

The Bentham Brothers and Russia

For Wendy,
in love and gratitude

The Bentham Brothers and Russia

*The Imperial Russian Constitution and
the St Petersburg Panopticon*

Roger Bartlett

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Cover image: panorama of St Petersburg, foregrounding the Admiralty. The Empire-style Admiralty building was constructed between 1806 and 1823 to the design of architect Andreian Zakharov and is considered his masterpiece.

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List of abbreviations

<i>AGM</i>	<i>Arkhiv Grafov Mordvinovykh</i>
<i>AKV</i>	<i>Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova</i>
<i>ASEER</i>	<i>American Slavic and East European Review</i> (subsequently <i>Slavic Review</i>)
<i>BC</i>	<i>Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham</i>
d.	<i>delo</i> (archive file)
f.	Russian: <i>fond</i> (archive holding); English: folio
k.	copeck(s)
l.	<i>list</i> (folio)
<i>MVD</i>	Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del
<i>NMM</i>	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich
ob.	<i>obratnaia storona</i> (verso)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
op.	<i>opis'</i> (archive register)
<i>1PSZ, 2PSZ</i>	<i>Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii, First Series/</i> <i>Second Series</i>
r.	rouble(s)
<i>RBS</i>	<i>Russkii Biograficheskii Slovar'</i> (Russian biographical dictionary)
<i>RGADA</i>	Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov
<i>RGAVMF</i>	Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Voенno-Morskogo Flota
<i>RGIA</i>	Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv
<i>SEER</i>	<i>Slavonic and East European Review</i>
<i>TNA</i>	The National Archives, Kew
<i>UCLSC</i>	University College London Special Collections

Technical matters

Translation, quotations and transliteration

Translations from foreign languages are my own unless otherwise indicated. Where foreign-language sources are quoted, English translation is used in the text and in most cases the passage is repeated in the original language in the endnote.

Russian orthography has been modernised. For transliteration the Library of Congress system has been used, with retention of the diaeresis for the Russian letter *ë* (pronounced *yo* as in 'yonder': so Потѣмкин > Potëmkin, pronounced *Pot-yomm-kin*).

Proper names have been transliterated according to the same principles. The names of Russian rulers have, however, been given in their English form.

Dates

Until 1917 Russia used the Julian calendar ('Old Style', 'OS'), which in the eighteenth century was 11 days, in the nineteenth century 12 days, behind the Gregorian calendar in use in western Europe ('New Style', 'NS'). Dates on Russian documents are Old Style, those on English documents New Style, unless otherwise indicated. It was common practice in international correspondence to double-date letters, e.g. 7/19 November 1802. This dating is retained if used in the original source.

Weights and measures

1 *diuim* = 1 inch

1 *vershok* = 1.75 inches, 4.45 cm

1 *arshin* = 28 inches, 71.12 cm

1 *sazhen'* = 7 feet, 2.1336 m

1 *versta*, English 'verst' = 3,500 feet, 1.067 km

1 *chetvert'* = 1.35 acres, 0.546 hectares

1 *desiatina*, English commonly 'desiatine' = 2.7 acres, 1.0925 hectares

1 *pud*, English 'pood' = 40 Russian pounds (*funty*) = 36 pounds avoirdupois, 16.35 kg

Currency

The Russian rouble is made up of 100 copecks; the pre-decimal British pound sterling consisted of 20 shillings (20s.), each of 12 pence, making 240 pence (240d.) to the pound. At the end of the eighteenth century the Russian rouble was worth about 28d. (2s. 4d.) – during 1799 it fluctuated between 24d. (2s.) and 31d. (2s. 7d.), monthly mean – making one pound sterling approximately equal to 8 roubles 50 copecks. The principal Imperial Russian currency unit was the silver rouble, but in 1769 paper roubles, *assignatsii*, were issued, which soon began to lose value against the coin. Small denominations (copecks and others) were minted in copper. During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars Russian finances underwent great strain, causing considerable fluctuation in the exchange rate.

A useful contemporary overview of Russian currency about 1800, which includes a survey of coinage and a price list of food and common consumables and services, can be found in W. Tooke, *View of the Russian Empire ... to the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, III, 535, 542–65.

Preface

In the life of Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), jurist and legal philosopher, and in that of his younger brother Samuel (1757–1831), shipwright, engineer, inventor and naval reformer, Russians and the Russian Empire played a significant part from an early date. They saw Russia as a land of opportunity: Samuel spent 11 productive years there, 1780–91, and Jeremy long hoped that Russia would be a grateful subject for the code or constitution he intended to write. In the new nineteenth century, on the accession of the young Emperor Alexander I (ruled 1801–25), the period to which this book is devoted, the brothers' relations with the Empire entered a new phase. Jeremy saw renewed possibilities for a contribution to the country's projected new law code and constitution; Samuel, sent on a British Admiralty mission, found a unique opportunity to build his 'Inspection House or Panopticon' in the Russian capital. The book traces these nineteenth-century events in detail. It seeks to place Jeremy's efforts to participate in Alexander's law-making in their context, that is, the context of Jeremy's own codificatory ambitions, and the context of the codification process which developed in Russia in the eighteenth century and led finally to the major achievement of the *Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire* (1830) and *Digest of the Laws of the Russian Empire* (1832). It also seeks to provide a detailed account of Samuel Bentham's second visit to Russia (1805–7) and of the relatively little-known St Petersburg Panopticon, which was built under his auspices, the only panoptical building actually constructed by the Benthams themselves.

The Benthams' Russian connections after 1800 have been somewhat neglected by historians, but they reflect an important aspect of their biographies and careers, as well as offering insight into their world view and way of thought. This account seeks to add to these fields; it is also a contribution towards the history of legal codification in Russia, and towards the demythologising of the Panopticon. In addition it presents a

significant episode in Anglo-Russian relations. It is hoped that this will complement the extensive materials which have been devoted to the Bentham's first stay in the Russian Empire in the reign of Catherine the Great and which include, notably, the study of both brothers by Ian Christie and the fine 2015 monograph of Roger Morriss on Samuel Bentham. It may also balance the recent detailed accounts of Samuel's later achievements in Britain as Inspector-General of Naval Works, by Morriss and Jonathan Coad. The book also chronicles both brothers' continuing interest in and connections with Russia to the end of their lives.

In recent decades the concept of the Panopticon, seen usually in terms of Jeremy Bentham's prison project, has acquired a powerful ideological charge and has become an icon in the emerging social science of surveillance studies. Some remarks are offered on that field in the Introduction, but extended engagement with it is beyond the scope of the present study; so is detailed discussion of the jurisprudential questions involved in the codification process. I am neither a surveillance specialist, nor a legal scholar.

One of the features of this book is its extensive use of verbatim quotation from sources. I have found in writing it not only that the original language used by those whose doings I am chronicling is often more succinct than any paraphrase, but also that it conveys the voice and character of the speaker much better than I am able to as author: I have therefore deliberately let actors speak for themselves, when necessary in English translation. The quotations have been as far as possible integrated into the textual narrative, and in most foreign-language quotations original text is given in the endnote. I hope that this authorial practice will enhance rather than diminish the reader's enjoyment.

Owing to particular circumstances, this project has been drawn out over many years. It has not been possible to undertake all the archival research originally envisaged, although earlier writing on Jeremy and Samuel Bentham and Russia has made use of archival and primary sources, and for the relative *terra incognita* of the St Petersburg Panopticon I have been able to consult the archives of the Russian Ministry of the Navy and to use material from the Russian State Historical Archive. The prime published source has been the admirable but still incomplete *Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham* produced by the Bentham Project of UCL.

In common with all such projects, my work has benefited from the assistance, support and advice of many people, and would have been impossible without access to major libraries and archives and the assistance of their staff. Librarians and archivists are almost without exception skilled, knowledgeable and unassuming people whose

readiness to put themselves out for readers and researchers is a constant pleasure: I am hugely grateful. But my principal debt and gratitude is to my wife Wendy, for her love, patience and support over many years. This book is dedicated to her.

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I am of course responsible for any defects or errors; but I am particularly indebted to the librarians of the British Library and Cambridge University Library, the Russian National Library in St Petersburg and the libraries of UCL, and to the directors and staff of the National Archives, Kew, the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, UCL Special Collections, the Russian State Archive of the Navy and the Russian State Historical Archive in St Petersburg, and the Manuscripts Department of the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève. I have also benefited greatly from the recent availability of digitised publications and sources on the internet. The UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES), the AHRC and the British Academy facilitated research trips to Russia; and my colleagues at SSEES and in the Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia, a wonderfully collegial academic community which recently celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, have been unfailingly helpful and supportive, especially Paul Keenan. I am particularly grateful, for help and support, to William Butler, Tim Causer, Simon Dixon, Janet Hartley, Alexander Kaplunovsky, Alexander Martin, Patrick O'Meara and Will Ryan, who read and commented on drafts of the text. Alexander Kaplunovsky and Andrei Medushevsky generously supplied inaccessible materials; Margaret Cadoux and Will Ryan gave invaluable help with translation, and Will tracked down the Stuckey dynasty in Russia. Georgii Georgievich Priamurskii and Julia Leikin kindly shared research with me; the Director of the Russian State Archive of the Navy and Philip Steadman graciously gave permission to use visual materials. Helen Lei Jiang provided invaluable Cyrillic typing skills; Mark Markov was a reliable and effective research assistant among the records of the Naval Museum, Greenwich; and Kirill Bezenkov gave skilled help in examining the Russian periodical press. At UCL Press, Chris Penfold has given unstinting,

patient and flexible support, and Glynis Baguley has been a meticulous and friendly copy-editor.

My warmest thanks to them all.

Fulbourn, Cambridge

1

Introduction

The Russian Empire in the eighteenth century

A new European power

In the eighteenth century Russia was a newcomer to the familiar concert of European nations, an exciting or worrying outsider among the established powers. In 1703 Tsar Peter Alekseevich, Peter I, the Great, founded a new city, St Petersburg, at the eastern end of the Baltic Sea. Thereby, in the famous words of Russia's national poet Aleksandr Pushkin, he 'chopped a window through to Europe'.¹ Rus', medieval Muscovite Russia, unified only in the fifteenth century under Grand Prince Ivan III, had developed as a successor state of the Mongol ('Tatar') empire of Chinggis Khan, part of the political configuration of the steppe lands of Eastern Europe and Central Asia: it conducted relations with Lithuania and Baltic powers, but played little active part in broader European affairs.² In the sixteenth century Tsar Ivan IV, 'the Terrible', turned his attention to the west, and embarked on a campaign to seize control of Livonia, the eastern littoral of the Baltic. At the same time he welcomed foreign merchants – the English Muscovy Company, followed shortly by the Dutch – to engage in trade with Russia: their route lay through the new port of Archangel on the northerly ice-prone White Sea. However, the long Livonian War (1555–83) against the powerful Poles and Swedes ended in defeat for the Russians, and further warfare against Sweden and Poland culminated in the 1617 Treaty of Stolbovo and the 1618 Truce of Deulino, which shut Muscovy off from direct access to the Baltic for a century.

Peter's foundation of a new fortress, city and port on the western edge of the Muscovite state was therefore a statement of intent. It renewed

Ivan IV's westward advance (already initially re-begun under Peter's father) and announced new visions: the Tsar's intention to assert the might of his realm against long-standing opponents and make Russia a greater power; his love of the sea and wish to make Russia a maritime nation with a seaborne capacity similar to those of the western empires; and his desire to create a great Imperial residence which would rival the principal capitals of Europe – Paris, Vienna, Dresden, London. He had already attempted such a foundation on the Sea of Azov, by the Black Sea in the far south, on territory conquered from the Ottomans, looking south towards the Dardanelles and the Byzantine heritage of Russian Orthodoxy. But his 'Petropolis' at Azov was a costly failure which had to be abandoned in less than two decades.³

In 1700 Peter had declared war on Sweden, still the major regional Baltic power, and now founded his new European city on land taken from this enemy. The Great Northern War (1700–21) between Russia and Sweden reversed the results of the Livonian War: Sweden was crushed, the Polish state fell under Russian domination, and the internationally guaranteed Swedish-Russian Treaty of Nystadt (1721) confirmed Russia's status as the dominant Northern power. St Petersburg rapidly became the major Baltic port, replacing Archangel as Russia's gateway to western commerce. Officially declared the country's capital in 1713, it also became in time a significant Imperial residence, with architecture rivalling the great cities of Europe. Tsar Peter took the title of Emperor of All the Russias, the Great, Father of the Fatherland; the Tsardom of Muscovy became the Russian Empire.

The Great Northern War had begun for the Russians with humiliating defeat – they were routed by the Swedes at the battle of Narva in 1700. To achieve final victory over the superb Swedish army led by its brilliant commander, Charles XII, Peter had to mobilise and modernise all his resources. The years of his effective reign (1689–1725) have been described as 'the Petrine revolution'.⁴ Change was pushed through across the board – not only military and naval organisation and economic innovation, but the structure of government and finances, the running of political and religious affairs, the material, social and personal culture of the Russian nobility, Muscovy's elite service class.

Peter's successors continued his westward turn, and during the eighteenth century Russia became an integral part of the European states system and the international network of alliances. The successes of its armies, its new navy and equally new diplomatic corps enabled continued territorial expansion. The development of its economy and opening up of its natural resources swelled its international trade. Britain became its chief partner and customer: it provided invaluable naval stores for the British marine establishment and indispensable raw materials for the British

industrial revolution; east coast ports like Hull prospered in the Baltic trade, in which Russia was now the principal exporter. 'Russian bar iron, hemp, flax, linen, timber and other products became crucial to Britain's domestic economy, its re-export trade, and its ability to maintain a merchant marine and navy capable of defending its overseas commitments.'⁵

Russia's international standing was transformed – although it took half a century for Peter's new Imperial claims and title to be diplomatically accepted. Where Muscovite rulers had sought their brides principally among the indigenous Russian nobility, Imperial spouses were sought, and increasingly found, among the aristocratic and reigning houses of Europe. Under Empress Catherine II (originally a German princess, ruled 1762–96), Russia finally became established as one of the great powers. As guarantor of the Prusso-Austrian Treaty of Teschen (1779), which ended the War of the Bavarian Succession, Catherine was the arbiter of European affairs; her Turkish wars confirmed the military decline of the once mighty Ottoman Empire; and her Armed Neutrality of 1780 prescribed the law of the sea to the great British navy. Under her grandson, Emperor Alexander I (ruled 1801–25), Russia confronted and destroyed the Grande Armée of Napoleon Bonaparte, conqueror of most of the rest of Europe and the greatest general of his day: in 1815 Russia became the premier European land power, as Britain was the first power at sea.

Peter the Great could reshape eighteenth-century Russia because his power as autocratic ruler was theoretically unlimited, and in practice depended only on the collaboration of a sufficient body of dependent servitors. The one thing that remained unchanged by the 'Petrine revolution' was the socio-political system, and with it the dynamics of Russian internal power. The diplomat F. C. Weber's well-known account of Petrine and post-Petrine Russia, *Das veränderte Russland* ('Russia transformed', 1721–40; English version *The Present State of Russia*), detailed an astonishing renewal, but a transformation built upon unconstrained monarchical authority, noble prerogative and the serf status of the majority peasant population. It was a polity in which persons were much more important than institutions.

Patronage and projects

In eighteenth-century Europe public and political life was very much dominated by patronage, the ability of great families and powerful individuals to command wealth, resources and appointments, and consequently to gain and hold the loyalty of clients. This was true of Georgian Britain and still more so of Imperial Russia. Peter the Great

introduced new political and administrative institutions, but failed to bring system, accountability and integrity to Russian public life: personal standing and connections remained decisive criteria.

The leading Russian aristocratic families were linked and divided by marriage and blood ties, by their ascendancy in different parts of the country, and by their relationships with the arenas of power: the Tsar's person and the Court, the armed forces and the civil service.⁶ Protection and patronage were essential to the working of the polity. As Geoffrey Hosking observed in his perceptive study of the patronage phenomenon, state administration at all levels in Russia depended on officials who could largely act with impunity and were rarely called to answer for their actions: '[L]ocal officials exercised power over the whole range of functions, they constantly flouted laws and official instructions, and they implemented commands from above only in so far as they coincided with personal interest.' Consequently the ability to buy or obtain the protection of officials or of superiors, of a great lord or of the ruler, was critical for success or failure on both the local and the national stage; and the ruler and the government acquiesced in or made use of this system of relationships because the state lacked resources and capacity to operate in any other way.

At the upper levels of the social hierarchy, patronage existed in its purest form.

Nobles placed in the top four ranks had easy access to the court, and the right of personal audience with the emperor. They were thus able to tap the greatest source of wealth and benefits within the empire Younger nobles, and those lower down the ranks, would look to them for jobs and material benefits, and for the opportunity to begin creating their own subordinate networks of clients.⁷

This situation was mirrored throughout the state service. Susanne Schattenberg's anthropological study of promotion practices in the Russian provinces in the early nineteenth century emphasises the critical importance of patronage relationships in all areas. According to Schattenberg, the patron-client network of personal loyalties both in everyday life and in practices of political power functioned on the basis of a mutually binding reciprocal system of gifting and receiving gifts. Those participating in the network were of course familiar with such abstract norms and concepts as law, legislation, *esprit de corps*, educational qualifications and professional competence, but none of these norms were constitutive notions for contemporary actors, who had their own clear sense of honour and of obligation within the network. Consequently,

Schattenberg concludes, they remain unhelpful for historiographical description and analysis, and it would be misleading now to describe these patron–client networks and practices in terms of ‘incompetence’, ‘violations’, ‘corruption’, ‘arbitrary rule’ or ‘lawlessness’.⁸ At the same time, the ‘gift economy’ left the population largely at the mercy of the network (one governor cautioned his subordinates: ‘Take, but don’t skin people’ [*berite, no ne derite*]), and gave little incentive for efficient work unless demanded by the patron: not surprisingly, therefore, contemporary rulers and foreign observers could and did experience such behaviour as belonging in these categories. Thus, in the absence of strong state institutions and countervailing political powers, Russian social and political relations were especially dependent upon personal interactions. Samuel Bentham’s warm relations with Catherine’s favourite Prince Potëmkin and later with the influential Vorontsov family, and Jeremy Bentham’s critical lack of an effective advocate in the higher ranks of Russian society, were typical reflections of this situation.

A related feature of the ‘patronage society’ was the phenomenon of the ‘projector’. ‘Projectors’ might nowadays be called entrepreneurs or inventors, and their ‘project’ probably a start-up enterprise. A ‘projector’ in eighteenth-century terms was a person who had a good idea or bold plan for the development of society or for the advancement of their own and others’ wealth; and such people necessarily looked for support, protection and investment, which were to be found especially among the great and the good of the ruling elite. The early modern period was a heyday for projectors across Europe. In a pamphlet, *An Essay upon Projects*, published in 1697 – the year of Peter the Great’s famous and seminal Grand Embassy to western Europe – the author and publicist Daniel Defoe declared his own time to be the age of projects: ‘Necessity, which is allow’d to be the Mother of Invention, has so violently agitated the Wits of men at this time, that it seems not at all improper, by way of distinction, to call it, *The Projecting Age*.’ Projects, as Defoe described them, were ideas, plans and ‘schemes’ relating to public and economic affairs which claimed to further the public good: ‘Projects of the nature I treat about, are doubtless in general of publick Advantage, as they tend to Improvement of Trade, and Employment of the Poor, and the Circulation and Increase of the publick Stock of the Kingdom.’⁹

The needs and policies of European states, especially of absolutist regimes, during the long-eighteenth-century Age of Enlightenment encouraged rational enquiry and planning by governments in order to produce a ‘well-ordered state’ in which all areas of human life functioned together harmoniously to the benefit of both ruler and subjects.¹⁰ At the

same time, governmental expertise and agency were frequently insufficient to create and organise or to monitor new bodies and enterprises, or these could arise outside of government control: training which might produce qualified and acknowledged specialists was rare in many fields, due diligence and corroborative research and development were in short supply. State authorities and well-resourced individuals were therefore very ready to receive, and to give support to, individual thinkers and entrepreneurs who could convince them of the validity and value of new plans and concepts. Some were successful, others failed dismally. The early eighteenth century saw several notorious cases of beguiling but unsound projects which gained huge public interest before the bubble burst, causing great loss and distress. John Law's Mississippi Company and the Banque Générale (later Banque Royale) in France (1716–20) and the South Sea Company and accompanying Bubble (1720) in Britain are two famous examples – both were able to secure royal support for their projects – but such ventures on a lesser scale were commonplace across Europe. Consequently projectors often got a bad name. Samuel Johnson in his great *Dictionary* of 1755 gave two definitions of this social type: a neutral, general one, 'one who forms schemes and designs', and a pejorative one: 'one who forms wild impracticable schemes'. Jeremy Bentham in his *Defence of Usury*, written in Russia in 1787, undertook to make the case for honest and useful projectors against the condemnation of 'undertakers' which Adam Smith had expressed in the *Wealth of Nations*.¹¹ At the same time Samuel Bentham, in a letter drafted to William Pitt the Younger in 1787, described himself as a projector.¹²

The new Petrine Russian Empire was a fertile breeding ground for projects. In order to carry out his 'revolution' and achieve the transformation (or 'transfiguration'¹³) of his country, Peter I sought out and tried to inculcate best international practice. One of the first steps in this was his Grand Embassy of 1697–8, undertaken for diplomatic purposes but also providing the young Tsar with transformational experience of more advanced societies and economies. He looked abroad, primarily to the Protestant states of northern Europe – the Dutch Republic, Sweden, Britain, German lands – but also to France and the Italian states, for military and naval expertise, technical know-how, political theory, administrative techniques, governmental organisation, scholarship and law, skills in arts and architecture He was also very ready to recruit individual specialists who bore this knowledge. These might be established authorities in their field, technical specialists of proven experience and ability, or unknown but persuasive adventurers. Such recruitment was in any case common practice at the time: this was

a period across Europe of international movement and exchange of persons, ideas and expertise. The Swiss Leonhard Euler (1707–83), for example, one of the greatest mathematicians of his day, divided his adult career between the Academies of Sciences at Berlin and St Petersburg (both of them recently founded institutions). The British iron-master and cannon-founder Charles Gascoigne, long-time director of the great Scottish metallurgical works of Carron Company at Falkirk, found his way to a second career in Russia (1786–1806), but Britain's premier gun-making plant, the Royal Foundry at Woolwich, had shortly before been placed under foreign, Dutch, management.¹⁴

Peter and his successors on the Imperial Russian throne made the most of such possibilities. They sought out foreign specialists particularly in new areas of state activity, such as Peter's reorganised armed forces or his mining industry. Before the crash of John Law's French financial system, Peter I was eager to recruit him for Russia.¹⁵ But the Russian rulers were also open to ideas and proposals presented by anyone, native or foreign, who could catch a receptive authoritative ear; and recent scholarship has emphasised that many Petrine reforms were driven less by the Tsar himself than by projectors working for him.¹⁶ In Britain on his Grand Embassy, with the help of the British establishment Peter engaged Henry Farquharson, Liddel mathematical tutor at Marischal College, Aberdeen, to head a planned new Navigation School in Moscow; but on arrival in Moscow Farquharson was forgotten until Peter's 'fixer' and fund-raiser Aleksei Kurbatov involved himself in the setting up of the School. In 1716 Farquharson moved to St Petersburg as professor in a new Naval Academy, successor to his Navigation School, whose founder and first director was a plausible adventurer, the self-styled nobleman Baron de Saint-Hilaire, who had left a trail of events across Europe.¹⁷

Russia became an El Dorado for those seeking their fortune; a later eighteenth-century observer, August von Schlözer, who worked in Russia in the 1760s, observed of Catherine II that with her accession 'there began a golden age for the composers of projects'. Russians competed with foreigners: according to Schlözer, the greatest projector of the Catherinian age was Count I. I. Betskoi, Catherine's favourite expert on child-rearing and education, introducer of new schools and foundling homes.¹⁸ During the eighteenth century Russian society, economy, armed forces, culture and science evolved rapidly, and both specialists and projectors played a considerable role. Medical doctors were almost all foreign, many of them Scottish. Foreign architects were prominent in the building of the new capital. The Imperial Russian navy became replete with British officers, Russian noble youth was taught by more and less

competent French and German teachers and tutors The country became host to considerable expatriate communities, from Britain, France, the Germanies, Italy, Switzerland and elsewhere.

