceforth Vigor). Zimin, *Negroes* 410–18. Hughes, *Russia* 397, 548; marriage of Holstein 414; Menshikov manager 432.
- ⁶ Anna, Courland: Anna to Menshikov, *PRG* 4.141–2. Curtiss 48–52.

- ⁷ Manstein 4–5. Soloviev 10.70–5. LeDonne 122–4. Philip Longworth, *The Three Emperesses* (henceforth Longworth, *Emperesses*) 68–72; death 75. Anisimov 51–3.
- ⁸ Vigor 26. Peter II, Menshikov: Manstein 24, 7. Menshikov to Peter II: RGADA 11.63.3v. Anisimov 72–3. Curtiss 51–4. Elizaveta: Liria, *Pisma o Rossii* 2.32–4, 115.
- ⁹ RGADA 11.63.3v. Manstein 4–11. Esipov, 247. Example of ingratitude – Prokopovich to Tsarevna Anna Petrovna: Aleksandr Golombievsky, *Sotrudniki Petra Velikogo* 114. Fall of Goliath, Igor Pashkov, quoted Soloviev 10.119–21. Liria, *Pisma o Rossii* 2.34, 115.
- ¹⁰ Soloviev 10.141. Liria, *Pisma o Rossii* 2.30–36. Manstein 12–15. Anisimov 55–7.
- ¹¹ Liria, *Pisma o Rossii* 2.181. Manstein 22. Vigor 23–5; Blessing of Waters 29; death and smallpox 30–1; Ekaterina Dolgorukaya 34–5. Anisimov 55–60.
- ¹² Manstein 24–37; on Biron 41–8; candidates for throne: D. A. Korsakov, *Votsarenie Imperatritsy Anny Ioannovny* 2–5, 67–70, 146–245, 265–75. M. T. Florinsky, *Russia: A History and an Interpretation* 1.440–2. Marc Raeff (ed.), *Plans for Political Reform in Imperial Russia 1730–1905*, 40–53. Anisimov 55–61.
- ¹³ Coronation of Anna: *Opisanie koronatsii ee velichestva i samoderzhitsy vserossiiskoi Anny Ioannovny* 9–10.
- ¹⁴ RA (1916) 3.257. Shakhovskiy to Biron on horse; RA (1916) 4.381, Biron to Shakhovskiy; giants 388. Biron killing of man: *Osmnadsatyi vek* (1869) 3.158 – letter 25 July 1725. Vigor 149–53; Osterman (Oracle nickname) 154–7; Cherkassky 158–61. talks to men like horses: Manstein 41–5. Osterman: Manstein 45; filth 333–6; character of Münnich 54–6 and 331–2. Münnich: Vigor 118–21. Osterman: LeDonne, *Families* 298. Comte Ernest de Münnich, *Mémoires sur la Russie de Pierre le Grand à Elizabeth I, 1720–1742* (henceforth Münnich) 125–7; jesters 126; Anna good nature 124; Anna mood and Biron 126–7. Succession: Anisimov 61, 75–84; on Biron 74–5. Anna Leopoldovna, Anton of Brunswick Brevern, Biron, *Obstoiatelstva, prigotovivshie opalu Ernsta–Ioanna Birona, gertsoga Kurlyandskogo, Vremya* (1861) 10.522–622.
- ¹⁵ RGADA 197.1.9.35.1, Anna to S. A. Saltykov, 20 February 1733 on tomfoolery, sent Miliutin, Golitsyn and Balakirev's wife – 'Golitsyn's the best'. RGADA Gosarkhiv 5.21, Anna to Saltykov, send bandura player; 89a investigate store room of Prince Odoevsky; 91 send girls; 25 wedding matchmaking; 28 send talkative girl. RGADA Gosarkhiv 18.19, send someone to replace Tatiana. RGADA Gosarkhiv 12.12a. *Kniga zapisnaia imennym pismam i ukazam imperatritsy Anny Ioannovny i Elizavety Petrovny Semyonu Andreevichu Saltykovu 1732–1742* (henceforth *Kniga zapisnaia*): on taking gold off Alexei Dolgoruky, 24 January 1732, 2; take portrait from Apraxin, 25 January 1732, 3; get Volkov's letters, 22 June 1732, 35; send monkeys, 20 May 1735; send tall Turks, 10 August 1738; send false letter to Apraxina and observe how she opens it, 4 January 1739, 222; send the starling, 1 March 1739, 224. *Osmnadsatyi vek* (1869) 3, Anna to Deputy Governor Pashkov, June 1730, on bishop talk; Anna to Osterman on Turkish war 155; describe the child as monster. Cabinet of three with ability to issue imperial orders: LeDonne 82–4. Vigor 70–2. Oginski 'shared bed': Manstein 253–7; dwarves 258–60; succession 51. Zimin, *Negroes* 410–18. Osterman–LeDonne, *Families* 298. Security, dwarfs: Anisimov 86–100; triumvirate 100–8. Secret police: LeDonne 122–4.
- ¹⁶ E. V. Anisimov, *Empress Elizabeth* (henceforth Anisimov, *Elizabeth*) 9–22. Vigor 106–7. Elizaveta appeals to Empress Anna AKV (1870) 1.4–5, Elizaveta to Anna, 16 November 1736. Succession: Manstein 51. Heiress: Anna Leopoldovna of Mecklenburg and fiancé Ernst Biron, *Obstoiatelstva* 10.
- ¹⁷ *Osmnadsatyi vek* (1869) 155, Empress Anna to Osterman complaining of conduct of generals. Manstein 67–88; 1735–6 Turkish war 91–134; Münnich feuds 134; 1737

- campaign 148. Münnich 73–97. Anisimov 108–111. Guards at Christmas at Elizaveta: Liria, *Pisma o Rossii* 118–19. Mavra Shepeleva's descriptions of handsome men: ChOIDR (1864) 2:66–72, *Pisma k gosyaryne tsesarevne Elizavete Petrovne Mavry Shepelevoi*. Cases against Elizaveta: RA (1865) 1.328–30. *SIRIO* 92.231–2 *marquis de la Chétardie*. Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 9–22. Vigor 106–7. Manstein 50–1.
- ¹⁸ Empress Anna to Osterman about d'Aderkass correspondence with Lynar: *Osmnaditsyi vek* (1869) 3.156. Anna Leopoldovna: Vigor 106–8. D'Aderkass/Lynar: Manstein 89. Biron, *Obstoiatelstva* 10. Curtiss 95.
- ¹⁹ Anna Leopoldovna wedding Vigor 185–207. Manstein 253–4. Münnich 98. Biron on stupidity of Anton: *SIRIO* 6.100. Anna to Biron: Biron, *Obstoiatelstva* 100
- ²⁰ Dolgorukys: Anisimov 117–21; Münnich vanity and unpopularity 100–4. Volynsky: Manstein 267; Dolgoruky case 40; election of Biron 196–7; Münnich's luck and peace 225–47; fear of war with Sweden/treaty between Sweden and Turkey and kidnapping/murder of Sinclair 249–50. Anna's expulsion of Libman/Sanchez: Curtiss 85–7. Biron, *Obstoiatelstva* 10
- ²¹ Ice wedding: Anisimov 120–4. Manstein 260–2. Curtiss 258–68.
- ²² Fall of Volynsky: Manstein 266–7. Münnich 111–14. Anisimov 1215.
- ²³ Manstein 269–71. Münnich 114–22. Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 1–5.
- ²⁴ Manstein 275–91. Münnich 132–43; 154–6. Biron on Anton's conspiracy: *SIRIO* 6.100. Anisimov 146.
- ²⁵ Doneseniia Ed. Fincha lordu Garringtonu, in *SIRIO* 85.243–6 (henceforth Finch). RGADA 5.1.69.2, Anna Leopoldovna to Lynar, 13 October 1741. RGADA 5.1.69.3, Anna Leopoldovna to Lynar, 17 October 1741. Münnich 139–40. Julia von Mengden and regent Anna: Manstein 295–7. *SIRIO* 96.629–30 *Chétardie*. Biron comments *SIRIO* 6.100 *Petzold*. Osterman: Münnich 154–6. Fall of Münnich: Manstein 282–8; rivalries of ministers 297; Anton best heart 328. Anna Leopoldovna as regent: Anisimov 147–53; plan to crown Anna Leopoldovna, 153. Manstein 327–8.
- ²⁶ RGADA 5.1.69.2, Anna Leopoldovna to Lynar, 13 October 1741. RGADA 5.1.69.3, Anna Leopoldovna to Lynar, 17 October 1741. Manstein 324–5; Swedish war 298–314; regent to be empress 315; plot and Anna confronts Elizaveta 317–19.

SCENE 3: RUSSIAN VENUS

- ¹ Finch *SIRIO* 85.243–6. *Chétardie* *SIRIO* 92.231–2. Meetings on dark nights, Princess Joanna in *SIRIO* 92.231–3. Elizaveta and Anna Leopoldovna: *SIRIO* 96.627–30. Coup: Anisimov 171–9. Guards support: Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 21–8. Persecution of Anna Leopoldovna: Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 143–70 and Anisimov 156–70. Elizaveta orders to M. Korf on Brunswicks, threats: M. A. Korf, *Braunshveigskoe semeistvo* 108–200 and 380–3. Most trusted old friend always/trust you like myself: AKV (1870) 1.6–8, Elizaveta to M. Vorontsov, 3 and 21 January 1739.
- ² *Pisma i zapiski imperatritsy Elizavety Petrovny, 1741–1761* 1–3, Elizaveta to Peter, 10 January 1742. Coronation Tokmakov 86–7. AKV (1870) 1.8, Elizaveta to Vorontsov, 30 January 1739. Foreign policy *SIRIO* 52.100. Orders Bestuzhev to examine letters of Princess Joanna AKV (1870) 1.10, Elizaveta to M. Vorontsov, 20 June 1745. Frederick the Great – Tim Blanning, *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* (henceforth 'Blanning') 90, *Orgasm/homoerotica* 64–69, Russian policy 189–207; despises female power and Elizaveta 191. Vorontsov, good manners: F. A. Vychkov (ed.), *Zapiski Favie, Istoricheskii vestnik* (1887) 29.389 (henceforth Favier). Vorontsov: Manstein 342. Anisimov, *Elizabeth*: Vorontsov 'poor man', eclipse and return: 211–17. Gannibal 219. Fall of Osterman: Manstein 330; Lestocq character 318–19. Bestuzhev: Mark Cruse and Hilde Hoogenboom (eds.), *Catherine II, The Memoirs of Catherine*

- the Great* (henceforth *Catherine*) 8; Lestocq enforcer 16, black heart 8. Vorontsov and Shuvalovs: LeDonne, *Families* 299–301; Nikita Trubetskoi as minister at home 298–300 and LeDonne 90–1. Coronation: Manstein 337. Wortman 44. Prussian/French plots: Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 93–109. Fall of Chétardie: AKV (1871) 2.4–6, Bestuzhev to Vorontsov, 6 June 1744. Dog kennel poverty: AKV (1871) 2.12, Bestuzhev to Vorontsov, 2 August 1744; 33–7 Bestuzhev to Vorontsov, 18 August 1744.
- ³ Lopukhina case: Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 152–4. Manstein 401–2.
- ⁴ Brunswicks: Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 160–70.
- ⁵ Princess Joanna intrigues: RA (1904) 2.465. AKV (1870) 1. Elizaveta to Vorontsov, perustration of Joanna or Catherine, 20 June 1745. John T. Alexander, *Catherine the Great: Life and Legend* (henceforth Alexander) 23–43. Catherine's life up to the coup is based on *Catherine*. Anisimov, *Elizabeth*, 230–45, Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great* (henceforth Madariaga, *Russia*) 1–30, Simon Dixon, *Catherine the Great* (henceforth Dixon) and Alexander 17–60. Aim to please: *Catherine* xlv; arrival, education, empress 8–17; popularity 26; mother intrigues 30–1; Peter smallpox 23; wedding 32; Bestuzhev 64–5. Blanning 187–200.
- ⁶ Brunswicks: *Catherine* 81, 87. Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 155–6, 160–70. Peephole incident: *Catherine* 35–9; Elizaveta irritated 198.
- ⁷ AKV (1870) 1.10, Elizaveta to Bestuzhev, 20 June 1745. Foreign policy *SIRIO* 52.100. Rise of Razumovsky, good nature: A. A. Vasilchikov, *Semeistvo Razumovskikh* 1.45–50. Petzold in *SIRIO* 6.616. Bestuzhev and Vorontsov use Razumovsky to petition empress: AKV (1871) 2.170, Bestuzhev to Vorontsov, 21 December 1752. Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 200–4. Empress beauty: Liria, Pisma o Rossii 34, 115. *Catherine* 93. Vanity: Favier 189–90, 385–95. 15,000 dresses: Jacob von Stäehlin, Zapiski o Petre Tretiem, ChOIDR (1866) 4.100. Loss of 4,000 dresses: *Catherine* 123. Elizaveta orders to French shops: RA (1778) 16.1.10–15. Expensive life: M. Vorontsov to Elizaveta, AKV (1871) 2.617. Vorontsov poverty: Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 216–7. Catherine debts: *Catherine* 16. Ball description: Maurice de la Messelière, RA (1874) 12.970–2. Nocturnal habits: Pauzie jewellery *RS* (1870) 1.76. *Catherine* 202. Morals: *Catherine* 96–7; cuckoldry bet 189; shortage of furniture 104; fires 123. Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 167–81. Collapse of Razumovsky house: *Catherine* 58–9. Dixon 65–90. Religion: Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 53. Soloviev 42.106–7.
- ⁸ Catherine/Peter *Catherine* 39; Elizaveta calls Peter monster, irritating 198; Peter as husband 35–43, 199; Chernyshevs 43; drill for Peter 47; Chernyshevs arrested 49; hounds in bedroom 53–4 and 70; Chogloкова 40–7; Peter's Baturin plot 76; rat hanged 121; Madame Resource 146; wild riding 91; nephew monster: Elizaveta mocks Peter 126.
- ⁹ Serfs and masters under Elizaveta: LeDonne 84–91; serfs exiled for insolence 1760, repealed 1802: 212–14. Elizaveta and Jews: AKV (1871) 2.138, Bestuzhev to Vorontsov, 21 December 1745.
- ¹⁰ Elizaveta ageing: Favier 189–90, 385–95; rise of Shuvalovs, Ivan Shuvalov more power than minister 392; Peter Shuvalov like the Mogul 394. Ivan Shuvalov, nice looks, book, his chance: *Catherine* 75; Beketov challenge by Razumovsky 95. Anisimov, 216–8. J. T. Alexander, 'Ivan Shuvalov and Russian Court Politics 1749–63,' in A. G. Cross and G. S. Smith, *Literature, Lives and Legality in Catherine's Russia* ('Alexander Shuvalov') 1–13. Longworth, *Empresses* 207–8. Ivan Shuvalov, goodness personified, and Catherine the Great old friends: Varvara Golovin, *Memoirs of Countess Varvara Golovin* 44. Alexander Shuvalov terror, grimace and twitch: *Catherine* 130–1.
- ¹¹ *Catherine* 72; worth the knout 174; Peter's mistresses, letters 81–3, 153; Catherine

- could have loved 199; Naryshkin 103; Chernyshev 105; Saltykov 109–12; sex talk 112–14; Saltykov or Naryshkin 117; Bestuzhev encourages 115; pregnant with Paul, Shuvalov 130–1; birth of Paul 133; temptation 200.
- ¹² *Catherine* 147–50; Bestuzhev vs Shuvalov/Vorontsov 151–2; Bestuzhev's plan 191; Peter, mistress 153; Bestuzhev discredited 159; Peter hates Russia 165; damned nephew 198. This account of Seven Years War is based on Blanning, *Frederick the Great* 208–281; opium 234; Kunersdorf 239; unity of command 266. Faint of Elizaveta, Bestuzhev alarmed: AKV (1871) 2.211, Bestuzhev to Vorontsov, 9 September 1757. Apraxin retreat AKV 1.368–9, Vorontsov to Bestuzhev, 12 September and 14 October 1757. Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 113–43; Ivan Shuvalov 220–1. War run by Ivan Shuvalov: Soloviev 42.56. Shuvalov: Alexander, 7–13. Earl of Ilchester and Mrs Langford Brook (eds.), *Correspondence of Catherine the Great when Grand Duchess with Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams and Letters from Count Poniatowski* 59–90, 165–70, 235–45. Ivan VI: Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 261–2. Alexander Brickner, *Imperator Ioann Antonovich i ego rodstvenniki* 520–34.
- ¹³ Fall of Bestuzhev, Vorontsov chancellor: Favier 389. Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 215–17, 242–6. Catherine in peril: *Catherine* 173; Catherine wins friends 179; Elizaveta faints 181; how does wife get pregnant? 182–3; Bestuzhev arrest 189; accommodating nature and looks 200; showdown with empress 202–11. AKV (1870) 1.6–8, Elizaveta to M. Vorontsov, 3 and 21 January 1739. AKV (1871) 2.211, Bestuzhev to Vorontsov, 9 September 1757.
- ¹⁴ Soloviev 42.21. Peter and Russia: *Catherine* 165.
- ¹⁵ Blanning 236–281. Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 113–43; endgame 246–8. Letter to Buturlin: Longworth 227. Prussians never beat Russians says Peter: Soloviev 42.21. *Catherine* 165; decline of Elizaveta, the plotters, pregnant, Dashkova 45–50, 74–107. Elizaveta: Favier 189–90, 385–95. Ivan Shuvalov power vanishing: RA (1870) 7.1396, Ivan Shuvalov to M. Vorontsov, 29 November 1761. Swollen, ailing, boils: Anisimov 235–7. Purge of Trubetskoi: LeDonne 21, 86, 90.
- ¹⁶ Soloviev 42.1–12; Ivan Shuvalov to Panin on succession 42.77; Dashkova's offer of coup 42.82. Catherine the Great (CtG), *Memoirs* (1955), 'Last Thoughts of HIM Elisabeth Petrovna' 329–38 death of Elizaveta. Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 245–8. Longworth, *Empresses* 228–9.
- ¹⁷ Peter III letters to/from Frederick: RA (1898) 1, December 1760–March 1762 (hero, 15 March, Peter to Frederick) 7. Soloviev 42.1–12 and 22–8. PSZ 15.11.445, 21 February 1762; PSZ 15.11.444, 18 February 1762; PSZ 15.11.481, 21 March 1762; PSZ 15.11.538, 18 May 1762. Blanning 253–7 – Frederick quotation 'one woman dies. . . sports of fortune.' The reign: Soloviev 42.79–87; Gudovich as hetman, Peter warns Dashkova 42.78–82; janissaries/Guards disbanded 42.60–8; behaviour 42.64–8; Breteuil quoted at 42.75. Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 211. Orlovs call him ugly freak, Alexei Orlov letters from Ropsha: Dixon 124–5.
- ¹⁸ Goltz, Schwerin letters to Frederick, Frederick's warnings to Peter III: RA (1898) 1.7–16, Peter III to Frederick II, 15 May 1762, I walk the streets. Soloviev 42.28–32, 60–70. Blanning 254–6. Secret police and Ivan VI: Soloviev 42.73–4. Ruud, 11. Shuvalov offers: Soloviev 42.59–61. Cadet corps: Andrei Chernyshev laughs at Ivan Shuvalov, Pisma Shuvalovu, RA 11 (1869) 1844. Shuvalov: Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 222. Vorontsov to Peter III: Soloviev 42.55–63.
- ¹⁹ Peter's threat 9 June: Soloviev 42.76–8. Gannibal 1, 228. *Elizabeth* 230–45. Mada-riaga, *Russia* 1–30. Alexander 17–60.
- ²⁰ This account of Catherine's rise and reign is based on original research published in full in Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Prince of Princes: The Life of Potemkin* (also published as *Catherine the Great and Potemkin*) (henceforth 'Montefiore') as well

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- ²¹ *Sochineniia imperatritsy Ekaterina II* (henceforth *Sochineniia*) 12.547. *SIRIO* (1873) 12.2–4, Robert Keith to Mr Grenville, 1 July/12 July 1762. Madariaga, *Russia* 21–37. Alexander 5–16. Montefiore, 40–4. Dashkova 74–80. Cheering Catherine: RA (1867) 4.482–6, Horse Guards in June 1762. Potemkin horse: Reginald Pole-Carew, Russian anecdotes in the Antony Archive, CO/R/3/92, unpublished. Peter III begs: RA (1911) 5:22–3, Peter III to Catherine II, 29 and 30 June 1762. Montefiore 44–5.
- ²² Dixon 122–139. Montefiore 48–62. *SIRIO* 7.108–20. *SIRIO* 42.475, 480. Anisimov, *Elizabeth* 245.
- ²³ *SIRIO* 7.120–50, 1.216, 42.470–5. Soloviev 42.103–7, including Frederick the Great to comte de Ségur. Jews Soloviev 42.106. Orlov marriage? Dixon 124–5. ‘Our ugly freak’ and Alexei Orlov letters on murder of Peter: O. A. Ivanov, Zagadka pisem Alexeia Orlova iz Ropshi, *Moskovskii zhurnal* (1995) 9.15. Ropsha: Alexandre Spiridovich, *Les Dernières Années de la cour de Tsarskoïé-Sélo* (henceforth Spiridovich) 1.231.

SCENE 4: THE GOLDEN AGE

- ¹ Dixon 3–22. Askalon Truvorov, Koronatsiia imperatritsy Ekateriny Vtoroi, *Russkaia starina* (1893) 80.12.490–5.
- ² Poland: Montefiore 46–9. Adam Zamoyski, *Last King of Poland* 61–100. *SIRIO* 7.373–4. ‘Northern System’: Madariaga, *Russia* 33–7, 187–204. Alexander 61–76. David L. Ransel, *The Politics of Catherinian Russia: The Panin Party* (henceforth Ransel) 104–11. Prussian alliance: Blanning 283–4.
- ³ Montefiore 49–51. Dixon 122–155. Ransel 116–27.
- ⁴ Great Commission: Montefiore 57–9. Dixon 170–183. ‘Alexander 103–20; Madariaga, *Russia* 139–50.
- ⁵ Montefiore 76–93. Dixon 184–213. Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes* 58.39, Catherine II (CII) to Voltaire, 4/15 August 1769. Christopher Duffy, *Russia’s Military Way to the West* 130–6. LeDonne, *Ruling Russia* 363–4. Orlov, Chesme and Arab adventures, occupation of Beirut: *Journal of Royal Central Asian Society* 42.3–4. 275–286, William Persen, Russian Occupations of Beirut 1772–4.
- ⁶ Montefiore 60–95. Dixon 215–230. Confession: CtG, *Sochineniia* 12.697–9, CtG to Potemkin/GARF 728.1.425.1–5. Alexander 135–7; 160–1. Madariaga, *Russia* 211–13 and 258–9. Break-up with Orlov: *SIRIO* 13:270–2, 19:325.
- ⁷ Potemkin rise: Montefiore 94–161. Dixon 229–240. Pugachev is based on: A. S. Pushkin’s *Istoriia Pugacheva*, his novella *The Captain’s Daughter* and J. T. Alexander’s two books on the subject – *Emperor of the Cossacks: Pugachev and the Frontier Jacquerie of 1773–75*, and *Autocratic Politics in a National Crisis: The Imperial Russian Government and Pugachev’s Revolt 1773–1775* 1–10. Madariaga, *Russia* 239–55.
- ⁸ Roderick McGrew, *Paul I of Russia* (henceforth McGrew) 55–85.
- ⁹ Montefiore 92–105. ‘It’s a terrible business when the prick and the cunt decide the interests of Europe’: quoted in Robert B. Asprey, *Frederick the Great* 600. G.A. Potemkin (‘GAP’) summoned by Catherine (‘CII’); RGADA 5.85.1.119, L 7, CII to GAP, 4 December 1773. GARF 728.1.425.1–5. CtG, *Sochineniia* 12.697–9, CtG to Potemkin, March 1774. ‘My darling, the time I spend with you is so happy . . .’:

- RGADA 1.1/1.1.213, L 14. Talk with Orlov about *banya*: RGADA 5.85.1.213, L 14. 'I fear you might be angry with me . . .': RGADA 5.85.1.292, L 56, CII to GAP, ud. 'I've withdrawn from a certain good-natured . . .': CII to Grimm, *SIRIO* 2752.
- ¹⁰ Montefiore 109–135. 'A woman is always a woman': Asprey, *Frederick the Great* 601–2. 'Our duty is to improve on events': James Harris, *Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris, 1st Earl of Malmesbury* (henceforth Harris) 239, Harris to Stormont, 15/26 February 1780. Key letters between GAP and CII: RGADA 1.1/1.1.213, L 14. 'The doors will be open': L 242. 'I woke at five . . . I have given strict rules . . .': RGADA 1.1/1.54.42, L 18. 'To get warm: go to the *banya*': RGADA 5.85.1.253, L 44. 'My beauty, my darling, whom nothing resembles': RGADA 1.1/1.54.12, L 23. 'I have masses of things to tell you . . .': RGADA 1.85.1.209, L 10. 'To empower Rumiantsev and thus peace was achieved': A. V. Khrapovitsky, *Dnevnik* (henceforth Khrapovitsky), 30 May 1786. 'Sweetheart, as you asked me to send you with something': RGADA 1.1/1.54.64, L 27. 'General loves me?': RGADA 5.85.1.299, L 30.
- ¹¹ Montefiore 122–135. Alexander 176–8. Madariaga, *Russia* 249–51.
- ¹² Montefiore 136–184. Dixon 241–269. Rumiantsev awards/'Zadunaisky' title: RGADA 1.1/1.54.137, L 76. *SIRIO* 23.4, CII to Grimm, 3 August 1774, St Petersburg. 'I'll give you my portrait . . .': Catherine and Potemkin renegotiate/marriage? RGADA 5.85.1.362, L 72. 'I'll be your humble maid': RGADA 1.1/1.54.27, L 32. 'It's impossible for me to change': RGADA 5.85.1.255, L 17. 'Cruel Tatar': RGADA 1.1/1.54.14, L 93. 'I'll love you for ever in spite of yourself', 'Batinka . . .': RGADA 5.85.1.160, L 53. 'A sincere confession': GARF 728.1.425.1–5/CtG, *Sochineniia* 12.697–9, CII to GAP. 'My darling husband . . .': RGADA 5.85.1.254, L 34. 'Your wife': RGADA 5.85.1.267, L 94. Potemkin–Catherine short letters: RGADA 5.85.2.305, L 95. 'The essence of our disagreement': RGADA 5.85.1.364, L 92, CII to GAP. Zavadovsky ('150 kisses shall I joyfully give you'): *Russkiy istoricheskiy zhurnal* (1918) 5.244–57, quoted in Alexander 342–52. Pisma imp. Ekateriny II k gr. P. V. Zavadovskomu 1775–1777, ed. I. A. Barskov (Zavadovsky) letters 7, 22, 30, 33, 35, 39, CII to P. V. Zavadovsky. 'My Lord and Cher Epoux, Why do you want to cry?': RGADA 85.1.267, L 94, CII to GAP, Prince: RGADA 5.85.3.87, L 96, CII to GAP.
- ¹³ McGrew 70–87; rules for wife 102–3; Kurakin affair 111–38. Paul to Kurakin on Peter's dream: The Count de Montbrison (ed.), *Memoirs of the Baroness d'Oberkirch* 25. Golovkin 105–7. Marie Pierre Rey, *Alexander I: The Tsar Who Defeated Napoleon* (henceforth Rey) 13–26; Alexander education, romper suit 24–8. Catherine to Grimm on Alexander letters in *SIRIO* 23. Paul and Maria: RA (1876) 1.89–92, Fyodor Rostopchin to S. R. Vorontsov, 8 July 1792. Maria: N. A. Sablukov, *Reminiscences of Court and Times of Emperor, Paul I, of Russia up to the Period of his Death, Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* (1865) (henceforth Sablukov) 1.223.
- ¹⁴ Catherine favourites: Montefiore 165–184. 'Time belongs not to me but to the empire': O. I. Yeliseeva, *Perepiska Ekateriny II i G. A. Potemkina perioda vtoroy russkotoy voyny 1787–91* 23. CtG to Zavadovsky letters 7, 22, 30, 33, 35, 39, CII to Zavadovsky. RGADA 5.85.1.296, L 114; RGADA 1.1/1.54.96, L 114, CII to GAP. 'Give Senyusha the attached letters': GARF 728.1.416.51, L 115. Rimsky-Korsakov: KFZ, 8 May 1778. RGADA 5.85.1.141, L 124. 'Thanks to you and the King of Epirus . . .': RGADA 5.85.1.59, L 125, CII to GAP, ud. 'Thank you for loving me!': RA (1881) 3.402–3, CII to Ivan Rimsky-Korsakov. 'When will I see you?': RGADA 5.85.1.59, L 125, CII to GAP. KFZ 1 June, 28 June 1778. RA (1881) 3.402–3, CII to Korsakov. RP 5.1.119.
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- ¹⁸ Crimea, New Russia: Montefiore 247–260, 263–284. ‘Imagine Crimea is yours . . .’: AVPRI 5.5/1.591.1.106, L 154, GAP to CII. ‘We could decide it all in half an hour . . .’: RGADA 5.85.1.121, L 150, CII to GAP, 3 June 1782. ‘Keep your resolution, Matushka . . .’: RGADA 5.85.1.440, L 162, CII to GAP. RGADA 1.1.43.61, L 163, GAP to CII, 22 April 1783. ‘Neither I nor anyone knows where you are’: RGADA 5.85.1.461, CII to GAP. RGADA 5.85.1.504. Potemkin in Crimea, ‘In three days, I will congratulate you with Crimea’: RGADA 1.1/1.43.86–7, L 175, GAP to CII, 10 July 1783. RGADA 1.1/1.43.67–8, L 176, GAP to CII, 16 July 1783. RGADA 1.1/1.43.69–71, L 179, GAP to CII, 29 July 1783. RGADA 1.1/1.43.74–5, L 179, GAP to CII, 29 July 1783. ‘Georgian business is concluded’: RGADA 1.1/1.43.64, L 180, GAP to CII. ‘Let them jest while we do business’: RGADA 5.85.1.508. *SIRIO* 27.276–80, CII to GAP. ‘The best harbour in the world’: RGADA 1.1/1.43.80–3, L 172, GAP to CII, June 1783.
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- ²⁰ Montefiore 351–387. Madariaga, *Russia* 393–5. Alexander 256–7.
- ²¹ Montefiore 388–429. Madariaga, *Russia* 394–7. Alexander 262–5. ‘No more nails on your fingers’: RGADA 1.1/1.475–9, L 223, CII to GAP, 24 August 1787. ‘I can’t stand it’: AVPRI 5.585.317, L 229, GAP to CII, 16 September 1787k. RGADA 5.85.2.43–8, L 233, CII to GAP, 24 September 1787. RGADA 5.85.2.49, L 235, 25 September 1787. RGADA 5.85.2.52–4, L 238, 2 October 1787. ‘Petersburg has the look of an armed camp . . . so my friend, I too have smelled gunpowder’: *SIRIO* 27.512–13. ‘Nothing in the world do I desire as much as that’: RGADA 5.85.2.152–3, CII to GAP, 7 November 1788. ‘A great hatred has risen against us’: RGADA 5.85.2.150–1, L 327, CII to GAP, 27 November 1788. Mamonov: CtG, *Sochineniia* 12, 2nd half-volume, 699–701, L 355–7, June 1789. Khrapovitsky 255, 260, 11 April 1789.
- ²² Montefiore 422–430. Mamonov, ‘why didn’t you tell me about it frankly?’, ‘I felt sorry for you’: CtG, *Sochineniia* 12, 2nd half-volume 699–701, L 355, CII to GAP, June 1789. RGADA 5.85.2.166–7, CII to GAP, 14 July 1789; RS (1876) 16.400, Garnovsky to Popov, 21 June 1789. RGADA 5.85.2.3–4, GAP to CII, 18 July 1789, Olviopol. ‘A sacred place’: AKV 12.63, P. V. Zavadovsky to S. R. Vorontsov, June 1789, St Petersburg. Catherine of Zubov, ‘the Child’: RGADA 5.85.2.177, L 365, CII to GAP,

- 12 August 1789.
- ²³ Montefiore 424–459. Catherine fell in love: RGADA 5.85.2.163, L 358, CII to GAP, 6 July 1789. ‘I’m fat and merry’: RGADA 5.85.2.173, L 363, CII to GAP, 5 August 1789, Tsarskoe Selo; ‘educating young men’: RS (1876) 16.406–7, Garnovsky to Popov. Catherine in love, Potemkin approves: RGADA 5.85.2.7, L 357, GAP to CII, ud; RGADA 5.85.2.166–7, L 319, CII to GAP, 14 July 1789; RGADA 5.85.2.163, L 358, CII to GAP, 6 July 1789; RGADA 1.1.43.42, L 362, GAP to CII, 30 July 1789. Victories over the Turks: Philip Longworth, *The Art of Victory* 156–7. ‘Your greatness of character’: RGADA 5.85.2.204, L 383, CII to GAP, 15 November 1789. ‘Now we’re in a crisis’: Khrapovitsky, 24 December 1789. ‘One paw out of the mud’: RGADA 5.85.2.245–6, L 425, CII to GAP, 9 August 1790. Alexander 257–92 and Madariaga, *Russia* 413–26. Robert H. Lord, *The Second Partition of Poland* (henceforth Lord) 180–5. Khrapovitsky 359, 15, 17, 22 March 1791 and 359–61, 7 and 9 April 1791; RS (1892) April 179, *Memoirs of Fyodor Secretarev*.
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- ²⁵ Golovina 42. RA (1876) 1.89–92, Fyodor Rostopchin to S. R. Vorontsov, 8 July 1792, and RA (1876) 1.92–7, Rostopchin to R. Vorontsov, 14 April 1793. Gielgud, A. (ed.), Adam Czartoryski, *Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski and his Correspondence with Alexander I* (henceforth Czartoryski) 1.66–106, esp. Zubov in power and arrogance; hairdo 75–7; Valerian Zubov 72–5.
- ²⁶ RA (1876) 1.92–7 Rostopchin to Vorontsov, 14 April 1793. Second Partition of Poland, Catherine clears plates: Golovina 120; Alexander marriage, Alexander character, Golovina 41; Saltykov and Alexander 42; Elizabeth beauty 53. Two angels: *SIRIO* 23.583, CII to Grimm, 14 May 1793. Golovina and Elizabeth: Golovina 54, 76, 86–7, 104–5. Grand Duke Nikolai Mikhailovich, *L’Impératrice Elisabeth, épouse d’Alexandre Ier* (henceforth NM, *Elisabeth*) 1.407–26, inc. Elizabeth false pregnancy 424; Alexander gives permission, 12 December 1794; Rostopchin to Vorontsov, e.g. 20 July 1794; Zubov in love 8 December 1795. Catherine old age: Czartoryski 1.85.
- ²⁷ Golovina 47–8; 54, 76, 86–7, 104–5. NM, *Elisabeth* 1.407–26. Catherine to Grimm on Alexander letters in *SIRIO* 23. RA (1876) 1.92–7, Fyodor Rostopchin to S. R. Vorontsov, 14 April 1793. RA (1876) 1.113–18. Kutaisov: Sablukov 1.233. Alexander and Constantine, pride in Gatchina and Paul: Czartoryski 1.122–3; Zubov in love 88; Constantine vicious/marriage night 104.
- ²⁸ Disinherit Paul: *SIRIO* 27.300–3, 23.555. Tsarevich Alexei/Peter the Great: RS (1901) 108.79. Rey 61–5. Madness: Golovkin 119–21. AKV 8.76, 93–4 Rostopchin to S. Vorontsov, 6 July 1793. RA (1876) 1.92–7, Fyodor Rostopchin to S. R. Vorontsov, 14 April 1793. RA (1876) 1.113–18, Rostopchin to Vorontsov, 28 May 1794. Catherine to Grimm on Alexander letters in *SIRIO* 23, esp. Alexander to be crowned 23.574, Catherine to Grimm, 14 August 1792. McGrew 148–69; Zubov joke 1793, plot of Nassau-Siegen, Choiseul-Gouffier on new Tiberius 184–7.
- ²⁹ Dixon 305–15. Catherine approached Maria: Queen Anna of Netherlands quoted in Rey 63. Alexander refuses Catherine’s offer: found in Zubov’s papers quoted in N. K. Schilder, *Imperator Alexandr I* (henceforth Schilder) 1.279. Renounce throne: Alexander to Laharpe, 21 February 1796, and Alexander to Victor Kochubey, 10 May 1796, both quoted in Rey 64–6. Constantine: brutality: RA (1876) 1.118, Rostopchin to Vorontsov, 28 May 1794. Choice of wife: Wilson 21. Lincoln quotes Custine

- on foot-piercing and Davydov on ugliness, hairs: Lincoln 26–7. Rats out of guns, drums, VD, cruelty to hussar reported to Catherine II by Charlotta Lieven: Golovina 98, 184–5. 1801, plans to refuse crown: Sablukov 325. S. W. Jackman (ed.), *Romanov Relations: The Private Correspondence of Tsars Alexander I, Nicholas I and Grand Dukes Constantine and Michael with their Sister Queen Anna Pavlovna* (henceforth Jackman) 8; early loves and brutality of Constantine 26. NM, *Elisabeth* 66. Rey 309, 364, 417. Arturo Beéche, *The Grand Dukes* (henceforth Beéche) 1.21.
- ³⁰ Golovin 109–21. McGrew 184–7. Constantine brutality: RA (1876) 1.118, Rostopchin to Vorontsov, 28 May 1794. Swedish marriage: RA (1876) 1.408–9, Rostopchin to Vorontsov, 11 September 1796. Michael Jenkins, *Arakcheev: Grand Vizier of the Russian Empire* (henceforth Arakcheev) 39–55.

SCENE 5: THE CONSPIRACY

- ¹ Fyodor Rostopchin, *Le Dernier Jour de la vie de l'impératrice Catherine II et le premier jour du règne de l'empereur Paul I*, in *Oeuvres inédites du comte Rostopchine* 3–38 (henceforth Rostopchin). Grand Duchess Elizabeth to mother, 29 January 1797, NM, *Elisabeth* 239–40. Czartoryski 1.140–73. Golovina 124–33. McGrew 192–243.
- ² McGrew 192–243. Paul on Peter III: *PSZ* 24.17537, 9 November 1796; on military *PSZ* 1.24.17531, 7 November 1796. Rostopchin 3–38. Golovkin 123–31. Golovina 124–33.
- ³ McGrew 192–242. Paul's coup against ruling families and concentration of power in His Majesty's Suite, adjutants double: LeDonne 99. Order on pretty maid: Golovina 166. Grand Duchess Elizabeth to mother, 29 January 1797, NM, *Elisabeth* 239–40. Golovkin 123–31. Golovkin 123–31; Paul to Reprin on power to make marshals and most important man in empire 133; passion for ceremony 134. McGrew 192–243. New orders of dress, Alexander like Prussian, Gatchina Guards arrive: Sablukov 1.226–8; Petersburg like a German town 1.230. Paul good features 1.236–7; chivalry, humour 2.302–3; strikes officers with cane 2.306. Parade centre of all life, Paul's mixed nature: Czartoryski 1.140–73. Golovina: Nelidova–Maria faction 138–44. Kutaisov: Czartoryski 1.181–7. Kutaisov as Figaro: Sablukov 2.306. Dismissal and exile of Suvorov by Arakcheev ordered by Paul, 6 February 1797: Grand Duke Nikolai Mikhailovich, *L'Empereur Alexandre Ier* (henceforth NM, *Alexandre*) 249. Arakcheev 53–61
- ⁴ *Koronatsionnye torzhestva* 8. Golovkin 139; Alexander and heavy crown 162. Golovina 138–59, laughter and fear; improper flowers. NM, *Elisabeth* 1.246. McGrew 233–40. Wortman 87–8. Rey 76. Romanov Family Law: *PSZ* 1.24.17908, 5 April 1797. Succession Law: *PSZ* 1.24.17906, 5 April 1797 and *PSZ* 1.24.17907, dated 1788. Caesarevich: *PSZ* 1.24.6, November 1796–1797, no. 17910 577–9.. Lopukhina: Sablukov 1.222–41 and 2:302–27. Arakcheev 64.
- ⁵ *Osmnadtsatyi vek* 3.428, Nelidova to Paul, 12 December 1796; brings Paul and Maria together 14 May 1797 430 and 432; as grumbler 433, like sister 436; advises moderation 439; 449; Maria and Paul to Nelidova, August 1797, 456. Ruckus with Nelidova, dancing, humour: Sablukov 2.303. Family life of Paul Maria and children: GARF 728.1.1394.4–31, Notes of Nicholas I on playing with Paul and fun/fear.
- ⁶ McGrew 244–271. Golovina 171–85. Golovkin 169–85; rule of three women 185–7; rise of Rostopchin 188. NM, *Elisabeth* 2.155, 28 April 1805. Marriage of Lopukhina: McGrew 269–70. Suvorov and Lopukhina: Golovina 184. Rey 79–83. Kutaisov: Lothario, escapes with Paul, never hurt anyone: Sablukov 1.234; Paul single combat with Napoleon 2.306; rise of Lopukhina, generosity, 'beside himself', makes

- Lopukhin prince, house for Gagarina, joins Kutaisov on visits 306–10. Rise of Kutaisov, Lopukhina plot/Rostopchin chief role: Czartoryski 181–4. Family life: GARF 728.1.1394.4–31, Notes of Nicholas I.
- ⁷ Paul foreign policy – alliance with Austria/GB, war with France: Longworth, *Art of Victory* 236–98. Malta and alliance: McGrew 271–300. On Napoleon: Andrew Roberts, *Napoleon the Great* (henceforth Roberts) 185, 285–6. Knights of Malta, marriage of Litta/Scavronskaya: Golovkin 179.
- ⁸ McGrew 289–300. Roberts on Napoleon/Paul invasion plans 286. Paul and Georgia: Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia* (henceforth Rayfield), 256–7.
- ⁹ McGrew 282–312. Sacking of Lopukhin: RA (1876) 2.90, Rostopchin to Vorontsov, 22 December 1798, and RA (1876) 3.76–92, 12 June 1799 and 10 July 1799. Appointment of Obolyaninov, lack of suspicion: Sablukov 1.234; Arakcheev ‘the Ape’ 1.235; Alexander and Constantine terrified, tremble 1.234. Sacking of Arakcheev and relationship with Alexander: Arakcheev 61–68. Alexander, Elizabeth and Constantine, Alexander unhappy, liberal feelings, orders Czartoryski to draft manifesto of reform and abdication: Czartoryski 1.161–8. Paul locks Demidora in room with Alexander: Golovina 186
- ¹⁰ Changes of alliance and early Panin conspiracy: McGrew 312–341
- ¹¹ This account of the conspiracy and assassination is based on Comte de Langeron, *Memoire sur la mort de Paul I, par le comte de Langeron*, Richelieu Collection, Mémoires de documents, MS 99, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Paris, the unpublished memorandum of Langeron who interviewed Pahlen and most of the conspirators. McGrew 341–355. Shilder 1.291, Paul to Pahlen, 26 February 1797; Paul suspicions 1.302, Paul to N. I. Saltykov, 29 January 1801. Kutaisov never known to injure anyone 1.233; Obolyaninov as procurator: Sablukov 1.234; three officers struck with cane for which Paul paid dearly 2.306; Gagarina into Mikhailovsky Palace 2.311; Pahlen ‘the brave man acts’, exile of Rostopchin/Arakcheev, Alexander and Constantine under arrest, retake the oath, Sablukov dismissed, the murder 2.311–20. Leo Lowenson, *The Death of Paul I and the Memoirs of Count Bennigsen*, SEER (1950) 29.212–32. Golovina 227–38; Pahlen tells Paul of conspiracy of Maria and sons 227. Napoleon alliance: Roberts 286–7. Czartoryski 1.187; Alexander’s view, regrets and plans for Paul after deposition; Bennigsen, view of Constantine, Nikolai Zubov Herculean, informs Alexander, Maria, I am Empress 1.222–46. On Prince General Vladimir Yashvili struck by cane: S. L. Seeger (ed.), Alexander Izvolsky, *Recollections of a Foreign Minister: Memoirs of Alexander Izvolsky* (henceforth Izvolsky) 39–40. NM, *Elisabeth* 273, Empress Elizabeth to her mother, 13 March 1801, Maria hysterical, Alexander damaged, mad joy. Pushkin sees Skariatina at balls in 1834: Tim Binyon, *Pushkin* (henceforth Binyon) 440. Paul’s illegitimate daughter Moussine Yuriev: NM, *Elisabeth* 2.111, Empress Elizabeth to mother, 10/22 October 1803; 2.336, Empress Elizabeth to mother, 3/15 August 1809; death of Princess Gagarina, Paul’s mistress 2.155, to mother, 28 April/10 May 1805. NM, *Alexandre* on plot 7–8, inc. description of Alexander, on 12 March by Lt Sanglin. The night of the conspiracy, Michael ‘I bury my father’ etc: GARF 728.1.1394.4–31, Notes of Nicholas I. Arakcheev – dismissed twice and summoned: 69–80.
- ¹² Pahlen treacherous, Alexander I and Grand Duchess Catherine, *Scenes of Russian Court Life, being the Correspondence of Alexander I with his sister Catherine*, Grand Duke Nikolai Mikhailovich (ed.) (henceforth Catiche) 112–18, Alexander to Grand Duchess Catherine, 18 September 1812. Czartoryski 1.223–55, Alexander summons Czartoryski, Alexander’s view of conspiracy, get rid of a fly (Pahlen), forgiveness of Valerian Zubov, plans for Paul to garden 267–8; ‘court of exaggerated simplic-

ity' 327. NM, *Alexandre* 10–15; ability to hide feelings by Baron Korff 21. GARF 728.1.1394.4–31, Notes of Nicholas I. Napoleon's rage at killing of Paul: Roberts 295.