The British expatriate community

This was the world which Samuel Bentham entered when he arrived in Russia in 1780, only 55 years after the death of Peter I. The British community in St Petersburg was almost as old as the capital itself. The heyday of the 'British Factory' there was the reign of Catherine II, when wealthy British merchants and other expatriates increasingly settled on the 'English Line', which ran along the south bank of the Great Neva river from what is now Senate Square. Later, under Alexander I, this street, which also housed the capital's Anglican church, was formally renamed the 'English Embankment' (*Angliiskaia naberezhnaia*), a name returned to it in 1994 in honour of the state visit of Queen Elizabeth II. Ironically, by the time of its renaming in the new (nineteenth) century it was already becoming increasingly Russian in character, as Russian nobles moving into the fashionable district steadily replaced the former British house-owners.

The dominant foreign cultural presence in eighteenth-century Russia was French – French language and literature and French fashions were the norm among the noble elite, and many French specialists (and economic migrants, political émigrés and adventurers) found careers in the Empire, even before the émigré wave which accompanied the French Revolution.¹⁹ Germans were more numerous, well represented in trade and crafts and in the business community, and among academics and teachers.²⁰ The British were firstly merchants – successors of the pioneer Muscovy Company – but also professionals, tradesmen and specialists of all sorts. The British Factory in St Petersburg under Catherine II has been fully described by Anthony Cross;²¹ much of what he illustrates still held good in the reign of the Empress's grandson. The British community had its own church, and successive chaplains to the British Factory were well received in St Petersburg society, to which they made contributions of their own. The 'English Inn' run by the Scotsman Joseph Fawell, besides providing accommodation for British (and other) travellers, offered what amounted to a travel agency and passport service. There was a subscription library, English shops, and several English coffee houses.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were a period of considerable anglophilia in Russia, which expressed itself in a variety of fields and forms.²² If French language and literary culture were dominant

in elite society, the 'English shops' capitalised on the vogue among the upper classes for material things produced in Britain. A huge range of items was imported from the British Isles: an English traveller even opined in 1800 that 'whatever [the Russians] possess useful or estimable comes to them from England. Books, maps, prints, furniture, clothing, hardware of all kinds, horses, carriages, hats, leather, medicine, almost every article of convenience, comfort or luxury, must be derived from England, or it is of no estimation.'²³ Horse-racing was increasingly popular among the nobility, and encouraged the importation of British horses, jockeys and stable staff.²⁴ The English landscape garden style became fashionable under Catherine, and her son Paul and his consort reproduced it at their palace of Pavlovsk, which on his assassination (1801) became the dower house of his widow Maria Fëdorovna; many nobles followed suit. The building of Pavlovsk was begun by Catherine's Scottish architect Charles Cameron, one of many British architects, designers and painters who made Russian careers or successful visits to Russia at the time.

British agriculture also enjoyed great popularity. The Bentham's friend and former chaplain to the Russian embassy in London A. A. Samborskii was a passionate and life-long advocate of English agricultural methods and with government support had sought to set up an agricultural school in Russia, which however did not materialise; another Russian friend, Admiral Nikolai Mordvinov, also a great admirer, had an English-style farm and a training school – equally unsuccessful – created at Nikolaev on the Black Sea where he was stationed. These ill successes reflected the difficulties facing Russian noble innovators in farming, with very different climatic and social conditions and the difficulty and expense of bringing new machinery and methods into a hidebound native setting.²⁵ Tsar Alexander I was himself convinced of the value of English farming methods, and had a farm established 'in Imitation of that of His Majesty the King of England', run by an Englishman.

When the Tsar wanted a specialist to drain marshland near St Petersburg, he turned again to England and in 1817 engaged the Quaker Daniel Wheeler, who with his family successfully brought 3,000 acres of swampland into cultivation.²⁶ Alexander's approach to the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) reflected his growing religious engagement; in 1812 he had had a conversion experience to a form of supradenominational mystical Christian piety, which would have a significant effect upon his later policies. As a result he was open to new ideas of ecumenism and philanthropy: he sponsored the Russian Bible Society (1813), to translate and distribute the Scriptures in Russia, and the Society for the Care of Prisons (1819), seeking prison improvement

and penal reform, both deriving from recent philanthropic initiatives by British evangelicals, including the contemporary work of Elizabeth Fry in Newgate Prison. The Quaker philanthropist William Allen, invited to Russia in 1818 by Alexander I after meeting him on his visit to England in 1814, was able to further the cause in Russia of William Lancaster's monitorial system of education: with the Tsar's approval, in 1819 a 'Free Society for the Foundation of Schools of Mutual Instruction' (*Vol'noe Obshchestvo Uchrezhdeniia Uchilishch Vzaimnogo Obucheniia*) was created, following the British and Foreign Schools Society in which Allen was a leading light.²⁷ In the period 1818–28 schools on the 'British' or Lancastrian monitorial model were set up across the Russian Empire. They were also used in the Russian navy and army, including in the occupation corps in post-Napoleonic France commanded by Samuel Bentham's friend Count M. S. Vorontsov: the Russian Lancastrian school at Maubeuge was visited in 1818 by Alexander, two of his brothers and the King of Prussia, who were all greatly impressed.²⁸ Allen was a friend of Jeremy Bentham, who also supported the Lancastrian system. In 1816 Bentham drew up detailed proposals for a 'Chrestomathic Day School', with an extensive curriculum, based essentially on Lancaster's 'New System of Instruction' and 'the Scholar-Teacher Principle' of employing suitably able pupils as unpaid teachers. Bentham thought that his project had international application: 'in doing what I have done, I consider myself as being at work not less for *Russia* and *Poland*, than for London'.²⁹

British traditions in politics and law also excited Russian interest. Catherine had studied William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (4 vols, 1765–9) and had his first volume translated by Semën Desnitskii, Professor of Law at Moscow University during her reign; Desnitskii had sat at the feet of Adam Smith as a student at Glasgow University, and was a disciple.³⁰ During Alexander I's visit to London in 1814 the Tsar visited Parliament and expressed himself very positively about the British parliamentary system. One observer recorded Alexander's admiration 'for the English constitution, and particularly that part of it called the Opposition, which he thought a very fine institution', while another noted on the same subject: 'He said the Opposition was a glass in which Sovereigns should see themselves, and that when he got back he would organise an *Opposition in Russia*. This Tsar is certainly not wise.'³¹ Despite Alexander's naivety in respect of the British system, he was at this time actively concerned with constitutional questions at home and abroad, a topic which engaged him throughout his reign. Perhaps it was this preoccupation which decided Oxford University in 1814 to present him (and the King of Prussia) with an honorary doctorate in civil law.³²

The Tsar's triumphal progress through Britain did not, however, have much actual bearing on the process of law-making in Russia. The Russian legal tradition was fundamentally different from that in Britain:³³ it had been shaped by the country's Orthodox heritage and its political regime, which diverged sharply from those of Anglican, Catholic and Lutheran Europe. As part of the Orthodox Christian world, the Russian Empire lacked an established tradition of formal higher education and the long history and veneration of legal learning and Roman law that went with it in Western Christendom. In Orthodox tradition monasteries remained the strongholds of learning. When Peter I came to the throne Muscovy had many monasteries, but only one secular school, the Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy chartered by Tsar Fëdor Alekseevich in 1682;³⁴ it had no university. Peter's new Academy of Sciences (1726) included an 'Academic University', but this never flourished; the first effective Russian university was the University of Moscow, founded in 1755, with three initial faculties of medicine, philosophy and law. The lack of educational facilities reflected the upper classes' traditional attitude to formal education: levels of education, and even literacy, were low among the service elite. A requirement of university education or its equivalent for senior civil service ranks was introduced only in 1809, after Alexander I's opening of several new universities. Judicial procedure was not supported by institutional structures or traditions, before 1755 there was no well-established legal profession nor formal legal training, and legal knowledge was largely confined to a small number of chancellery clerks.

Russian legal tradition was also fundamentally shaped by the nature of 'autocratic' government. The Muscovite ruler, although advised by his boyars, was the sole source of law: he both issued and sanctioned legislation, and stood above it. Law was declared in his name, but he could change or make exceptions to it as he chose and could issue whatever decrees seemed useful to him; Peter I borrowed extensively from foreign sources which reflected quite different social realities. Any attempt by a subject, in whatever capacity, to refer to precedent or to interpret laws (however inexact or poorly applicable they might be) was likely to be regarded as an infringement of the autocratic prerogative. Judges were officially expected simply to apply the laws as written. In this system the executive was pre-eminent, there was no division of powers, and the judicial function was not held in high regard. The practical implementation of the tsar's decrees and the governance of the country depended upon the Muscovite service classes, which from Peter I's time

were unified and identified as the Russian nobility. Provincial administration was weak, venal, ill-trained and equipped, and rarely held to account; as Susanne Schattenberg argued, it seldom thought in terms of integrity, duty or efficiency. Consequently local governors and officials could not or did not keep up with new legislation, and could disregard or abuse laws with relative impunity. Noble landowners had little interest in going against the local governor, or in obeying laws which did not suit them, while their very extensive manorial jurisdiction over their peasants meant that large parts of the population were essentially excluded from state law. The traditional role of the nobility had been military: they had formed the basis of the Muscovite army, and noble attitudes reflected this well into the nineteenth century. In the Imperial period military rank habitually enjoyed greater prestige than civilian rank, and many of those who held senior posts in the civilian Imperial administration, including as judges in the courts, had spent time and gained state rank in the armed forces, and lacked any specialist training. Eighteenth-century Russian courts, understaffed, underpaid, corrupt, run essentially by amateur noble judges and professional non-noble clerks, were notoriously slow, capricious and venal.

In these circumstances, [Russian] law was not a complex of mutually binding rights and obligations, but took the form of command from above, reinforced by peer pressure. ... But since the state lacked the power to enforce its commands to the letter, local officials could interpret them more or less at will. Hence the crying abuses of power which fill the pages of most memoirs of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To obtain redress against such abuses was virtually impossible. ... As Catherine II complained, 'Justice is sold to the highest bidder, and no use is made of the laws except where they benefit the most powerful.'³⁵

In 1783 Samuel Bentham, hopeful of finding private Russian land- and industry-owners whose plants he might profitably improve, came to realise the futility of contractual relations in Russia: 'the absolute impossibility of tying down by any contract ... any person in a country where power and protection overrule justice, and where, however good the laws may be, there is not one but what means are to be found of evading it.'³⁶ Catherine continued her predecessors' attempts to make Russian law and administration more honest and effective, but with meagre results. Under her successors the situation did not improve greatly. Twenty years later, in 1803, Jeremy Bentham's collaborator Etienne Dumont wrote from

St Petersburg, commenting on the legal establishment, 'If you knew what an advocate – or a man of law – is here, you would blush for the honour of the profession! ... And the judges! In England you could have no notion of the state of things.'³⁷ Only with the legal reforms of 1864 did Russia acquire a reasonably functional judicial system.

Russian laws themselves were also in need of revision. Medieval Russia had seen the production of several princely law codes, of which Russian Justice (*Russkaia Pravda*), dating from the twelfth century, was the most important, until replaced by the first Court Handbook (*Sudebnik*) of 1497: other Handbooks followed. Church and canon law was set out in the Book of the Helmsman (*Kormchaia Kniga*, thirteenth century and later), based on the Byzantine Nomocanon; stipulations laid out in the 'Book of One Hundred Chapters' (*Stoglav*) by a church council of 1551 fuelled religious dissent. The most important early modern civil code was the Assembly or Conciliar Code (*Sobornoe Ulozhenie*), drawn up in 1649 at the behest of Peter I's father Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich and ratified by a national gathering, an Assembly of the Land.³⁸ This was a distillation of previous law: it drew on earlier collections – the *Sudebnik* of 1550, the Lithuanian Statute of 1588, the Book of the Helmsman – as well as central government legal records, to which were added demands put forward by members of the Assembly. The 1649 Code was a major legal monument: most notably, it completed the process of enserfment of the landlords' peasants. It was also the first legal compendium whose reach extended over the whole empire, and the first printed in Russia; and it remained the basis of Russian law until 1830.

However, already by the reign of Peter I the Assembly Code was becoming inadequate, especially as Peter's radical reforms and numerous new edicts made its provisions increasingly out of date. The situation grew more difficult through the eighteenth century; access to the texts of laws was also problematic. By the time of Alexander's accession,

Russia was for all practical purposes without a legal code. ... Neither officials nor judges possessed authoritative legal texts to guide them in the execution of their duties – a deficiency which encouraged even further the tendencies towards the arbitrary use of power inherent in the Russian political system of the time. Imperial manifestoes, as well as instructions issued by the Senate and the Synod, administrative measures, tariff acts, criminal statutes of various reigns, and many other kinds of legislative and judiciary acts, often contradictory, were lumped together as 'law'. Even the Senate, the highest tribunal and official repository of laws, was

frequently unable to determine which laws applied to a given situation, while the lower courts lacked the basic means of rendering justice. This ... violated the basic canon of the monarchical ideal of the time, which held that true royal authority rested on law.³⁹

Peter I was aware of the inadequacies of his country's legal system. He had some success in reforming church and military law, and was an avid collector of foreign legal documentation.⁴⁰ But larger improvement evaded him. He established a series of commissions (1700, 1714, 1720) intended to modernise and codify the civil and criminal law, a task which proved beyond their capacity. Peter's unsuccessful codification commissions were followed during the eighteenth century by six more, none of which succeeded in their task. Those of 1760 and 1767 involved representatives of different social classes, as had the Assembly of the Land in 1649. The 1760 Commission had a limited constituency, but for the famous 1767 Commission Catherine II summoned a nationally representative body (except for clergy and for servile peasants, a majority of the population). Catherine composed a manual of first principles to guide her Commission, largely based on ideas of leading foreign thinkers of the day, especially Montesquieu, but forming a political credo for the neophyte Empress, expressing her early views on the desirable forms of monarchy, government and society: *Instruction (Nakaz) Given to the Commission for the Composition of a Project of a New Law Code* (1767, English translation 1768).⁴¹ Thus charged to draw up a law code from abstract principles, rather than elaborating existing law, the Commission became mired in protracted discussion and was prorogued in 1768 on the outbreak of Catherine's first war with Turkey (1768–74).⁴² But it provided the Empress with valuable material for her own later legislative measures; and it was her efforts to reform the law which gained her the sobriquet 'the Great'. The Commission's secretariat continued in existence, paving the way for Emperor Paul's legislative commission of 1797, the ninth.⁴³ Legal reform was a burning issue for Paul's successor Alexander I on his accession in 1801; he reordered his father's legislative commission within three months of coming to the throne and his commission (the tenth) remained in place throughout his reign. It was the formation of this commission which excited the hopes of Jeremy Bentham.

The Bentham brothers

Jeremy and Samuel, utility, the Panopticon and Foucault

Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) was the eldest son of the prosperous lawyer Jeremiah Bentham. An infant prodigy, he went up to Oxford University at the age of 12 and duly qualified as a lawyer, being admitted to the bar in 1769.⁴⁴ He soon found, however, that English common law, based on precedent and judges' rulings, was opaque, abstruse, susceptible to reinterpretation by lawyers, and quite inaccessible to the common man and woman. His first publication was a critique of the magisterial work of William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–9), the classic exposition and justification of English common law. Jeremy soon gave up legal practice and devoted the rest of his life to writing and theorising about law and law-making. In his search for a practical and moral philosophical principle on which to found a rational and coherent system of legislation he was guided particularly by the liberal theorists of the eighteenth-century continental Enlightenment, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Helvétius and Beccaria, and by British radicals such as Hume and Priestley. Helvétius was especially important: Bentham wrote to a correspondent, 'From [Helvétius] I learnt to look upon the tendency of any institution or pursuit to promote the happiness of society as the sole text and measure of its merit; and to regard the principle of utility as an oracle which if properly consulted would afford the only true solution that could be given to every question of right and wrong.'⁴⁵ People, he found, were motivated essentially by pleasure and pain, by pursuit of the pleasant and aversion to the hurtful. In terms of social goals to be sought by rulers and law-makers, this could be translated into the famous formulation of promoting 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number' of a population; and priority should therefore be given to utility, the maximising of whatever was useful in pursuing these goals. The idea of utility became Bentham's guiding principle, informing the theory of 'utilitarianism' whose social and legal application he elaborated. Utilitarianism as a doctrine became better known after his death, when it was developed and widely popularised by his protégé and follower John Stuart Mill. The solution to the problems posed by English common law would be a rational, coherent and comprehensive law code based on these principles.