SCENE 6: THE DUEL

- ¹ Alexander character Roberts 295. Caulaincourt quoted in Price 37. Carnival: NM, *Elisabeth* 2.43–50, Elizabeth to mother, 6/18 September, 9/21 September; 24 September/6 October 1801. Liberalism: Rey 87–130. Czartoryski 1.257–70; change in foreign policy 271–9; coronation increased sadness 278; meeting with king of Prussia 1802 283; Kamenny Ostrov 290; ministries 297–304; universities 307. Memel Prussian meeting, 29 May 1802: NM, *Alexandre* 25–6; reforms and Secret Committee 26–32. Serfdom: LeDonne 84–91; serfs exiled for insolence 1760, repealed 1802, 212–14. Alexander liberal view of Russian blood libel: John Klier, *Krovavyy navet v Russkoi provoslavnoi traditsii*, in M. Dmitriev (ed.), *Evrei I khristiane v pravoslavnykh obshchestvakh vostochnoi evropy* (henceforth Klier) 191–2. Abolition of Secret Expedition and its replacement by interior ministry under Kochubey and later under Petersburg governor-generals plus interior, justice and war ministries: LeDonne 125–7; Arakcheev returns as artillery inspector 102–3; new ministries, Council of State, Alexander's distrust of grandees 105–12. Arakcheev 84–109.
- ² Maria Naryshkina: NM, *Elisabeth* 2.131, 10 June 1804; 2.145 death of Naryshkina's child, Elizabeth to mother, 21 November/3 December 1804; 253 Catiche behaviour, Elizabeth to mother, 29 August/10 September 1807; 278 death of Lisinka Alexandrovna, 2/14 May 1808. Catiche 27–31: Alexander's passionate letters to her 15, 19, 20, 24 September 1805; 84 my little family, Alexander to Catiche, 18 January 1812; 82 my happiness in my little household, 24 December 1811; 67 take interest in my children, 25 April 1811; 72 thanks for kindnesses to my little family, 5 July 1811. Binyon 560: Vigel quote. Naryshkina dress, Choiseul-Gouffier quoted in Golovina 55; Naryshkins 191. B. Arutunova (ed.), *Lives in Letters: Fifteen Letters from Tsar Alexander I to Princess Z. A. Volkonskaya* (henceforth *Lives in Letters*) 97. Alexander feelings of eclipse by Napoleon: Czartoryski 1.331–5. Catiche 83; Napoleon as infernal, 24 December 1811; 112–18 Napoleon as talent, 18 September 1812.
- ³ NM, *Alexander* 34–9. NM, *Elisabeth* 2.175, Alexander at Austerlitz, Elizabeth to mother, 11/23 December 1805. Dominic Lieven, *Russia against Napoleon* (henceforth Lieven) 43–7. Rey 158–174. Napoleon/Austerlitz: Roberts 357–90, inc. quotes from Napoleon on Dolgoruky's arrogance; letter to Josephine on Russian destruction; on Alexander as fickle and weak 359; Francis makes love to one woman 392. Czartoryski as Russian minister 268; Alexander eclipsed by Napoleon, hostility to Czartoryski of Dolgoruky, Alexander mocks Chancellor Vorontsov 331–5.
- ⁴ Roberts 390; Eylau 442–5; Friedland 449–55. Lieven 43–7. Rey 174–178. NM, *Alexandre* 41–5. NM, *Elisabeth* 2.240, Elizabeth to mother, 16 March 1807.
- ⁵ Tilsit: Roberts 456–63, inc. 459–60 Napoleon chattered; Alexander I on Napoleon's grey eyes to Sophie de Tisenhaus, later comtesse de Choiseul-Gouffier, quoted Roberts 635; Alexander duplicity 29. Rey 178–186. Lieven 46–56. NM, *Alexandre*, inscrutability, Korff 21; Napoleon on Alexander missing something; Finland war Petersburg beauties 65. NM, *Elisabeth* on disloyalty of family, Dowager Empress and Constantine and Catiche, Elizabeth to mother, 29 August/10 September 1807. Catiche to Alexander on Napoleon and marriages to stupid and clever princes, bad joke letters from 26 April, 5 May, 13 May, on Tilsit 25 June 1807, 33–42; 43 Alexander to Catiche on laughing longest 1808; on possible Catiche marriages to Emperor Francis, Napoleon, Oldenburg 292, Empress Maria to Alexander, 11 May 1807, and

Napoleon rumours on Catiche and Catiche offered herself as bride to Napoleon if state demanded it 297, Maria to Catiche, 23 December 1809, and refusal of Napoleon suit, Catiche to Maria, 26 December 1809.

- ⁶ Lieven 70–85. Erfurt conference: Roberts 488–93, inc. Napoleon letters. Rey 186–211. Arakcheev 110–138. Arakcheev The Vampire: NM, *Alexandre* 266. LeDonne 102–5, 112. Speransky: NM, *Alexandre* 58–63, inc. Arakcheev quote; Council of State and general jealousy 68–71; contrasts by Batenkov between Speransky and Arakcheev 71–2. Elizabeth embarrassed by Savary and French alliance: NM, *Elizabeth* 2.199, Elizabeth to mother, 23 August 1807. Talleyrand: Rosalynd Pflaum, *By Influence and Desire* (henceforth Pflaum) 61–101. Swedish war: Michael Josselson and Diana Josselson, *The Commander: A Life of Barclay de Tolly* (henceforth *Barclay*) 46–72; reforms as war minister 73–90. Alexander slipperiness: Roberts 295; Price 37. Price 37.
- ⁷ Swedish war: *Barclay* 46–72. *Arakcheev* 114–26. Peace; appointment of Rumiantsev: NM, *Elisabeth* 2.344, Elizabeth to mother, 7/19 September 1809.
- ⁸ Roberts 295, 517, 537–41. Catiche 48: Napoleon marriage to Anna, Alexander to Catiche, 23 December 1809; Napoleon marriage 297, Maria to Catiche, 23 December 1809.
- ⁹ Gruzino and Minkina: Arakcheev 84–110. Description of Arakcheev and Minkina grenadier figure: A. K. Gribbe, Graf Alexei Andreevich Arakcheev, v 1822–1826, *RS* (1875) 12.84–124. *Catiche* 52, Alexander on Gruzino, 7 June 1810. Barclay reforms as war minister: *Barclay* 73–90. LeDonne 101–5. End of relationship with Maria Naryshkina: NM, *Alexandre* 71. A. N. Krylov-Tolstikevich, *Imperator Alexandr I i imperatritsa Elizaveta* (henceforth Krylov-Tolstikevich) 163.
- ¹⁰ Rey 212–232. Arakcheev 138–150. Declining Russo–French alliance: Lieven 60–101, preparations by Arakcheev and Barclay 100–37; intelligence gathering by Chernyshev and Nesselrode 79–85, Continental System 78–80; Alexander offensive plans 92–3, Polish probes 123–132; Russian reforms and preparations 102–36. Roberts on Alexander offensive plans; Continental System 548–50; Russian preparations 562–7; Napoleon–Alexander letters 563–4. Alexander’s creation of police ministry: LeDonne 127–30. NM, *Alexandre* 83–91. Alexander and Barclay reform army: Barclay 91–146. Catiche 54: blood will flow, 26 December 1810; 57 my family are at your feet, 19 January 1811; 67, 25 April 1811; 72 What can be hoped of Napoleon? Speransky reform, 5 July 1811; 78 ‘a dog’s life’, 10 November 1811. On tension and preparations: Adam Zamoyski, 1812: *Napoleon’s Fatal March on Moscow* (henceforth Zamoyski, 1812). On Chernyshev: Bruce Menning, A. I. Chernyshev: A Russian Lycurgus, *Canadian Slavonic Papers* (1988) 30.2 (henceforth Menning) 190–219. Warnings to Napoleon: Caulaincourt report to Champagny, duc de Cadore, foreign minister, 19 September 1810, quoted in Price 37.
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- ²⁰ Talleyrand 'gold mixed with shit': Price 161; notes to Marie-Louise 217; Talleyrand wants Marie-Louise regency 222–6; Alexander at Talleyrand's house, Senate deposes Bonapartes 227–36; mission of Caulaincourt, Elba 237–44. Roberts 700–16. Arakcheev 167–70. Barclay 194–2004. Zamoyski, *Rites* 180–5. Catiche 224, 8 April 1814; 228 Alexander on Napoleon's abdication, 20 April 1814.
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- ³⁰ Rey, account of Countess Choiseul-Gouffier 351–3; Michaud to see Pope 367. Sophia and sin: Golitsyn to Alexander, GARF 728.1.120. Taganrog: Alexander to Elizabeth, GARF 658.1.96, 5 September 1825. Alexander orders investigations and arrests by Dibich and Chernyshev; death: GARF 728.1.1394.4–31, Notes of Nicholas I. Taganrog, letters of Alexander to Elizabeth, Elizabeth letters to her mother on honeymoon idyll and then Alexander's decline and death, told in letters to mother: NM, *Alexandre* 241–328. Alexander visits Vorontsov Crimea and Alupka: Anthony L. H. Rhinelander, *Prince Michael Vorontsov: Viceroy to the Tsar* (henceforth Rhinelander) 77–9. Departure to Taganrog and death: Rey 366–85; retire with Volkonsky as librarian 376; Kuzmich myth and medical reports 381–5. Fairweather 159–62; last meeting and letters with Alexander 177; death and funeral cortège, Ilya the coachman 181–4.

ACT III: THE DECLINE

SCENE I: JUPITER

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- September 1829; 145 my boys, 'angelic' soul of young Alexander, 16 February 1828; 83 'little fellow a soldier', Nicholas to Annette, 16 July 1820; 98 absent-minded boy. Nicholas drills family, Grand Dukes NN and MN: Beéche 1.79–80. 'Play regiments:' Wortman 148. Young Alexander: tearful, emotional, military instincts: Zapiski K. K. Merder, *Novyi zhurnal* (1995) 3. Zapiski K. K. Merder, *RS* (1885) 45.347–8, 538–29; 46.488–90; 47.227–8 (henceforth Zapiski K. K. Merder). 'Keen to ensure son feels like me': *RA* (1897) 1.6, Nicholas to Paskevich, 22 May 1832. Lack of enthusiasm for military/soldier in soul: Alfred Rieber (ed.), *The Politics of Autocracy: Letters of Alexander II to Prince A. I. Bariatinskii 1857–1864* (henceforth Rieber) 22, Nicholas to Merdera; secretive nature, Merdera reports 32; wish never to be tsarevich 19. Court life: Wortman 148, 151. 'I like people having fun': Jackman 190. Nubians 1810, first Americans, costumes, darkness of skin and regular position, reduction in cost of Nubians in 1851, just eight Negroes: Zimin, *Negroes* 410–18.
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- ²⁰ No mercy: RA (1897) 1.32, Nicholas to Paskevich, 18 September 1844. Lincoln 269–90; speech to nobles on danger of household servants, 21 March 1848; on anniversary of Decembrists in 1850 speech to Preobrazhensky Guards; family belongs to you as you belong to me 251; fear of rumours of German rule among the masses 91. Death of Michael: Jackman 331, Annette to Nicholas I, 15 September 1849. Messianic tone on visit to Moscow: Wortman 162, Nicholas I, 14 March 1848, manifesto on visit to dedicate Thon's new Great Kremlin Palace.
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- ²² Lincoln, *Nicholas I Ministers* 321–3. No changes necessary whatsoever advises Chernyshev: W. Bruce Lincoln, *The Great Reforms: Autocracy, Bureaucracy, and the Politics of Change in Imperial Russia* (henceforth Lincoln, *Reforms*) 149. Rhinelander 115–18. Vorontsov urges railways and coal-driven steamers for Black Sea. Kostia urges steamers for navy: Radzinsky 73; average age of ministers 65. Withdrawal from court life: Jackman 334, Nicholas I to Annette, 23 December 1851. Build-up to the Crimean War: this is based on Figes 90–164. V. Vinogradov, *The Personal Responsibility of Emperor Nicholas I in the Coming of the Crimean War: An Episode*

in the Diplomatic Struggle in the Eastern Question, in H. Ragsdale (ed.), *Imperial Russian Foreign Policy 159–70*. Varna/Menshikov wound: Ruseva 96–107. Rise of Napoleon III: Serena Vitale, *Pushkin's Button* 324. Nicholas receives Baron George d'Anthes/Heekeren as Napoleon envoy, 10 May 1852. Decline of Nicholas: L. Thouvenel, *Nicolas I et Napoléon III, préliminaires de la guerre de Crimée, 1852–1854, d'après les papiers inédits de M. Thouvenel*, 217–19, 250–1, 331–3, marquis de Castelbajac to M. Thouvenel. Pomposity: Rhineland 143. Anna Tyutcheva, *Vospominaniia* (henceforth Tyutcheva) 174, arrogant, cruel expression, 22 July 1854. Pressure on Nicholas: war is imminent 337, Nicholas I to Annette, 20 May 1853; 340 'war, I don't look for it but I don't flee from it', Nicholas to Annette, 7 October 1853. Rhineland on Vorontsov opposed war 191–2; his nephew British secretary for war 191–2.

²³ This is based on N. F. Dubrovin, *Istoriia Krymskoi voiny i oborony Sevastopolya* (henceforth Dubrovin, *Istoriia*), Figs; Lincoln, *Nicholas*; A. Zaionchkovsky, *Vostochnaia voina 1853–1856*; E. V. Tarle, *Krymskaia voina*; Jackman. Rhineland 191–2. Holy vocation, overcome with cares: Jackman 341, Nicholas I to Annette, 3 February 1854; 341 God and 1812, Nicholas I to Annette, 3 February 1854; 342 Nicholas, no inclination for entertainments, Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna to Annette, 16 February 1854; 344 Tsarevich Alexander ready to welcome Royal Navy and visible from the Cottage, Alexander to Annette, 29 April 1854 and 2 July 1854; 346 the ingratitude of Emperor of Austria, will attack us, Nicholas to Annette, 13 July 1854. Nicholas correspondence with Menshikov and Gorchakov: Dubrovin, *Istoriia* 2.31, Nicholas I to Menshikov, 30 September 1854, 'Don't give up', 1812; 4 truthful reports, Nicholas I to Menshikov, 3 October 1854; 5 not decent, Nicholas to Menshikov, 10 October 1854; 114 maintain honour, Nicholas to Menshikov, 16 October 1854; 256 'Cheer up', Nicholas to Menshikov, 31 October 1854; 31 are we still not the same Russians, Nicholas to Prince M. Gorchakov, 30 September 1854; 253–6 Menshikov depressed, Nicholas to Gorchakov, 1 November 1854. Nicholas declines at court: Tyutcheva 182, heartbreaking, weeping, 19 October 1854; 188 Gatchina dark unbending oak, tsar in socks 24 November 1854; 192 feeding child, 7 December 1854. Shamyl and kidnap of Georgian princesses, June 1854, Jemal interview with Nicholas, and swap with Jemal-Eddin, March 1855, swap on day of Nicholas funeral: Blanch 316–21, 359–88.

²⁴ This is based on the unpublished letter of Grand Duchess Alexandra Iosifovna, wife of Constantine Nikolaievich, to the duchesse de Berry, 7/19 April 1855 (from private collection of Countess Stefania Calice). Death: Tyutcheva 194–203, 10–19 February 1855. Nicholas attended wedding of Alexandra Kleinmikhel: M. P. Frederiks 87. RGVA 846.16.5450; RGVA 846.16.5452; Dr Mandt o poslednikh nedelyakh imperatora Nikolaia Pavlovicha, RA (1905) 2.480; Nekotorye pobrobnosti o konchine imperatora Nikolaia Pavlovicha, RA (1906) 3.9.143–5; Noch s 17–18 fevralia 1855: rasskaz doktora Mandta, RA (1884) 1.194. D. N. Bludov, *Poslednie minuty i konchina v boze pochivshogo imperatora, nezabvennogo i vechnoi slavy dostoinogo Nikolaia I* 4–6; Figs 321–3; Lincoln 348–50; Radzinsky 97–9. Alexander takes command, 'sovereign not feeling well, he asks me to give you the following orders', orders to General M. Gorchakov: RS (1881) 32.9–12, Alexander II to Gorchakov, 14 February 1855.

SCENE 2: LIBERATOR

¹ RS (1883) 37.1–3, Alexander II to M. Gorchakov, on fears of Austrian intervention, Vienna negotiations, Sebastopol bombardment; 4 June 1855, not all is lost; 11 August 1855, loss of glorious troops; 3 September 1855, 'don't lose heart. Sebastopol

- is not Moscow'. Rieber 18–19. François Charles Roux, *Alexandre II, Gortchakoff et Napoleon III* (henceforth Roux) 1–40. W. E. Mosse, *The Rise and Fall of the Crimean System* (henceforth Mosse) 12–25. Figs 324–410.
- ² Roux 41–108; on Morny mission 109–207. Mosse 12–52. Figs 411–65. On Morny: Rosalyn Pflaum, *The Emperor's Talisman: The Life of the Duc de Morny* (henceforth Pflaum, *Morny*). W. Bruce Lincoln, *The Ministers of Alexander II: A Survey of their Backgrounds and Service Careers, Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* (1976) 17.467–83 (henceforth Lincoln, *Alexander II Ministers*). Alexandr Bazarov, *Svetleishii knyaz Alexandr Gorchakov. Iz vospomin o nem ego dukhovnika*, RA (1896) 1.328–31. G. L. Kesselbrenner, *Svetleishii knyaz*. On Gorchakov diplomacy: Rieber 73. Gorchakov mission and French alliance, Russia 'collecting herself': Mosse 55–104. French diplomacy of Kostia: L. G. Zakharova and L. I. Tyutyunnik (eds.), *Perepiska imperatora Alexandra II s velikim knyazem Konstantinom Nikolaevichem. Dnevnik velikogo knyazya Konstantina Nikolaevicha. 1857–1861* (henceforth Zakharova), 17, Alexander to Kostia, 20 January 1857, letter from Napoleon suggesting friendship; 22–29 March 1857, warns Kostia meeting with Napoleon – take care in your conversations, esp. with Napoleon himself, 'Listen, don't compromise yourself pushing your own ideas; 46 Kostia to Alexander, 4 May 1857, Napoleon never lies but never tells whole truth; 63 Alexander to Kostia, 15 September 1857, I met Napoleon, wonderful, frank, but see what happens in practice.
- ³ Rieber 73; 103 Gorchakov on restraint in Asia, Alexander II to Bariatinsky (henceforth A to B), 2 May 1857; on Caucasus war, Rieber 60–70; 103 'embrace you', A to B, 2 May 1857; 142–4 A to B, 7 May 1861, wishes he could talk to Bariatinsky, and 25 April 1861 needs Bariatinsky here. Rieber 72–82, Indian Mutiny chance to profit, A to B, 28 September 1857, on Gorchakov memo, 28 April 1858, probes into Central Asia; 79–82 role of Bariatinsky and Nikolai Ignatiev – opportunity for trade and threat to Britain; 73 Bariatinsky sees chance to destroy British army in Central Asia. Bariatinsky love life and courage: Blanch, *Sabres of Paradise* 392–5.
- ⁴ Coronation: *Vozhidanii koronatsii. Venchanie russkikh samoderzhtsev. Tserkovnyi obryad koronovaniia i podrobnoe opisanie tryokh koronatsii nyneshnego stoletia* 129. Roux on Morny, 150. Pflaum, *Morny*, 172–5. Wortman 196–209.
- ⁵ This is based on the correspondences of Alexander II with Kostia and Bariatinsky; on W. Bruce Lincoln, *The Great Reforms: Autocracy, Bureaucracy and the Politics of Change in Imperial Russia* (Lincoln, *Reforms*): Kostia 44–6; character of Rostovtsev 76–8; working of Editing Commission 80–5. W. Bruce Lincoln, *Nikolai Miliutin: An Enlightened Russian Bureaucrat of the 19th Century* (henceforth Lincoln, *Miliutin*); on bureaucratic infighting, support by Elena, feud with Rostovtsev and Editing Commission 48–62. Ben Eklof, John Bushnell and Larissa Zakharova (eds.), *Russia's Great Reforms 1855–1881* (henceforth Eklof): Larissa Zakharova, *Autocracy and the Reforms of 1861–74 in Russia* 19–38; on Alexander 21–22; on Rostovtsev 27. Kostia character, the brothers correspond on serf issue, Zakharova 65, Alexander touched by crowds (and beauties), Alexander to Kostia, 16 August 1858; Kostia encourages Alexander 66, Kostia to Alexander, 19 August 1858; 88 great excitement, Alexander to Kostia, 1 February 1859; 98 Kostia to Alexander, 11 March 1859, solution is land plus government guarantees; 122 Kostia to Alexander, committee meeting for final review and I as chairman, heated debate, 10 October 1860. GARF 722.1.684, Alexander to Kostia, 19 October 1863, I appreciate you. Zakharova 270–309: diary of Kostia on battle against the Retrogrades, on appointment to chair main committee and heated discussions, 29 September 1860 to 5 March 1861. Roles of Elena Pavlovna and Bariatinsky: Rieber 48–9; on connection between military reform and serf reform, the road to emancipation 28–54; letters to Bariatinsky on serfdom – 108