Bentham's political thinking was heavily influenced by contemporary liberal and radical thought, but also by the events of his lifetime. As Linda Colley has recently shown, the period after 1750 saw an ever-increasing and international assortment of codes, constitutions

and constitutional drafts, reflecting the political pressures and instabilities arising from war and revolution: Colley accords a significant place to Bentham in her book, but makes clear that he was only one of many would-be constitution drafters.⁴⁶

Initially in his search for means to formulate law on philosophical principles Jeremy was impressed by the efforts of contemporary 'enlightened' monarchs, notably Catherine II of Russia. In 1789 he was momentarily enthusiastic about the libertarian potential of the French Revolution, but like so many others soon became alarmed at its excesses and their possible ill effects on British society. Accordingly he sought to consolidate the existing order; his espousal of the Panopticon (discussed below) perfectly matched this intention. Bentham initially thought that politicians were generally of good faith and would take steps for the common good as soon as they understood the necessity for them. During the 1790s, however, he became increasingly aware of the self-interest of the governing and ruling elites and the bad faith that accompanied it, what he came to call 'sinister interest' among the political and social establishment. This appears in his 'A picture of the Treasury' and writings on New South Wales of 1801–2, and was confirmed in 1803 when the government rejected his Panopticon project. From 1809 he was calling for radical political reform, including universal adult male suffrage, to ensure a 'democratic ascendancy'. His proposals fell on deaf ears, which drove him to more extreme positions. By the 1820s he had become a republican, admiring especially the legal institutions of the United States of America; he became too the leader of a new radical grouping, later known as 'philosophical radicals', gathered around the *Westminster Review*, which he founded in 1823. Bentham's attempts to participate in Russian law-making fell in the years 1802–5 and 1813–15, and their failure was a significant factor in the evolution of his ideas: the Russian experience became for him a model case of the right and wrong ways to draft a code and the ills of non-democratic government. His attachment to the philosophical basis for codification was fundamental throughout his life: even in his old age a provocative question about historical contexts of legislation could produce an explosion of scornful indignation, and an item in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for 1830 provoked a vehement if overblown denunciation of 'the Anti-Codification, alias the Historical School of Jurisprudence'.⁴⁷

Throughout his life Jeremy Bentham maintained an intimate relationship with his youngest brother Samuel, nine years his junior. Samuel Bentham (1757–1831) showed such a determined love for the nautical and technical that his father apprenticed him at the age of 14 in

the naval dockyards, but he was able to continue an academic education at the same time, and became a talented naval architect and engineer. He made a successful career as an entrepreneur and inventor in Russia (1780–91), and later (1796–1812) as Inspector-General of Naval Works and Navy Commissioner in the British Admiralty and Navy Board.⁴⁸ The brothers' early family life was difficult. Five other siblings died in infancy or childhood, and their mother herself died in 1759. Jeremiah Bentham was a demanding father, and when he remarried in 1766 neither brother warmed to their stepmother; Jeremy positively disliked her. These family relationships may help to explain the bond between the two brothers. Jeremy felt responsibility and almost fatherly affection for his remaining younger sibling and tried in frequent letters to influence his education and his thinking. Samuel responded readily, with engagement and gratitude. Jeremy instilled in him a rational and pragmatic manner of thought and an enthusiasm for innovation, change and reform. Both brothers sought to apply logic, blue-skies thinking and rational analysis to problems of contemporary life, whether ship-building and engineering or law, constitutions and penal reform: Jeremy later observed to a correspondent, "To the objects of his pursuits [Samuel] bears much the same relation that I do. You will read me in his manner of stating and reasoning."⁴⁹

The ties between them were exceptionally strong. When at the age of 21 Samuel began to think of pursuing a career abroad, and hesitated between a move to distant India and one to more accessible Russia, Jeremy was deeply worried by the risks involved and desolate at the thought of long separation:

To Russia we might go together: or if either of us prosper'd ever so little he might send for the other. If you go to India to stay we are separated very probably for ever: at any rate for the best part of our lives. O my Sam, my child, the only child I shall ever have, my only friend, my second self, could you bear to part with me? If you were sure of succeeding there, and of not succeeding anywhere else, I would consent to tear myself in two, and let you go to India, for the sake of yourself and of the world.⁵⁰

The close relationship lasted throughout both men's lives, although Jeremy never married and devoted himself to jurisprudence and philosophy while Samuel became the father of a numerous family.⁵¹ When Samuel went out to Russia in 1779, Jeremy did follow after, spending 22 months there in 1786–7; later, Samuel back in England helped Jeremy to develop designs and machinery for the Panopticon

project and Jeremy took a keen interest in Samuel's British career as Inspector-General of Naval Works, as well as developing a close avuncular relationship with Samuel's surviving son George.

In Russia Samuel prospered, in part because he became a favoured retainer of Prince Grigorii Potëmkin, favourite of Catherine II and the governor of much of southern Russia. Potëmkin gave Samuel charge of his enormous estate in south-west Russia, on the Dnieper at Krichëv, in what is now Belarus. It was here that Jeremy came to visit Samuel. The latter's brief was to prepare shipping on the river and to develop the estate economy; he had a large number of people under his direction, a score of expatriates (mostly British) and many local serf and soldier labourers. He had difficulty disciplining and directing this workforce, and to resolve the situation conceived of a new system of supervision, his subsequently famous Inspection House or Panopticon. This would be a circular building in which those to be supervised would be placed at the circumference. In the centre would be an inspection chamber, from which the inspector could see all that was happening all around. But those at the periphery would be unable to see into the inspection chamber; the inspector would be invisible and they could not know whether or not he was present, thus having to assume that they were under oversight at all times. Samuel received authorisation from Potëmkin to erect a building along these lines and the plans are preserved. But before they could be realised, Potëmkin sold the estate and Samuel was posted south to the naval base at Kherson on the Black Sea to work with the Russian Black Sea fleet at the start of Catherine II's second Turkish war (1787–92). The Krichëv Panopticon was never built.⁵²

The exact source for Samuel's new concept has been clouded with uncertainty. Christian Welzbacher pointed out that the basic principle was a simple inversion of a long-established practice of 'optical centring', where students are grouped in a circle around their teacher and their object of study.⁵³ In much-quoted articles, Simon Werrett has suggested that Samuel derived his idea from its Russian context, the traditions of Catherinian absolutism and Russian Orthodoxy.⁵⁴ Werrett's articles have the merit of emphasising the Russian connection of the Panopticon concept; and they are vivid, thought-provoking and a *tour de force* of historical imagination. Werrett makes good use of the insights of Iurii Lotman and Stephen Baer into Russian noble culture. However, in relating these to the Bentham's he provides no concrete evidence whatsoever for his thesis, arguing entirely from conjecture, inference and analogy. Moreover, he does not seriously enquire into the Bentham's attitudes to absolutism and Orthodoxy. Recent scholarship has returned to the more

plausible explanation that the Panopticon derived – as Jeremy himself suggested – from Samuel’s memories of the Ecole Militaire in Paris, which he had visited in the 1770s.⁵⁵

While Samuel was distracted by other Russian service demands, Jeremy took up the concept and cause of the Panopticon with enthusiasm. Prompted by news from England that transportation was about to start again, and by a competition in the *St James’ Chronicle* calling for designs for a new house of correction in Middlesex, he wrote a pamphlet: *Panopticon: or, The inspection-house. Containing the idea of a new principle of construction applicable to any sort of establishment, in which persons of any description are to be kept under inspection* It was ‘dashed off in high spirits’ in rather general terms: Jeremy soon came to see it as merely an ‘original rude sketch’ and wrote two postscripts which significantly revised the proposal, finally published in 1791.⁵⁶ It came at a timely moment in the contemporary British debate on penal policy, the treatment of convicts and the new penal colony of Botany Bay. At this time the revolt of the American colonies had closed off America as a destination for British penal transportees, alternative prison hulks were inadequate, and the British authorities were embarrassed as to what to do with them: the opening of Australia and the creation there of a new penal colony was their solution. (Potëmkin, interested in populating his southern Russian viceroyalty, offered to take such British convicts off HM Government’s hands and settle them on the Black Sea; but his plans were blocked by the Russian ambassador to the Court of St James, S. R. Vorontsov.⁵⁷) Jeremy Bentham thought Botany Bay illegal, inefficient and immoral, and proposed a Panopticon prison instead.⁵⁸

However, as the title of his *Panopticon* pamphlet suggests, and contrary to common belief, Jeremy saw the Panopticon principle as applicable to all situations of social disciplining, not only prisons, but other institutions such as workhouses, hospitals and schools. He conceived of it as an essentially benign social innovation, enabling for its inmates rehabilitation, education, social usefulness and ultimately freedom: in fact, in a famous passage he declared it a universal panacea, which could spread a ‘new scene of things . . . over the face of civilized society . . . – morals reformed, health preserved, industry invigorated, instruction diffused, public burthens lightened, economy seated as it were upon a rock, the gordian knot of the poor-laws not cut but untied – all by a simple idea in architecture’.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, he focused his endeavours on its potential for penal purposes, and this laid the foundation for his long campaign (1791–1813) to build a Panopticon prison in Britain, and – on its failure – to obtain compensation. Initially

the government supported the project, but it was finally defeated by practical obstacles and political opposition.⁶⁰

Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon vision, though never realised by him, has proved extraordinarily compelling: as one historian put it, 'When one thinks of nineteenth-century English prison reform, the first thought that usually comes to mind is Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon scheme.'⁶¹ While the idea had significant influence on subsequent prison design, its most powerful modern incarnation has come in the critique of modern penal policy and modern society generally by libertarians and most famously in Michel Foucault's highly influential *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* (1975, translated in 1977 as *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison*).⁶² Foucault's attack on the Enlightenment as paving the way for the tyrannies of modern Western life and the twentieth century used the Panopticon as a symbol of intended comprehensive state social control. Jeremy Bentham's project moved easily beyond practical prison reform into the utopian vision of social transformation which he had proclaimed in 1787–91: 'a new scene of things spread[ing] itself over the face of civilized society'. Foucault saw such 'panopticism' as the seed of an equally utopian but totalitarian attempt to cripple and mould the independent human spirit: he argued that 'the Panopticon presents us with a cruel, ingenious cage'.⁶³

Foucault's thesis is powerful and suggestive, and has attracted great attention, encouraging the emergence of the new branch of social sciences, surveillance studies, whose origins reach back to the 1950s.⁶⁴ With regard to the Bentham Panopticon itself, however, Foucault's ideas were problematical; they attracted criticism, and Foucault himself later modified them.⁶⁵ Recent Foucault scholarship has been at pains to clarify, rebalance and explore new issues. New perspectives have sought to site Bentham's ideas more fully in their early-nineteenth-century context, where the dire possibilities of capitalist exploitation and totalitarian control were much less apparent.⁶⁶ Surveillance studies and their concerns will not be pursued further in the present study, which presents a factual historical account of the one Panopticon that either of the Benthams managed personally to build, in Russia.

The Benthams' relations with Russia before 1800

Empress Catherine II's legislative projects early caught the attention of the young Jeremy Bentham.⁶⁷ In 1768, through the agency of a former chaplain at the British embassy in St Petersburg, he met in London with the equally young Russian embassy official Mikhail Tatishchev, who had translated Catherine's *Instruction* into English, and with Mikhail's brother

Ivan.⁶⁸ The acquaintance with the Tatishchev brothers was the first of an increasing number of personal Russian contacts for both Bentham brothers; Jeremy became particularly close to the Russian embassy chaplain, A. A. Samborskii, and remained on good terms with Samborskii's long-serving successor Iakov I. Smirnov (in post 1781–1837).⁶⁹

Such connections proved valuable when Samuel set off in 1779 on a tour of north European dockyards terminating in Catherine's Russia.⁷⁰ Having found no suitable means at home to achieve his naval ambitions, Samuel had thought of going to India to seek his fortune. Russia was a better alternative, especially as Catherine's policies seemed to offer opportunities not only to the naval engineer but also to his political-philosopher brother Jeremy, who hoped to assist the Empress in her legislative undertakings by presenting her with a Code of Laws for the Russian Empire. The project of a Russian code was actively pursued and discussed by the brothers over several years,⁷¹ and would be revived during Jeremy's visit to Russia in 1786–7. Altogether, Russia appeared as a land of promise: Samuel, on the point of setting off in 1779, reminded Jeremy: 'I need not recall to you the feasts we have so often heated our imaginations with, when we have been contemplating the progress of improvement in that rising country.'⁷²

The brothers cultivated all possible patronage, to good effect: Samuel was able to acquire a sheaf of letters of introduction. Among his supporters was William Petty, Earl of Shelburne, later Marquess of Lansdowne, a patron to both brothers: Jeremy made useful personal connections of his own among the Shelburne/Lansdowne circle, notably with the legal reformer Samuel Romilly. It was in this circle too, at Shelburne's country estate of Bowood in Wiltshire, that Jeremy first met his long-time collaborator, populariser and editor Pierre-Etienne-Louis Dumont (1759–1829), who served for a time as tutor to the earl's son. The significance of the Genevan Dumont in editing, publishing and popularising Jeremy Bentham's works cannot be overstated.⁷³

It was Lord Howe, then First Lord of the Admiralty, who suggested a tour of northern ship-building facilities; Howe also provided Samuel with introductions to British diplomatic representatives on his route.⁷⁴ With his way so well prepared, Samuel Bentham was able to visit Dutch ports and others in Baltic countries, and met with a favourable reception in Russia, where his good looks, amiable manners and becoming modesty also won him golden opinions. He arrived in St Petersburg in March 1780. Befriended by the British ambassador, Sir James Harris, he was admitted to Court, and soon found a footing in St Petersburg society. He early established contact with Catherine's 'Scottish Admiral', Samuel Greig of Inverkeithing,

commander of the naval base at Kronshtadt, the port for St Petersburg: as he wrote, 'I got the confidence as well as the civilities of the Admiral.' He was also introduced to Catherine's favourite, Prince Grigorii Potëmkin.⁷⁵

Initially he refused offers of a post in state service, wishing to preserve his independence of movement, and made a two-year tour into Siberia, inspecting mining and industry in search of development projects. Later, contemplating marriage and thinking of staying in Russia, he entered and made a successful career in the service, something much helped by the fluency he acquired in the Russian language. He worked for eight years first in St Petersburg, under the Procurator-General, then in the south and again in Siberia in the personal service of Potëmkin, Viceroy of southern Russia, rising to the Russian rank of brigadier-general. As we have seen, Potëmkin gave Samuel charge of his huge private estate of Krichëv, on the Dnieper, with a brief to develop its economy; Bentham managed the estate with mediocre success. There gathered around the new estate manager a growing colony of British expatriate workers and specialists. Many were recruited for Samuel in Britain by Jeremy, who visited his brother in Russia in 1786–7, partly in the hope of presenting the Empress with a law code. In the event, when Catherine passed through Krichëv in 1787 during her great Imperial progress through southern Russia, Jeremy's work was not yet completed or set out in suitable presentational format, and he deliberately avoided a meeting with her. But the visit was fruitful nevertheless. Through his Russian visit and study of Russian laws, Jeremy gained a rudimentary familiarity with the Russian language; he was able to elaborate materials which later became important elements of his system, and it was here, at the other end of Europe, that he drafted his *Defence of Usury* and his pamphlet on the Panopticon.⁷⁶

The Panopticon, as we have seen, was the brainchild and invention of Samuel Bentham. Samuel also had many other inventions to his credit. In Krichëv he invented mechanical means of sawing construction timber, and designed at Potëmkin's command a special 'vermicular' rowing vessel, composed of multiple flexibly linked units, to convey freight and to transport the Empress and her party on the Dnieper.⁷⁷ In Siberia he had invented machines for working wood and devised a 'ship-carriage', an amphibious wheeled conveyance in which he travelled widely and was able to cross unfordable Siberian rivers, and which subsequently aroused interest for military purposes back in England.⁷⁸ Samuel was well aware that his position in Russia gave him exceptional advantages in pursuing his passion for rationally based invention: in a letter drafted to William Pitt the Younger in 1787 he declared that

Inventions in the mechanical line, of which, such as they are, I have some stock, are my chief amusements here; and the opportunities, which my situation affords me, of carrying them into practice, form one of the principal ties which attach me to this country.

At the same time he offered Pitt his personal involvement, ‘the zeal of the projector himself’, as an earnest of his commitment, if Pitt should wish to adopt an invention in Britain.⁷⁹ Later Samuel would indeed devise important technical improvements for British naval dockyards, playing an outstanding part in laying the foundations of the modernised Admiralty infrastructure of the later nineteenth century; he also imagined more visionary innovations, such as mobile steam engines mounted on wheels and equipped with wooden boilers.⁸⁰

In 1787, however, his plans to build a Panopticon were frustrated by Potëmkin’s sale of the estate and his own summary posting to aid the war effort in Kherson, on the Black Sea. Here his inventive genius and technical skills were crucial in preparing the motley vessels at Russian disposal for battle against the Turks: small shallow-draught vessels ingeniously armed with heavy-calibre weapons did exceptional damage to Turkish galleys and to large Turkish warships struggling to manoeuvre in the confines of the Liman (the mouth of the Dnieper). Serving in Kherson under the base commander, his friend Rear-Admiral Nikolai Mordvinov, and at sea under the command of the Prince of Nassau-Siegen, Samuel so distinguished himself that he was awarded promotion with special seniority, the Order of St George, and an inscribed gold-hilted sword of honour. Using money acquired through the funding of privateering, Samuel was also able to join with Mordvinov in the purchase of an estate in the Crimea and become a landowner.

In 1791 Samuel took leave from the Russian service and returned home. He had apparently fully intended to return to Russia in due course; but events both at home and abroad ultimately convinced him otherwise. Back in England in 1791 he continued his practical activities in the field of mechanical engineering and machine development. A tour of British manufacturing centres suggested to him that the wood-working machines which he had begun to develop in Siberia and at Krichëv, and for which he took out a first British patent in 1791, would be of great value in Britain. In 1792 his father, Jeremiah Bentham senior, died; the brothers inherited significant resources. Jeremy moved into the family home at Queen’s Square Place in London (now 102 Petty France, occupied by the Ministry of Justice) and made its outbuildings available to Samuel as workshops for his inventions. When Jeremy gained government interest

for his Panopticon prison scheme the same year, Samuel was called upon both to design the building and to prepare machinery for use in employing its prisoners. He extended his leave from Russia, and produced prototype machines, on which he took out patents in 1793.⁸¹

The machines at Queen's Square Place attracted great interest and many visitors, among them government ministers and Lords of the Admiralty, which led to favourable comment in Parliament. Jeremy described the scene at Queen's Square Place as a 'raree show'.⁸² As a result, Samuel was able to make plausible representations to the Admiralty about improvements to British arsenals and dockyards, and the introduction of new machinery and steam power. His ideas chimed with existing concerns in Admiralty circles about the state of naval administration and technology.⁸³ The outbreak of war with France in 1793 brought additional urgency to British naval matters. Finally in 1795 Samuel was invited to address their Lordships of the Admiralty formally on the subject, and to visit naval dockyards. In 1795 he also received approval to build seven experimental vessels of his own design, incorporating many innovations.⁸⁴ At this point he still had formal leave from Russia until September 1796, although he had been removed from his Russian military command in 1792 or 1793. The outcome of his dealings with the Admiralty was so satisfactory that in 1795 the new post of Inspector-General of Naval Works was created for him, charged with improving the navy's dockyards.⁸⁵

Consequently he finally gave up any intention of returning to Russia: thereby, in the words of his widow, biographer and champion Mary Sophia Bentham, he 'abandoned the emoluments, the gifts of lands, the honours that awaited him in a foreign country and devoted himself entirely to the service of his own', something for which, if we are to believe Mary, '[h]e has been much and repeatedly blamed by his friends Brigadier-General Bentham, though still retaining his foreign rank, may from this time be considered as exclusively in the English service and devoted to it heart and mind.'⁸⁶ Samuel's marriage to Mary Sophia, née Fordyce, in 1796, no doubt also helped to settle him in England, though she devoted herself to him and the family would later travel very easily abroad. Mary was a powerful personality in her own right, well able to participate in and support Samuel's endeavours. In 1820 Jeremy described Mary's mature relationship with her husband: 'the daughter of an eminent Scotch Physician, established in London, [she] is his Physician, his Secretary, and qualified and accustomed to second him in all his operations.'⁸⁷

Samuel's years with the Admiralty and Navy Boards, 1796–1813, were difficult: his resolute efforts to promote necessary reform and modernisation met resistance from well-established conservatives, self-interested contractors, and craftsmen whose traditional way of life and work was threatened. Industrial innovations which he championed, his own or others' (Marc Brunel), transformed the dockyards, but were initially scorned by opponents as incompetent; the financial savings and other benefits claimed for them were dismissed as 'the sanguine but groundless expectations of a visionary projector'.⁸⁸

The brothers' Russian contacts during the 1790s seem not to have been numerous, though some were with persons of high political standing, and Samuel made welcome any Russians who crossed his path. Connections with the embassy continued. In 1800 Jeremy became involved in negotiations to help the widow of a friend receive a Russian pension due to her husband, a success finally achieved through a direct approach to Tsar Paul. Samuel as Inspector-General of the British Navy could also patronise Russian students sent abroad to study naval matters: in 1805 for example he was given charge of three 'Russian Gentlemen', 'Ivanoff, Linlunoff and Goustomesoff', presented to the Admiralty by Ambassador Vorontsov.⁸⁹ Rumours circulated in Russia (as a correspondent later reported to Samuel after his appointment as Inspector-General) that 'you had received a very high position and live very well, and that if any Russian was in your vicinity, you tried to receive him hospitably'.⁹⁰ The opening of the new century and the beginning of the reign of a new emperor, Alexander I (ruled 1801–25), would mark the start of a new chapter in both the brothers' relations with Russia.

Russia under Alexander I: the Tsar and his servitors

In March 1801 the stifflingly despotic reign of Catherine II's heir and successor Emperor Paul I (ruled 1796–1801) had ended in a lethal coup d'état which brought to the throne his 23-year-old son, Grand Duke Alexander.⁹¹ The inheritance of the new autocrat was complex. The international situation was difficult and evolving rapidly; the country needed firm guidance in facing urgent challenges: the French revolutionary upheaval, European war, the onset of European industrialisation. Meanwhile the Empire's administrative, judicial and military systems were creaking and confused after the arbitrary rule of Paul. Alexander was young, charming and of known liberal views, and the first few years of the reign, after Paul's depredations, were a

'honeymoon' period of high hopes and expectations among Russians sensitive to the country's problems: in his later poem 'Epistle to the censor' Aleksandr Pushkin immortalised these times in the winged phrase 'the splendid beginning of Alexander's days'.⁹²

Alexander was also, however, inexperienced and hesitant, and initially relied upon a close coterie of radical and equally inexperienced 'young friends', some of whom are among the principal *dramatis personae* peopling the Bentham's stage in Russia. The 'young friends' were Count Viktor Kochubei,⁹³ the Polish Prince Adam Czartoryski,⁹⁴ Count Pavel Stroganov,⁹⁵ and Stroganov's cousin Nikolai Novosil'tsev (Novosil'tsov, Novossiltsov), who was in addition the Tsar's private secretary and personal assistant.⁹⁶ Alexander also retained a number of older officials and elder statesmen from Catherine's reign: G. R. Derzhavin, N. S. Mordvinov, D. Troshchinskii, A. R. Vorontsov, P. V. Zavadovskii – a former favourite and state secretary of Catherine II – and others.⁹⁷ The 'young friends' formed a so-called 'Unofficial' or 'Secret Committee' (*Neglasnyi Komitet*) which met regularly with Alexander in 1801 and 1802, before fading out in 1803. Most of Alexander's advisers, young and old, were acutely aware of the need for change, and one of the principal cultures and societies to which they looked for inspiration was Britain. Alexander himself (polyglot and English-speaking, having had an Englishwoman among his nurses, as did his brothers Nicholas and Michael) had received an idealistic education; he felt a strong aversion to the sort of arbitrary and despotic government which Paul had embodied, and he was in love with the idea of constitutions. At the beginning of his reign he held some very radical ideas which were checked by his friends and advisers.