- A to B, 2 November 1857, great excitement on liberation of peasants; 110 A to B, 22 November 1857, Nazimov rescript. Elena, fun Thursdays: R. Phillip-Miller (ed.), Elizabeth Narishkin-Kurakin, *Under Three Tsars* (henceforth *Naryshkin*) 34.
- ⁶ 1858, success vs Shamil: Rieber 106–26, A to B, 14 January 1858, veritable joy; 19 May, new and brilliant result; 30 August 1858, Shamil, what a famous fellow, and two great results in Far East on Amur by N. N. Muraviev-Amursky; 18 September 1858, brilliant success. Rieber 126–33, 20 April 1859, the most beautiful present; 28 July 1859, taking Dargo; 10 August 1859, heart filled with joy; 11 September 1859, Shamil captured; 7 December 1859, Bariatinsky marshal.
- ⁷ Shamil captured: Rieber 126–33, A to B, 20 April 1859, the most beautiful present; 28 July 1859, taking Dargo; 10 August 1859, heart filled with joy; 11 September 1859, Shamil captured; 7 December 1859, Bariatinsky marshal; 49 on Bariatinsky later career – resign or not from viceroy, appoint Mikhail as successor and delicate private question, 26 November 1862. On tragedy of Circassians see Oliver Bullough, *Let Our Fame Be Great*. Meets Katya Dolgorukaya: GARF 678.2.389.1–2, memoirs of Princess Yurievskaya.
- ⁸ Zakharova 98, Kostia to Alexander, 11 March 1859, solution; 122 Kostia to Alexander, final review. GARF 722.1.684, Alexander to Kostia, 19 October 1863, 270–309, Kostia vs Retrogrades, 29 September 1860 to 5 March 1861; 1 January 1861, most important era in millennial existence of Russia; tsar’s speech to State Council, 28 January 1861; day of signing, 19 February 1861; announcement, 5 March 1861. Rieber 7 March 1861, signed. *Lincoln Reforms*: signing of decree 86; legal and local government reforms 99–143. Eklof 19–38: see essay Zakharova, Autocracy and the Reforms of 1861–74 in Russia; on Alexander 21–2; autocracy from Alexander to Bismarck 35.
- ⁹ Tyutcheva 26–7; 40–2 Alexandra Dolgorukaya ‘Tigress’; 170 fun, 27 June 1854; 304 faint, 20 November 1855. Marie refuses to undress: C. Melnik (ed.), Tatiana Botkine, *Au Temps des Tsars* 31–2. News of Nixa: GARF 641.1.16, Alexander II to Marie, 19 August 1863. Secret code between AII and Marie: GARF 677.1.4.5–6, A. Adlerberg to Alexander Alexandrovich, 15 August 1880. Alexander mistresses Dolgorukaya, Labunskaya, Makova, Makarova, Korazzi: L. Lyashchenko, *Alexandr II*, 131–2. Bismarck favoured by Romanovs and boxes full of pretty women: Jonathan Steinberg, *Bismarck: a life* (henceforth ‘Steinberg’) 150–7 – at ballet 156. Daniel Home séances 10 July 1858; 5 November 1858; 5 January 1859 in Tyutcheva 396–97; 433–5; and 443–5. See also John Casey, *Afterlives: A Guide to Heaven, Hell and Purgatory* 373–74. The daily walk, intense look: Fanny Lear, *Romance of an American in Russia*, 58. ‘Managerial tsar’: Eklof 75–8 – see essay Alfred J. Rieber, Interest Group Politics in the Era of the Great Reforms 58–84. Alexander character: K. K. Merder – secretive RS 47.430. Rieber 126, in my position a good dose of calm and philosophy, A to B, 14 December 1858; 104, 20 May 1857, each minister responsible to me for their own duty; so-called progress and suspicion of journalists/writers 117, A to B, 6 March 1858; 120, A to B, 7 July 1858, autocratic link between Sovereign and God gives us our strength. GARF 678.2.283.15, obligations of my position imposed duties that I cannot neglect, 17 May 1872. GARF 678.2.283.20, Alexander explains how he rules as collegiate autocrat to Katya Dolgorukaya, 23 February 1874. Robert R. Franklin, Tsar Alexander II and President Abraham Lincoln: Unlikely Bedfellows? *University of Hawaii at Hilo, HOHONU History* (2012) 10.74–84.
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- 1861; search for new viceroy, 5 July 1861; imagine coming to terms with such a government, Napoleon, A to B, 12 September 1860. Diplomacy, Italian crisis and Polish revolt: Mosse 116–30. France, Italy, Poland: Roux 266–325.
- ¹¹ GARF 641.1.15, letters on Nixa's tours: Alexander to Marie, 19 August–6 September 1863, and Nixa to Empress Marie, June 1862. Pobedonostsev: Robert F. Byrnes, *Pobedonostsev: His Life and Thought* (henceforth Byrnes) 33. Too stupid/pillow-fight: Tyutcheva 223, 7 March 1856.
- ¹² Portrait of Bismarck is based on Steinberg 4–6 and his time as ambassador in Petersburg 147–153; on intimate friendship with Mouffy 151–2; lays out full plan to Disraeli 174; Schleswig-Holstein crisis 210–227.
- ¹³ Minny to her father and letter of Queen Louise to Queen Victoria quoted in Coryne Hall, *Little Mother of Russia: A Biography of the Empress Marie Feodorovna, 1847–1928* (henceforth Hall) 17–26. GARF 641.1.16, Alexander II to Marie, 19 August 1863.
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- ¹⁵ Assassination: Ruud 31. Guardian angel, 4 April 1866: GARF 678.2.129, Alexander II (A) to Dolgorukaya (D or Katya in Notes), 4 April 1880. Katya first meetings with Alexander and conversation on day of assassination. GARF 678.2.289.1–5, Princess Yurievskaya (Katya Dolgorukaya) unpublished memoirs (henceforth Katya memoirs). Alexander looks in 1865: Théophile Gautier quoted in E. M. Almedingen, *The Emperor Alexander II* 205.
- ¹⁶ Assassination attempt, 1865: Ruud 31. Dominance of Shuvalov, GARF 678.2.277.20, Alexander II, *Dnevnik*, 24 August 1871. Ruud 31–9. L. G. Zakharova (ed.), Dmitrii Miliutin, *Dnevnik, 1873–1875* (henceforth 'Miliutin'), 75, 31 December 1873, and downfall 1 January 1875. Lincoln, *Reforms* 76–8. Rieber 50–1 Shuvalov resistance to serfdom reform. Shuvalov in power, ambition to be Bismarck, Tolstoy classic education, administrative control, Pahlen fights independent judiciary: Eklof 75–8 – see essay Rieber, Interest Group Politics in the Era of the Great Reforms. Shuvalov Third Section and Gendarmes: Ruud 29–31. Trepov created tsar's forty-man bodyguard; and first security bureaux *Okrannoe otdelenie*, dismissal of Shuvalov, you prefer it in London don't you?: Daly 1. 17–23. Meshchersky on character of Shuvalov: Knyaz' Vladimir Petrovich Meshchersky, *Moi vospominaniia* (henceforth Meshchersky) 119–336.
- ¹⁷ Marriage, problems with Minny, drinking, birth of Nicholas II: Hall 41–53–7. Wortman 250–7: Beéche 1.101. Marriage, problems with Minny, drinking, birth of Nicholas II: Hall 53–7.
- ¹⁸ Joseph Frank, Dostoevsky 244–82; 372–405; 601–616. Rosamund Bartlett, *Tolstoy: A Russian Life*, 118–79. Geoffrey Hocking, *Russia and Russians*, 306–352. Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance* on Dostoevsky on peasantry 221; on soul 331; on Slavic nation 335, 338, view of corrupt Europe 65. Policing: Daly 1. 20–22. Ruud 27–31.
- ¹⁹ Katya Dolgorukaya, memory of 1 July 1866: GARF 678.2.283.30, A to D, 1, 2 and 3 July 1877. Alexander and Marie, sad anniversaries: GARF 641.1.32, Alexander II to Marie, 20 October 1879. 'Bingerles', happiest day: GARF 678.2.283, A to D, 1 January 1871. Private collection, pleasure like a mad thing: D to A, 13 November 1871; immense pleasure, 11 November 1871. 'First tête-à-tête': GARF 678.2.289.3–5, Katya memoirs.

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- ²¹ GARF 678.2.289.23, Alexander diary on death of Napoleon III, 28 December 1872. Prussia 1870s, Prussia will never forget/new Prussian uniform/stone oppressing me: GARF 678.2.277.4, Alexander diary, 26 February, 27 February, 2 March 1871. Powerful neighbour: GARF 678.2.278.18, Alexander diary, 2 September 1872. Uncle Wilhelm and the ballerinas, best friend of Prussia: GARF 678.2.279.5, Alexander diary, 15–25 April 1873. Franco–Prussian War and renouncing of Paris Treaty: Steinberg 286–311. Russia rolls back Treaty of Paris: Mosse 158–83. Roux 465–98. Prussian pigs: Igor Vinogradoff (ed.), *Some Russian Imperial Letters to Prince V. P. Meshchersky (1839–1914)*, *Oxford Slavonic Papers* (1862) 10.110–18 (henceforth Meshchersky Letters), Alexander III to Meshchersky, 9 August 1870. Military reform: *Lincoln Reforms* 143–58. Military reforms and rivalry of Miliutin and Bariatinsky: Eklof 139–58 – John S. Buchnell, *Miliutin and the Balkan War – Military Reform vs Military Performance*. GARF 722.1.104.55, Kostia diary on military reform, 21 April 1873, battles 'gave me a headache'; 17 December 1873, Pobedonostsev tirade against Jewish equality, 21 April. Miliutin, *Dnevnik* 21–9, 8 April 1873 to 2 May 1873 and 58–80 process of reform, 3 December 1873 to 1 January 1874. Scott P. Anderson, *The Administrative and Social Reforms of Russia's Military, 1861–74: Dmitri Miliutin against the Esconced Power Elite*, PhD thesis, 2010.
- ²² Letters from Alexander II (A) to Princess Ekaterina Dolgorukaya (D or Katya) and unless stated all GARF 678/ citing dates: GARF 678.2. 283.8, 'we did it four times, you're very passionate and totally unreasonable, I need a rest', 9 February 1871. Hate to interrupt our *bingerle*: Private Collection (PC), A to D, 6 January 1868. Love you passionately want *bingerle*, PC, 1 February 1868 11 a.m. Want you my minx, angel, 30 January 1868 9.30 a.m. Trembling with anticipation thinking of tonight and *bingerle*, 29 January 1868 10.30 a.m. What pleasure our *bingerle*/you shared by frenzied joy, 1 February 1868 4 p.m. D to A, dream husband, I take pleasure in frenzy, overwhelmed my immense pleasure I received, can't wait for more, 11 November 1871. D to A, immersed, bewitched, filled with one feeling . . . *Bingerle* was magical . . . I pressed against you and took my pleasure like a mad thing . . . Drenched by you, dined with great appetite, want to be in your arms, I can't wait till two, 13 November 1871. D to A, we tire ourselves out, all in me trembles, I can't wait till 4.45 to see you, 14 November 1871. D to A, that good hour was intoxicating and I took pleasure like mad thing, this darling special despot, 14 November 1871. A to D: I want to admire the treasure and long to be inside your coquille, oh I'm not ashamed, it's natural, 1 January 1870. Naughty minx, we throw ourselves on each other like cats and come to delirium, 2 January 1870. Delight to dip into you again, darling bobinka, 5 January 1870. I'm impregnated with *bingerles* on the bed where you move on me and glue yourself to me and then on the sofa where it's my turn, I love to see you without knickers, 1 December 1870. We grip each other like cats without even having time to undress and then put on our favourite costume [naked] until delirium, 12 January 1870. You glued yourself to me and sat

on me and I entered your coquille, we become one, rejuvenated. Sex four times, very passionate and very unreasonable, 9 February 1871. What fever your husband entered your coquille in all the positions possible, I drove into the darling little thing when she held her legs in the air, 9 April 1871. Sex on sofa, table and bed, 5 May 1871. I can't think without laughing of costume I wore when Vava came in oh what horror, 16 September 1872. Sex to madness, 17 May 1871. Sex three times how mad we are, 8 May 1873. Can't resist your adorable coquille, 7 November 1871. I enjoy the *bingerles* until delirium and I felt with happiness your fountain water me several times which redoubled my pleasure, 9 May 1874. All the positions possible, 11 August 1875. Livadia, Crimea, sex was delicious, 15 September 1875. Your body so appetizing, Vava sucks on *bingerle* like a leech, 14 May 1876. My *bingerle* makes compliments to Vava and has become fully armed, 17 June 1877. Memories of first love-making and taking off knickers, 1 July 1877. Katya's memoirs on their life together: GARF 678.2.289.11, his mean family and his grace; GARF 678.2.289.12, I followed him everywhere, saw no one; GARF 678.2.289.13, illness, doctors suggest children, I trembled for him, no one else thought of him, baby George born; GARF 678.2.289.14, soft bed, new uniforms, tricking him. Alexander II's drawing of naked Katya: B. M. Nosik, *Russkie tainy Parizha*, 58. Kostia: Béeche 1.51–63; Nikolai 1:69–73; Mikhail 2.171. Mossolov 74. On Mikhail Nikolaievich: Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich (Sandro), *Once a Grand Duke* (henceforth 'Sandro') 37.

²³ Alexis: letters from Alexis's travels in GARF 641.1.18. Béeche 1.123–5.

²⁴ This is based on Fanny's memoirs in Eva and Daniel McDonald, *Fanny Lear: Love and Scandal in Tsarist Russia* (henceforth McDonald, *Fanny*) 34–127.

²⁵ This account of the Khiva and Central Asian wars is based on: Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*; Dietrich Geyer, *Russian Imperialism: The Interaction of Domestic and Foreign Policy 1860–1914* (henceforth Geyer) 86–9; and Peter Morris, *The Russians in Central Asia, 1870–1887*, *SEER* (1975) 53, 521–38. Khiva: GARF 678.2.278.24, Alexander diary, 11 February 1873. Letters to Nikola (Nikolai Konstantinovich) Fanny 127–59. Rieber 72–82; Indian Mutiny opportunity A to B, 28 September 1857. Gorchakov memo, 28 April 1858, probes into Central Asia; 79–82 Bariatinsky and Nikolai Ignatiev opportunity; 73 destroy British army? Miliutin, *Dnevnik* 36–8, inc. conquest of Khiva report by Kaufman, 16 June 1873. Eroticism of imperial adventures: Petr Valuev, *Dnevnik P. A. Valueva, ministra vnutrennikh del (1861–1876)* (henceforth Valuev, *Dnevnik*) 2.60, 20 July 1865.

²⁶ GARF 772.1.106.53–60, Kostia diary, 10–19 April 1874; Miliutin diary, 17 and 18 April 1874. Fanny 188–269; US diplomats quoted in McDonald, *Fanny Lear* 271–99. Maria and Alfred, old fool Victoria: GARF 678.2.279.9, Alexander diary, 5 July 1873. Heavy heart: GARF 678.2.279.8, Alexander diary, 29 June 1873. *Queen Victoria's Letters* 2.328–39. Fanny 181–4. Unpleasant inmate/murder is out: Wilson 358–61. Maria as tsar's helper and duchess of Edinburgh: Hannak Pakula, *The Last Romantic: A Biography of Queen Marie of Roumania*, (henceforth 'Pakula') 25–34. Life at Clarence House: Marie queen of Roumania, *Story of My Life* ('Marie Roumania') 3–88.

²⁷ Shuvalov vs Miliutin, 'fly to you on horseback' for sex: GARF 678.2.283.17, A to D, 27 October 1873. Darling Gogo: GARF 678.2.283.18, A to D, 14 December 1873. Narodniki: Ruud 38–40. Daly 1.22–25. Frank, *Dostoevsky*, 687–693. Figes, *Natasha's Dance* 220–236. Fall of Shuvalov: Miliutin, *Dnevnik*, 75, 31 December 1873 and downfall 1 January 1875. You prefer it in London, don't you?: Daly 1.23. Eklof 75–8: see essay Rieber, Interest Group Politics in the Era of the Great Reforms; fall of Shuvalov 78.

²⁸ Wortman 229; Sasha to Minny quoted 257. Geyer 68–776. Miliutin, *Dnevnik* 19 Jan-

uary 1876 and 8 February 1876; things go badly for Serbs, 31 March 1876; 14 June, Alexander counts on League of Three Emperors; 15 July, Alexander on reproaches for our passive stances, he seems calm, inside turmoil; 27 July, allows officers to Serbia; 30 July, tsar remembers thirty years earlier/plan for education of Nicholas; 1 October meetings with Alexander, Miliutin and Ignatiev, how to get out of trap; 11 October, Alexander considers commander-in-chief Nikolai or Totleben; 16 November, Serbia in dire straits; 8 February 1877, need to rely on military. Sasha and Pobedonostsev criticize Alexander: Byrnes 142–4. Fear and stress to Katya: GARF 678.2.105, A to D, 14, 20, 23 August 1876 (to Livadia, rides to see her, Turkey no allies, Prussia, Austria could join us), GARF 678.2.106/107, A to D, 23 September; GARF 678.2.107, A to D, 6, 11 October 1876. Nicky on Alexander II's calm: Charlotte Zeepvat, *Romanov Autumn* 16.

- ²⁹ This account of war is based on Eklof 139–58, John S. Buchnell, Miliutin and the Balkan War – Military Reform vs Military Performance; B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans*; and Alexander diary/letters. GARF 678.2.279.17, Alexander diary, 1 January 1877, God help me. *Bingerle* armed: GARF 678.2.283.29, A to D, 17 June 1877. GARF 678.2.279.8, Alexander diary, Bismarck to prevent anti-Russian coalition, 20 January 1877. GARF 678.2.280.2, Alexander diary, infamous England, 16 March 1877. GARF 678.2.280.7, Alexander diary, our ally Carol of Romania 20 May 1877. GARF 678.2.280.11, Alexander diary, 14 and 15 June 1877, magnificent panorama. GARF 678.2.280.12, Alexander diary, 17 June 1877, Disraeli. GARF 678.2.280.15.16, Alexander diary, 25 June 1877, thinks of father. GARF 678.2.280.16, Alexander diary, 28 June 1877, Mikhail retreats. Katya memoirs: GARF 678.2.289.17–19, stupidity of Nikolai furious at unpardonable defeatism, tired. Miliutin, 4 July 1877; Adlerberg advises return home, 8 July; 10 July, Nikolai sobered; 12 July, bad news at Plevna; 14 July, Nikolai doesn't realize problem. GARF 678.2.280.21, Alexander diary, 9 July 1877, first Plevna. GARF 678.2.280.25, Alexander diary, 19 July 1877, more Plevna.
- ³⁰ GARF 678.2.280.30, Alexander diary, 29 July 1877, heart hurts. Miliutin, *Dnevnik* 6 August 1877, faints/unimpressed with commanders. GARF 678.2.280.32, Alexander diary, 2 August 1877, life with courtiers, bad news from Plevna. GARF 678.2.280.35, 7 August 1877, Nikolai more attacks on Plevna. GARF 678.2.280.46, Alexander diary, 26, 29, 31 August 1877, tsar watches Plevna attack/casualties. Miliutin intervenes 29–31 August 1877; happy nature of tsar, 3 September 1877. Deaths GARF 678.2.280.50, Alexander diary, 5 September 1877. GARF 678.2.280.54, Alexander diary, 15 September 1877, Victoria 'tramp', mad. GARF 678.2.280.63, Alexander diary, 27 September 1877, Sasha letter. GARF 678.2.280.67, Alexander diary, 6 October 1877, Nikolai and ballerina lose trust. Sasha's view of 'stupid' commander Nikolai: RGIA 919.2454.61, Alexander Alexandrovich 21 December 1877. Tsar confides re Plevna to Katya: *bingerle* sends compliments: GARF 678.2.283.29, A to Katya, 17 June 1877. GARF 678.2.114115, A to D, 13, 18, 20, 21 July 1877, sad, Nikolai ignores superiority, summons Guards. GARF 678.2.114–15, A to D, 13, 14, 18, 24, 30 July 1877. Waiting for fall of Plevna: GARF 678.2.117, A to D, 4, 27 October 1877, sex dreams, Totleben tactics, mobilize Guards, Nikolai lost confidence, marriage one thing we lack. GARF 678.2.117–18, A to D, 16, 18, 20, 24, 28, 29 November 1877. Alexander undermines Nikolai: Miliutin 8 October 1877; capture of Kars, 6 November; 15 November depression; tsar 'younger', thanks Miliutin. GARF 678.2.280.99, Alexander diary, 28 November 1877, fall of Plevna. Grand dukes – Nikolai commander: Miliutin, *Dnevnik* 11 October 1877, Totleben or Nikolai? Alexis to war: GARF 678.2.280, Alexander diary, 9 June 1877. Mikhail at war: Loris in Peter Zaionchkovsky, *Russian Autocracy under Alexander III* (henceforth Zaionch-

kovsky 2) 22. Sandro 27–47. Radzinsky 258–73. Nikolai: Beêche 1.74–5. Alexander weeps at list of Guards' deaths: Lincoln, *Reforms* 155.

- ³¹ GARF 678.2.119, A to D, 11 December 1877, sweet sex; children happy to see Papa-sha, A to D, 29 December 1977, share victory, children tender. GARF 678.2.119, A to D, 7 and 9 January 1878, joy of victories, peace worth, Adrianople news, when we are together, arrival of British fleet. GARF 678.2.119, A to D, 13 and 14 January 1878, await news from Berlin, cavalry to Constantinople, oh how I enjoyed *bingerle*. GARF 678.2.119, A to D, 21 January 1878, armistice pleasure, bad news from Vienna and London. GARF 678.2.119, A to D, 27 January 1878, wonderful *bingerle* before dinner, English fleet to Constantinople. GARF 678.2.119, A to D, 1 February 1878, love to wake up with you. GARF 678.2.119, A to D, 3 February 1878, nothing from my brother yet; news agitates me, old fool of queen. GARF 678.2.119, A to D, 6 February 1878, more calm if I know we occupy Constantinople. GARF 678.2.119, A to D, 21 February 1878, *bingerle* wanted it and cried 'Yes yes.' GARF 678.2.119, A to D, 11 March 1878, anguish, bad night. GARF 678.2.120, A to D, 18 March 1878, children make me happy amid tribulations. GARF 678.2.120, A to D, 20 March 1878, Turks more afraid of British than us; I'll join you at 3.30. Dilemma of Prince Alfred, duke of Edinburgh on HMS *Sultan*, Byzantine throne, shows letters to Maria and Empress Marie's letter to Prince Alexander of Hesse on fishwife Victoria: Wilson 376–85. Alexander diaries: GARF 678.2.7. 93, return to Petersburg, 8 December 1877; Ignatiev count, 12 December 1877; 24 December, Sofia taken. GARF 678.2.7.2, Nikolai no confidence, 11 January 1878; GARF 678.2.7.3, Nikolai occupation inevitable/Ignatiev negotiates/ near city, 12 January 1878. GARF 678.2.7.4, Nikolai close to city, success turns head, 13 January 1878. GARF 678.2.7.7, war, five days an eternity, 19 January 1878. GARF 678.2.7.7, Bismarck will mock us/ history condemn me, 20 January 1878. GARF 678.2.7.9, war against Britain/ enemy Beaconsfield, 26 January 1878. GARF 678.2.7.11, threat to occupy city, 29 and 30 January 1878. GARF 678.2.7.11, orders to take city, 30 January and 1 February 1878. GARF 678.2.7.23, we forgot Bismarck advice/Constantinople gone for ever, 29 March 1878. GARF 678.2.7.25, Nikolai sacked, 15 April 1878. GARF 678.2.8.5, if I had a Bismarck, 5 March 1879. GARF 678.2.8.4, Three Emperors doesn't exist, 6 February 1879. Advance so fast surpassed our wildest assumptions: Miliutin, 12 January 1878; 28 January 1878, excited tsar orders occupation of city; 11 February 1878, now Nikolai hesitates reasonably saving us from catastrophe; 19 February 1878, peace, jubilation.
- ³² Account of Congress based on Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans*; Geyer 78–80; Steinberg 368–373; Steinberg quotes Disraeli on Gorchakov and the dog 367. Gorchakov vs Disraeli: Salo Baron, *The Jews under Tsars and Soviets* 48. GARF 678.2.120, A to D, 30 April 1878, happy with marshalate; 16 March 1878, sex; 26 May, she reads despatches to him. Berlin: GARF 678.2.122, A to D, 3 June 1878, I fear Congress will end in war; 12 June, slept well after *bingerles*; 17 June, a veritable coalition against us at Berlin; 20 June, *bingerles*, Batumi essential; 22 June, we would fight for Batumi; 27 June, all Europe under genius Bismarck. GARF 641.1.32 Alexander to Marie 10 August 1878: Bismarck plots v Russia with Austria. Miliutin 2 June to 22 July 1878, negotiations at Berlin and public opinion hostile to government, emperor humiliated; Gorchakov situation beyond powers, 3 April 1876; totally senile, 6 November 1877; tsar loses temper with Gorchakov, 11 October 1877. Bulgaria: medieval size at San Stefano; smaller version at Berlin; new prince Battenberg: Stephen Constant, *Foxy Ferdinand, Tsar of Bulgaria* (henceforth *Ferdinand*) 18–25.
- ³³ Zaiionchkovsky 32–91. Daly 1.24–5. Mezentsov assassination attempt: GARF 678.2.122, A to D, 22 May 1878, God bless your pregnancy. GARF 678.2.122, A to

- D, 4 July 1878, shame of partition of Bulgaria. GARF 678.2.122, A to D, 13 July 1878, delicious Moushka. GARF 678.2.122, A to D, 4 August 1878, Mezentsov killed, 'charming century'. Crimea: GARF 678.2.122, A to D, 27 August 1878, nervous on police; 4 September 1878, what it costs to leave you; 3 September 1878, birth of baby Ekaterina. To Petersburg: GARF 678.2.122, A to D, 25 September 1878, *bingerles*; 26 September 1878, bleeding from sex?; 8 October 1878, must not get pregnant; 28 October 1878, need to be inside you. Alexander diary: GARF 678.2.7.8, trial of 193 *narodniki* and shooting of Trepov, 24 and 25 January 1878. GARF 678.2.7.34, Mezentsov killed, 4 August 1878; invisible hand, 26 September 1878. GARF 678.2.7.41, gives 10,000 roubles to D, 25 October 1878. GARF 678.2.7.47, my serenity of character not lost, 22 December 1878. GARF 678.2.8.5, Kropotkin killed, 22 February 1879. GARF 678.126, A to D, 1 January 1878, happy new year. Kabul 1878: GARF 641.1.32, Alexander to Marie, 26 August 1878. Ruud 39–42. Daly 1. 24–26
- ³⁴ GARF 678.2.8.6–8, Alexander diary, miraculously saved/governor-generals, 2–5 April 1879. GARF 678.2.289.22, Katya informed of April 1879 attempt, he weeps, saved me for you. Assassination; Valuev suggests governor-generals: Zaionchkovskiy 52–60, inc. Loris-Melikov plan against sedition 56–7; Valuev 'half-ruined sovereignty'; 78–91 Alexander discusses reform with Valuev, Kostia; 89 Sasha opposes 23 January 1880. Tsar hunted like hare: Tolstaya 26. Marie health: GARF 641.1.31, Serge to Marie, 29 April 1879. GARF 641.1.31, Alexander to Marie, sorry you're unwell, 6 May 1879. GARF 641.1.29, Alexander to Marie, wedding anniversary and reunited soon. GARF 641.1.32, Alexander to Marie, 1, 2 and 4 August 1879, new resources of health, at manoeuvres, glad your health better. GARF 641.1.32, Alexander to Marie, 8 September 1879, memories of Nixa. GARF 641.1.32, Alexander to Marie, 10 August 1878, three executions, Bismarck plots against us with Austria. GARF 641.1.32, Alexander to Marie, 18 August 1879, Marshal Manteuffel arrives with letter from Kaiser Wilhelm dictated by Bismarck listing what Germany has done for us and paid its debts. Move into Winter Palace: Miliutin, 13 May 1881, recounts Adlerberg's version. Alexander and Dolgorukaya: GARF 678.2.129, A to D, 11 March 1880, doubly enjoyed *bingerles*; 19 March 1880, you shared crazy pleasure, the sacred cult of us. GARF 678.2.130, A to D, 10 and 23 April 1880, good to cry out, our good rooms, my real life concentrated in the good moments together. Awkwardness of Katya hidden from children, esp. Sergei and Paul, and Grand Duchess Maria: Beéche 1.120. GARF 678.2.7.26, creates title Yurievsky for son, 24 April 1878. Alexander diary: GARF 678.2.8.10, 10 May 1879, like a novel. GARF 678.2.8.22, 30 August 1879, like a hunted wolf.
- ³⁵ GARF 678.2.8.26, train bomb 20 November 1879. Miliutin, *Dnevnik* 20 November 1879. GARF 678.2.8.27–8, Alexander diary, threatening letter on desk, 3 December 1879, and news of plan of Winter Palace by terrorists, 4 December 1879. Palace bombing, Khalturin: Tolstaya 34–5. Katya's fears and suspicions of explosives plot: GARF 678.2.289.25–9. Negligence and in Winter Palace tsar very pale, Sasha in panic, Empress Marie hears nothing, she wept: Tolstoya 29–41. Reform: Zaionchkovskiy 80–91. Alexander diary: GARF 678.2.8.29, reform and Valuev/Marie won't live long, 1 January 1880; exiles Hendrikova, 14 January 1880. Valuev, *Dnevnik* 47, 9 January 1880, Alexander discussed his 1863 plan. Show Russia a sign of his trust – Alexander sees Kostia, 13 January 1880, quote from diary of E. A. Peretts quoted in Zaionchkevskiy 84. Winter Palace bomb: GARF 678.2.9.6, Alexander diary, palace bomb, 5 February 1880. Miliutin, *Dnevnik* 5 February 1880. Sasha diary, 5 February 1880, GARF 677.1.307.319–20. Prince Alexander of Hesse diary/notes quoted in Lyashchenko, *Alexandr II*, 288. Naryshkin 62–3. Katya's account: GARF 678.2.289.30–3.

- ³⁶ Zaionchkovsky 92–3, quotes Kostia. Sandro 57–60. GARF 678.2.9.7, Alexander diary, Sasha proposes commission, refused, then tsar appoints Loris, 8, 9, 10 February 1880; menace to children, what a nightmare, 16 February 1880. GARF 678.2.9.9, Loris attempt, 20 February 1880. GARF 678.2.9.10, Gogo and execution, 21 February 1880. GARF 678.2.9.10, ‘poor liberty’, 23 February 1880. GARF 678.2.9.13, Katya worries about Gogo’s future, 9 March 1880. GARF 678.2.9.13, Katya: ‘hang terrorists’, 16 March 1880. GARF 678.2.9. 14, Loris unites police, sacks Drenteln, Loris same powers as me, 22 March and 24 March 1880. Cherevin Jewish memo: Zaionchevsky 338. Sasha and Loris relations: GARF 677.1.307/308. Rieber 104. Zaionchkovsky 92–116, Kostia on Petersburg panic, Valuev aplomb and arrogance of ‘Michael I’, Saltykov-Schedrin charisma; 330 Loris works with Sasha; 7–14 Loris takes control, ‘united command’; Loris and Sasha, 340 Pobedonostsev to E. F. Tyutcheva on Loris’s two patrons and third supporter in a certain woman; 11 April memo, 129–44; appointment of Pobedonostsev 146. Meshchersky on Loris as agile, clever 420–37; sacking of Tolstoy and Drenteln 439–44. Loris eastern mind, sly eyes, ‘the juggler’: Naryshkin 63. The Great Dictator: Sandro 65–6. Miliutin on dictator Loris: Miliutin, *Dnevnik* 10 February 1880. Police organization: Ruud 48–55. Daly 1.26–31. GARF 678.2.9.18, Alexander diary, Marie dies, double life ends, Katya demands marriage, Adlerberg warns, 22, 23, 24 May 1880. GARF 678.2.9.19, Alexander diary, coronation, constitution, then retirement, 25, 26, 27 May 1880. GARF 678.2.9.19, Sasha and Alexander talk, 30 May 1880. GARF 678.2.9.22–3, Bazhenov archpriest refuses, Katya advises confide in Sasha, marriage, 28 June, 3, 4 and 6 July 1880. Sasha’s view of his mother’s death, Alexander’s remarriage, the scum sacred influence of his mother/Nixa: GARF 642.1.709.13–16, Alexander III (Sasha) to Minny, 22 May 1884. Katya memoirs: GARF 678.2.289.34, if not threat of assassination, we wouldn’t have married during mourning; the wedding, GARF 678.2.289.35–6. Adlerberg warns against marriage: Miliutin, *Dnevnik* 4.78–9, 18 August 1879. Adlerberg says tsar in hands of Dolgorukaya, influence increases, Dolgorukaya sassy, stupid and immature: Miliutin, *Dnevnik* 4.337, 13 May 1881.
- ³⁷ Byrnes 140–5, Alexander on Pobedonostsev, Pharisee, fanatic; 147–9 Pobedonostsev says I’m a believer against idols; view of Alexander II in 143 letters to Sasha criticising decisions in 1877–8; in letters to E. Tyutcheva 143–4; and Dostoevsky 93–109. Pobedonostsev on Loris: Byrnes 140. Frank, *Dostoevsky*, works with Meshchersky 617–19, 671, 679 (Meshchersky, Prince Full-stop); friendship with Pobedonostsev, reveres tsardom 678–9 and 801–7; despises Yids 745; hatred of Jews 836; meets Romanovs Sergei, Paul, Konstantin Konstantinovich 767, dinner with Sergei 781; received by Sasha 914.
- ³⁸ Loris and Katya: Zaionchkovsky 145–7; Katya thinks Loris outstanding; 340 Pobedonostsev to E. F. Tyutcheva on Loris’s two patrons and after death of empress, third supporter in Yurievskaya. Alexander diary, Loris interior minister: GARF 678.2.9.24, Loris – order restored, 6 August 1880. Livadia: GARF 678.2.9.25, Katya, 16 August 1880. GARF 678.2.9.26, letter to Sasha, money for Katya, 11 September 1880. GARF 678.2.9.29, Yurievsky name close to Romanov, 4 December 1880. Miliutin 22 August 1880; introduced to Katya in Livadia, 26 August 1880; Katya appearance, 4 October 1880; tension with Sasha, 11 October 1880. Alexander II on Sasha: diary 24 January 1881.
- ³⁹ GARF 678.2.8.5 discusses our States-General/Sasha aggressive/we’re very different men, 24 January 1880. Tolstoya 119–21 on Daria Tyutcheva resignation, Alexander II reaction, and Katya curse/criminal affair. Crimea, Katya shares life and death, spite of daughters-in-law, gracious and Loris/Katya alliance: Katya memoirs, GARF 678.2.28.36–42. Zaionchkovsky 174–89, inc. 176 Pobedonostsev to E. F. Tyutcheva

on wild insipid illiterate education plan, monstrous absurdity of plan, disgusting meeting; Polovstev diary on heir angry with Loris; and 340 Pobedonostsev to E. F. Tyutcheva on Loris's two patrons and third supporter in a certain woman/it sickens me to look at him. Confrontations with Minny and Sasha, Minny tricked: Naryshkin 64–71. Katya memoirs on family monsters, Sasha incapable of ruling, if only I had someone to succeed me, family dinner on return, how I conducted myself, he acclaims her beauty and female jealousy, Dolgorukys older than Romanovs, Sanny (Grand Duchess Constantine) asks if Katya empress, no wish to be empress, he tells Gogo he loves him, GARF 678.2.289.43–8. I. V. Plotnikova (ed.), *Velikii knyaz Sergei Alexandrovich Romanov: biograficheskie materialy* (henceforth Plotnikova) 3.189, 245–6, Sergei to Alexander Alexandrovich, 19 July 1880, and Alexander Alexandrovich to Sergei, 6 December 1880; Sergei/Paul discover the news about Alexander II's marriage: 201 Sergei to Maria Fyodorovna, 5 January 1881. Conflict with family over Katya, Alexander at sixty-four like eighteen-year-old, Romanovs meet Katya: Sandro 60–6. Resentment of Loris and Katya; You have no heart, tsar to Minny: Naryshkin 69–71. Ministers meet Katya: Byrnes, Pobedonostsev disgusted 'wench' Katya 144.

⁴⁰ Alexander diary: GARF 678.2.9.31, discusses constitution unlike Europe with Loris and plans Editing Commission, 4 January 1881; Skobolev takes Denguil Tepe, 13 January 1881. GARF 678.2.8.2, second letter warns of Malaya Sadova Street shop, 25 January 1881. GARF 678.2.8.4, special commission to debate reform; Sasha opposes the reform but thanks to Loris, Nabokov and Kostia accepted; I signed; to be read at Council of Ministers on 2 March, 17 February 1881. GARF 678.2.8.4, happiest day of my life, anniversary of serf liberation, 19 February 1881. GARF 678.2.8.4, arrests and search for revolutionaries inc. Perovskaya, 20 February 1881; Loris asks if guards are loyal, 22 February 1881. GARF 678.2.8.5, warning given to Katya's brother Prince A. Dolgoruky, 23 February 1881. GARF 678.2.8.5, Miliutin backs reforms to save dynasty, 25 February 1881. GARF 678.2.8.6, Loris to publish *ukaz* on coronation and constitution on same day, 26 February 1881; Zhelyabov arrested; 27 February 1881; Valuev advises avoid Malaya Sadova, 28 February 1881. Daly 1.31. Abaza, throne can't rest on a million bayonets, quoted in Orlando Figes, *People's Tragedy* (henceforth Figes, *PT*) 41. Retire to America: GARF 678.289.10, Katya. Zaionchkovsky 174–89; 28 January 1881 Loris memo 179–81; Lenin's view 182. Meetings on constitution, Loris excludes Pobedonostsev: Byrnes 147–150. GARF 678.2.8.2, Alexander diary, someone near me who counts left to live (e.g. Sasha), 24 January 1881.

⁴¹ GARF 678.2.8.8, tsar writes diary at 8 a.m. on Loris optimism, reforms, coronation then retirement, decision to ignore all warnings, inc. that of Katya. Last *bingerles* with Katya: Dr Botkin to A.S. Suvorin, *Dnevnik A.S. Suvorina*, 66, diary entry 14 September, 1893. Sandro 70–4. Adrian Dvorzhitsky, 1 Marta 1881, *Istoricheskii vestnik* (1913) 1. Details of conspiracy: 1 Marta 1881 *goda. Po neizdannym materialam; Delo 1 Marta: protsess Zheliabova, Perovskoi I dr pravitel'svennyi otchet*. Tsar very good mood, at Manège, at deathbed, Sasha and Katya hold head: Miliutin, *Dnevnik 1/2/ March 1881*, 272–5. Andrei Maylunas and Sergei Mironenko (eds.), *A Lifelong Passion: Nicholas and Alexandra: Their Own Story* (henceforth LP), Bill of Indictment, 1 March 1881, 1–4. Sasha's view of his mother's death, Alexander's remarriage, 'the scum burst out' leading to 1 March: GARF 642.1.709.13–16, Alexander III (Sasha) to Minny 22 May 1884. Fear of bombers en route to Sunday parades, Loris warns of attacks: Katya memoirs, GARF 678.2.289.54. Tolstoya 191–7: Nelidova runs in to tell Tolstoya, the scene at deathbed, Sasha sobbing on chest of father then embraces Yurievskaya, bloodstained tunic, children enter with Shebeko.

⁴² Zaionchkovsky 203–38; on Baranov 349; on Gatchina security 197; 8 March Council 206–7; 211–15 Ignatiev memo, 12 March; ; 217 tsar lost in indecision, Pobedonostsev; 222 ‘living with madmen and they think I am an idiot not from nineteenth century but from sixteenth’, Pobedonostsev to Tyutcheva, 10 April 1881; 227–39 the 21 April Council and Alexander’s Manifesto, inc. 235 AIII to Pobedonostsev approving Manifesto, 27 April 1881. Pobedonostsev letters to Alexander III and Tyutcheva in Byrnes 150–64. Escape to Gatchina, skunks and first days in power: Sandro 75–9. Gatchina fortress and Baranov: Miliutin, *Dnevnik* 4.45–51. The correspondence of Pobedonostsev and Alexander III is published in *Pisma Pobedonostseva k Alexandru III*, vol. 1. Comedy: Valuev, *Dnevnik 1877–1884*, 23 March 1881. 8 March Council: diaries of Miliutin, Valuev and Perretts. 27 April Council meeting and 28–29 April meeting at Loris house and shock of Manifesto: Miliutin diary. Vorontsov–Dashkov (VD) warns of attacks: GARF 677.1.741.96, VD to AIII, 3 March 1881. Alexander III exhilarated by sacking Loris: Plotnikova 3.248, AIII to Sergei Alexandrovich. On atmosphere on accession: I. A. Shestakov, *Polveka obyknovennoi zhizni* (henceforth Shestakov, *Polveka*) 738–40, accession of Alexander III, sacking of Kostia, appointment of Alexis after emperor constantly ‘repeated that grand dukes should not head departments . . . sudden impulse’, a saturnalia of autocracy, honest people sacked, my soul aches. Incapacity of Alexander III in Katya memoirs: GARF 678.2.289.43. Tsar makes settlement with Katya Yurievskaya via Loris and Adlerberg: GARF 677.1.4.43, Adlerberg to AIII, 10 April 1881. GARF 677.1.519, Loris to AIII, 10 April 1881. Grand Duke Sergei visits Katya Yurievskaya, disgusting: Plotnikova 3.214, Sergei to Konstantin Konstantinovich (KR), 17 September 1881. Sacking of Kostia: Beéche 1.62–4. Sacking of Nikolai Nikolaievich and sex mania: Paul Robinson, *Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich: Supreme Commander of the Russian Army* (henceforth Robinson) 36. Beéche 1.77. Nikolai begs Alexander III for nobility and titles for illegitimate children: RGIA 919.2.2454.88, AIII to 22 November 1882. Zaionchkovsky 2.21–23.

SCENE 3: COLOSSUS

¹ Sacred influence on AIII of his mother and Nixa: GARF 642.1.709.13–16, Alexander III (Sasha) to Minny, 22 May 1884. Sweet Minny, missing you: GARF 642.1.709.19–22, AIII to Maria Fyodorovna (Minny), 9 May and 12 May 1884. Dinner with Nicky and Georgy, GARF 642.1.608.11–17, AIII to Minny, 13 May 1884. GARF 642.1.709, Minny to AIII, 21 May 1884, pleased you missed me. How not to behave, Bertie prince of Wales’s baccarat scandal,: GARF 642.1.709.117, AIII to Minny, 2 June 1891. Zaionchkovsky 2.14–19. Russian brutality necessary in a Russian tsar: A.A. Mossolov, *At the Court of the Last Tsar* (Mossolov) 3–5. Witte 28–30: Alexander III straight–talking, not unintelligent, worry about fatness; 37–41 limited education, gifted with broad sympathetic understanding which in ruler more important than rational brilliancy; doused Misha with hose and Misha soaked him back. Edward W. Wcislo, *Tales of Imperial Russia: The Life and Times of Sergei Witte* (‘Wcislo’) on Alexander III: imposing, bear–like, husky and fat, in appearance ‘an absolute lout like a big Russian peasant’ but enormous character, words never differed from his actions 130–33. AIII anti–social, at ball he hides, empress dances: Shestakov diary, 2 February 1887, quoted in Zoia Belyakova, *Velikii Kniaz Alexei Alexandrovich. Za i protiv* (henceforth Belyakova) 153. Hall 117–31: Minny’s style and sociability. Children at Gatchina: John Van der Kiste and Coryne Hall, *Once a Grand Duchess: Xenia, Sister of Nicholas II* (henceforth *Xenia*) 10–12, inc. Minny dislike of Gatchina and Sasha happy. Paul Kulikovskiy, Karen Roth–Nicholls and

- Sue Woolmans (eds.), 25 *Chapters of my Life: The Memoirs of Grand Duchess Olga Alexandrovna* (henceforth *Olga*) 31–44. Family games: Edward J. Bing (ed.), *Letters of Tsar Nicholas and the Empress Marie* (henceforth *Bing*) 28, Nicky to Minny, 15 May 1884. Sasha's humorous eyes: Sandro 139. Papa turned on the hose: Nicholas II diary is at GARF 601.1.217–266 (henceforth ND with date) – ND 7 June 1884. Papa so dear and kind to me: *LP*, Nicky to Alexandra of Hesse-Darmstadt, 8 May 1894. Sandro 161 on Nicky and two brothers: Georgy the cleverest of the three, Misha simplicity of manner, favourite. Hall 117–31 Cherevin best friend, Cherevin character refined courtier mixed with primeval savage, sees world in two halves, despise Vladimir, Romanovs accuse Cherevin of drunkenness, AIII when cross 'like a gloomy bear', AIII backed Cherevin, AIII lying on back drinking, 1880s doctors ban drink, watched by Minny, Cherevin and AIII hide drink in boots, Mother of Invention: P. N. Lebedev, Cherevin i Alexandr III, *Golos minuvshago* (1917) 5/6.96–101. Zaionchkovsky 2.338 quoting Mossolov; ego big, drunk, Witte quoted 225.
- ² Alexis as admiral: Shestakov, *Polveka* 738–40, accession of Alexander III, sacking of Kostia; appointment of Alexis. I. A. Shestakov, diary: RGA VMF 26.1.1–7, Alexis indifferent to everything, 24 April 1882; how lazy my Grand Duke, 2 May 1882; does not think about right things, 26 December 1883; infuriates me, 27 June 1884. Alexis and Zina: Marie queen of Romania, *Story of My Life* (henceforth 'Marie of Romania'), 1.92. Laziness of Alexis: Belyakova 161–7, Sandro on Alexis 'Beau' Brummel best looking, only interested in 'love-making, food and liquor', fast women, slow ships 188–9 and pagan Zina 171–2. On grand dukes in politics: Zaionchkovsky 2.21–3. Family Law changed: Hall 119, stop playing the tsar 116.
- ³ Zaionchkovsky 263–6; Alexander comment on Gospel 364. Alexander hatred of Jews and on Tolstoy, Sergei and Durnovo policies: Zaionchkovsky 2.72–7. Anti-semitism of Alexander and Sergei 328 and 377 Alexander's special hatred of Jews: Polovtsov diary, 18 April 1890. 'Rotten Jew': Bruce Lincoln, *In War's Dark Shadow*, 30. Baron 45–50 and 356. Pobedonostsev – third of Jews must disappear: Hall 142. Anti-semitism of AIII and entourage: Cherevin Jewish memo: Zaionchkovsky 338. Marie Kleinmichel, *Memoirs of a Shipwrecked World* 129. Pobedonostsev anti-semitism: Byrnes 205 letter to Dostoevsky on Jews as ulcer. Frank, *Dostoevsky*, novelist shares views on Jews with Pobedonostsev, reveres tsardom 678–9 and 801–7; despises Yids 745; hatred of Jews 836. GARF 677.1.741.104–9, Vorontsov-Dashkov to AIII, 2 May 1882, warns against anti-semitic policies. New security: Daly 1.32–41. Emigration of Jews to America: figures from Shmuel Ettinger, *Jewish Emigration in the 19th Century: Migration – Within and from Europe – as a Decisive Factor in Jewish Life* (at www.myjewishlearning.com/article/jewish-emigration-in-the-19th-century/2/).
- ⁴ Zaionchkovsky 241–303; Zemsky Sobor 287–98. Anti-semitic policies: Zaionchkovsky 2.72–7. On schemes to sell Jews by Ignatiev: Baron 356. Naryshkin 86: Ignatiev Mentir Pasha. GARF 677.1.741.104–9, Vorontsov-Dashkov to AIII, 2 May 1882, Ignatiev's lies. Ignatiev had mentioned the Zemsky Sobor idea when he talked to Alexander Alexandrovich at Livadia in 1870; Ignatiev memoirs, GARF 730.1.161.5. Alexander III on literature: Byrnes, Pobedonostsev view of Leo Tolstoy as dangerous lunatic 256–7. Rosamund Bartlett, *Tolstoy*, tsar sees him as 'godless nihilist' 252; Tolstoy asks for mercy for Alexander II assassins – 'Our Christ not your Christ', replied Pobedonostsev; AIII receives Sonia Tolstoy and permits *Kreutzer Sonata* publication 331. Zaionchkovsky 2: 176: Alexander III censors Tolstoy.
- ⁵ Zaionchkovsky 252–5; Cherevin bid to take control of Police Department and Gendarmes defeated by Ignatiev 253. Daly 1:32–48: Sacred Retinue, emergency laws, new security forces under Ignatiev and Tolstoy, Sudeikin, Rachkovsky, Degaev. P.