All Alexander's 'young friends' had spent time in or visited Britain. Kochubei had worked at the Russian embassy in London; the Bentham brothers met Novosil'tsev and Czartoryski in England during the 1790s: Novosil'tsev lived there privately throughout Paul's reign, 1796–1801.⁹⁸ Admiral Count Nikolai Mordvinov had lived in England in 1774–7 on naval service and was married to an Englishwoman, Henrietta, née Copley, orphaned daughter of the British consul in Leghorn; a great anglophile, he became a fervent admirer of Jeremy Bentham.⁹⁹ As we have seen, he became Samuel's base commander in Catherine II's second Turkish war and there existed between them a friendship of long standing, in which Jeremy later joined. Count Aleksandr Vorontsov, from a prominent family, briefly ambassador to London in the 1760s, was the brother of the equally anglophile and long-time Russian ambassador to the Court of St James (1785–1800, 1801–6), Count Semën Vorontsov, to whom Samuel Bentham in later years became very close. Semën raised

his family in England and retired there when he finally left the Imperial service (although despite decades of residence he never learnt more than a smattering of English). His daughter married the Earl of Pembroke. His son Mikhail, English by upbringing, returned to Imperial Russian service in 1801 and made an outstanding career, first as a commander in the Napoleonic wars, subsequently as Governor-General of New Russia and Viceroy of the Caucasian provinces. Mikhail Vorontsov, like his father, became a dear friend of Samuel Bentham.¹⁰⁰

In 1802 the Russian Senate was reformed and most of the central government machinery reorganised into Ministries (to replace the Colleges set up by Peter the Great a century before). The ministerial reform, with subsequent necessary adjustments in the relations between centre and provinces, has been described as the defining administrative event of Alexander's reign.¹⁰¹ The Emperor placed his close advisers in key executive ministerial positions, while also seeking to balance political interests. Foreign Affairs was given to Aleksandr Vorontsov as Chancellor, with Czartoryski as his deputy; Derzhavin took Justice, which incorporated the office of Procurator-General, the principal legal officer of the Empire, and soon after Novosil'tsev became Deputy Minister; Internal Affairs went to Kochubei, with Stroganov as deputy.

Admiral Mordvinov, previously head of the Naval College, was given the navy, with the younger Vice-Admiral Pavel Chichagov as his deputy. The latter enjoyed the particular regard of the Tsar, and although Mordvinov initially took some part in the deliberations of the Unofficial Committee, he was soon displaced at the Admiralty by Chichagov, who was in charge of the Ministry of Naval Forces until 1809, albeit initially with the rank of Deputy or Acting Minister. However, both men – both strongly anglophile, both married to English wives – would become fast friends with both Bentham brothers.¹⁰² Mordvinov, after his retirement from the Ministry, went to Moscow and into private opposition to the government (Moscow was the traditional sulking-ground for dissidents and those out of favour); but in 1809 he re-entered service, in 1810 was given charge of the Department of State Economy in the newly created Council of State, and made a second distinguished civilian career in the higher echelons of the central administration, occupying senior posts in branches of the State Council. The Benthams remained in sporadic contact with him for many years. Mordvinov championed an aristocratic form of liberalism, and was famous for the legal opinions he gave on matters which came before him in the Council of State; he is also seen as Jeremy's most complete early disciple in Russia.¹⁰³

Chichagov had lived in England in 1792–3 as a naval officer, where he became familiar with the British naval world. He was well known in Russia for his intelligence and his sometimes arrogant self-confidence. At the beginning of the new reign he was ‘attached to the person of the Emperor’ with a brief to improve Russia’s naval establishment, a post reminiscent of Samuel Bentham’s British office of Inspector-General of Naval Works. In 1802 a government Committee for the Improvement of the Fleet was created, which Chichagov chaired, part of a serious effort in the first years of the reign to upgrade Russia’s armed forces. As Acting Minister of the Navy he was crucial, as we shall see, to Samuel’s 1805–7 mission to St Petersburg; he and Samuel were apparently already acquainted, and became extremely close. Jeremy entered into direct contact with him in 1809; Chichagov also had a very close, more or less filial relationship with Semën Vorontsov: he addressed him in his letters as ‘mon adorable père’.

Later, during the French retreat from Moscow in 1812, Chichagov commanded the army charged with preventing Napoleon from escaping across the river Berezina, and his failure to do so cast a permanent shadow over his career.¹⁰⁴ In 1814 he left Russia and came to Britain, where Jeremy Bentham encouraged and advised him in his attempts – finally successful – to compose an autobiographical justification of his actions.¹⁰⁵ George Bentham, Samuel’s son, recalled a happy meeting between his father and Chichagov in London during the peace celebrations of 1815.¹⁰⁶ Chichagov had married an Englishwoman, Elizabeth Proby, whose father was the Commissioner of Chatham Dockyard; she died in childbirth in 1811, leaving him two daughters who were schooled in England. He wished to settle in Britain but decided for France on account of the irksome restrictions of successive Aliens Acts;¹⁰⁷ he took British citizenship in 1833, but died in Paris in 1849.

A central figure in the early years of Alexander’s government until 1812 was the brilliant and exceptional civil servant Mikhail Speranskii.¹⁰⁸ By birth a non-noble priest’s son, educated in a Church seminary, Speranskii became personal secretary to Prince Aleksei Kurakin, then entered government service in 1797 when his employer became Procurator-General under Paul I; he soon gained noble status and rose rapidly through the ranks. He was distinguished by his efficiency, his clear, quick mind and his skill with words. An early patron was A. A. Samborskii, former chaplain to the Russian embassy in London and friend of the Benthams. By 1801 Speranskii was well established as a senior civil servant, and he played an important role in government from the very beginning of the new reign: on the creation of the Ministries he was appointed to the new Ministry of

the Interior (Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del, MVD), and became the extremely influential right-hand man of the Interior Minister, Kochubei. Speranskii had in fact been the official responsible for drafting the regulations of the new Ministries: his elegant style introduced a hitherto unknown grace and clarity into the crusty language of Russian officialdom. He was also concerned in another innovation: the new Ministries sought to reach out actively to the public and from 1804 until 1809 the MVD produced its own official monthly publication, the *St Petersburg Journal* (*Sanktpeterburgskii zhurnal*). This novel medium made public the most notable decrees and reports arising from Ministry work; its 'unofficial part' contained translations and works relating to law, politics and state administration. In 1806 Speranskii took over from the ailing Kochubei the duty of presenting MVD reports to the Emperor; the latter quickly appreciated his quality, and he became a State Secretary (*stats-sekretar'*) and the central figure in internal government affairs.¹⁰⁹

From 1808 to 1812, and after 1821, Speranskii was the official in charge of Russian government work on the codification of law. From 1801 this was carried out by the Commission for the Compilation of Laws (*Komissiiia sostavleniia zakonov*), the reincarnation of Paul's legislative commission, a government body initially answerable directly to the Emperor. For most of the reign, from 1803 until 1822, the civil servant most closely involved, and the moving spirit, in the Commission was its First Referendar and Secretary, the Baltic German Freiherr (later also Baron) Gustav Adolf von Rosenkamppff (1764–1832).¹¹⁰ Rosenkamppff became a central figure in Jeremy Bentham's quest for engagement with the Russian codification process, and it is necessary to examine his position in some detail. A former student of law at Leipzig University, in 1780–2 Rosenkamppff had worked as a translator in the archive of the Imperial College of Foreign Affairs; he then returned to his native Livonia, where between 1789 and 1802 he lived as an estate owner, filling elective and judicial posts in the largely self-governing province. (Later, while he was serving in St Petersburg, his brother's misfortunes led to the loss of the family estate.) He accompanied Tsar Paul as a representative of the Baltic German nobility during the Tsar's visit to Livonia in 1797, and received but rejected offers of a post in St Petersburg; in 1802, likewise *ex officio*, he escorted Alexander on the latter's way to Memel, thereby becoming familiar from afar with the Emperor's entourage, notably Novosil'tsev and Kochubei. In the summer of 1802 he visited St Petersburg on personal business and renewed acquaintance with a fellow Leipzig alumnus some years his senior, Senator O. P. Kozodavlev; he also met Derzhavin, soon to be Minister of Justice. At their suggestion he wrote an

article on legislation, entitled ‘Some remarks on criminal and civil laws with reference to Russia’, which was published the following year in the prominent journal *Vestnik Evropy* but meanwhile evidently soon became known in court circles.¹¹¹

In October of the same year, 1802, Rosenkamppff was summoned back to the Russian capital by Derzhavin. Here he also met Novosil'tsev, who knew of his article and received him kindly; Rosenkamppff was very much impressed with Novosil'tsev, who returned the compliment, becoming one of Rosenkamppff's lasting patrons. Derzhavin formally presented Rosenkamppff to the Tsar, and he was given an appointment as civil servant for special assignments at the Ministry of Justice, independent of the Compilation Commission. He was allocated a handsome nominally lifetime annual salary of 2,000 roubles and a secretary, and shortly afterwards made a Court Counsellor (*nadvornyi sovetnik*, rank 7); his brief was to work on clarifying and classifying Russian legislation, and making it self-consistent, though according to his own account his immediate task was particularly to draft proposals for the transformation of the Governing Senate and a new statute for it. At this time he also became acquainted with Czartoryski, Stroganov and Kochubei, who received him favourably.

Rosenkamppff was nonplussed by his new assignment to work on the Senate: this institution had only just been officially reconstituted, in September 1802, at the same time as the creation of the new Ministries. He nevertheless worked dedicatedly on this project during a home leave of four months back in Livonia (January–May 1803), where he resigned his previous post and prepared to move to St Petersburg while at the same time making arrangements to leave a door open for eventual return. A major feature of his new Senate proposals was the retention of Peter the Great's Imperial Colleges with their governing boards as the main organs of national administration under the Senate; but this was in direct contradiction with the new Ministries, set up on the French model, with a Minister embodying centralised authority and a supporting bureaucratic structure. As Rosenkamppff soon discovered, Speranskii, the composer of the legislative texts introducing the Ministries, was a strong supporter of them. This clash of ideas over a major feature of state administration laid the foundations for a long mutual dislike between the two men.¹¹²

When Rosenkamppff returned to St Petersburg in May 1803, he found that while the ‘Young Friends’ were prepared to discuss his proposals for the Senate, nothing could be concluded without the Tsar, whose attention was not immediately forthcoming. In July he finally received the grace of an extended individual audience with Alexander;

Rosenkampff noted down the conversation immediately afterwards, and gave a verbatim account in his memoirs. To his disappointment Alexander deferred any detailed consideration of the Senate plan he proffered, and then went on to the question 'What do you think about the emancipation of the peasants?' This was a quite different but equally important topic, and one in which momentous events had been taking place in Rosenkampff's native Livonia. Since the 1790s a group within the Livonian aristocracy led by *Landrat* Friedrich von Sivers had been agitating for improvement of peasant status, to some effect. Imperial laws of 1802 and 1804 limited serfdom there and increased Baltic peasants' rights; and in February 1803 Alexander had also signed into law a scheme allowing Russian landowners to emancipate their own peasants under limited conditions as 'free agriculturists'.¹¹³ Rosenkampff had in fact himself been involved in relevant discussions at the 1796 Livonian Diet (*Landtag*) and had been the person charged with drawing up a compilation of materials for consideration by absent members of the nobility, which was put out in printed form.¹¹⁴ Now Alexander said that Sivers had written to him on the subject of emancipation 'and sent me just recently a voluminous tome in German, which I haven't read yet'.

With that His Majesty handed me a very well-bound large-format folio. Looking at the covering letter I saw at once that this booklet contained material for a Statute on the Livonian peasantry. I opened it and on the title page, printed in bold script, I read that I was the author of this Statute.

No doubt encouraged to find his work in the hands of the Tsar, Rosenkampff declared himself firmly in favour of gradual emancipation. Alexander did not demur, asking merely how it should be achieved and remarking that it would be a 'long road'. As Rosenkampff recorded, Alexander said that while trials could be made in the Baltic provinces, further progress on peasant emancipation generally must be considered in committee; and he added the declaration:

I would wish in general to grant to the whole nation, to all my peoples, access to the enjoyment of citizens' rights as far as this is possible. This must be determined by a general code, a book of laws, which my predecessors, beginning with Peter I, promised the nation. That, it seems to me, is what should be our preoccupation before all else, because it will encompass everything else.¹¹⁵

In reply Rosenkamppff explained his view. Rosenkamppff stood for an historical-national approach to law-making. He was concerned that previous Russian legislation had lacked an underpinning in general guiding principles – *principia iuris*: these, he argued, must be clearly formulated before any major new legislative enactment, and they were to be derived from the best of the country's existing law, an approach alien to that of Catherine the Great's Legislative Commission and to Jeremy Bentham's concept of a philosophically based, universally applicable code.

In order to compose what is called a code, it is essential first of all to begin from a study of the state of [the country's] active legislation in all the branches of state and private law, and to have this before one's eyes. ... I understand by the term state law (*droit public*) the organisation of state authorities, the objects of their jurisdiction, the permission to access civil rights and even estate rights,

not all of which were clearly laid out either in existing law or in the projects of Peter I and Catherine II. He also warned the Tsar that Russia was ill prepared in this field:

One must not overlook the fact that in France and Germany jurisprudence is a science which has been practised for centuries, so that clauses summarising different laws will be easily understood. ... But I fear that in Russia such an abstract work would not be comprehensible. To make the code understandable, it is necessary to expound the sources themselves from which the clauses are derived ...¹¹⁶

According to Rosenkamppff, Alexander approved of his arguments, promised his full support, and told Rosenkamppff to start work on a plan to achieve these aims and to send it directly to him, so that he would be the first to see it. Rosenkamppff was being asked to review and reform both the work and the composition of the Compilation Commission. The Senate plan with which he had taken so much trouble was ignored: Rosenkamppff soon found that the 'Young Friends' were now all converted to the centralised ministerial principle. When Rosenkamppff next saw Novosil'tsev, the latter also avoided any further discussion of the Senate project and talked only of the planned renewal of the Compilation Commission. 'In the name of His Majesty I entrust you with the composition of this plan because this, apparently, is his decided will. ... The sovereign enquired of me about you and is apparently very well disposed towards you.'¹¹⁷

Rosenkamppff devoted himself to the new assignment. In October 1803 the Commission for the Compilation of Laws was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice;¹¹⁸ Derzhavin was dismissed at the same time as Minister and replaced by P. V. Lopukhin. Together with Novosil'tsev, the Deputy Minister, Lopukhin was now in charge of the Commission.¹¹⁹ Rosenkamppff's plan was implemented, transforming the Commission, and he assumed the leading role in it. Rosenkamppff remained a central figure in the Commission until his resignation from it in 1822.

One of Alexander's first measures was to restore good diplomatic relations with Britain, disrupted by Paul, with the signature of a pact of friendship in June 1801. He succeeded in concluding peace with France in late 1801, and in the first decade of his reign, even after war began again in 1805, he presided over an avalanche of domestic changes and reforms, not only reversing inappropriate and arbitrary measures taken by his father, but addressing major areas of central administration, military and naval organisation, legal reform, education, censorship, the peasant question, and others.

Initially, as had been the case with Peter I and Catherine II, the Tsar was more radical than his courtiers and advisers. At the same time, elite noble culture was changing. A significant feature of Russian society in Alexander's reign was what has been called the development of the private thinking individual among educated and elite nobles. The French Revolution had dramatically widened noble horizons; rising levels of elite education, while failing to provide qualified servitors in sufficient numbers for state purposes, led increasingly to independent thought among the higher nobility. Alexander's initial approach to government and society encouraged this trend. He positively invited congenial individuals and members of his entourage to make suggestions and to 'tell him the truth', and one of his early measures was to appoint Novosil'tsev to receive proposals concerning improvements to national life and the economy from anyone wishing to make one.¹²⁰ During his reign it became increasingly possible to form unofficial organisations devoted to social, cultural or literary ends.

The tragedy and triumph of 1812 strengthened patriotic feeling and awareness of social responsibility, which found expression both in growing self-confidence among conservative noble opinion, and in increasing desire for progressive reform among liberals. The Tsar himself became increasingly conservative after 1812, a trend which began to antagonise more liberal public opinion. His reign has been described as 'the critical period of the nobility's inner liberation from the state, the

“privatisation” of its members, and the beginning of their alienation from the establishment,¹²¹ though this applied in fact only to a minority of nobles. The phenomenon of the *St Petersburg Journal*, the government reaching out to civil society, was part of a wider reflection of the new beginnings of Alexander’s reign, responding also to a more receptive readership. Other government departments, too, produced their own journals – the *St Petersburg Journal* was preceded by the *Journal of the Ministry of Popular Enlightenment [Education]*, and others followed – and non-governmental journals also sprang up in the newly favourable social and official environment: in all, in 1801–10 84 new journals appeared in Russia.¹²² Later, as Aleksandr Pushkin complained, such journals and other publications had much greater difficulty, suffering under a burdensome and pettifogging censorship; the later reign saw the polarisation of society and the development of noble secret societies with increasingly radical agendas.

Alexander’s early wish to reform and modernise his government produced many initiatives but fewer fundamental changes; even during the wars of the Third Coalition new measures were attempted. Some sympathetic historians have called this ‘the decade of transformations’. Other scholars have been more critical, emphasising superficiality or failure to deal decisively with major issues, and lack of firm intention and leadership on the part of the Tsar; for such observers, more unkindly, this was a ‘decade of vacillations’. Alexander became notorious for changing his mind. The significance of the changes has been variously evaluated, as has Alexander’s impenetrable character. Alexander’s younger contemporary P. A. Viazemskii (1792–1878) some 40 years later famously called him ‘the Sphinx who remained an enigma to the grave’, adding: ‘About him even today they dispute anew.’ The nineteenth-century dissident Alexander Herzen called him ‘Hamlet with a crown’; a recent account considered him a ‘crowned utopian’.¹²³ Opinions on the Tsar’s real policy intentions have been similarly varied; many modern historians take the view that he was fundamentally a ‘conservative reformer’, on the one hand concerned for good order, efficiency and social and legal justice, on the other consistent and determined in his desire to maintain his position as sole arbiter of state affairs.

The first decade of Alexander’s reign gave great hopes to liberals that Russia’s political life would develop beyond the corrupt authoritarianism which had been personified by Paul. Alexander’s youth and personal unassuming affability, his own eagerness for change and wholesale rejection of the preceding political regime, seemed to guarantee innovation, the implementation in Russia of best practices from elsewhere

in Europe, and action on burning questions of the day. Nevertheless, sceptics were dubious even at the outset that the Russian leopard could change its spots: from his vantage point in London Semën Vorontsov warned his son Mikhail on the latter's return to Russia and Russian service in 1801 that the removal of Paul and Alexander's accession had not changed Russia fundamentally and that the Empire was very different from Britain and other countries:

Although the new reign has made our compatriots happier than they were and, released from the worst sort of slavery, they imagine that they have become free, it is in fact far from the case that they are as free as one is in other countries (and these themselves do not know that true liberty founded on a unique constitution which Great Britain has the good fortune to possess, where men obey only the law, which is equal for all classes, and where men live in their full dignity).

With us – ignorance, bad mores which are the consequence of this ignorance and also of the form of government which, by debasing people, deprives them of all elevation of soul and leads them to cupidity, to sensual pleasures and to the vilest baseness and adulation for anyone with power or who has favour with the sovereign. The country is too vast for a sovereign, even if he were another Peter the Great, to do everything himself in a government without a constitution, without established laws, without immovable and independent courts. He is obliged by the very nature of the government to rely on the management of a favourite minister, who thereby becomes a grand vizier The present state of the country is only a suspension of tyranny, and our compatriots are like the Roman slaves during the feast of Saturnalia, after which they fell back into their ordinary slavery.¹²⁴

Others were more optimistic, and even after the Fatherland War of 1812–14 many continued to entertain hopes of internal change, although a more conservative trend was already in evidence in foreign policy with the politics of the Holy Alliance. The last years of Alexander's reign, however, especially after 1820, fully bore out Semën Vorontsov's prediction: they were a period of outright reaction both at home and abroad, under the aegis of the Tsar's favourite and first minister, the martinet Count Aleksei Arakcheev. Liberal disillusionment finally burst forth in the (inept and abortive) 'Decembrist' uprising of 1825, the first attempt to overturn the Imperial Russian political system by violent means.¹²⁵

Notes

- 1 'v Evropu prorubil okno': Pushkin, *Mednyi Vsadnik* [The bronze horseman]. The Russian wood-working tool of choice was the axe. For a general overview of Russia's history see Hosking, *Russia and the Russians: A history, or, more briefly, Bartlett, A History of Russia*. The 'Introduction' to Wirtschafter, *From Victory to Peace: Russian diplomacy after Napoleon* provides an excellent and more detailed overview of early modern Russia. The book also offers a very positive view of Emperor Alexander I.
- 2 On early Russian relations with lands to her west, see Poe, 'A People Born to Slavery': *Russia in early modern European ethnography*; Neumann, 'Russia's standing as a great power, 1492–1815'.
- 3 Jones, 'Why St Petersburg?'; Boeck, 'When Peter I was forced to settle for less: Coerced labor and resistance in a failed Russian colony (1695–1711)'.
- 4 Cracraft, *The Revolution of Peter the Great*; Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture*. The standard modern work on Peter I is Hughes, *Russia in the Age of Peter the Great*.
- 5 Kaplan, 'Russian commerce and British industry: A case study in resource scarcity in the eighteenth century', 325–6. Developed further in Kaplan, *Russian Overseas Commerce with Great Britain during the Reign of Catherine II*; see also Plat [Plath], 'Vnutrenniaia ili vneshniaia kolonizatsiia? Tseli i sredstva torgovoi politiki Rossii v XVIII v.'.
- 6 LeDonne, *Ruling Russia: Politics and administration in the age of absolutism, 1762–1796*.
- 7 Hosking, 'Patronage and the Russian state', 308, 311. On patronage see further Joukovskaia-Lecerf, 'Hiérarchie et patronage: les relations de travail dans l'administration russe au XVIIIe siècle'.
- 8 Schattenberg, *Die korrupte Provinz? Russische Beamte im 19. Jahrhundert*; cf. Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission for the compilation of laws: In search for codifying models for the Russian empire', 188. See also Korchmina and Fediukin, 'Extralegal payments to state officials in Russia 1750s–1830s: Assessing the burden of corruption'.
- 9 [Defoe], *An Essay upon Projects*, 1, 10. Further on projects see Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The development of a consumer society in early modern England*; Bartlett, 'Utopians and projectors in eighteenth-century Russia'; Novak, ed., *The Age of Projects*; Fediukin, "'Prozhektëry" kak administrativnye predprinimateli: stanovlenie rannemodernykh gosudarstvennykh institutov i individual'naia initsiativa'; Fedyukin, *The Enterprisers*.
- 10 Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State ... 1600–1800*; Seppel and Tribe, eds, *Cameralism in Practice*; Nokkala and Miller, eds, *Cameralism and the Enlightenment*. See also Wakefield, *The Disordered Police State: German cameralism as science and practice*.
- 11 *Defence of Usury*, Letter XIII, 'To Dr Smith, on Projects in Arts & c.', republished in *Jeremy Bentham's Economic Writings*, 167–87; see further Pesciarelli, 'Smith, Bentham, and the development of contrasting ideas on entrepreneurship'; Crimmins, 'Political economy and projectors: Bentham's *Defence of Usury*'; Bartlett, 'Projects and peasants: Russia's eighteenth century'.
- 12 See p. 23.
- 13 Zitser, *The Transfigured Kingdom: Sacred parody and charismatic authority at the court of Peter the Great*; Zitser, 'Post-Soviet Peter: New histories of the late Muscovite and early imperial Russian court'; Zitser, 'The difference that Peter I made', in Dixon, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Russian History*.
- 14 See in general Baudin and Veselova, eds, *Louis Henri de Nicolay: un intellectuel strasbourgeois dans la Russie des Lumières*, 16–21.
- 15 Troickii, 'Le "Système" de John Law et ses continuateurs russes'; Stroev, *Les Aventuriers des Lumières*, 201–2.
- 16 Fediukin, "'Prozhektëry" kak administrativnye predprinimateli'; Fedjukin, 'Mechanismen der Reformen in Russland', in Möller et al., eds, *Deutschland – Russland*. Volume 1: *Das 18. Jahrhundert*, 75–82; Fedyukin, *The Enterprisers*, chaps 1–3.
- 17 Ryan, 'Navigation and the modernisation of Petrine Russia: Teachers, textbooks, terminology', in Bartlett and Hartley, eds, *Russia in the Age of the Enlightenment: Essays for Isabel de Madariaga* (hereafter *Madariaga*), 75–105; Fediukin, 'Rol' administrativnogo predprinimatel'stva v petrovskikh reformakh: Navigatskaia shkola i pozdnemoskovskie knizhniki'; Fediukin, ed., *Frantsuzskii avantiurist pri dvore Petra I: Pis'ma i bumagi barona de Sent-Hilera*; Fedyukin, *The Enterprisers*, chaps 1–3.

- 18 August Ludwig Schölzers *öffentliches und Privatleben, von ihm selbst beschrieben. Erstes Fragment*, 146.
- 19 Offord et al., eds, *French and Russian in Imperial Russia. Volume 2: Language attitudes and identity*; Rjeoutskii and Gouzevitch, eds, *Inostrannye spetsialisty v Rossii v epokhu Petra Velikogo* deals solely with French specialists.
- 20 Among a large literature see the German works of Erich Amburger and the multi-volume Russian series *Nemtsy v Rossii*.
- 21 Cross, *'By the Banks of the Neva': Chapters from the lives and careers of the British in eighteenth-century Russia*, chap. 1; Cross, 'The English Embankment'. On the British community in the nineteenth century: Mahnke-Devlin, *Britische Migration nach Russland im 19. Jahrhundert. Integration – Kultur – Alltagsleben*.
- 22 Cross, *Anglo-Russica: Aspects of cultural relations between Great Britain and Russia in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries*.
- 23 Quoted by Cross, *'By the Banks of the Neva'*, 17.
- 24 Cross, *'By the Banks of the Neva'*, 20, 42–3; Dixon, 'Horse-racing in nineteenth-century Russia'.
- 25 Cross, *'By the Banks of the Thames': Russians in eighteenth-century Britain*, chap. 3; Cross, *'By the Banks of the Neva'*, chap. 7. Advocates of the new agriculture often became butts of ridicule; a sensational polemic was caused in 1806 by an anonymous pamphlet, *Plug i sokha* (The iron plough and the wooden plough), written in fact by Fëdor Rostopchin, later Governor of Moscow during the 1812 French invasion. The conservative nationalist Rostopchin was a disillusioned former enthusiast, who now attacked English agriculture as alien and praised the traditional Russian wooden *sokha* and farming methods. He himself was attacked by the anglophile Princess Dashkova, a former collaborator of Catherine II, in her *Opinion on the Iron and the Wooden Plough*.
- 26 Wheeler, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of the Late Daniel Wheeler*, 49–232; Scott, *Quakers in Russia*, chap. 4. As a reward to the family, Emperor Nicholas I gave the Society of Friends the land in which Wheeler's wife was buried. The Quaker burial ground at Shushari outside St Petersburg still exists.
- 27 Scott, *Quakers in Russia*, chap. 5; McMillin, 'Quakers in early nineteenth-century Russia'; Muckle, 'Alexander I and William Allen: A tour of Russian schools in 1819 and some missing reports'; Makl (Muckle), 'Shkoly "vzaimnogo obucheniia" v Rossii: Uil'iam Allen, tsar' Aleksandr i angliiskie sviazi'. See also Rosslyn, *Deeds, not Words: The origins of women's philanthropy in the Russian empire* and the sources quoted there.
- 28 Lancasterian schools were also set up in Siberia by Decembrist rebels exiled there after the revolt of 1825; the last such schools in Russia were closed in 1858. See Hollingsworth, 'Lancasterian schools in Russia'; Zacek, 'The Lancastrian school movement in Russia'; Hartley, *A Social History of the Russian Empire 1650–1825*, 135, 140; Orlov, 'Shkoly dlia vsekh'. *Lankasterskaia sistema obucheniia v Rossii v pervoi chetverti XIX v. (1814–26 gg.)*.
- 29 Bentham, *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham* (hereafter BC), VIII, 446–7, 459–62; Bentham, J., *Chrestomathia: Being a collection of papers explanatory of the design of an institution, proposed to be set on foot, under the name of the Chrestomathic day school, or Chrestomathic school, for the extension of the new system of instruction to the higher branches of learning, for the use of the middling and higher ranks in life. By Jeremy Bentham Esq.*; Bentham, J., *Essai sur la nomenclature et la classification des principales branches d'art-et-science; ouvrage extrait du Chrestomathia de Jérémie Bentham*, i. Allen and Jeremy Bentham were two of the six main investors in Robert Owen's New Lanark Mills project.
- 30 Brown, 'Adam Smith's first Russian followers'; Brown, 'The father of Russian jurisprudence: The legal thought of S. E. Desnitskii'.
- 31 Hartley, "'It is the festival of the crown and sceptres": The diplomatic, commercial and domestic significance of the visit of Alexander I to England in 1814', 264–5, 268. The institution of a Loyal Opposition in Britain was relatively new.
- 32 Hartley, "'It is the festival'", 246.
- 33 Wortman, *The Development of a Russian Legal Consciousness*; Schmidt, *Sozialkontrolle in Moskau. Justiz, Kriminalität und Leibeigenschaft 1649–1785*; Borisova, 'The Digest of Laws of the Russian Empire: The phenomenon of autocratic legality'; Borisova and Burbank, 'Russia's legal trajectories'.
- 34 The influential Ukrainian Mohyla Academy in Kiev, modelled on Jesuit schools, was established in 1634 when Kiev was still under Polish rule.
- 35 Hosking, 'Patronage and the Russian state', 308.

- 36 BL Add. MS 33558, f. 98, quoted by Morriss, *Science, Utility and Maritime Power: Samuel Bentham in Russia, 1779–91*, 107–8.
- 37 See p. 53.
- 38 For this and the early history of Russian law see Butler, *Russian Law and Legal Institutions*, chap. 3; Feldbrugge, *A History of Russian Law: From ancient times to the Council Code (Ulozhenie) of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich of 1649*.
- 39 Pipes, trans. and ed., *Karamzin's Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia: A translation and analysis*, 247. Pipes gives a succinct overview of the course of the Compilation Commission, pp. 247–53.
- 40 Butler, 'Peter the Great as a comparative lawyer'.
- 41 The latest edition of the *Instruction: Catherine II, Nakaz, dannyi Komissii o sochinenii proekta novogo Ulozheniia*, ed. Tomsinov, 2008; English version: Butler and Tomsinov, eds, *The Nakaz of Catherine the Great: Collected texts*, 2010.
- The development of ideas of Natural Law in Russia, which will not be dealt with here, is addressed by Berest, *The Emergence of Russian Liberalism*; Artemyeva, 'From "natural law" to the idea of human rights in 18th-century Russia: Nobility and clergy'.
- 42 Sub-commissions worked on and produced drafts of some laws, which informed Catherine's later legislation: Omel'chenko, 'Die "Kommission zur Verfertigung des Entwurfs zu einem neuen Gesetzbuch"', 169–80. The 1767 Commission was Catherine's attempt to address the difficult state of Russian legislation and the problems of governing a huge and multi-ethnic empire; it also served to bolster her somewhat precarious political situation. The Commission offered the Empress the title of Great, Mother of the Fatherland: she refused, but 'the Great' stuck. See in general Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great*; Dixon, *Catherine the Great*.
- 43 Latkin, *Zakonodatel'nye komissii v Rossii v XVIII stoletie, istoriko-iuridicheskoe issledovanie*, vol. 1; Amburger, *Geschichte der Behördenorganisation Russlands von Peter dem Grossen bis 1917*, 80–1; Schmidt, *Sozialkontrolle in Moskau*, 213–24; Tomsinov, *Speranskii*, 389–90. Besides the three committees or commissions charged with this task in the reign of Peter I (1700, 1714, 1720), others followed in 1728, 1730, 1754, 1760, 1767, 1797, 1801.
- 44 Valuable accounts of Jeremy Bentham's life, work and thought to which I am indebted are Schofield, *Utility and Democracy: The political thought of Jeremy Bentham*; Schofield, *Bentham: A guide for the perplexed*. See also the excellent biographical articles by Rosen (Jeremy Bentham) and Pease-Watkin (Samuel Bentham) in *ODNB* and the collection of articles in Rosen, ed., *Jeremy Bentham*, 2007, reissued 2018. Portraits of both brothers can be found on the internet.
- 45 BC II, 99, no. 248, 1778 (draft to his 'good old friend' the Rev. John Forster at St Petersburg, recommending Samuel). Bentham added that at about the same time Beccaria's *On Crimes and Punishments* and Catherine II's *Instruction* 'gave me fresh incentives and afforded me further light'.
- 46 Colley, *The Gun, the Ship and the Pen*. Professor Colley's magisterial and wide-ranging account is, however, imperfectly informed on early modern Russia.
- 47 Colley, *The Gun, the Ship and the Pen*, 203–4; UCLSC, Bentham Papers, Box 83, ff. 156–60.
- 48 Several valuable but now dated works were produced by Samuel's widow, biographer and champion Mary Sophia Bentham, notably 'Memoir of the late Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Bentham, with an account of his inventions', in *Papers and Practical Illustrations of Public Works of Recent Construction both British and American*, 41–79 (hereafter Mary Bentham, 'Memoir'); *The Life of Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Bentham KSG, Formerly Inspector-General of Naval Works, Lately a Commissioner of His Majesty's Navy with the Distinct Duty of Civil Architect and Engineer of the Navy. By his widow M. S. Bentham* (hereafter Mary Bentham, *Life*). The most recent, and excellent, modern portrayals are by Morriss, *Science, Utility and Maritime Power: Samuel Bentham in Russia, 1779–91* (hereafter Morriss, *Science, 1779–91*); Roger Morriss, *Science, Utility and British Naval Technology, 1793–1815: Samuel Bentham and the Royal Dockyards* (hereafter Morriss, *Science, 1793–1815*).
- 49 BC X, 156, no. 2713, JB to J. Joaquin de Mora, 15–17 November 1820.
- 50 BC II, 222, no. 302, 20–2 January 1779.
- 51 Pease-Watkin, 'Jeremy and Samuel Bentham: The private and the public'.
- 52 Mary Bentham later suggested in passing that Samuel had constructed some part of a panoptical structure at Krichëv: 'such a central building as that which he had erected at Cricheff' (*Life*, 99); Jeremy, writing to his father in June 1787 from his lodgings at Zadobras near Krichëv, after Samuel had left, stated, on the contrary: 'The Inspection-House was not begun *here*; nor, as you see, is it likely to be': BC III, 553, no. 594.

- The theatre historian A. S. Korndorf cites a statement that the Krichëv Panopticon concept was submitted to Catherine II, who did not respond; and he relates this, not very convincingly, to a 1790s theatre set design by the court stage designer Pietro Gonzaga which presents Hell, seen through a central viewing arch and in form very similar to the Colosseum in Rome: Korndorf, *Dvortsy khimery. Illiuzornaiia arkhitektura i politicheskie alliuzii pridvornoii stseny*, 512–14.
- 53 Welzbacher, *The Radical Fool of Capitalism*, 12.
- 54 ‘Potemkin and the Panopticon: Samuel Bentham and the architecture of absolutism in eighteenth-century Russia’; ‘The Panopticon in the garden: Samuel Bentham’s inspection house and noble theatricality in eighteenth-century Russia’.
- 55 Steadman, ‘Samuel Bentham’s Panopticon’, 28–9; Guízar, ‘“Make a hard push for it”: The Benthams, Foucault, and the Panopticons’ roots in the Paris École militaire’.
- 56 Semple, *Bentham’s Prison: A study of the panopticon penitentiary*, 100, 104–5; Jeremy Bentham, *Panopticon: or, The inspection-house. Containing the idea of a new principle of construction applicable to any sort of establishment, in which persons of any description are to be kept under inspection. And in particular to penitentiary-houses, prisons, houses of industry, work-houses, poor-houses, manufactories, mad-houses, hospitals, and schools. With a plan of management adapted to the principle. In a series of letters, written in the year 1787, from Crecheff in White Russia, to a friend in England, 1791*, reprinted in *The Works of Jeremy Bentham, published under the superintendence of his executor, John Bowring*, 1843, reprinted 1962 (hereafter Bowring), IV; also in Jeremy Bentham, *The Panopticon Writings*, ed. and intro. Božović.
- 57 Bartlett, *Human Capital: The settlement of foreigners in Russia, 1762–1804*, 128.
- 58 Arguments summarised in his *Panopticon versus New South Wales*, 1812.
- 59 Jeremy Bentham, *The Panopticon Writings*, 95.
- 60 The standard account is Semple, *Bentham’s Prison*. For the wider background see also Lloyd and Burgoyne, ‘The evolution of a transatlantic debate on penal reform, 1780–1830’.
- 61 Cooper, ‘Jeremy Bentham, Elizabeth Fry, and English prison reform’, 675.
- 62 Respectively Paris: Gallimard, 1975 and London: Allen Lane, 1977.
- 63 *Discipline and Punish*, 205: ‘The Panopticon ... must be understood as a generalizable model of functioning; a way of defining power relations in terms of the everyday life of men. No doubt Bentham presents it as a particular institution, closed in upon itself. Utopias, perfectly closed in upon themselves, are common enough. As opposed to the ruined prisons, littered with mechanisms of torture, to be seen in Piranesi’s engravings, the Panopticon presents a cruel, ingenious cage.’ *Surveiller et punir*, 207: ‘Le Panopticon ... doit être compris comme un modèle généralisable de fonctionnement; une manière de définir les rapports du pouvoir avec la vie quotidienne des hommes. Sans doute Bentham le présente comme une institution particulière, bien close sur elle-même. On a fait souvent une utopie de l’enfermement parfait. En face des prisons ruinées, grouillantes, et peuplées de supplices que gravait Piranèse, le Panopticon fait figure de cage cruelle et savante.’
- 64 See (for instance) *The Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, ed. Ball et al.; Horne and Maly, *The Inspection House: An impertinent field guide to modern surveillance*; Lyon, *The Culture of Surveillance*. The nightmare Orwellian potential of ‘panopticism’ is starkly portrayed in Kietzmann and Angell, ‘Panopticon revisited’.
- 65 Janet Semple offered a straightforward rebuttal, Semple, ‘Foucault and Bentham: A defence of panopticism’, also in Rosen, ed., *Jeremy Bentham*. Laura Engelstein reflected on the limitations of Foucault’s ideas as applied to Russia: Engelstein, ‘Combined underdevelopment: Discipline and the law in imperial and Soviet Russia’. Alessandro Stanziani has placed Bentham’s concerns in a wider (inter)national context of labour management and Poor Law provision: Stanziani, *Bondage: Labor and rights in Eurasia from the sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries*, chap. 2.
- 66 The French Bentham specialist Anne Brunon-Ernst and her colleagues go *Beyond Foucault: New perspectives on Bentham’s Panopticon*, ed. Brunon-Ernst; they set themselves ‘the difficult task of achieving a double rehabilitation: that of Bentham’s political theory to Foucault readers, and that of Foucault’s panopticism to Bentham scholars’ (p. 5). Welzbacher, *The Radical Fool of Capitalism*, ‘rescues the Panopticon from the misapprehensions of Foucault, Orwell and Lacan’ (back cover).
- 67 The Benthams’ earlier relations with Russia have received extensive but uneven historical coverage. Jeremy’s story before and after 1800 was first told by Pypin, ‘Russkie otosheniia Bentama’, trans. Renaud, ‘Bentham’s Russian relations’. This is an excellent pioneering study based on the 1843 Bowring edition of Bentham’s works and published in 1869 with an eye to contemporary legal and other reform processes in Russia.

The story of Samuel and Jeremy Bentham's relations with Russia under Catherine II is told in English writings by: Anderson, 'Samuel Bentham in Russia, 1779–91'; Christie, *The Bentham's in Russia 1780–1791*; Cross, 'By the Banks of the Neva'; Morriss, *Science, 1779–91*. See also the Russian references in O'Sullivan, 'The correspondence of Jeremy Bentham as a resource for the study of his life: Illustrated with a reconstruction of his early years (1748–1780) from his letters', also Cross, "'Russian Englishmen': Russians the Bentham's met in England 1767–1820s', both in *Filosofskii Vek* 9, which also has brief coverage of Jeremy's relations with Alexander I.