- N. Durnovo: Abraham Ascher, *P. A. Stolypin: The Search for Stability in Late Imperial Russia* (henceforth *Stolypin*), 48. Founding of Sacred Retinue: Sergei Witte, *The Memoirs of Count Witte* (henceforth *Witte*) 22–5.
- ⁶ Zaionchkovsky 2.276: AIII drunk with power – Lamsdorf; Peter without the cudgel – Vannovsky. AIII bureaucrat obliteration: Figes, PT 7. AIII, long relationship with VD: GARF 677.741.1, VD to Tsarevich Alexander Alexandrovich, 28 July 1866; advice on military appointments during 1877 war, GARF 677.1.741.6, VD to Alexander Alexandrovich, 9 December 1877; advises move to Winter Palace for security, GARF 677.1.741.96, VD to AIII, 3 March 1881; on famine, cut the balls and banquets as contribution to committee for food, it would make decent impression, GARF 677.1.741.138, VD to AIII, 27 August 1891. Spala article and resignation of Vorontsov-Dashkov and AIII reply: AIII to VD (end of September/beginning of October 1890): RGIA 919.2.1166.2; VD to AIII about his resignation (4 October 1890): GARF 677.1.741.117; AIII to VD, in which tsar refuses resignation, calls VD friend and assistant (5 October 1890): RGIA 919.2.1214.253–4; the article on AII in *Spala: Pravitelstvenny vestnik* in 1890, nos. 212, 214 and 215. On digest of memoranda, on triumvirate of Vorontsov, Richter and Cherevin: N. A. Yepanchin, *Na sluzhbe tyrokh imperatorov 165–7*. Relations with ministers: Sandro 75–86. AIII and Pobedonostsev: Zaionchkovsky 2. 23–29; AIII and Dmitri Tolstoy 29–31.
- ⁷ Coronation: GARF 642.1.608.25, AIII to Minny, 16 May 1884. Sandro 86–91. Wortman 270–9. Hall 101–6. Alexander III personally supervises Khodynka Field: Sandro 192.
- ⁸ Foreign policy. Three Emperors League: Steinberg 384–7; 423–4. Afghanistan and near war with Britain: Geyer 113–15; Bulgaria and Three Emperors, Montenegro: 115–21. Tensions with Austria over Bulgaria, AIII view of Ferdinand of Coburg: *Ferdinand* 52–5, 103–14. Toast to Montenegro: Sandro 80. Montenegrin marriages and King Nikola: Elizabeth Roberts, *Realm of the Black Mountain: A History of Montenegro* (Montenegro) 261–7. Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (henceforth Clark) 91–2. AIII on public opinion to Giers: Dominik Lieven, *Nicholas II* (henceforth Lieven, *NI*) 92. Arbiters of public opinion Katkov and Meshchersky, Dmitri Tolstoy: Zaionchkovsky 2.29–31; on Katkov 31–7; on Meshchersky 37–41. Meshchersky 420–45. Frank, *Dostoevsky*, works with Meshchersky 617–9, 671, 679 (Meshchersky, Prince Full-stop). Katkov on foreign policy: Geyer 111.
- ⁹ Noise followed by a jolt, *Olga* 22. Nicky's account: Plotnikova 3.211, Nicholas Alexandrovich to Sergei, 17 December 1889. Awful event: Bing 40, Nicky to Minny, 20 October 1889. Hall 137. Witte 28–36: meets Alexander III, Jewish railway, that blunt fellow, appointment to government. Wcislo 133–4: AIII, 'my travel is forbidden because it's a Yid line'; Witte character 135, a certain 'lack of restraint and brazenness of speech part of my character'. Rise of Witte: Geyer 130–45. On Vladimir: Beéche 1.113, Vladimir, CO the Guards, arts and Diaghilev; Sandro 156–7. Nationalities: 1897 census quoted in Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin*, vol. 1: *Paradoxes of Power, 1878–1928* (henceforth Kotkin) 56. Statistics on nationalities: Figes, PT 79–81; Lenin worse the better quoted 129; SRs founded 163. David Shimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Toward the Rising Sun: Russian Ideologies of Empire and the Path to War with Japan* (henceforth Oye) 61–81: Witte, character, vision economic growth and Far Eastern railway. Witte on possibilities of Asia to Alexander III, quoted in Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia and the Russians* 329. On Stalin and seminary, see Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Young Stalin*. Kotkin 11–12. Famine: GARF 677.1.741.138, VD to AIII, 27 August 1891.
- ¹⁰ Sandro 158–60: 'flaunted his many peculiarities'; Ella 'ravishing beauty, rare intelligence, delightful sense of humour.' Marie of Romania on Serge, Ella 1.93–97. Grand

dukes in politics: Zaionchkovsky 2.21–3. Sergei Moscow governorship: Zaionchkovsky 2.22–3, 38, 72–6, 97. Wortman 311–12. Witte 380: Sergei and Durnovo anti-semitism to please, ‘Jew-baiting at court very predominant’. Sergei bugging chaplain: John Röhl, *Wilhelm II: the Kaiser's Personal Monarchy* (‘Röhl 1’) 123. Sergei sad to leave regiment and cries, funny sad, the job doesn’t scare me, it interests me very much: Plotnikova 3.356, Sergei to Nicky, 30 May 1891. Jewish emigration – 111,000 in 1892, 137,000 in 1892: figures from Ettinger, *Jewish Emigration in the 19th Century*. On marriage and character: Beéche 1.136–44. Sergei and Ella marriage: Christopher Warwick, *Ella: Princess, Saint and Martyr* (henceforth *Ella*) 82–4; Sergei character 85–93; Jerusalem 93–7; Guards 98; arrival of Ella 101–4; sex 130–3; Ella Jerusalem revelation 144–6; marriage of Grand Duke Paul and Princess Alexandra of Greece (Grand Duchess Alexandra Georgievna) 151; Moscow pogrom 165. Sergei and Ella: *LP* 256–7 quoting from Marie Pavlovna’s memoirs; 265 Ella to Nicky, 26 February 1904, ‘He loved order’.

¹¹ Germany and France: Alexander to Giers, August 1885: *American Historical Journal*, 25.3 (Apr 1920), 394; 391–40, L. B. Packard, ‘Russia and the Dual Alliance’. Geyer 157–60, 172–7. Steinberg 436–7; on decision to discontinue Reinsurance 450, 460. Röhl 1.31–7: Willy ‘visit to Petersburg 1888 and tsar’ view of Willy; visit to Germany 1889 218–25; on Willy’s health and sanity 298–9 and 334; Reinsurance Treaty 335–47; French at Kronstadt 364–5; relations with Willy 473–8. AIII literally nauseated by boy monkey Wilhelm: Lebedev 96–101.

¹² Nicky never laughed, rarely cried, loved army: Sandro 186–7. Witte 179: inexperienced but rather intelligent, well mannered, good breeding concealed shortcomings; views Englishman as a Jew 189. Wcislo 139, Alexander III to Witte – Nicky a boy and uninterested in state affairs. Cherevin, AIII’s favourite child Georgy/unimpressed by NII: Lebedev 96–101. Nicky distance, imperial mist – Marie Romania 2.65 and 2.326. Zaionchkovsky 2.19–21, inc. Lambsdorf half-boy half-man quote; wild parties in Guards; influence of Pobedonostsev and Meshchersky; 29 funny Jewish stories, Nicky to Minny, 5 September 1884. Polovtsov, *Dnevnik* 26 January 1892. *LP* 67: ‘You don’t know how sly I can be,’ Nicky to Alix, 2 June 1894. Sandro 186 – thin education but with excellent English. Lieven, *NII* 106, tells Pobedonostsev ‘I always agree with everyone and then do things in my way.’ Lieven, *NII* 28–43, inc. quotes from Olga, on being childish, quotes from Vladimir Ollongren on Alexander calling Nicky ‘girly’; influence of Heath, reading habits, self-control, intelligence, preparation to rule. On Nicky’s view of newspapers as a Jew sitting there: Röhl 1.758, Nicholas to Helmuth von Moltke 1895. Limited horizons, sailor suits: Hirsch 161. Jews horsedealers, Hirsh at Sandringham: Bing 84, Nicky to Minny, June 1894. Alexander Orlov, Nicky’s only unique friend: Spiridovich 1.285–6. Patrimonial views of tsardom Census of 1897: ‘Khozyain Zemli Russkoy/Khozyayka Zemli Russkoy’: GARF, F.601. Inv. 1. File 2. Fol. 2, 28 January 1897. Figs, *PT* 6–7. Robinson on Nicky’s fear of Nikolasha 35. Correspondence between Nicky and Sergei: Plotnikova 3. First meeting with Kshessinskaya: Coryne Hall, *Imperial Dancer: Mathilde Kschessinska and the Romanovs* (henceforth *Dancer*) 13–15; recommendations for Nicky from Cherevin and Pobedonostsev 18; first meetings 20–1. Nicky in town all the time, Alexander alone at Gatchina: GARF 642.1.710.54–7, Alexander III (Sasha) to Minny, 16 April 1892. Training for tsar: childishness: ND 24 January 1894, hide and seek like little children. Preparations for rule: Nicky helping with English in letters to Queen Victoria: GARF 642.1.709.19–22, AIII to Minny, 12 May 1884. ND 17 December 1893; went to Council of State, wormed out of Committee of Ministers; 17 January 1894, visited regiment and Council of State; at Papa’s request read report from defence minister; 24 January 1894 read papers

- of Siberian Committee. Nicky's fun upbringing with his father, games with donkeys: Bing 28, Nicky to Minny, 15 May 1884. Alexander II's calm: Zeepvat, *Romanov Autumn*, 16. Meeting with Alix: ND 27 May 1884; 19 November 1884.
- ¹³ Alix. Golden hair/look: Anna Vyubova, *Memories of the Russian Court*, (henceforth Vyubova) 3. Queen Victoria, your very loving, grateful and dutiful child: LP 28, Alix to Victoria, 26 December 1893; 52 my sweet Alicky, watch over her, Alix's nerves, 22 April 1894; 64 Alix's nerves, treatment, her father's death, anxiety over brother, Victoria to Nicky, 25 May 1894. Benckendorff on Alexandra, 'a will of iron linked to not much brain and no knowledge', Lieven, *NII* 227. Pierre Gilliard, *Thirteen Years at the Russian Court* (henceforth Gilliard) 16. Alexandra – Ernest of Hesse on her strength, need for superior will to bridle, tsar an angel but doesn't know how to treat her: Naryshkin 204. Meets Nicky, mentions in ND: 27 May 1884; 19 November 1884; 31 January 1889 to 27 February 1889 on Alix's visit 1889.
- ¹⁴ World tour: Oye 15–23. Minny's advice and anxiety about Georgy illness, Nicky behaviour, assassination attempt: Bing 43, Minny to Nicky on Georgy illness; 46 Minny to Nicky, 16 January 1891, 59, 'Papa and I at the end of our strength; second time God's saved you, like Borki', Minny to Nicky, 6 May 1891. Hall 144–7. *NII*. Sandro 189. World tour: Oye 219. Willy's views of sex on tour, and hidden jewels: Röhl 1.125.
- ¹⁵ ND: talked about marriage with Papa, 'my dream to marry Alix'; only obstacle religion; Eddy withdrawn, 21 December 1891; Minny hints about Héléne, daughter of comte de Paris, 29 January 1892; two loves coexist, Alix and K, 29 January 1892; once loved Princess Olga Dolgorukaya, ND 1 April 1892; permission to start finding out about Alix, 10 January 1893. Ella to Nicky on prayers in Jerusalem: LP, Ella to Nicky, 19 June 1889. Ella role in romance: Ella 150–3, 174–6. Minny on Nicky–Alix romance: Hall 150–3. Nicky and Little K: *Dancer* 23–44. Little K: ND, dashed to see my MK, 29 January 1893; London wedding no attractive women, 18 June 1893; round ball on legs, Queen Victoria, 19 June; everyone finds great resemblance between me and Georgy, 20 June. Alix cannot be untrue to faith: LP 24, Alix to Xenia, 8 November 1893; 25 Alix to Nicky, can't do it against conscience. Sergei and Ella as intermediaries: Sergei's diary, GARF 648.1.29:286, 9 October 1893; 290, 13 October 1893; total reprimand from Sergei, to Nicky, GARF 601.1.1340.81–2, 14 October 1893; Alix invites Nicky – Grand Duchess Ella to Nicky – GARF 601.1.1253.42, 18 October 1893. Everything is over: ND 18 November 1893. LP 26, Nicky to Alix, 17 December 1893, the depth of our religion. Looks: Vyubova, 3. Nicky social life in Guards, four-day binge: ND 26 November 1893; parties at Vorontsovs', Trubetskoi's, card games, macao with Uncle Alexei; 12 January 1894, Uncle Vladimir to club, tipsy; 24 January, hide and seek like little children; 26 January, best ladies at Montebello party; 27 February, dancing for nine hours with Sandro; 8 March, soirée at Aunt Miechen's, seventy gypsies, fun and chatted to Pototsky; 25 March, to gypsies with Sandro and Konstantin Konstantinovich (KR). Hide-and-peek: Polovstov, *Dnevnik* 26 January 1894. Nicky's life in the Guards: Zaionchkovsky 2.20. Nicky delight in Guards life: LP 13, Nicky to Alix, 23 May 1889. Childishness: ND 24 January 1894. Attends ministers: ND 17 December 1893; 17 January 1894, v regiment and Council of State; 24 January 1894, Siberian Committee. Alexander's first illness: ND 17 January 1894. Departure for Coburg: ND 2 April 1894. LP 36, KR diary, 3 April 1894 – Minny advises ask Queen Victoria. Coburg: ND 5 April 1894, Alix sad, arrival of Victoria in pomp, talked for hours; 6 April, Willy arrives; 7 April, wedding; 8 April, wonderful day, my betrothal; 9–15 April, reactions, excitement, tea with Victoria. LP 40, Nicky to Minny, 10 April 1894; 42 Minny to Nicky, 10 April; Minny to Nicky, 14 April; AIII to Nicky, 14 April; 50 all my life belonged to you, Nicky to

- Alix, 20 April; 52 my sweet Alicky, watch over her most anxiously, Alix's nerves, 'I am the only person answerable for her', an orphan, no one but me, your devoted Grandmama, 22 April; 61 Victoria as old belly woman, Nicky to Georgy, 9 May; 61 Alix in Harrogate/public/bathchair, Alix to Nicky and Nicky to Alix, 10, 13, 16 May; 64 Alix's nerves, treatment, her father's death, anxiety over brother etc., Queen Victoria to Nicky, 25 May; 65 Alix on 'new position', Alix to Victoria, 28 May. Bing 73: Minny's delight, 10 April 1894; Nicky's account of engagement, Nicky to Minny, 10 April. Nicky in England, locked in lavatory: ND 14 June 1894; Sandringham ND 17, 26 June, with Bertie, Franz Ferdinand, Empress Eugénie. Part of English family, too hot, in tailcoat: LP 72, Nicky to Georgie, 29 June 1894. Jewish horsedealers, Hirsch at Sandringham: Bing 84, Nicky to Minny, June 1894. LP 75, Alix to Nicky, 10 July 1894, passion burning; 81 Nicky to Alix, 22 July, you've got me entirely. Little K anon letters to Alix: *Dancer* 44–5; and K's new protectors Sergei Mikhailovich and Andrei Vladimirovich 66–83. Nicky confession and Alix forgiveness: ND 8 July 1894. Wedding of Xenia and Sandro: *Olga* 45–6. LP 61, Nicky to Georgy, 9 May 1894 improper kissing; Georgy to Nicky, 9 June, sexy gymnastics of Xenia and Sandro. Sandro wedding: Sandro 150–4. Hall 150–3.
- ¹⁶ Bing 86, Papa tired and insomnia on cruise on yacht *Tsarevna*, Minny to Nicky, 27 June 1894; after illness starts, Cherevin drinking; Zaionchkovsky 2.19. Illness: ND 11 August and 15 September 1894. LP 84–9, Nicky to Alix, 11 August 1894; 11 September, enchantress, I'm gelatine; 15 September, to Livadia. Alix comment and Alexander death: ND 10–20 October 1894. *Olga* 47–8, inc. Nicky unhappy at burden; wedding to Alix 48. Sandro 190. Charlotte Zeepvat, *Romanov Autumn*, 146–7. Ella on the death scene to Queen Victoria: *Ella* 178. Minny's breakdown: Hall 155–64. Accession Nicholas II: ND 20–30 October 1894. *Olga* 47–8. Death of Colossus and Nicky's crisis: Sandro 190–1. Arrangements of funeral, role of prince of Wales: Hall 164–7.
- ¹⁷ ND 20 October–1 November. On Yanishev asking AIII re preparation of heir: KR, 7 December 1894. Greg King, *The Court of the Last Tsar: Pomp, Power and Pageantry in the Reign of Nicholas II* (henceforth King) 325–42; Olga Alexandrovna quotes.

SCENE 4: MASTER OF THE LAND

- ¹ ND 1, 2, 3 November 1894. Black face of AIII: KR 3 November 1894. This account of the funeral is based on King 325–42. Too little of Alix: ND 1, 2, 36, 7 November 1894. KR on funeral: 7 November.
- ² ND, 8, 9, 14, 15, 17 November 1894. LP 104, Duke of York to Queen Victoria, 16 November 1894; 100 Georgy to Nicky, 9 November, missing wedding; 108 Nicky to Georgy, 19 November, strength not to break down. KR 15 November 1894. King 343–57.
- ³ New life starts: Nicky to Georgie 19 November – LP 114. KR 10 November 1894, on better to sacrifice one uncle; 14 November 1894 on uncles try to influence; Minny aggrieved; 15 November 1894, wedding and sacrifice; N overloaded with work; in his study 18 November. Nicky 'gentle, dwarfed by giant' uncles: Marie of Romania 2.65. Uncles: Sandro 155–160 and 194–5. No real secretariat/chancellery: Lieven NII 11–121. Sealing envelopes/distrust of secretaries: Mossolov, 10–12.
- ⁴ ND 17 January 1895, senseless dreams. 'Father never once mentioned responsibilities that awaited him' and AIII's comment to Yanishev: KR 7 December 1894. Sergei vs Vorontsov on coronation and threat to resign: Naryshkin 146.
- ⁵ Nicky's daily life, micro-managing, horse and carriage for Alix: GARF 553.1.6.5, NII to Benckendorff, 1896; Easter eggs GARF 553.1.6.47, NII to Benckendorff, 20

- March 1915. Love life, whistle: Vyrubova 4; Alexandra to Countess Rantzau quoted 12; unable to order cakes 27; Court, black Nubian Guards: this is based on the research of Penny Wilson – see <http://forum.alexanderpalace.org/index.php?topic=348.0;wap2>. Joseph T. Fuhrman (ed.), *The Complete Wartime Correspondence of Tsar Nicholas II and the Empress Alexandra* (henceforth F): we make one, F 41, Alexandra (A) to Nicholas (N), 17 November 1914; thanks for happiness/life as riddle, F 300, A to N, 12 November 1915; nicknames Lovebird etc., F 55, A to N, 26 November 1914; I want you so, Madame B, F 447, N to A, 8 April 1916; Oh Pussy, F 450, A to N, 10 April 1916; F 424, I kiss with tenderness/your shyness, A to N, 26 March 1916; ‘tell boysy that lady’, F 374, A to N, 1 February 1916; your sweet lips, F 373, A to N, 13 January 1916; F 380, girly kisses, A to N, 4 February 1916; F 366, ‘burn with impatience to see’, A to N, 13 January 1916; couldn’t have endured burden without you, my shyness, F 339, N to A, 31 December 1915; always doing it, F 324, A to N, 12 December 1915; F 506, Boysy hops, 16 June 1916. Interior decoration: GARF 553.1.6.4, NII to Benckendorf, 1895. Alix pregnant? KR 11 December 1894.
- ⁶ ND 25, 26, 27 November 1894; 28 September 1895, on mauve room sofa; 1 January 1896, ceremonials; 28 March 1896, Easter kissing 1600. KR 14 November 1896, on Vladimir vs Minny. Coronation preparations: GARF 644.1.204.97–8, Sergei to Pavel, 15 April 1894. Sergei vs Vorontsov on coronation and threat to resign: Naryshkin 146. Immersed in preparations, discussion with Nicholas over details of coronation ceremonies: GARF 601.1.1340.114, Nicholas to Sergei, undated. LP 108, Nicky to Georgy, 19 November 1894; 120 Willy to Nicky, 14 September and 13 October 1894; 124 Nicky to Georgy, 18 December 1895; 130 Ella to Nicky, 20 April 1896. Sandro 195 on uncles.
- ⁷ *Koronatsionnye torzhestva*, 89. KR 8, 9 14 necklace broke, May 1895; 18 May, bodies seen by KR’s brother Dmitri; 29 May, blames Sergei, photograph; 29 May, Pahlen appointment and Sergei threat. LP 138–9, Xenia diary, 18, 19 May; Olga memoirs; 144–5 Nicky to Georgy, 29 July 1896; Georgy to Nicky, 5 August 1896. ND 9, 17, 18 May 1896. Sandro 191–4: coronation, warning about Khodynka, the Montebello ball. Jewels dropped in ceremony, 3,000 dead, findings of Pahlen: S. L. Seeger (ed.), Alexander Izvolsky, *Recollections of a Foreign Minister: The Memoirs of Alexander Izvolsky* (henceforth Izvolsky) 69–70. Joyless Alix: Marie Roumania 2.65–79. Coronation, Zizi becomes lady-in-waiting, Khodynka, Sergei vs Vorontsov on coronation and threat to resign, wagons of corpses: Naryshkin 146–50. Hall 181–2. King 357–88. Nicky’s view of tsar and God, dangerous to stop halfway/my terrible responsibility before my Maker: Bing 166, Nicky to Minny, 20 October 1902. Court officials/statistics: King 97–109.
- ⁸ Nicky on family vs national diplomacy: LP 145, Nicky to Victoria, 10 October 1896. Ottoman crisis: Geyer 192. Byrnes 131. Witte 186–7. Sean McMeekin, *The Russian Origins of the First World War* (henceforth McMeekin) 144. Far Eastern policy 1894–1900: Geyer 187–205. Oye 5–15; world tour 15–23; Nicky’s vision 49–53; Witte’s *pénétration pacifique* 61–81. Germany: Röhl 1.749–60, 929–31; Kiaochow 954–61. Kaiser visit: Bing 128–9, Nicky to Minny, 23 July and 1 August 1897. Railway, Chinese Eastern Railway and annexation of Port Arthur: Witte 82–104. Eastern policy: Lobanov-Rostovsky, French mistress, Jewish books: Dominic Lieven, *Russia’s Rulers under the Old Regime* (henceforth Lieven, RR) 198–9. Alexandra’s personality: correspondence with Queen Victoria quoted in Figes, PT 26–8. Marie of Romania 2. 67. Death of Lobanov on train: Naryshkin 152. Priggish Alix and Hamlet: Beéche 2.119. Silver Age: Bruce Lincoln, *In War’s Dark Shadow*, 349–88.
- ⁹ Oye on Kuropatkin 86–91; Kaiser and Far East 146–58. Izvolsky 70 on Muraviev sycophancy. Bing 137, Nicky to Minny, 18 March 1898. Witte to Alexander III on

- Russian domination of Asia: Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia and the Russians* 329.
- ¹⁰ Oye on Ukhtomsky 42–59; on Kuropatkin and warning to Nicholas 86–97. Alexei Kuropatkin, *Dnevnik generala A. N. Kuropatkina* (henceforth Kuropatkin), 7 April 1898 and 22 September 1899.
- ¹¹ *LP* 172, Georgy to Nicky, 15 June 1899; Georgy funeral 176 – Xenia diary, 14 July 1899. ND 14 June 1899. KR 14 June 1899.
- ¹² Oye on Boxers 159–71; Manchuria 172–86; Lamsdorf 167; Manchuria, Korea, comments to Prince Heinrich of Prussia 182–5. Bing 137–4, Nicky to Minny on Port Arthur, 18 March 1898; Beijing, 11 August 1900; Boer War, 9 November 1900; taking Mukden, 23 September 1900. Witte 107–14 on Nicholas's thirst for conquest, Kuropatkin seizing Manchuria, Kuropatkin flightiness, courtier charms empress. Believe in myself: Meshchersky Letters, Nicky to Meshchersky, 28 February 1903. Geyer 206–12. 100 per cent Byzantine, Witte quoted in Figes, *PT* 21.
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- Cossack whips: *Stolypin* 71. Durnovo crackdown, 15,000 killed and wounded: Figs, *PT* 200–2. Alex Marshall, *Russian General Staff 1860–1917*, on Alikhanov-Avarsky/Griazanov 64. Bezobrazov, Orlov and Richter brutalities: Ascher, 1905, 333–4. Approval of brutalities by Orlov etc. in letters to Minny: Bing 194, Nicky to Minny, 10 November 1905, council of ministers talk a lot, disappointed in Witte; 195 Nicky to Minny, 17 November, peasant disturbances, not enough troops; 196 Nicky to Minny, 1 December, Witte deals with revolutionary movement energetically; 200–2 Nicky to Minny, 8 December, old heedless Liberals now clamouring for decisive action, army likes Nikolasha and has confidence in him; 202 Nicky to Minny, 15 December, Semyonovsky Regiment to Moscow yesterday, Dubasov in Moscow, Orlov to Livland; 205 Nicky to Minny, 22 December, armed rebellion in Moscow crushed, Vorontsov ill; 207 Nicky to Minny, 29 December, Dubasov in Moscow; Baltics Orlov, Richter good work, terror must be met by terror; 210 Nicky to Minny, 12 January 1906, Orlov splendid work, Nikolasha excellent idea, Meller–Zakomel-sky Siberia; Durnovo splendid, Trepov indispensable. Nikolasha plans the crack-down and orders quartermaster to insist on Orlov severity (1,170 killed): Robinson 70–5. ‘Tickles me’: Lincoln, *In War’s Dark Shadow* 310. Nicholas delays execution on recommendation of ADC: Spiridovich 1.72–3. Rasputin: Nikolasha meets Rasputin first, account of Prince Roman Petrovich (Militsa’s son) quoted in Robinson 70. First Nicky/Alix meeting: ND 1 November 1905.
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- ³⁵ Witte, Nicholas hates him: Naryshkin 197. Stolypin, background: *Stolypin* 1–33; disarms revolutionaries 60; nerves 60; MVD 88–9; law and Duma 100–5. Goremykin: H. H. Fisher (ed.), V. N. Kokovtsov, *Out of my Past: The Memoirs of Count Kokovtsov* (henceforth Kokovtsov) 123–9. On Goremykin: Gerasimov quoted in Ascher, *Revolution of 1905* 63–70. Witte and Jewish clique: Bing 221, Nicky to Minny November 1906.
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- ³⁹ Alix lying in bed all day: Vyubova 20; anything if she was well 24; driving fast 21; one friend 33; OTMA upbringing, younger two etc. 36–7; Tsar orders cinema: GARF 553.16.32, NII to Benckendorff, 13 February 1913. Gilliard 28 on Vyubova, sentimental mystical, Alix only dominant friendship. Vyubova's friendship for Alex, mania and mystic superstition: Naryshkin 186. Nicholas only survived due to his prayers: Sophia Tyutcheva quoted in Rappaport 162. *Rasputin* 39–48; Alix and daughters' letters to Rasputin 94–5. Rasputin letters to kiddies and Olya/Alexei: Smith 159–60. ND 18 July, 12 October, 9 December 1906; Stolypin, 27 May 1907; 6 November, 27 December 1908, on visits to Anna to see Rasputin; 4, 29 February, 29 March, 26 April, 15 August 1909. KR 6 and 10 November 1906, on Nikolasha and Stana. Nikolasha's divorce: Robinson 97–101. Vyubova 69. *LP* 290, Nicky to Stolypin, 16 October 1906; 297, Alix to Nicky, 17 July 1907; 304, Xenia diary, 7 September 1908; 306 Olga memoirs; 308–10 Alix to Olga, 1 and 11 January 1909 on 'girlies' and Our Friend; Tatiana to Alix, 17 January 1909. Olga Alexandrovna, 25 *Chapters of My Life*, 98–101. Bing 227, Nicky to Minny, 22 March 1907, on Nikolasha's marriage. Hercules: Zimin, *Negroes* 409–10 and 415–18, quoting Vyubova and Maurice Paléologue. Hercules and Nubian Guards: this is based on the research of Penny Wilson – see <http://forum.alexanderpalace.org/index.php?topic=348.0;wap2>. Veronal and other opiates: Rappaport, *Ekaterinburg*, 55, 60; girls' luxuries 74–75.
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- ⁴³ *Stolypin* 327–62. Kokovtsov 263–70; don't I count for something 282. Rappaport 149–52: Sophia Tyutcheva on girls at assassination and visit of Rasputin. Stolypin on war and revolution: Serge Sazonov, *Fateful Years, 1909–1916* (henceforth Sazonov) 232. Stolypin in decline: Figes, *PT* 226–31. War and military policy, fortress razing and creation of reserve Sukhomlinov reforms, Little and Great Programmes, economic data: Stone 19–33. Lieven, *Flame* 225–6. Sukhomlinov: V. A. Sukhomlin-

- ov, *Vospominaniia* (henceforth Sukhomlinov) goal to clear out grand dukes 191; and to create army equal to Germany 210; to tsar I was primarily a servant 214 or technician 233; 25 July, tsar completely calm with Nikolasha, megalomania of Nikolasha, all powerful 243; Nikolasha looked like Ivan the Terrible with his fits of rage 244. Sukhomlinov visits Livadia 1909, pretty wife loved beautiful toilettes, loathed by society: Spiridovich 1.1385. Incredible frivolity: Kokovtsov 310–35. Laughed at aeroplanes: Sandro 264. Geyer 288–92. MacMillan 353–5. William C. Fuller Jr, *Strategy and Power in Russia* 425–33. William C. Fuller Jr, *The Foe Within* 45–8. Maurice Paléologue, *An Ambassador's Memoirs* 1.83. Fall of Nikolasha, failure of his reforms: Robinson 104–8; the Crows row with Rasputin (memoirs of Prince Roman Petrovich: Roman Petrovich Romanov, *Am Hof des Letzten Zaren*) 108; Alexandra on Nikolasha vs man of God and Nikolasha's regret (memoirs of his First World War chaplain G. Shavelskii) 108–9. Death of Tolstoy: Bing 260 N to Minny 11 November 1910; Bartlett, *Tolstoy* 386–7; 412–9.
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Within 45–8. Paléologue, *Ambassador's Memoirs* 1.83.

- ⁵¹ Balkan wars: Lieven, *Flame*, portrait of Sazonov 232–4; the First Balkan War 241–72, inc. tsar leans towards Serbs 258, against autonomous Albania; revision of Kokovtsov version 267–9. MacMillan 448–80. Sazonov 90–7. Clark 281–90, 340–2. McMeekin 20–7. German and Austrian roles: Röhl 2.880–6, 917–32. Bulgaria in First Balkan War, advance towards Byzantium, attitude of Sazonov and Nicholas II towards Balkan League and Bulgarian success, Sazonov wobbling, *Ferdinand* 245–74. *Montenegro* 279–301. Sazonov 68–78. Hunting calms nerves: LP 346, Nicky to Minny, 20 October 1912. Military doctrine what I order: D. A. Rich, *The Tsar's Colonels: Professionalism, Strategy, and Subversion in Late Imperial Russia* 221. Sukhomlinov 152: blames Sazonov for Slavophile war policies; Nicholas 1911 wanted command army 191. Stana and Militsa as Montenegro supporters, Nikolasha neutral: Robinson 128. Kokovtsov on Sukhomlinov, Alix: 301–19; extra military budget 342–4; partial mobilization crisis 344–51; Militsa canvasses Kokovtsov 357. Sazonov to Kokovtsov, 12 November 1912, quoted in Ronald P. Bobroff, *Roads to Glory* 55. V. I. Bovykin, *Iz istorii vozniknoveniia pervoi mirovoi voiny* 125–7; Nicholas, 23 November 1912. Naval plan: KA 6.51–2, Grigorevich to Nicholas, 25–26 October 1912. Sazonov memorandum to Kokovtsov quoted in McMeekin 25.
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- ⁵³ Tercentenary: Kokovtsov 360–2. Spiridovich 2.337–45; Berlin wedding 321. Rodzianko 74–7. On ministers: Naryshkin 206. Wortman 383–94. King 389–401. Sex, Blok, Belyi and Silver Age: Lincoln *In War's Dark Shadow* 349–88. Alexander Blok quoted in Figes, *PT* 14. Lena and Stalin: see Montefiore, *Young Stalin* 256–7. Kotkin, *Stalin* on Blok quote on Okhrana 130; on Marxism and Nationalities 133; on Lenin quote 'tsarism victorious' 135. Worse better: Figes, *PT* 129. Meshchersky, Maklakov, Krivoshein: Lieven, *Flame* 293–5.

SCENE 5: CATASTROPHE

- ¹ Spiridovich 2.360–402; on Beilis verdict 2.447. Beilis trial: Levin 205–91. Figes, *PT* 240–3. On Alexei: KR 18 March 1912. On Alexei and character of girls: Vyrubova 37–9. Gilliard 24–5. Rappaport 165–170. Rappaport, *Ekaterinburg* 90 (Alexei) and 73–85 (girls).
- ² Balkan League fallout, Bulgaria falls out with Russia in *Ferdinand* 270–9; Second Balkan War 279–87. *Montenegro* 279–301. MacMillan 458–61. Clark 340–2. Sazonov 90–7. McMeekin 25. Montenegro, end of Russian closeness: *Montenegro* 279–301.
- ³ Second Balkan War: Lieven, *Flame* 272–90; Poincaré gives blank cheque on support to Russia 240; Liman crisis 284–7. Sazonov 97–103. Nicholas quoted by Sazonov in Clark 275. Kokovtsov 313–429; on Turks and Liman 389–93. Goremykin: Sandro 252, corpse. Liman: Sazonov 117–25; 117 Nicky tells Sazonov of Kaiser conversation in Berlin; February 1914 conference, 126 offensive against Constantinople inevitable in European war. Kokovtsov decline in power then dismissal, Goremykin as 'old fur coat': Kokovtsov 439. Fall of Kokovtsov, appointment of Maklakov, discussion of dismissal of Duma or conversion into merely consultative chambers, influence of Krivoshein and Meshchersky: Lieven, *Flame* 294–7. Durnovo possible premiership: Dominic Lieven, Bureaucratic Authoritarianism in Late Imperial Russia: The Personality, Career, and Opinions of P. N. Durnovo, *Historical Journal* (1983) 26.2.391–402. Lieven, *NII* 17; Durnovo memorandum 195–7. Geyer 285–7.

- 310–21. MacMillan 29–37. Nicholas plans abolition or reduction of Duma powers with Maklakov: GARF 601.1.1119.1–2, NII to N. Maklakov, 18 October 1913. Malinovsky, Lenin quote and Stalin: Montefiore, *Young Stalin* 280–325. On Poincaré, French generals' visits and French commitment to include possibility of Balkan crisis: Clark 294–308; Liman von Sanders crisis 335; meeting at Prussian wedding 339; January–February conferences 341–8; machismo 360. Liman crisis and special conference: McMeekin 30–5. Hall 248–9.
- ⁴ Daughters OTMA in love: this is based on Rappaport 191–206.
- ⁵ V. I. Nevsky, *Nikolai II i velikie knyaza*, Leningrad, 1925: 45 how do you live, embrace 'aunt's arm with voluptuous kisses'. Dmitri Pavlovich (DP) to Nicholas II, 29 September 1911; 46 'heart, soul and body except (for arsehole), DP to NII, 16 October 1911; 48 chance to dance with Zizi or Baroness Frederiks, DP to NII, 17 November 1911; 50 'wipe your arse', 'hug my pillow thinking about empress', DP to NII, 19 March 1914.
- ⁶ Last season and girls in love: Rappaport 207–222; Olga's suitors 212. Romanian marriage possible for Olga, description of OTMA girls and visit: Marie Roumania 2.327–331. Olga marriage – Gilliard 32 Olga says papa promises not to make me leave Russia, I'm Russian. On Anichkov ball: Helene Iswolsky, *No Time to Grieve*, 83–5. Yusupov: ND 8 October, 11 November 1913. *LP* 372, Xenia diary, 8 October 1913; 380, Xenia diary, 9 February 1914. ND 9 February 1914. Author interview with niece of Grand Duchess Irina, Princess Olga Romanoff.
- ⁷ Pašić in Petersburg quoted in Clark 280. Crimea, Anna's betrayal: F 73–6, Alix to Nicky, 28 April 1914, 26 January 1914, 26–27 October, 19 November 1914, 27 January 1915; 3 November 1915. Crimea: Spiridovich 2.450–60; Anna in love with Nicholas 450–2. Vyubova 158. *Naryshkina* 206. Romanian visit, sunburnt girls, loveable Nicky: Marie Romania 2.336–338. Last Crimean trip, Romanian visits, Olga to stay in Russia: Rappaport 214–21, quoting 217, Nicholas to Agnes de Stoeckl. Olga on staying in Russia: Gilliard 32. Romania possible marriage, Sazonov 103–15; conversation with Alexandra about fear of parting with daughters 110.
- ⁸ The July–August crisis, Poincaré visit and road to war: Sazonov 150–60, 177–216; mobilization cancellation crisis 193–205; declaration of war 212; Stolypin irreplaceable 232. Sukhomlinov on 20–30 July 1914: blames Nikolasha 221–8; blames Sazonov for war policies 152; Nicholas always said he would command army 191; Russia never so prepared as in 1914, mobilization like clockwork 245. Rodzianko 106–8. Hague mediation: OPI GIM 180.82280, Nicholas II to Sazonov, 14 July 1914. Rasputin against this war: F 283, A to N, 1 November 1915. Nikolasha moved by offer of supreme command and Te Deum at Winter Palace: Robinson 134. Sukhomlinov refuses command: Stone 51–2. Te Deum at Winter Palace, Nicholas in tears: Rodzianko 110–11. Lieven, *Flame* 313–42. Nicholas's version of the Sazonov call and likelihood of war, 24 July 1914, and ministers meeting that afternoon: Peter Bark, *Memoirs* 7.1–4, 7–26. Gilliard 36–40: declaration of war. Dazed Nicky, meetings, new telephones, Alix uninformed: Vyubova 479. Geyer 312–20. Nicky–Willy telegrams: Röhl 2.1065–70. McMeekin 53–75. MacMillan 551–602. Sean McMeekin, *July 1914*, 260–305. Lieven, *NII* 197–204. Kotkin, *Stalin* 156: mobilization, conscription statistics. Rasputin's interventions: Smith 359–64 including the fate of the letter.
- ⁹ August–September, the first battles: Stone 45–69. Robinson 157–69.
- ¹⁰ Stavka and Nikolasha: Robinson 142–90; Nikolasha 'my hermitage' 202. Stone 51–3.
- ¹¹ Wounded soldier dies: F 86, A to N, 2 March 1915; F 83, 28 February 1915. Alexandra needs to be bridled: Ernest of Hesse quoted in Naryshkin 204. Nursing Alexan-

- dra best: Vyubova 9; invigorated 49; train crash 55. Rappaport 227–54.
- ¹² Stone 70–91. Robinson 170–206. 13 September 1916, Rodzianko, visit to Stavka, conversation with Nikolasha on Rasputin hanging 118–19. Enver offensive and defeat: Sean McMeekin, *Ottoman Endgame* 146–53.
- ¹³ Nikolasha dominates ministers: F 153, A to N, 17 June 1915. Spy mania, Jewish repression F 125, A to N, 4 May 1915; F 128, N to A, 8 May 1915. Robinson 100 and 207–9. Jewish deportations: Eric Lohr, *The Russian Army and the Jews: Mass Deportation, Hostages, and Violence during World War I*, *Russian Review* (2001) 60.404–19. Miasoedov case innocence: Fuller, *The Foe Within* 132. Nikolasha spy mania: Robinson 216–18; 217 ‘I predict no shells at all’, Nikolasha to N, 24 February 1915.
- ¹⁴ F 89, N to A, 2 March 1915; F 102, A to N, 5 April 1915. Robinson 221 on Nikolasha and Dardanelles. McMeekin, *Ottoman Endgame* 163–221.
- ¹⁵ F 99, N to A, 9 March 1915; F 100, A to N, 4 April; F 104, A to N, 6 April; F 107, N to A, 7 April; Jew, F 115, A to N, 13 April.
- ¹⁶ Stone 122–43; shell shortage 144–64; retreat 165–93; the sections on the war materials and economic crisis are based on Stone 194–211. Robinson 231–44: Nikolasha complains to NII of lack of ammunition 240; Orlov letter to Yanushkevich, 2 June 1915 245; sacking of Sukhomlinov, Maklkov, Nikolasha’s apogee, kicks legs up (Shavelsky), Nikolasha weeps, plans to constrain Alexandra (Shavelsky), nerves shot (Polivanov), Alexander and Nicholas sack Nikolasha 245–59. Rodzianko 128–47. Trial of Sukhomlinov: F 397, A to N, 4 March 1916. Soukhomlinov/Rubenstein arrested: Smith 539–45. Rasputin Yar/restaurant scandal: this is based on Smith 370–80 – the new research by Douglas Smith reveals how Djunkovsky fabricated the event; the much-quoted British diplomat Robert Bruce Lockhart was not even in Moscow that day.
- ¹⁷ Stone 187–93. Robinson 240–60. Rasputin and Bark: F 131, A to N, 11 May 1915. Panic, N weeps: F 131, N to A, 11 May 1915. Rasputin from God: F 135–7, A to N, 10, 11 June 1915. Nikolasha vs Man of God: F 138, A to N, 12 June 1915. More autocratic/spy at HQ: F 145, 14 June 1915. No faith in Nikolasha/the bell/a woman’s instinct: F 147, A to N, 16 June 1915. Goremykin/period/Khvostov: F 156, A to N, 18 June 1915; F 160, A to N, 22 June, Djunkovsky report on Rasputin. Sergei Mikhailovich and Kshessinskaya mixed up: F 169, A to N, 25 June 1915. Dismissal of Nikolasha, wify’s trousers unseen, no dawdling: F 171, A to N, 22 August 1915. Orlov out: F 174, A to N, 23 August 1915. Ministers’ letter, Sazonov called them together: F 177, A to N, 24 August 1915. Robinson 191: Nikolasha – put Alix in monastery, quoted from Shavelsky his chaplain. Vyubova 57–9: row with dowager empress, Nicholas shocked by Warsaw, hard not to command, given icon, tells ministers, sweating. Lieven, *NII* 227. Minny on Nicholas’s mistake: diary quoted in Hall 264–5. No public opinion: Stanley Washburn, *On the Russian Front in World War I: Memoirs of an American War Correspondent*, quoted in Joshua A. Sanborn, *Imperial Apocalypse: The Great War and the Destruction of the Russian Empire* (henceforth Sanborn) 101. Alexei education at headquarters: Gilliard 62. Alix ambitious and infallible: Marie Romania 3.351–2.
- ¹⁸ Smith 436–43 including quotations from Maria Rasputin and palace commandant General Dedulin – ‘my soul light and calm’; on Jews and Pale of Settlement Smith 535–46. *Rasputin* 155–66. Rasputin advises on church appointments: F 160–2, A to N, 22 June 1915. Have signed military nominations: F 179, N to A, 24 August 1915. Trousers needed at HQ: F 180, A to N, 25 August 1915. Thank God it’s over/Fancy Wify helping Huzy: F 181–2, N to A, 25 August 1915; keep autocracy/Khvostov, F 171–3, A to N, 22 August; denounces Sazonov and Polivanov/smell the letter, F 177,

- A to N, 24 August; Andronnikov consulted, F 191, A to N, 29 August 1915; get rid of Guchkov, F 193, A to N, 30 August; hang Guchkov?, F 200, A to N, 2 September; sack Sazonov and Khrivoshin, don't see Rodzianko, names to replace Samarin, Andronnikov praises Khvostov with Rasputin etc., F 212, A to N, 7 September; Sazonov Pancake, appoint Khvostov, Andronnikov recommends, Goremykin struggling, all for Baby, F 225–8, A to N, 11 September; Khvostov plans, F 242, A to N, 17 September; Khvostov/Tail, a man, no petticoats, F 247, A to N, 17 September; sees Rasputin to discuss Tail, F 261, A to N, 4 October. Benckendorff on Alexandra, Lieven, *NII* 227.
- ¹⁹ Stone 208–14. Railway crisis: F 197, N to A, 31 August 1915. Alexei at Mogilev: F 265–8, N to A, 6, 7 October 1915; F 281, N to A, 31 October, and A to N, 1 November. Andronnikov and Rasputin urge changes: F 284–9, A to N, 2–3 November 1915.
- ²⁰ Goremykin, hissed in Duma: F 292, A to N, 6 November 1915; Rasputin dream of Constantinople, F 295, A to N, 8 November; Rasputin with Goremykin, F 316–17, A to N, 29 November; receives Khvostov/reads *Millionaire Girl*, F 339, N to A, 31 December; new PM candidates, consults Khvostov on Stürmer, F 349, N to A, 5 January 1916; appoint Stürmer PM, Khvostov hoped to be PM himself, F 352, A to N, 7 January; advance to Erzurum, F 354, N to A, 7 January; sack Dzunkovsky and Drenteln and Orlov who planned 'monastery for me', F 356, A to N, 8 January. Doggerel poem about Rasputin's cock quoted by Smith 491–2.
- ²¹ *Rasputin* 164–6. F 384–402: 384, A to N, 10 February 1916–6 March 1916; F 388, A to N, 13 February 1916, A rejects Boris and Dmitri plans to marry Olga; sacks War Minister Polivanov and successor, F 409, N to A, 10 March; apples from Rasputin to N, F 413, A to N, 13 March.
- ²² Naroch, Brusilov offensives. Stone 232–63; description of V. Bezobrazov 225, especially 261 Stone's phrase 'pantomime machismo'. N appoints Brusilov, F 415, N to A, 14 March 1916; kiss every sweet place, F 419, A to N, 15 March; Philippe and Rasputin advise be masterful, F 421, A to N, 17 March; Boy Blue, F 429, N to A, 13 March; Pharisees' wickedness against Rasputin, F 437, A to N, 5 April; Fleet occupied Trebizond, F 439, N to A, 5 April, and landings there, F 473, N to A, 23 May; my Boy Blue, F 447, A to N, 8 April, and F 463, 1 May; troubles with minister of interior, F 459, A to N, 28 April; don't mention offensive plans to anyone/Brusilov offensive, F 491, N to A, 5 June; remembers Walton on Thames, F 495, N to A, 8 June; Stürmer honest and supply crisis, F 500, N to A, 11 June. (N's earlier request to keep military secrets: F 196, N to A, 31 August 1915.) Many POWs captured: F 537, A to N, 17 July 1916; Alix at Stavka, F 547, A to N, 3 August, and N misses her calm, 3 August; despair about Bezobrazov 'ordered advance where bogs known to be impregnable, let Guards be slaughtered,' F 548, A to N, 4 August; N sacks Bezobrazov, F 564, N to A, 16 August. Rasputin advises against losses, F 553, A to N, 8 August 1916; A's period spoils everything – nuisance, F 568, A to N, 20 August; faith in Rasputin's wisdom for country, F 569, A to N, 4 September; A sees Stürmer then Rasputin, F 573, A to N, 7 September. Sanborn 108–29; Kazakh rebellion 177–8; F495 and F593 Rasputin: food supply advice, 9 June and 20 September 1916. Brusilov and surplus of shells: Kotkin, *Stalin* 162–4. Russian advance into Anatolia and expeditions into Persia and Iraq: Robinson 263–87. Tsargrad expedition: F 582, N to A, 13 September 1916. Russian advance to Erzurum, Trebizond and expeditions to Persia and Iraq: McMeekin, *Ottoman Endgame* 270–84; April 1916, Sazanov negotiates huge territorial gains for Russia with Sykes-Picot in Petrograd 284–6; February–April 1916, Baratov expedition Persia and towards Baghdad in Iraq, 289–90; Tsargradsky Regiment 312–21. Alexandra at Stavka, conversation with General Alexeev on Rasputin: Smith 550.