- Samuel's British career in the new century has been most recently studied by Morriss, *Science, 1793–1815*. See also Coad, *The Portsmouth Block Mills*; Coad, *Support for the Fleet*.
- 68 Cross, 'By the Banks of the Thames', 30–1; Cross, "'Russian Englishmen"', 86–7.
- 69 On both see Cross, 'By the Banks of the Thames', 39–52; *BC* VII, 292, 308, 309, 367.
- 70 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 10; Morriss, *Science 1779–91*, 30. He left England on 24 August 1779.
- 71 Anderson, 'Samuel Bentham in Russia, 1779–91', 158; Morriss, *Science, 1779–91*, 16–18.
- 72 Quoted by Anderson, 'Samuel Bentham in Russia, 1779–91', 158.
- 73 On Dumont see Selth, *Firm Heart and Capacious Mind: The life and friends of Etienne Dumont*, a fine and nuanced study which gives, however, a garbled summary of Jeremy Bentham's relations with Emperor Alexander I. See also Blamires, *The French Revolution and the Creation of Benthamism*; *ODNB* (online edn), 'Dumont, Pierre-Étienne-Louis [Étienne] (1759–1829)'.
- 74 Mary Bentham, 'Memoir', 43; Morriss, *Science, 1779–91*, 29.
- 75 Quotation concerning Greig: Mary Bentham, *Life*, 16. On Potëmkin and Krichëv see Sebag Montefiore, *Prince of Princes: The life of Potemkin*.
- 76 *BC* VII, 275.
- 77 Morriss, *Science, 1779–91*, 171–82. JB sent a long description of the vermicular to his father, *BC* III, 537, no. 591, 4/15 May 1787; plan of the vessel at *RGAVMF*, f. 327, op. 1, d. 4997; model in card at *BL* Add. MS 33554, f. 320.
- 78 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 82–3, 116; Morriss, *Science, 1779–91*, 182; Samuel Bentham, 'Sketch of a ship-carriage, constructed and used in Siberia', see [Figure 3.1](#). Mary Bentham, 'Memoir', 44, 68, 79: Mary wrote that the amphibious carriage was 'also introduced into England about the year 1793 ... [and] successfully tried on the river Thames; but like many of the General's other inventions, it was abandoned on his appointment to the Admiralty. The English baggage-waggon was remarkable as being, it is supposed, the first navigable vessel of which the hull was entirely of metal.' Jeremy wrote an enthusiastic recommendation of the ship-carriage to George III, but it is doubtful that it was ever sent: *BC* IV, 12, May 1791.
- 79 *BC* III, 535, no. 590, SB to Wm Pitt, late April 1787. This draft letter was docketed by the Bentham's as written by Jeremy and not sent. The content only makes sense if the writer, or intended writer's voice, was Samuel. See further Bartlett, 'Samuel Bentham, inventor'.
- 80 Besides Morriss and Coad, see on the dockyards and on steam engines [M. S. Bentham], *Paper on the First Introduction of Steam Engines into Naval Arsenals; and Machinery set in Motion Thereby*, 6.
- 81 Mary Bentham, *Life*, chap. VI, 97–120; Coad, *The Portsmouth Block Mills*, 23; see also Coad, *Support for the Fleet*.
- 82 *Paper on the First Introduction of Steam Engines*, 2; Mary Bentham, *Life*, 100.
- 83 Coad, *The Portsmouth Block Mills*; Coad, *Support for the Fleet*; Morriss, *Science, 1793–1815*.
- 84 *Paper on the First Introduction of Steam Engines ...*, 23; Mary Bentham, *Life*, 106–14; Morriss, *Science, 1793–1815*, chap. 4; Winfield, *British Warships in the Age of Sail 1793–1817*, 384–6.
- 85 Formal warrant dated 25 March 1796: Coad, *The Portsmouth Block Mills*, 23. The French had recently created a similar office; in 1801 the Russian government would make an analogous appointment. In 1795 Bentham voiced the idea of returning to Russia; the new post was created to keep him in British service: Mary Bentham, *Life*, 115; Morriss, *Science, 1793–1815*, 24. Some years later, Marc Brunel's declaration that he would leave Britain to take up an offer in Russia was sufficient to make the British government obtain his release from debtors' prison by paying his debts.
- 86 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 102, 103. See also Christie, *The Bentham's in Russia 1780–1791*, 255–6. In a letter written many years later, Samuel claimed that it was the death of Catherine II in [November!] 1796 which decided him to stay in Britain; but this may be regarded as justification in hindsight. *BL* Add. MS 33546, ff. 576–77v.

- 87 BC X, 166. Her father was Dr George Fordyce, FRS (1736–1802), noted physician and chemist.
- 88 *Paper on the First Introduction of Steam Engines*, 10. Here and elsewhere Mary Bentham is at pains to demonstrate SB's priority over, but benevolent patronage of, Marc Brunel. See JB's vivid and partisan account of his brother's difficulties, BC X, nos 2713 & 2714, and most recently Morriss, *Science, 1793–1815*.
- 89 Cross, "Russian Englishmen", 89; Mary Bentham, *Life*, 156; Bowring, X, 358; BC VI, 369–72, no. 1608, n.1; National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (hereafter NMM), ADM/Q/3323, 25 March 1805.
- 90 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 171–72v, Matvei Loginov to SB.
- 91 See in general McGrew, *Paul I of Russia, 1754–1801*; Shil'der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi: ego zhizn' i tsarstvovanie*; Hartley, *Alexander I*; Rey, *Alexander I: The tsar who defeated Napoleon*; O'Meara, *The Russian Nobility in the Age of Alexander I*. On foreign policy see most recently Wirtschafter, *From Victory to Peace*.
- 92 'Dnei Aleksandrovykh prekrasnoe nachalo': Pushkin, 'Poslanie tsenoru' ['Epistle to the censor'], 1822. Aleksandr Pushkin (1799–1837), Russia's national poet, a characteristic figure of Alexander's reign, contrasted the freedom of Alexander's early days with the pettifoggish censorship of his later years. The censor is given words in the poem complaining of the changeability of taste: 'There's a fashion and a taste for everything: at one time, for instance / People here revered Rousseau, Voltaire, Bentham ...'.
- 93 Viktor Pavlovich Kochubei (1768–1834), nephew of Catherine's Chancellor Bezborodko, held senior positions throughout Alexander's reign. See Cross, 'By the Banks of the Thames', 33–4. Entries for all the figures mentioned here can be found in the standard Russian biographical dictionary, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'* (hereafter RBS).
- 94 Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770–1861). After the Polish events of 1795, the young Czartoryski had been compelled to live in St Petersburg and enter Russian service to prevent the sequestration of his family's estates. He became very close to the Grand Duke Alexander, and was influential in Russian foreign policy in the first half of his reign. His allegiance to Russia was, however, always tempered by his hopes of restoring Poland. See Zawadski, *A Man of Honour: Adam Czartoryski as a statesman of Russia and Poland 1795–1831*; [Czartoryski], *Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski and his Correspondence with Alexander I: With documents relative to the Prince's negotiations with Pitt, Fox, and Brougham, and an account of his conversations with Lord Palmerston and other English statesmen in 1832*, ed. Gielgud ... (the Russian and French versions are used in this text).
- 95 Pavel Aleksandrovich Stroganov (1774–1817). See Nikolai Mikhailovich, *Graf Pavel Aleksandrovich Stroganov (1774–1817): Istoricheskoe issledovanie epokhi imperatora Aleksandra I*.
- 96 Nikolai Nikolaevich Novosil'tsev (1761–1838): see *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar' Brokgauz-Efron*, vol. XXI: Nibelungi–Neffer, 295.
- 97 Shil'der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*, II, 24–30.
- 98 Cross, "Russian Englishmen", 89. The older generation were largely part of the 'Senatorial party', standing for greater Senate powers.
- 99 In 1806 Mordvinov wrote to Samuel Bentham: 'I long to settle in England and, settling there, to make the acquaintance of your brother. He is, in my eyes, one of the four geniuses who have done, and will do most for the happiness of the human race – Bacon, Newton, Smith and Bentham: each the founder of a new science: each a creator' (Bowring, X, 419).
- 100 Semën Romanovich Vorontsov (1744–1832), Mikhail Semënovich Vorontsov (1782–1856). See, on S. R. Vorontsov, Vorontsov-Dashkov and Mikeschin, S. R. *Vorontsov. Biografiia*; on M. S. Vorontsov, Rhineland, *Prince Michael Vorontsov: Viceroy to the tsar*; and, on the Vorontsov family at large, Kenney, 'The Vorontsov party in Russian politics'; V. N. Alekseev, *Grafy Vorontsovy i Vorontsovy-Dashkovy v istorii Rossii*.
- M. S. Vorontsov is also widely known for his difficult relations with the young Aleksandr Pushkin during the latter's exile in the south (1823–4). Pushkin scandalously pursued Vorontsov's wife, and wrote a notorious epigram about him: 'Polumilord, polukupets/Polumudrets, polunevezhda./Polupodlets, no est' nadezhda/Chto budet polnym nakonets.' (Half English lord and half a merchant/half a sage, half ignoramus./Half a scoundrel, but there's hope/He'll be a complete one in the end.) Cf. Rhineland, *Prince Michael Vorontsov*, 75–6.
- 101 LeDonne, 'Administrative regionalization in the Russian empire 1802–26', 5; see further LeDonne, *The Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire, 1650–1831*; LeDonne, *Forging a Unitary State: Russia's management of the Eurasian space, 1650–1850*.

- 102 See in general Ikonnikov, *Graf N. S. Mordvinov*. A portrait, of which the original is in the Hermitage, may be found at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portrait_of_admiral_N.S.Mordvinov_by_Alexander_Varnek,_1810s-1820s.jpg (accessed 2 April 2022).
- 103 On Mordvinov's appointment to and loss of the Naval Ministry see Ikonnikov, *Graf N. S. Mordvinov*, 64–8. On his economic and philosophical views see Aizenshtat, 'Ieremia Bentam i Rossiia: Utilitarizm N. S. Mordvinova'; Zweynert, *Eine Geschichte des ökonomischen Denkens in Russland, 1805–1905*, 108–21; McCaffray, 'What should Russia be? Patriotism and political economy in the thought of N. S. Mordvinov'.
- Dr Matthew Guthrie, a medical doctor long resident and medically active in Russia, and a commentator on the contemporary Russian scene, left an interesting observation on Mordvinov in manuscript notes preserved in a copy of his wife's travel diaries, which he edited and published in 1802: 'Shall we declare our opinion that the Admiral has been born a century too soon for his country, an Aristides is still an obnoxious man in Russia except to Alexander himself who would cherish such if left to himself. The ostracism will ever drive Mordvinoff from the head of every department, for live and let live is still the system and he who does not choose to observe that maxim will be opposed and chicaned by all under him. It is not so long since the same system existed in England and the Government thought it just to give an equivalent in money, that is to say higher salaries when they suppressed the ancient perquisites without which the Russian appointments will not furnish food and raiment.' Maria Guthrie, *A Tour, performed in the years 1795–6, through the Taurida, or Crimea, ... and all the other countries on the north shore of the Euxine, ceded to Russia by the peace of Kainardgi and Jassy; by Mrs. Maria Guthrie ...; Described in a series of letters to her husband, the editor, Matthew Guthrie ...*, 1802, handwritten note facing p. 76 in the British Library copy Cup.407.b.30. The changes referred to in the British system were the work of Samuel Bentham.
- 104 Pavel Vasil'evich Chichagov (1767–1849). See Woods, *The Commissioner's Daughter: The story of Elizabeth Proby and Admiral Chichagov*, a very readable biography which, however, makes no mention of Chichagov's long-lasting friendship with the Bentham brothers; *Zapiski Pavla Vasil'evicha Chichagova, admirala i pervogo morskogo ministra*; Iulin, *Admiral P.V. Chichagov: istinnyi patriot Rossii*. A youthful-looking portrait (original in the Hermitage) and brief biography can be found at https://runivers.ru/doc/patriotic_war/participants/detail.php?ID=455777, accessed 2 April 2022. A contemporary British observer of Russian naval life commented: 'However severe the junior [Russian] officers abused the British, it must be confessed they never pretended to exalt the qualifications of their own [naval commanders], all with the single exception of Admiral Siniavin [Seniavin], [the others] being represented to my repeated enquiries as possessing little or no acquaintance with their profession. Among these was Admiral T— [Tchichagoff], who commanded a division of the army on the retreat of the French, where he did not retrieve in a military capacity that credit which he was believed to want in naval matters. He possesses however, great address, it is said, and what is of more consequence, powerful interest; but the people have not yet forgiven him the escape of Napoleon' ([Prior], *A Voyage to St Petersburg, in 1814, with Remarks on the Imperial Russian Navy*, 18).
- 105 See *BC VIII*, passim. First contact with JB: *BC VIII*, no. 2045, JB to Chichagov, 20–5 May 1809. See also Bowring, X, 486–7; BL Add. MS 33545, f. 228: Chichagov initially refused, then agreed reluctantly and under persuasion to bring his memoir-writing to dinner with JB, 1 June 1816.
- 106 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 12–15.
- 107 His rage at the restrictions imposed on him as a foreigner is eloquently expressed in *BC VIII*, 411, no. 2287, 15 August 1814.
- 108 Mikhail Mikhailovich Speranskii (1772–1839). Korf, *Zhizn' grafa Speranskogo*; Raeff, *Michael Speransky: Statesman of Imperial Russia, 1772–1839*; Speranskii, *Rukovodstvo k poznaniu zakonov*; Zorin, *Kormia dvuglavogo orla*, chap. 6; Tomsinov, *Speranskii*. Speranskii also married an Englishwoman, Elizabeth Stephens, who, however, died of tuberculosis shortly after childbirth in 1799, leaving him a much-loved daughter: he never remarried.
- 109 Raeff, *Michael Speransky*, chaps 1, 3; Shil'der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*, II, 104–6; Orlovskii, *The Limits of Reform: The Ministry of Internal Affairs in Imperial Russia, 1802–1881*, 23–6. On the *Sanktpeterburgskii Zhurnal* and its contents see Pypin, 'Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 2, 812–15.
- 110 On Rosenkampff see Maikov, 'Baron Gustav Andreevich Rozenkampff', *Russkaia starina* (hereafter Maikov, 'Rozenkampff'); *RBS*, vol. Reitern–Rol'tsberg, 365–71 (entry authored by Maikov); Recke and Napiersky, *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexikon der Provinzen*

Livland, Estland und Kurland, III, 565–6, V, 154; Maikov, 'Komissiiia sostavleniia zakonov pri imperatorakh Pavle I i Aleksandre I', *Zhurnal Ministerstva Iustitsii* (hereafter Maikov, 'Komissia'), here September, 286–91; Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantseliarii 1826–82*.

Makarov, 'Entwurf der Verfassungsgesetze des Russischen Reiches von 1804', chap. 1, offers an excellent if not perfectly accurate overview and summary of Rosenkampp's activity. See also Maikov, 'Iz zapisk N. S. Il'inskogo', 422–34. Il'inskii, a long-time employee of the Commission for the Compilation of Laws, is a valuable though not unbiased 'inside' source.

- 111 Maikov, 'Rozenkampf', 10, 145–6: Rosenkampp wrote that he became known to the Tsar through publication of his article, but it came out in print in January 1803, after his acceptance into service by the Tsar. Makarov, 'Entwurf der Verfassungsgesetze', 210–11.

- 112 Maikov, 'Rozenkampf', 10, 147–57, 175–7.

- 113 *IPSZ*, 462–3, no. 20620, 20 February 1803. See in general McCaffray, 'Confronting serfdom in the Age of Revolution: Projects for serf reform in the time of Alexander I'. A *Landrat* was a senior elected executive officer of the Baltic noble corporations (*Ritterschaften*).

- 114 [Rosenkampp], *Materialien zu Grundsätzen zur Verbesserung des Zustandes der Bauern in der Rigaschen Statthalterschaft, mit Ausschluss des Arensburgschen Kreises. Entworfen auf dem Landtage im September-Monate des Jahres 1796. Zur Berathschlagung für die abwesenden adeligen Gutsbesitzer auf den im December-Monat 1796 und im Januar-Monat 1797 zu haltenden Kreisversammlungen*. Dorpat: [M. G. Grenzius], 1796.

- 115 Maikov, 'Rozenkampf', 10, 168–74, 22 July 1803.

'Ландрат Сиверс мне писал об этом и прислал весьма недавно объемистый том на немецком языке, который я еще не прочел.' Его Величество дал мне при этом очень хорошо переплетенную тетрадь в большой лист. Просмотрев сопровождающее эту тетрадь письмо, я сейчас увидел, что эта тетрадь заключает в себе материалы для составления Положения о лифляндских крестьянах. Я раскрыл тетрадь и в оглавлении, напечатанном крупным шрифтом, прочел, что я автор этого Положения.

... Я желал бы вообще даровать участие всей нации, всем моим народам в пользовании правами граждан насколько это возможно. Это должно быть определено общим кодексом (книгою законов), который мои предшественники, начиная с Петра I, обещали нации. Вот, мне кажется, чем бы надлежало заняться прежде всего, потому что оно будет обнимать все остальное.

Baltic peasant legislation at this time: Tobien, *Die Agrargesetzgebung Livlands im 19. Jahrhundert*, I, 151–253; Pistohlkors, *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas: Baltische Länder*, 323–3.

- 116 Maikov, 'Rozenkampf', 10, 170–2.

Чтобы составить то, что называется кодекс (code), необходимо прежде всего начать с изучения состояния действующего законодательства во всех его отраслях государственного и частного права, и иметь его перед глазами Я разумею под словом государственное право (*droit public*) организацию властей, предметы их ведомства, допущение к пользованию гражданскими правами и даже права сословий.

...

Не должно также упускать из виду, что во Франции и Германии законоведение является наукой, которой занимаются веками. ... Но я опасаясь, что такой отвлеченный труд не будет понят в России. Чтобы сделать понятным кодекс, надо изложить самые источники, из которых извлечены его положения.

- 117 Maikov, 'Rozenkampf', 10, 175, 178.

Именем Его Величества поручаю я вам заняться составлением этого плана, потому что, повидимому, это решительная его воля Государь осведомился у меня о вас и, повидимому, очень к вам расположен.

- 118 *IPSZ* XXVII, 937, no. 20995; Amburger, *Behördenorganisation*, 81.

- 119 Rosenkampp was initially delighted and waxed lyrical over his good fortune in working under the wonderful new tsar and his enlightened ministers; disappointment followed later: Makarov, 'Entwurf der Verfassungsgesetze', 216 and note 51.

- 120 *IPSZ* XXVI, 738–9, no. 19965, 7 August 1801, 'Concerning the encouragement of those making inventions and discoveries tending to perfection of agriculture, commerce and business'. Novosil'tsev found himself engulfed by a cloud of projectors, something he evidently found more amusing than burdensome, but fully recognised as part of the Tsar's reforming agenda:

- Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova* (hereafter *AKV*) XXX, 296–7, Novosil'tsev to S. R. Vorontsov, 28 August 1801.
- 121 Quoted by O'Meara, *The Russian Nobility*, 242. See O'Meara, especially chap. 8, and Rosslyn, *Deeds, not Words*, chap. 1, on Russian noble and public opinion.
- 122 Offord et al., eds, *French and Russian in Imperial Russia. Volume 1: Language use among the Russian elite*, 85. In general on Russian journals at this time see *Svodnyii katalog serial'nykh izdaniï Rossii: 1801–1825*. Many journals were short-lived or ephemeral.
- 123 Viazemskii, [https://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Сфинкс,_не_разгаданный_до_гроба_\(Вяземский\)](https://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Сфинкс,_не_разгаданный_до_гроба_(Вяземский)) (September 1868; accessed 2 April 2022): 'Sphinx, undeciphered to the grave –/ Now too they argue about him anew./His love was a complaint of malice,/Yet his malice was warmed by love./A child of the [rational] eighteenth century./He was a victim of his passions./ He despised individual humans/And humanity was the object of his love.'
- Сфинкс, не разгаданный до гроба, –/О нём и ныне спорят вновь;/В любви его роптала злорада,/А в злобе теплилась любовь. /Дитя осмнадцатого века,/Его страстей он жертвой был:/И презирал он человека,/И человечество любил. See also Heller and Niqueux, *Histoire de l'utopie en Russie*, 107–10. The most recent discussions are O'Meara, *The Russian Nobility*; Kaplunovsky et al., *The Enigmatic Tsar*; Wirtschafter, *From Victory to Peace*.
- 124 *AKV* XVII, 5–6, no. 5, S. R. Vorontsov to M. S. Vorontsov, 21 April/3 May 1801. The English translation in Rhinelander, *Prince Michael Vorontsov*, 10, omits the brackets.
- Quoique le nouveau règne a rendu nos compatriotes plus heureux qu'ils n'étaient et que, sortis de l'esclavage le plus atroce, ils s'imaginent être devenus libres, il s'en faut bien qu'ils le soient comme on l'est dans les autres pays (qui ne connaissent non plus la vraie liberté fondée sur une constitution unique, que la Grande Bretagne a le bonheur de posséder, où les hommes n'obéissent qu'aux lois, qui sont égales pour toutes les classes et où l'homme est dans toute sa dignité).
- Chez nous – l'ignorance, les mauvaises mœurs, suite de cette ignorance et de la forme du gouvernement qui, en avilissant les hommes, leur ôte toute élévation de l'âme, les porte à la cupidité, les plaisirs sensuels et à la plus vile bassesse et adulation envers tout homme puissant ou favori du souverain. Le pays est trop vaste pour qu'un souverain, fût-il un autre Pierre le Grand, puisse faire tout par lui-même dans un gouvernement sans constitution, sans lois fixes, sans tribunaux immuables et indépendants. Il est obligé par la nature même du gouvernement de se remettre à la direction d'un ministre favori, qui devient par là un grand-vezir L'état actuel du pays n'est qu'une suspension de tyrannie, et nos compatriotes sont comme les esclaves romains pendant les fêtes des Saturnales, après lesquelles ils retombaient dans leur esclavage ordinaire.
- 125 The Decembrists were idealised and idolised in Soviet historiography. A useful survey of post-Soviet writing is O'Meara, 'Recent Russian historiography on the Decembrists: From "liberation movement" to "public opinion".'

Jeremy Bentham and Imperial Russian codification

The Commission for the Compilation of Laws

In 1801, legal reform was one area of particular concern to the new tsar, Alexander I, led by his education to admire legality, the rule of law and constitutional government, and determined to avoid the mistakes of his father. Alexander was aware of the persistent but futile attempts of previous administrations throughout the eighteenth century to codify and bring much-needed order to Russian law. The ninth eighteenth-century legislative commission was still functioning when Alexander came to the throne: Emperor Paul had inherited the institutional remains of Catherine II's legislative Commission of 1767–74, which he had reconstituted in 1797 under the Procurator-General as the Commission for the Compilation of Laws.¹ After Alexander's accession it continued to function, initially under the chairmanship of his first Procurator-General, A. A. Bekleshov. Alexander also contemplated ways to counter the ills of autocratic government by introducing constitutional arrangements, something which he eventually carried through in some peripheral areas of the Empire or abroad (the Ionian Islands, Finland, France, Poland, Bessarabia), not in the Russian centre, but which preoccupied him right until his death, although he conceived of constitutions in terms more of orderly and efficient administrative systems than of limitations on sovereign power or checks and balances.² In the Unofficial Committee at the beginning of his reign these matters were the subject of strenuous discussion.

On his accession Alexander commissioned from A. R. Vorontsov a constitutional study which became the basis of a proposed coronation

manifesto, a 'Most Gracious Charter to the Russian People'. The document was designed to establish certain constitutional rights. Among other things the intended charter confirmed the estate rights and privileges granted by Catherine II, proclaimed security of persons and property including a form of *habeas corpus* (something in fact already introduced by Catherine II), presumption of innocence until proof of guilt, and reform of Russian law. Alexander initially received it enthusiastically; it was discussed by the Young Friends and approved in the State Council. It was conceived as part of a group of announcements on basic laws, including a statement on the status of the peasantry; but the diversity of these proposals caused difficulty, the Tsar eventually failed to publish them and the Charter was sent to the state archive.³ This was to become a pattern: a constitutional proposal worked out by Speranskii in 1809 and a constitutional draft elaborated by Novosil'tsev in 1818–20 were drawn up at the personal behest of the Tsar, but equally failed in the end to win his approval and implementation.

Alexander was able and prepared, however, to give expression to his concern with improvement of the law more gradually, by continuing the official work of legal revision and codification. Within three months of his accession, the new Emperor reorganised the Commission for the Compilation of Laws inherited from Paul and made it into an independent body, the tenth legislative commission, now under the chairmanship of Count Zavadovskii.⁴ While lacking any legal training, Zavadovskii had previous experience in this field: among other things, in the 1780s he had chaired a commission set up by Catherine II to bring chancellery procedures in the Empire up to date.⁵ The decree on the Commission gave permission for borrowings from 'exemplary legislation of other nations, neighbouring our lands, or those more famous for their enlightenment or for their best legal provisions'. This accorded with Zavadovskii's own views: he pointed out the lack of trained Russian legal specialists and the scattered nature of Russian laws, and suggested that the Tsar set up and approve, point by point, a new code modelled after its 'best European counterparts': the obvious candidate was the 1794 Prussian *Allgemeines Landrecht*.⁶

In this form the Commission for the Compilation of Laws recommenced its work in August 1801, loosely attached to a Senate Committee for Legislation but answerable directly to the Emperor. However, it was soon bedevilled by procedural uncertainties, and distracted by an order to concentrate urgently on judicial procedure.⁷ As would soon become evident, the Commission's work in its first period did not satisfy the Tsar and his advisers. In September 1802 Zavadovskii was appointed Minister of Popular Enlightenment [Education]; the appointment in October 1802 of Rosenkamppff indicates an – as yet

somewhat unfocused – wish for wider transformation. The best-known event associated with the Commission at this time was the suicide of the lawyer and ‘father of Russian radicalism’, Aleksandr Radishchev, briefly a Commission member. Banished to Siberia by Catherine II for his epoch-making book *Journey from St Petersburg to Moscow* (1790), a denunciation of current ills and abuse of power, Radishchev was amnestied by Paul and rehabilitated by Alexander, who appointed him to the Commission. In September 1802 its chairman Zavadovskii, and also his patron A. R. Vorontsov, chided him for excessive radicalism, and he poisoned himself.⁸

Early in 1802 Prince Adam Czartoryski was charged by the Unofficial Committee to approach ‘the most learned jurisconsults of Europe’ [les plus savants jurisconsultes de l’Europe] to invite their participation in the Russian codification project. He drafted a letter and a programme. The foreign legal experts were to be told that Russian law lacked order and system, and was inconsistent and even contradictory. The Emperor intended to make a systematic collection of laws, and wished to bring the greatest possible expertise to bear on the subject. The foreign experts should therefore offer advice on working methodology, classification and arrangement of legislation. This invitation was sent to Russian Ministers abroad for dissemination, and such contacts were soon established. It is reported that Novosil’tsev and Czartoryski, who had met Jeremy Bentham in England and knew of his work on law, recommended his name; but this was not acted upon.⁹ (If the local agents arranging such appointments were Russian diplomats, it could be that the ambassador in London, S. R. Vorontsov, who at this time disapproved of Jeremy as a radical, rejected his name and therefore looked elsewhere.) The British specialist approached was Sir James Mackintosh of Kyllachy, an acquaintance and correspondent of both Jeremy Bentham and Dumont.¹⁰

Back in England, the Bentham brothers’ Russian connections did not provide them with information about the Compilation Commission, despite Jeremy’s direct interest in that field: news of Alexander’s measures reached them only at second hand, through the international press. When Jeremy read in February 1802 that a codification commission had been set up in Russia, with foreign consultants, he was immediately excited. He wrote to Dumont, then in Paris:

In the *Moniteur*, 12 Nivôse, there is a paragraph from Petersburg about a Count Saw... (the rest is worn away in my copy) having a commission to set up a Code-Manufactory; and strangers, it is said, are to be taken into consultation. Could you not, when your Code is out, get a copy sent from the proper quarter to this man, whoever he

is – or to any other more proper quarter there – with a letter saying, it is by a man whose brother is still in that service, &c. Suppose you were to get the copy first handsomely bound: Let me know the expense and I will repay it to your order with thanks, &c. As they *bind* better probably at Paris than at Petersburg.¹¹

Samuel had by this time been out of Russian service for some years. ‘Your Code’ to which Jeremy referred was the recension of his own writings, which Dumont was in the process of publishing in France: *Traité de législation civile et pénale ...* (1802).

Dumont’s book, which Jeremy nicknamed *Dumont Principes*, gave a significant new fillip to Jeremy’s international reputation: in subsequent years it was widely translated and sold on the Continent.¹² Its publication was influenced by the debates in France around the preparation of the Code Napoléon (1804). It was in fact based on a manuscript which Bentham had written 20 years before, *Projet d’un corps de loix complet* [Draft of a complete body of laws], the work which Jeremy had hoped to give to Catherine II in Russia, but which he had never completed. On his return journey home from Russia in 1788, he had thought of presenting it to King Stanislas August of Poland; in 1792 he gave the draft to Dumont, and it became the main source of Dumont’s publication in Paris 10 years later.¹³

By June 1802 Bentham had received copies of the new book, and was planning to have some circulated by the British ambassador in St Petersburg, Baron St Helens, who was a personal friend: ‘Of the six copies received already, I think of sending two to Lord St Helens, leaving him to do with them what he pleases.’¹⁴ However, the move came too late. In October he wrote again to Dumont:

The Woronzoffs being now omnipotent at Petersburg, and my brother being in good odour with them, the occasion seems not altogether an unfavourable one for *Dumont Principes*. The misfortune is, that (as I understood at the time) from the appearance of ‘*Judicial Establishments*’,¹⁵ I have been looked on as a Jacobin by the Woronzoff here, through the good offices of my dear friend, Lord Grenville. ... Never having thought it worthwhile to commission my brother to remove that prejudice, the matter has rested. ... Lord St Helens ... is returned; I have not seen him, because now, as before, I see nobody;¹⁶ but my brother has, and he talked much about wishing to see me. Two copies of *Dumont Principes* unfortunately enough did not reach Petersburg till he had left it.¹⁷

Jeremy's confident expectation that Dumont would know to which 'proper quarter' to address his book reflects the fact that Dumont had connections of his own with Russia: having had to leave his native Geneva in the early 1780s for political reasons, he had spent the years 1782–4 as pastor of a French Protestant church in the Russian capital, where he had family, before coming to England (as we have seen) as tutor and secretary in the house of Lord Lansdowne. Three married sisters and his mother still lived in St Petersburg.

In 1803 Dumont himself set off to visit his family, staying in the Russian capital from May till August. His sisters had all married into an elite group of Swiss craftsmen, wealthy, well educated and highly skilled, the St Petersburg court jewellers.¹⁸ They had access to court and aristocratic circles; and Dumont himself already had good connections from his previous Russian contacts in St Petersburg, at Bowood and elsewhere. Consequently he had entrée into the highest houses. On 23 May 1803 he dined with Novosil'tsev, whom he had met once in London – 'he received me in the most flattering way'. Also present were Czartoryski and Stroganov, likewise already known to him. 'I met with them as with old acquaintances, and spent a very pleasant four hours.' Dumont added: 'These gentlemen have a good knowledge of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, which is gradually becoming a classic work wherever people can read.'¹⁹

Dumont's arrival coincided roughly with Rosenkamppf's return to St Petersburg and his re-engagement with those engaged in codification, and Rosenkamppf became an early new acquaintance; they met several times during Dumont's stay. Under 21 May (2 June NS) Dumont noted in his diary:

I spent a part of the morning with Mr. von Rosenkamppf, a Livonian, formerly for fifteen years a judge in Riga. He promised me an account of civil and criminal court procedure in Russia. My conversation with him was interesting. The office of judge became distasteful to him and he obtained from the present Emperor a pension of 2,000r. with the duty of devoting himself to legislative work on the Russian Code. He edits decrees, classifies them, separates out those which are contradictory, he suppresses duplications, he wishes to introduce some general principles of jurisprudence, and this work will be submitted to a commission and will perhaps form the basis of an Alexandrine Code, on the model of the [Prussian] Frederician Code. I could not say whether this worker is capable of such a great work. He has read the best authors; he certainly knows more than the Russian jurists, who are miserable procurators, justly held in the lowest degree of contempt for their

baseness. But it seems to me that in his head there is some confusion between the old concepts of Roman law and the new philosophical principles. He speaks with admiration of my Bentham edition; however, the preface of his revision which he gave to me does not tell me that he has derived much profit from it. He has not dared in setting out his laws to follow classifications of which he acknowledges the merits: he is afraid that the envious and the ignorant will regard him as no more than a copyist. He would like to distinguish himself by originality and will sacrifice the success of the task to his personal amour propre. It is the same here as everywhere. The editors of the civil code in France acted in exactly the same way.²⁰

On 23 June he recorded:

Mr de Rosenkamppff spent the morning with me. He showed me a first draft of general principles of legislation, which forms synoptic tables which he wishes to bring before the eyes of the Emperor. I found in it an amalgam of some old ideas with some new principles from Bentham. Forever the natural law which must be the basis of everything – I fought – I explained – he seemed to me more or less convinced and said he would give a different aspect to his work. – Two days later he read to me the draft of a letter which he is addressing to me and which is to be inserted in a Russian journal – the Emperor has given him a Russian translator paid at two thousand roubles, and two secretaries – I demanded that he remove from this letter compliments which I cannot accept and that he render Bentham his due – I wrote a paragraph in which I explain the progress which Bentham has made in legal knowledge [*la science*] by his classifications and the new logic.²¹

Meanwhile, Dumont had written to Sir Samuel Romilly with slightly different information:

We have here a Livonian, M. de Rosenkamppff, long the President of a Tribunal of Justice at Dorpat, and now employed, without a title, to collect all the ukases, that is to say, all the laws of the empire – to arrange them – to separate all that is incoherent or contradictory, and to prepare tables which he successively places before the emperor, for the emperor is in the habit of working on synoptical tables. This Mr R., who is a great admirer of Bentham, with [whose book] he was closeted for fifteen days in the country, hastened to

see me on my arrival, and we have had many conversations together. He is somewhat superficial – but he has information, and I think he might manage tolerably well the *redaction* with which he is charged, if he had the courage to make some sacrifice of amour propre; the evil is, he is afraid of being called a plagiarist in employing clarification which he did not invent. *Video meliora proboque deteriora sequor*. There is a bureau of Legislation, and a great Signor at its head [i.e. the Commission, under Zavadovskii: RB].²²

Dumont was able to give his English friends direct and well-informed information on life in the Russian capital and on the impact of the Bentham book. *Traité de législation* turned out to be a bestseller in St Petersburg. In his letter to Romilly he wrote:

Could you have believed that as many copies of my *Bentham* would have been sold in Petersburg as in London? A hundred copies have been disposed of in a very short time, and the book-sellers are asking for a new supply. This has obtained for me a welcome from many persons, which I am turning to account. ... But what has most surprised me, is the impression made by the definitions, classifications, and method, and by the absence of those declamations which had been so wearying to sound intellect.

Rosenkampff's memoirs corroborate and amplify Dumont's account, and give his own view of the applicability of Bentham's ideas to Russia. On Dumont's arrival in St Petersburg, he wrote, the Genevan visitor

spread around the works and views of the famous Bentham and particularly his assumption about founding legislation and codification on general philosophical principles. Dumont was presented to Novosil'tsev, Stroganov, Czartoryski and presented them with his translation of the said work by Bentham. These persons also wanted to know my opinion of the work. I read it, and in addition personally became acquainted and met with its publisher, in the house of his nephew Fraen, also at the home of [his brother-in-law] Duval, very respected and worthy people whom I had often visited previously and had been received in extremely friendly fashion. On one occasion Count Stroganov invited me to dinner in his garden together with Dumont, who had the opportunity on that occasion to expound all his views in detail, and also Bentham's theory.

The practical application of these theories was of course nowhere more of an historical pipe-dream than in Russia. It would scarcely be possible to expound and explain the content of the current Russian legislation according to the principles proposed by Bentham. Dumont's book in the form in which it lay before us was impossible to read and completely incomprehensible for the Russian historical world. The Russian language itself at that time, not yet developed for the expounding of philosophical and juridical definitions and expressions, provided insuperable obstacles to that, although it must be remarked that soon there appeared an attempt at a Russian translation of this work.

I took great pleasure in my meeting with Dumont, as he was an educated person, but I could not see how the principles he put forward could be applied by him for the improvements essential to Russian law. As I heard afterwards, he was displeased at this and angry with me. ...

These views of Bentham's, represented by Dumont, were for several weeks the subject of lively conversations in educated Petersburg society. Everybody took the occasion to give due credit to the author and his translator for their great talent, and for the fine shrewdness and penetration evident in the exposition of many individual chapters, which from a theoretical point of view formed in themselves a beautifully worked-out whole.²³

Previous factors – the text of the 1801 decree placing Zavadovskii in charge of the Commission, Zavadovskii's suggestion of following foreign models, the Unofficial Committee's earlier decision to approach foreign jurists, and Dumont's statement quoted above that Rosenkamppff was thinking of introducing general principles into Russian legislation – might suggest that the idea of a code based on philosophical values and making use of foreign examples had still been a possibility at this point. However, as we have seen, Rosenkamppff argued strongly for a codification based upon a nation's own laws and national identity. He seems to have formed these views long before, under the influence of his teacher at Leipzig, Christian Gottlob Biener, described as 'one of the predecessors of the historical school in legal studies and a vocal opponent of codifications based on philosophical maxims and theories of rational law and rationalism'.²⁴ It was in July 1803 that Rosenkamppff had his decisive interview with Alexander I, gained the Tsar's assent for his different approach, and was tasked with reorganising the Compilation Commission. He thus anticipated F. C. von Savigny's famous 1814 advocacy of a

national-historical method.²⁵ However, other influences were apparently also at work: Dumont evidently made an impression. Rosenkamppff later wrote that a ‘new and causative reason’ for the 1803–4 reorganisation was the appearance of Dumont’s recension of Bentham, though he gave no specific information on the exact impact of the book.²⁶

Apart from his meetings with Rosenkamppff, Dumont was very pleased with his reception, and that of the *Traité de législation*, in St Petersburg society: to Romilly he added, ‘The work is admired, and the editor modestly takes his part of the admiration.’ In another part of his letter to Romilly, he adverted to his dinner with Novosil’tsev:

I do not know if you have met M. Navasiliof in England. He was a friend of General [Samuel] Bentham. He enjoys the highest credit with the emperor, and a general public esteem. I had the pleasure of partaking of a very interesting dinner at his house. I met there Prince Adam Czartoryski, whom I had known at Bowood, where he spent many days, and the young Count Stroganoff, whom I had also known at Geneva. One is minister (*en second*) for the interior, and the other for the exterior, – but these two seconds are in reality the firsts, for they enjoy intimate familiarity with the emperor. I cannot estimate them in matters with which I am unacquainted, but *this* I know, that it would be difficult to find men occupying so high a position with so much simplicity, and so much instruction as they exhibit in miscellaneous conversation.

By contrast, the current state of the legal profession in Russia was a disaster:

If you knew what an advocate – or a man of law – is here, you would blush for the honour of the profession! ... And the judges! In England you could have no notion of the state of things. I am persuaded that in ten years all will be changed. This is one of the enjoyments that my journey to Russia has procured me.

Dumont went on to an extended eulogy of the Emperor, whom he ‘cannot mention ... without an emotion of pleasure’, before commenting on the impetus for reform. He shrewdly put his finger on one of the main problems facing the new Tsar, the lack of people competent and willing to serve the process of change:

At first, there was an apprehension of too rapid a tendency towards emancipation, or liberation – a rapidity incompatible with the existing state of things – the springs of government too much loosened after having been too much tightened [by Tsar Paul: RB]: but now men see that the emperor is both prudent and patient – that he both prepares and matures his plans. I will give you more detailed accounts of what is proposed to be done for public education, and for the editing of a General Code. I am able to obtain information as to the confederacies against improvement. But in a word, there is no government more essentially well-disposed – more occupied with the public weal, than this. It is not mere fireworks – it is not a newspaper glory: if anything is wanting, it is the instruments for doing the good they are desirous to do. Men must be *deterré*, or created; and here is the true difficulty. It seems astonishing, at the first glance, that there should be so many establishments for public instruction, and so few instructed. In all the departments, it is necessary to employ foreigners, which is a great evil – but it is an inevitable evil.²⁷

Speranskii was the shining native Russian exception to Dumont's observation about foreigners. Dumont's acquaintance with him appears to have come later, but when he and Dumont met, they evidently found each other congenial company. In early July, after a dinner hosted by Kochubei, Dumont recorded in his diary that 'Mr Speranskii, an official of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, spoke to me a very great deal about Bentham'.²⁸ Shortly afterwards he dined with other guests at Speranskii's country house. Bentham's work, wrote Dumont, had astonished Speranskii; it had made him want to engage with law-making and had shown him the possibility of achieving an exactness in legislative science which he had not considered possible. Speranskii thought that Bentham's works would have a greater and more rapid value for Russia than they would for other countries, and 'asked me for some notes for a translation [of Bentham] which he is having made, and on which it is proposed to spend great care and even some magnificence'. Speranskii expressed doubts, however, as to the possibility of building a panoptical prison in Russia; Dumont pointed out in reply that a good prison was an essential prerequisite for any reasonable criminal code.²⁹

A few weeks later, in a further letter to Romilly of August 1803, Dumont confided:

I passed an evening with Speranskii. We were alone. He loves his country, and feels strongly that the reform of justice and of

legislation is of all goods the chiefest good. They had addressed themselves to German jurists, – to an Englishman, (Mackintosh) and were not satisfied with their correspondence. [The jurists] were ignorant of their country, and in most of their writings there was nothing but old routine and Roman law. But since they have got hold of Bentham, they think they can [do without] all the others I have been vaguely asked if I were willing to settle in Russia. I am quite decided upon this point [i.e., not to: RB]; but have told them, that if they addressed themselves to Bentham, he would probably occupy himself with the Civil Code; and if specific questions were sent to him, informing him of the local circumstances, he would answer. They seem to me disposed to enter into correspondence, and to make some arrangement with him. But I do not know what will come to pass.³⁰

On 5 August 1803 Dumont could pass on to Romilly the news of the translation that was in contemplation:

Bentham's work is recognised as superior to everything that has preceded it: ... Bentham presents the two great *desiderata*, classification and principles. A translation is ordered: it will be done with much care, and even magnificence. They are waiting for what is to follow on Judicial Establishments. I have much to say to Bentham: I shall pursue my work with doubled ardour, as I already see the fruit of my labours.

Dumont's diary text indicates that the translation was the initiative of Speranskii, who is probably also the interlocutor described as 'they' in these passages. 'My work' evidently refers to a request for additional materials for the Russian edition, which Dumont was able finally to provide.