- ²³ Nicholas a child, Alexandra a mad woman – General Alexeev to Father Shavel'sky quoted in Smith 550–1. Nicky's exhaustion: Alexander Naumov agriculture minister, Benckendorff, Fabritsky quoted in Lieven, *NII* 220–27. Benckendorff quoted in Gleb Botkin, *The Real Romanovs* 125. Paléologue on Badmaiev elixir: *Ambassador's Memoirs*, 6 November 1916. N lonely: F 205, N to A, 4 September 1915. Alexandra takes opium: F 366, A to N, 14 January 1916; N takes cocaine, F 303, N to A, 12 November 1915. *LP* 541, Yusupov to Bimbo, 14 February 1917. Grain and railway crisis: this is based on Stone 283–301. Supply crisis: F 505, N to A, 15 June 1916; Rasputin advice on prices, F 505, A to N, 16 June; Sazonov long nose, F 537, A to N, 17 July. Idea of military dictator suggested by Krivoshein/problems with Stürmer: F 560, N to A, 14 August 1916; Alexeev calls for military authorities to replace Stürmer, A to N, 14 August. Stürmer cannot overcome this difficulty/supply/most damned question ever come across: F 593, N to A, 20 September 1916. N and A's drugs: Rappaport *Ekaterinburg* 55 and 60.
- ²⁴ Romanov conspiracies: Dmitri and Boris: F 387, A to N, 13 February and 10 March 1916; F 429, A to N, 26 March, on family and Olga/Kulikovsky; the Club and Nikolai Mikhailovich, F 655, A to N, 4 December. Nikolai Mikhailovich bad person, grandson of Jew, my greatest enemies in family: F 641, A to N, 4 November 1916; F 300, A to N, 12 November 1915. Ruin of Dmitri going to that lady, Brasova: F 556, A to N, 11 August 1916. Plots of Guchkov and Aleexev: F 591, A to N, 19 September 1916. On Dmitri and Brasova: Béche 2.52. Sandro at Kiev: 297–302. Dmitri tells gossip: Vyubova 66.
- ²⁵ N mentions Protopopov, recommended by Rasputin: F 520, N to A, 25 June 1916. Alexandra urges Protopopov: F 574–80, 7, 22, 23, 27 September 1916; N praises A political role, 23 September. Appoints Protopopov: F 596, A to N, 21 September 1916. Protopopov urges freeing of Sukhomlinov, appointment of Kurlov: F 606, A to N, 26 September 1916; list for N to discuss with Protopopov suggested by Rasputin, Badmaev treats Protopopov, Rasputin is Badmaev 'bosom friend' and Protopopov cured by him, F 609, A to N, 27 September 1916; F 623, A to N, 16 October. A tells Rasputin about Protopopov crisis/urges Stürmer to give food supply to Protopopov and N agrees: F 631, A to N, 30 October 1916, and N to A, 30 October. Protopopov not normal, 'peculiar' and eye-rolling: Rodzianko 218–19. Stürmer and Protopopov, inc. ruling with Christ and Gendarme uniform: Figs, *PT* 285–7. Stürmer dictator; Protopopov I shall save Russia: Rodzianko 219. Secret talks with Germans: Kotkin, *Stalin* 199. Anatolii Ignatiev, *Russko-angliiskie otnosheniia nakanune Oktyabrskoi revoliutsii (Fevral-oktyabr 1917 g.)* 41–52. Rasputin and relationship with Madame Sukhomlinov and demands general's release and Rubenstein's release/height of Rasputin's power, involvement in all issues and plans: Smith 539–46 and 553–60 including quotation from General Gurko of Rasputin's disastrous good intentions.

SCENE 6: TSAR MICHAEL II

- ¹ Romanovs confront tsar: Nikolai Mikhailovich (Bimbo) letters and my enemies in the family, bad person, Jew: F 642, A to N, 4 November 1916, and letters F 642–5, N to A, 4 November 1916; N apologies for not reading them, 5 November. Sandro confronts Nicky: Sandro 305; I believe no one but wife 305. Robinson 288–90 quoting Grand Duke Andrei Vladimirovich and Shavel'sky's accounts of Nikolasha's conversations with tsar; the Lvov–Khatsov coup 288–9. *Armenian Review* 3 (1950) 112–13. Sandro on Zinaida Yusupova 236. Trepov PM and crisis of almost sacking Protopopov: F 648–57, A to N, 10 November 1916; don't change Protopopov, A to N, 10, 13 November, 4, 5 December; sacked Tre-

- pov not Protopopov, F 664, A to N, 9 December; Rasputin lives for Russia and you/entreats you to be firm/only not a responsible cabinet/horrible Trepov/give strong country for Baby, F 671, A to N, 13 December; 'Be Peter the Great, John the Terrible, Emperor Paul – crush them all under you – now don't laugh, don't be naughty', F 674, A to N, 14 December. Hatred of Alexandra: Marie Romania 3. 152.
- ² Yusupov conspiracy: Irina and Felix Yusupov to tea with Alexander, F 560, 14 August 1916: 'both nice and natural, she very brown and he very thin'. Zinaida and Ella confront Alix. *Rasputin* 197–205. Smith 569–85.
- ³ Killing of Rasputin: *Rasputin* 197–213, 225–31. Smith 586–601. The accounts of Felix Yusupov including Felix Yusupov, *Rasputin* 155–63 and V.M. Purishkevich, *Murder of Rasputin* especially 69–95. Possibility of English conspiracy: see Andrew Cook, *To Kill Rasputin*, esp. Stephen Alley letter 217. Vyubova 80–2.
- ⁴ Smith 602–14; Nicholas's comments at Stavka 605; Olga's comments 612–13; Alexandra's poem 613; on the British role 624–34. The fall-out – sequence of letters between A and N: see F 680, A to N, 16 December 1916, N to A, 16 December; finding Rasputin's body, F 686, A to N, 19 December. Nicky on day of Rasputin's vanishing: A. A. Mordvinov, *Iz perezhitogo: Vospominaniia fligel-adyutanta imperatora Nikolaia II* (henceforth Mordvinov) 2.530–1; reaction of the children 532. Reaction to Rasputin's death: *Rasputin* 215–24, 233–8. Ella to Zinaida on Rasputin's death: *Ella* 286; Dmitri to Yusupov, dark stain 287. Minny 'no!', Sandro 308–9. Alexei, papa won't you punish them: Vyubova 39. F686–7 19 December 1916–22 February 1917.
- ⁵ Sacking of Trepov *Rasputin* 182; family conspiracy 221–3. Empress to be annihilated, conversation with Maria Pavlovna (Miechen): Rodzianko 246; reception with tsar, wants to thrash Protopopov 252–4. Sandro interview with Nicky and Alix – 'nobody has right to kill' 309–310; new premier Golitsyn 'soft . . . understood nothing, knew nothing' 311; back to Alexander Palace with Misha and without Misha: 312–316. Nicky to Mossolov – no danger to dynasty, Lieven NII 230–1. Vyubova on Sandro's visit: 88; Misha visit 90; Nicholas knows centre of intrigue is British embassy 91; N upset and A feels return to Stavka dangerous 91. Nicholas to Stavka and A encourages strength: great firmness needed, you look weary, feel my lips tenderly on yours F 686 A to N 22 Feb 1917; measles F 688 A to N 23 February 1917; 'my solitude, What you write about being firm, the master, is true' F 687 N to A 23 February 1917. Jim Hercules: Zimin, *Negroes* 409–11, 415–18. Penny Wilson, at <http://forum.alexanderpalace.org/index.php?topic=348.0;wap2>.
- ⁶ Revolution: F 686–95, A to N, 22 February 1917; disorders in town, A to N, 26 February, and N to A, 23 and 24 February. Mark D. Steinberg and Vladimir M. Khrustal'ev, *The Fall of the Romanovs* (henceforth *Fall*) 46–56; 76 text of Rodzianko telegram, 26 February 1917; 81 'totally calm', War Minister Mikhail Beliaev to Alexeev, 27 February; 81 civil rule, NII to Nikolai Golitsyn, 27 February. Garrison figures: Kotkin, *Stalin* 168; Michael (Misha) diary quotes and role in Petrograd 256–78. Vyubova 91–3. Figes, *PT* 307–16. Presence of Jim Hercules at Stavka and last sight of Moscow/Paléologue sees weeping court Negro, quoted in Zimin, *Negroes* 417–18. Penny Wilson, at <http://forum.alexanderpalace.org/index.php?topic=348.0;wap2>. ND 27 February–3 March 1917. *Michael* 255–265.
- ⁷ *Fall* 57–9; 88 grand ducal manifesto. Mordvinov on telegrams: 27 February 1917, Mordvinov 1.53–6. *Michael* 265–75. F 696–701, N and A letters and telegrams, 28 February–2 March 1917. ND 27 February–3 March 1917.
- ⁸ Showdown with Ruzsky: F 696–701, N and A letters and telegrams, 28 February–2 March 1917. *Fall* 58–63, 88–93; on Rodzianko ministry, Alexeev to NII, 1 March 1917, and telegrams from Nikolasha and Brusilov and other commanders. Mord-

vinov 1.56–95, inc. Fredericks announces abdication conversation with Professor Fedorov. ND 1–3 March 1917. Figes, *PT* 316–18. Lieven NII 232–3 – N ‘responsible before God and Russia for everything’.

⁹ *LP* 573, Benckendorff, 9 March 1917. Guchkov mission: *Fall* 96–100, protocol of talks between Guchkov, Shulgin and NII, 2 March 1917. Figes, *PT* 339–43. *Michael* 288–91. Tsar peaceful but secretly agonized/can’t forgive Ruzsky: A. A. Mordvinov, *Otryvki iz vospominanii, Russkaia letopis* (1923) 5.112–13; see also Mordvinov 1.95–139. ND 1–8 March 1917. Kill them, ask Cossacks; too late says N: Vyubova 96.

¹⁰ *Michael* 295–301.

¹¹ ND 3–7 March 1917. *LP* 561, Olga Paley on Grand Duke Paul informs Alexandra, 3 March 1917. *Michael* 295–301, 308, NII to Misha. Tears, reaction of daughters, Alix burns love letters, Vyubova 93–95. Letter of Olga to Anna.

¹² *Michael* 302–15.

SCENE 7: AFTERLIFE

¹ Walking with Nicholas – go to Kostroma or abroad: Mordvinov 1.145–6; last speech and collects things not hastily on 8 March 1917, 192–3. Hall 282–5, inc. Minny’s diary. ND 3, 4 March 1917; 8 March, last day in Mogilev, heartbreaking. Sandro 319–24. Sight of Sandro unendurable to Nicky – Vyubova 96–7.

² Gilliard 80–2. Vyubova 94–7. *LP* 568, George V to NII, 6 March 1917; 569–72 Benckendorff memoirs, 8 March, Kornilov visit. ND 7 March 1917. Balmoral plan: author interview with Prince Michael of Kent.

³ Tsarskoe: Vyubova 95–9. Rappaport 306–21: 313 Anastasia letter, 20 May 1917; 313 Anastasia, 4 July 1917; 315 Olga Nikolaevna to Olga Alexandrovna, 21 June 1917. Real story of Rasputin cremation revealed by Douglas Smith in Smith 652–4. *Rasputin* 238–40. Rasputin-cucumber: Lars Tharp, *Antiques Roadshow – How to Spot, a Fake*, 12. Nicholas as prisoner for life: Rappaport, *Ekaterinburg*, 27.

⁴ ND 9 March 1917, first walk with Dolgoruky; 21 March, Kerensky visit; 23 March, walks with Olga and Tatiana; 2–3 April, break ice/gapers; 8 April, guards from Soviet; 18 April, reading; 23 April, family in gardens; 14 May, gardening; 3 June, Kerensky/crisis with Alexei’s gun; 9 June, sitting here like prisoners; 26 June, Montecristo; 5 July, July days, root of all evil in Petrograd and not in Russia itself; 8 July, Kerensky PM– ‘the more power he has, the better’ 28 July, Conan Doyle/Livadia or where?; 31 July, the last day at Tsarskoe/meeting with Misha. *Fall* 153, Olga to P. Petrov, 19 June 1917; 154 Olga to Olga Alexandrovna, 21 June; 166 Alix to Anna, 1 August; 168 Elizaveta Naryshkina, 1 August. Departure for east: Rappaport 318–25; Alix to Naryshkina 320; Anastasia to Gibbes 321. Vyubova 96–100. Gilliard 210–30. ND 9, 21 March 1917, on arrest by Kerensky of Anna. *LP* 575, Lord Stamfordham note, 9 March 1917; 578 George V diary, 11 March; 578 Stamfordham to A. J. Balfour, 17 March; 580 Balfour to Stamfordham, 20 March; 853–7 Stamfordham to Balfour, 21, 24 March (two letters); 588 Stamfordham note, 28 March (Lloyd George more serious than he was aware). The departure and Misha: *LP* 600–4, Benckendorff. Jewellery: Greg King and Penny Wilson, *The Fate of the Romanovs* (henceforth *Fate*) 70.

⁵ ND 29 September, 6, 20 October (AIII anniversary), more disgraceful than Troubles, 17 November 1917; on *Elders of Zion*, 27 March 1917. *LP* 611, Olga to P. Petrov, 10 October 1917. Vyubova 133–5, letters from Alexandra. *Fall* 201–2, Nicky to Xenia, 5 November 1917.

⁶ Tobolsk: the girls Rappaport 339–55. Correspondence: Vyubova 130–145 including

- A to V 14 and 21 October 1917; Alexei to V 24 November 1917; 8 December 1917 A to V I know the past is all done; Tatiana to V 9 December 1917; Alexei to V 10 December 1917; Anastasia to V we sit at the windows looking at people; A to V your perfume overcame us, it went the round . . . Nicholas a real marvel; all the past is a dream; A to V 2 March 1918 eternity is everything. Gilliard 235–262
- ⁷ ND 12 April 1918, Yakovlev to take me away/more than difficult; no one slept. Vy-rubova 154–6 A to V a new commissar has arrived, Yakovlev . . . Sunbeam is ill; 21 March we feel a storm approaching; late March A to V storm coming nearer, souls at peace. ND 17/30 April–30 June/13 July 1918, arrival in Ekaterinburg, tension between locals and our commissars, drive to Ipatiev, Dolgoruky not allowed in, Ukraintsev, prison regime, whitewashing. *Fate* 79–102, 112–13: policy of Centre, transfer to Ekaterinburg, crisis at Tiumen station, arrival at Ipatiev; diamonds hidden in corsets quoting Alexandra Teglev 136. *Fall* 239, Alexandra's diary, 23–25 April 1918, on visit of Yakovlev, Alexei illness, her 'horrible suffering' of choice; 245 Yakovlev to Goloshchekin, 27 April; Sverdlov to Yakovlev, 27 April; 251 Sverdlov to Yakovlev, 29 April, hand over to Ekaterinburg; 255 interview with Yakovlev in *Izvestia*, 16 May; 278 arrest of Dolgoruky. Rappaport 364–6: letters of Olga, Anastasia and Tatiana to parents, May 1917. Tatishchev's fatalism: Botkin 192. Gilliard not wanted and free, walk past Ipatiev 269–72. Lenin on Romanovs: V. I. Lenin, *Sochineniia* 20.166–7, 21.16–17. Goloshchekin, Sverdlov characters: *Fate*, 253–95. For Goloshchekin and Sverdlov relations with Stalin in exile, see Montefiore, *Young Stalin* 259–60. Rappaport, *Ekaterinburg*, 128–34; new regime/jewels/codename/Alexei 171–83, 191.
- ⁸ GARF 601.2.27 Yakov Yurovsky's notes 1920 and 1 February 1934 plus unpublished notes (five in total) including most detailed, note of 1922 in APRF 3.58.280, cited in *Fate of the Romanovs*; Pavel Medvedev's note 21–22 February 1919, Sokolov Archive, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Kilgour Collection 35.2.86; and Peter Voikov interview in Gregory Bessedowsky, *Im Dienste Der Sowjets* (Leipzig 1930). Alexandra diary, June–July 1918 GARF 640.1; *Last Diary of Tsaritsa Alexander* (eds. V. Kozlov and V. Khrustalev). ND April–June 1918: GARF 601.1.217–266 *Fall* 277–85; Yurovsky 285; the decisions to kill, review of evidence leaning towards a decision by the Urals Soviet 287–94; Lenin and Sovnarkom approve transfer of family to Ekaterinburg, 2 May 1918; 310 army officer escape plan, 19 June, and reply, 21–23 June 1918; life in Ekaterinburg, testimony of Medvedev 346–8 ND 17/30 April–30 June/13 July 1918, Ekaterinburg, tension between locals and our commissars, drive to Ipatiev, Dolgoruky not allowed in, pop-eyed enemy, prison regime. *Fate* 140–2, 146–7: the molestation of girls on journey to Ekaterinburg and betrayal by Buxhoeveden, arrival and separation of Gilliard and Gibbes; the sympathies of guards for prisoners and flirtation with girls especially Alexander Strekotin. Appointment and inspections of Yuri Yurovsky, Peter Ermakov 233–45; Goloshchekin 245–7.
- ⁹ LP 665–6, testimony of killer A. V. Markov. *Fate* 200–11. *Michael* 349–63.
- ¹⁰ Lenin and Goloshchekin in Moscow: *Fall* 290–345. *Fate* 282–295. Peter Voikov, Bessedowsky 203–205. Rappaport, *Ekaterinburg*, 129–43.
- ¹¹ Yurovsky preparations. *Fate*: 297–302. *Fall* 346–64. Rappaport, *Ekaterinburg*, 28–43; decision 129–443. Character of Goloshchekin/Ermakov and others: *Fate* 268–80; Goloshchekin in Moscow 113–15. LP 674–7, A. G. Belodorodov to N. P. Gorbunov, Sovnarkom, 4 July 1918; Protocol of Presidium of Central Executive Committee, 5 July; Sovnarkom protocol, 5 July.
- ¹² ND 12/26 May–30 June/13 July 1918. ND 27 November 1894 written by Alexandra. This is based on the various published memoirs of Yurovsky, Medvedev and unpublished full account of Yurovsky in AVPRI and also that Strekotin, both cited

- in *Fate*. *Fall* 346–64. *Fall* 333: Goloshchekin to Sverdlov and Lenin, 16 July 1918. *Fate*, 268–80 Letts and killing squad; 297–331 the killing and burial. Alexandra diary, 11–16 July 1918. Arrival of Voikov and girls still alive: Bessedowsky 208–211. Rappaport, *Ekaterinburg*, 184–202; burial 203–6; dog 207, 214. After the murders, lives of Goloshchekin, Yurovsky etc: *Fate* 509–14.
- ¹³ Death of Ella and Grand Duke Sergei Mikhailovich: *Ella* 299–307. Beéche 2.218–19.
- ¹⁴ Burial: *Fate* 316–331, Rappaport, *Ekaterinburg*, 203–6. James Cockfield, *The White Crow: The Life and Times of the Grand Duke Nicholas Mikhailovich Romanov*, 1859–1919 242. Beéche 1.165, 2.200–2, 181–3.
- ¹⁵ Crimea and after: Hall 288–352. For their escape: Frances Welch, *The Russian Court at Sea: The Last Days of A Great Dynasty: The Romanov's Voyage into Exile* (London 2010) On later lives of Romanovs: see Arturo Beéche, *Grand Dukes and The Other Grand Dukes*.
- ¹⁶ Ella burial: *Ella* 306–12. Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem: The Biography* 444.

EPILOGUE: RED TSARS/WHITE TSARS

- ¹ Embalming Lenin: Dzerzhinsky quoted in Kotkin, *Stalin* 543; ‘Russian people are tsarist’ Leningrad, April 1926, quoted 586; creation of the USSR, 475–81, 485–6. Stalin to Maria Svanidze on tsar, Ivan the Terrible teacher quoted in Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar* 182–3; new empire 524; Putin, the story of his grandfather 118 and 300. See Vladimir Putin, *First Person* (NY 2000). On history and Putin: Vladimir Shapentokh, Anna Arutunyan, *Freedom, Repression and Private Property in Russia* 51–5, inc. quotes from Patriarch Kyril on miracle of God. Textbooks: Alexander Filippov (ed.), *Noveishaia istoriia Rossii 1945–2006* 87–8. When Putin presented new official history textbooks, tsars and Bolsheviks blended into one another: Nicholas I combined ‘economic modernization with authoritarian methods’; Alexander II increased Russian power and territory; Alexander III achieved ‘politically conservative stabilization’, while the modernization undertaken by Stalin, ‘one of the greatest Soviet leaders’, whose Terror is scarcely mentioned, resembled ‘the reforms of Peter the Great.’ Russian core civilization: *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 23 January 2012, interview with V. Putin; Stefan Hedlund, *Russian Path Dependence: A People with a Troubled History*; Stephen Kotkin, The Resistible Rise of Vladimir Putin: Russia’s Nightmare Dressed Like a Daydream, *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2015). This account of personal style of Putin, inc. story of traitors/weaklings like Nicholas II, is based on: *Newsweek*, 1 August 2014, The President by Ben Judah, inc. Putin’s assertion: ‘Never abdicate.’ Thanks to Ben Judah for sharing unpublished details of this story. The best analysis of Putin’s imperial ambitions: Stephen Kotkin, Russia’s Perpetual Geopolitics, *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2016). On Putin’s tsarist management style: Gleb Pavlovsky, Russian Politics Under Putin: The System Will Outlast the Master, *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2016).