Dumont had also been invited to an audience with the Dowager Empress, Paul's widow Maria Fëdorovna, who took an active part in cultural life; she remembered him from his previous years in the Russian capital and was full of praise for his St Petersburg family, whom she knew personally. Another interview was with 'a certain Vasili Karazin', the intellectual and educationalist V. N. Karazin, who was then in the process of setting up a new university at Khar'kov in his native Ukraine, opened in 1805. Karazin called on Dumont to offer him the chair of political economy at Khar'kov, which he refused.³¹ However, Dumont was pleased to accept appointment as a foreign member of the university, Correspondant de l'Université de Harcoff. As the university was not yet

fully organised and so unable to send out formal documents, this election was formalised by a letter from its Acting Curator, none other than Novosil'tsev, couched in most flattering terms. Dumont in his reply declared himself honoured; he added that the most flattering part of all was that he owed the distinction of his appointment to Novosil'tsev's choice and could regard that as 'a mark of the interest which you take in the continuation of the labours which I have undertaken'.³²

Dumont's successful publicity for his recension of Bentham's work and its sudden wave of popularity in the Russian capital were, as we have seen, a significant factor, according to Rosenkamppf, in the decision of the Tsar and his Young Friends to revamp the Compilation Commission and place Novosil'tsev in charge of it. Derzhavin, the first Minister of Justice, was dismissed on 7 October 1803 after only 13 months in office, to be succeeded by Prince P. V. Lopukhin; Lopukhin had previously been one of Emperor Paul's five short-serving Procurators-General and therefore, during his tenure (1798–9), head of the 1797 Law Commission. A decree of 21 October 1803 transferred the hitherto independent Commission for the Compilation of Laws fully to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice, as its logical home within the government structure,³³ now under the oversight of Lopukhin. Novosil'tsev, who remained Deputy Minister, became the Commission's Chairman. (Zavadovskii, who had accepted chairmanship of the Commission only with reluctance, wrote to Semën Vorontsov, 'The compilation of laws has passed from my hands into those of Nikolai N. Novosil'tsev, who wanted that very much; and I am very content, being liberated from great and untimely labours'.³⁴)

Rosenkamppf's plan for reorganising the Commission, duly worked out and presented, was now carried into effect. The findings were embodied in an extensive report to the Emperor, officially confirmed by him on 28 February 1804.³⁵ Its wide-ranging account began with a brief history of codification attempts since Peter I, surveyed reasons for the lack of progress under the current regime, and sought to define the aims and methods of the Commission. This document deserves detailed consideration, as it determined the orientation and nature of the Commission's work over most of the period when Bentham wished to engage with it, and evidently beyond as well. The purpose of the Commission 'is to compile a general book of laws, containing 1) the foundations of jurisprudence [*osnovaniia prava, principia juris*], 2) general laws, 3) particular laws, 4) judicial procedures'. But the task of the Commission, it was stated, was not simply to bundle existing legislation into one new Digest – this would leave unaddressed the gaps, errors and contradictions of the status quo – and nor could its remit be

extended to allow it to compose laws itself, or to import alien and therefore harmful laws from elsewhere. 'And so the duty of the Commission consists neither in the compilation of one Digest of laws, nor in the introduction into the Fatherland of laws which are new or have been promulgated for other lands and peoples.'³⁶ In order to establish the Commission's aims it was necessary to define 'the direct features representing the essential virtues of general legal propositions'. These are: firstly, their foundation on immutable principles of jurisprudence; secondly, their delineation of the elements and powers of the state's administration and the subjects' duties 'in accordance with the spirit of Government, the national character, and the political and natural position of the State'; thirdly, the propriety, strict order and clarity of their presentation; and fourthly, their provision of firm and unassailable rules for the dispensing of justice. To find the necessary principles and appropriate laws required, the Commission's methodology must be to

extract from existing Russian decrees and enactments laws which have been confirmed by the seal of popular welfare and are appropriate to the well-being of the most extensive Empire in the world, appropriate to all the advantages of local position, to the spirit of the nation and to the principal character of the peoples who make it up. The ancient legal enactments of Russia and its dependent territories, the Conciliar Code, Imperial decrees, the *Instruction* of Catherine the Great, and the enactments of Your Imperial Highness, represent a rich source from which to draw substance and strength for the constituting and strengthening of all parts of the state structure. It is necessary only to bring them into systematic order, to take into account the time of their issuance, their relationship to the mores and circumstances of their own and the present time, and to bring them into conformity with the principles of jurisprudence adopted.

The report provided a 'systematic plan', divided into six parts, for the Commission to work to, in order to accomplish these goals and to cover all relevant areas of state law.

The report also recommended that the existing Commission should be dissolved and re-formed. The re-formed Commission, officially headed by the Minister and his Deputy, was to consist of 48 newly appointed officials, for whom Rosenkamppff also composed a special instruction. It was to report every month to the Emperor himself. A by-product of the re-formation of the Commission was the restructuring in 1805 of the

1797 School of Jurisprudence as an Institute for Jurisprudence, with 25 students, directly linked to the Commission for the Compilation of Laws.³⁷ This too was Rosenkamppff's initiative: he wished to prepare trained cadres for the future of the Commission and Russian legislative endeavours, and was the central figure in running and supervising the new institute, himself contributing lectures, until its activity ceased in 1809.

The re-formed Compilation Commission evidently initially continued its work apace. In August 1804, the Emperor gave permission for A. R. Vorontsov to receive the Commission's papers, in the hope that his knowledge and experience could be drawn upon, and Novosil'tsev sent him a packet of documents, with a letter explaining the different items enclosed and giving a snapshot of work in progress at this time:

The papers which I am sending you for the moment contain 1) the plan of the code as it will be printed; 2) the principles of law relative to the laws themselves (sanction, publication, effects, etc.); this part of the legal principles, which serves as their introduction, will be followed first by the legal principles relative to persons in their public and private relations, then by those relative to *things* or *goods* and so on; 3) *marginalia*, in accordance with which the editors of general and provincial laws must compile the laws which relate to rights and obligations deriving from domestic relations; and 4), the questions which the Commission is addressing to the courts of the various provinces in order to know the status quo of everything pertaining to forms of procedure as well as the differences which usage and practice have introduced there, particularly in circumstances where the law has not laid down anything prescriptive.

This dispatch will be followed in a very few days by the reports which the Commission has presented to HHH at the end of each month: Your Excellency will find there some things which must be decided by the Sovereign himself; but as HM has no other sentiments about any of these objects than that which is characterised by agreement as to the manner most suited to the general well-being and the most solid and stable order of things, it is indubitable that Your Excellency's opinions on these subjects, guided by experience and accumulated knowledge [*l'expérience et la réunion des lumières*], could not but be very agreeable to the Emperor and infinitely useful for the business in hand. Convinced of this truth, I have sought and received from HM permission to communicate to you all the work of the Commission which may depart a little from the ordinary sphere of its activities

Not wishing to take excessive advantage of your indulgence, I hasten to end this dispatch by informing you that the editors of the provinces of Courland, Livonia, Estonia and the Polish provinces have already finished the compilation of the respective laws on the marginalia which are communicated to you herewith, and that the editors of the general laws are also well advanced. Those dealing with forms of procedure and court organisation are also making good headway. With God's help, I hope that shortly we shall be able to send to the provinces that part of their laws dealing with domestic relations, in order to discover whether everything is there and whether all necessary precision has been observed.³⁸

The reference at no. 1 to 'the plan of the code as it will be printed' appears to explain a striking passage in N. Shil'der's study of the reign of Alexander I:

In June 1804 the Minister of Justice, Prince Lopukhin ... summoned the Commission's secretary and First Referendar, Baron Rosenkampff, and announced the Emperor's will that he be entrusted with the writing of the draft of a constitution. In vain Rosenkampff, who could scarcely believe his ears, objected that no preparatory work was yet complete, that theory alone was not an adequate guide without prior study of the past and of historical relations between Russia's peoples, that superficial sketches and loud phrases were no substitute for deep and thorough study of the structures of the Empire. All his objections were disregarded and the Imperial order confirmed. Then Rosenkampff found himself obliged to present the *framework for a constitution*, however with many gaps, especially regarding the lowest class of the people Rosenkampff's framework was passed to Novosil'tsev and Czartoryski; they worked out a full project, which, however, went no further.³⁹

This 'framework for a constitution', which corresponded to the six headings in the February report, formed the basis for the Commission's on-going work. The 'full project' referred to by Shil'der may be among the drafts and sketches for a code preserved in Novosil'tsev's archive from this period.⁴⁰

Later in the year the February report was indeed published, in a volume entitled *Transactions of the Commission for the Compilation of Laws*.⁴¹ This was also 'translated by Imperial command into various languages', English, French, German and Latin, 'so that every person can see the successes of the legislation of our fatherland and even contribute

to it [*v onom sodeistvovat*']⁴² It was published, too, in the *St Petersburg Journal*, and was reproduced in German with an enthusiastic introduction by the German-Russian economist and historian Heinrich Storch in his substantial periodical *Russia under Alexander I*, which published both in Russia and in Germany. Another favourable German reaction appeared soon afterwards from the pen of the noted German lawyer A. F. J. Thibaut of Jena University; he was appointed as a foreign correspondent of the Commission the following year (1805).⁴³

The new publication reproduced the confirmed report in full and, beside describing the six parts verbally, included a chart setting out visually the different sections of the intended 'general book of laws'. The first of the six parts would cover 'the organic or fundamental laws', also referred to as 'laws of internal organisation', 'state enactments', or 'state law', regarding the Imperial family and its property, the Orthodox Church, the Imperial succession, also the rights of the Tsar's subjects. In the French translation this section is called 'La constitution de l'Empire ou les lois organiques': autocratic Russia was finally to have a written constitution.⁴⁴ Part one also included, under a separate heading, the state administration. Part two dealt with private law and 'the general foundations or principles of jurisprudence'; three covered criminal law, four 'the police statute' dealing with public order and welfare, and five, judicial structures and procedures, relating both to the judiciary itself and to legal process as applied in court cases.⁴⁵ Part six was concerned with regional law, governing provinces with their own legal traditions such as Rosenkamppf's native Livonia. In addition the February report provided that the Commission should draw up monthly work agendas and report to the Tsar, also monthly, on their implementation. The *Transactions* published the first six of these monthly reports to the Tsar (March–September 1804), which had already been submitted: they painted a picture of assiduous and productive work on the part of the Commission.⁴⁶

Rosenkamppf was proud of the report and 'framework' and saw it as a watershed; in his memoirs he wrote,

I am very happy to confess myself the author of this statute and the accompanying plan, with all the appendices and explanations, which created the beginning of the historical-practical method of working out law in Russia, which since then I have represented also in my lectures on Russian law, in my many statements concerning law and in the deliberations of the legislative Commission, especially those held in 1812. Some parts of the plan approved in 1804 could have been expounded more fully in Russian, but it must not be

forgotten that this was not a comprehensive investigation, but only the programme for a larger work.⁴⁷

The February report and the published *Transactions* set the scene for the activities of the Compilation Commission over the next four years. Rosenkampff was the central figure and leading spirit in its work; the formal guiding Direktorium of Lopukhin and Novosil'tsev took a hands-off approach: Lopukhin was merely a figurehead, while Novosil'tsev had a full agenda with other tasks, and seems to have followed Rosenkampff's lead.

However, Rosenkampff was a controversial figure, and he has generally had a bad press. His reputation, like that of the much higher-profile Speranskii, became almost from the start the subject of conflicting loyalties and prejudices. The latest chronicler of the history of the Compilation Commission, Alexander Kaplunovsky, like his predecessor P. M. Maikov, is at pains to disentangle reality from myth and to give a fair picture of Rosenkampff.⁴⁸ The earliest portrayal, by Speranskii's first biographer Modést Korff, was very hostile: Korff was a younger contemporary, friend and subordinate of his subject, under whom he worked in the 1820s, and he set the tone for much of what was to come. According to Korff (apparently also echoing the views of Il'inskii, who had worked with Rosenkampff from the beginning and was also a supporter of Speranskii), the Livonian was initially quite ignorant of existing Russian law and its sources and was consequently compelled to spend his first years in studying it. In the 1804 re-formation he largely replaced the former Russian members of the Commission with foreigners, many of them fellow Baltic Germans, and especially such as could translate for him – Russian documents into German – as he did not initially know Russian;

[t]hen, jumping from one attempt to another – now throwing himself into the historical school, now composing from pure theory chapter titles and marginal explanations for the new code, now immersing himself once more in comparisons with foreign law – in essence he achieved nothing but kept on reworking everything. His commission moved just as slowly and futilely as the previous ones; and public opinion was simply astounded that for the composition of a law-code for the greatest empire in the world preference should be given over all other candidates to a person who knew neither its laws, its rights and customs, nor even its language.⁴⁹

Dumont recorded that Rosenkampff was given an interpreter, but when this young man suddenly died, a replacement could not readily be found.⁵⁰

The historian P. M. Maikov, an authority on the Commission for the Compilation of Laws and also publisher of Rosenkamppff's memoirs, took a somewhat more charitable view than Korff: initially ignorant, he wrote, Rosenkamppff acquired in the course of time both good ability in the Russian language and a thorough knowledge of Russian law, while his plan of basing the new code on existing legislation inevitably necessitated a slow and painstaking examination of earlier laws.⁵¹ Maikov questioned the reliability of Korff and Il'inskii and argued in his publication of Rosenkamppff's memoirs that in fact Rosenkamppff's earlier employment in the state archive would have been impossible without knowledge of the Russian language (not necessarily true⁵²), and (more persuasively) that his long elective employment in Livland demonstrated his integrity and the confidence in him of the Livonian nobility.⁵³ Rosenkamppff himself pointed to his long career of working with Russian laws as proof of his adequate knowledge of Russian. Maikov came to the final conclusion that Rosenkamppff's aims – to find and expound existing active Russian laws as a preliminary basis for the formulation of new projects of law, at which stage the form (but not the substance) of foreign examples might be considered – were praiseworthy, but that his methodology was questionable. 'The goal of codification had never been indicated so clearly, but the method chosen to complete the work was less successful.' He quoted another authority, Latkin, to the effect that Rosenkamppff's work in the years 1804–8 amounted merely to studying existing laws, with no reference to actual codification; and, remarkably, he ended by repeating, without acknowledgement, the damning judgement of Korff already cited.⁵⁴

Kaplunovsky gives a critique of the traditional historiography of the Compilation Commission, which he describes as an exaggeration of the contrast between 'victimised hero (Michael Speransky) and triumphant mediocrity (Gustav Rosenkamppff)' which has critically influenced the negative view of Rosenkamppff in several key contemporary accounts. Less extreme and more considered portrayals have acknowledged that both the approach and the work of Rosenkamppff and his colleagues laid the foundations for Speranskii's later *Digest* and greatly facilitated its relatively swift completion.⁵⁵ After his retirement Rosenkamppff devoted himself to study of the medieval law code *Book of the Helmsman*, and here gave proof of considerable scholarly ability: his *Survey of the Book of the Helmsman* (1829) became and remained a standard work on its subject.⁵⁶

It is undoubtedly true that the aureole of martyrdom which later grew up around Speranskii, and the merit ascribed to him for the final achievement of the Collection and Digest of Russian Laws (see below), have given him a very positive reputation in popular discourse, which has

cast a long shadow over his rival and enemy Rosenkamppff, whose achievement is thus underestimated. Rosenkamppff had a good legal education and wide knowledge; as Dumont said, he had read the contemporary jurisprudential authorities. However, unlike Speranskii, he lacked both the character and the status required to drive his very considerable project to its conclusion. Makarov suggests that he expected his superiors to lead but was disappointed in this by both Novosil'tsev and Lopukhin; Makarov writes, too, of 'long, largely unremarkable, turbid years of work, bearing the clear stamp of boredom which settled upon everything that Rosenkamppff did'.⁵⁷

There is, moreover, considerable evidence, dating from the earlier years of Alexander's reign, of contemporary adverse opinions in educated Russian circles about Rosenkamppff personally. The question mark raised by Dumont in his diary and his letter to Romilly – that Rosenkamppff lacked 'the courage to make some sacrifice of self-love' and acknowledge his indebtedness to Bentham – was symptomatic: at least, both contemporary public rumour and individual opinions gave Rosenkamppff a bad character. Rosenkamppff himself stressed repeatedly his lack of ambition and his devotion simply to the cause of sound legislation, but he may have been protesting too much: he appears to have been a careerist and well capable of intrigue. He was later involved in the dismissal of Speranskii, a significant event in 1812 (discussed below). His Commission colleague Il'inskii called him a sycophant.⁵⁸ Dumont himself met Rosenkamppff on several other occasions during his stay in 1803, and soon formed a settled adverse opinion of him. Already on 29 May he wrote,

I spent the morning with Rosenkamppff, a professional flatterer if ever there was one. He would love to make use of Bentham's plan in his arrangement of Russian laws, but he dare not and he makes very feeble objections, which are only to disguise his fear of being considered a copyist Rosenkamppff spoke to me of his admiration for the Emperor and those who enjoy his immediate confidence, and then wallowed in noble sentiments about his disinterestedness, his contempt for honours, his wish to complete his work and then remove himself to a land where he would find a more enlightened society, etc., etc. Everything bad which he said to me about Russia is mere cunning ...: he is afraid that I may receive propositions to engage me to stay in Russia. He even said to me that people had been thinking about that and he wanted to warn me indirectly against it. I did not stop him from rabbiting on and let him practise his cunning to his heart's content.⁵⁹

Others were still more scathing. In 1812 the radical economist and future Decembrist N. I. Turgenev, a man of high principles and strong opinions, just back from legal studies in Göttingen and newly appointed to the Compilation Commission, wrote disapprovingly of the 'great disorder' in Russian internal administration and of Speranskii's dismissal, and added: 'Rosenkampff must be a really base, contemptible, and especially in present times dangerous, creature. I went to see him and he made me feel revolted [er ist mir zum Ekel geworden]'. Five years later, in 1817, Turgenev's views had not changed: 'You spend some time with him [Rosenkampff], and somehow you feel ashamed of yourself afterwards. And these are the people I have to serve with, that is, act for the common good. The clearest water, running through unclean channels, becomes murky and unfit for use.'⁶⁰ In 1812 the Speranskii affair also prompted a sceptical comment from Alexander's confidant the liberal Georg-Friedrich von Parrot, Rector of Dorpat University, who wrote to the Tsar:

I have another reason for doubting that Speranskii is as guilty as it appears, and that is that one of his accusers is Rosenkampff, that base man who tried to topple his benefactor Novosil'tsev, and whose cabal I foiled on that occasion without telling you. Let the moderation of the steps you take show that you don't share the extreme ideas people want to suggest to you, and remove Rosenkampff from state affairs as soon as possible.⁶¹

The nature of this particular 'cabal' is unknown. There is thus some independent contemporary evidence to cast doubt on Rosenkampff's portrayal of himself as a man of perfect integrity. He nevertheless remained in post for many years. In 1819 Nikolai Mordvinov, Bentham's admirer, commenting on Rosenkampff's long tenure, remarked caustically, 'he is a fool and an intriguer, and people like that always manage to keep their jobs, because they don't attract envy and they flatter the high-ups who protect them, who are just as ignorant as they are'; after an opinion pronounced in the Council of State in 1821 Mordvinov noted, 'The Commission of Laws is chaired by Rosenkampff, who according to the popular voice is *sans foi et sans loi*' [is without faith or law, i.e. has neither integrity nor boundaries].⁶²

Meanwhile, Jeremy Bentham continued to take a keen interest in Russian developments and in his own possible role in them. He was at once eager and sceptical. The further reports from Dumont about Rosenkampff did not encourage him, and he too soon formed an adverse opinion of the Livonian, a view which only became more hostile over

time. Doubts about Rosenkampp's character combined in his mind with increasing contempt for the concepts and methods being adopted for codification. In a letter to Samuel of 22 September 1804 he wrote that he had

heard from Dumont of the wretched state of their Judicial Establishment and system of procedure; and had received a detailed picture of it, in a paper containing answers by Rosenkampf to questions put to him on that subject.

Consequently he

understood where the causes of the mischief lay: and, though fully aware of the peculiar state of society in that country, which was not unknown to me, had little doubt of the practicability of removing them. ... Dumont understood from Rosenkampf (he is a quondam Judge, an underling employed with a sort of half-commission, though communicating directly with the Emperor, to give some method to their laws)⁶³ that the taxes on Justice produced half a million of Roubles a year. Dumont argued with him to shew the impolicy: he appeared convinced, but still asked whether those sentiments were mine. Dumont answering in the affirmative ..., Rosenkampf then said that he would battle ... the Procurator-General on that ground, and insist ... upon his finding a succedaneum for that source of revenue.

Rosenkampf told Dumont he had been ten days or a fortnight together, shut up with my book, when it first came over, occupied about nothing else. Unfortunately, being as is natural, exceedingly jealous of his employment, his great object has been to take the ideas he professes to be so pleased with, and play what tricks with them are necessary, to make them appear to be his own. He shewed Dumont a specimen – D. shook his head, and upon being pressed, acknowledged it as his opinion, that in that shape they would be spoiled.⁶⁴

A distinguished Russian was in London at this time with his entourage, and in touch with Samuel, and Jeremy hoped to use the visitors to discover Rosenkampp's reputation and standing in official circles, in other words how far he was an adversary or obstacle to be taken seriously should Jeremy seek to involve himself in Russian codification affairs and go out once more to Russia, as he evidently wished to do at this stage. To Samuel, who was hosting the visitors, he reviewed the main Russian government figures concerned, remarking of Novosil'tsev:

Among the Head Ministers Novasiloff? ... seemed most zealous about *Dum. Principes* I think it was he who took my list of the characters of my four classes of offences, and made it into a Table. It was he I believe that claimed the having made acquaintance with you in England.

Jeremy concluded:

You might learn perhaps what sort of odour Rosenkampf is in – whether these people [the visitors: RB] know him, or take any interest for or against him – and how he goes on with his operations. ... It would scarcely be possible for you to get *data* for giving so much as a guess how *these* people stand affected with regard to the personages abovementioned, or whether it would be a matter of perfect indifference, regret, or desire (in the latter case, faint enough of course) that I should in any way be employed. ... Probably enough they have no idea that I should like to go there⁶⁵

It turned out that the visitor had never heard of Rosenkampf; but Jeremy subsequently came to see Rosenkampf's presence as a crucial hindrance both to effective Russian legal reform and to his own participation in it.

At the same time the Russian translation of *Dumont Principes* was proceeding. During late 1803 and 1804 Bentham corresponded with Dumont (now returned to England) as to what should be included in the Russian edition. Dumont urged him, unsuccessfully, to write special additional text; but Bentham did provide some further material and Dumont was able to supply an extra three-part chapter, 'Political Economy', which was included in the new translation. On the other hand, when volume three of the translation finally appeared in 1811, in changing political circumstances, the discussion of censorship had been significantly abridged.⁶⁶

This Russian edition was in fact part of a wider programme. In 1797 while still Grand Duke, Alexander in a letter to his tutor had insisted on the need to translate useful books into Russian, in order to 'make a start with spreading knowledge and enlightening people's minds'. Whether on his or some other initiative, on his accession this idea was put into practice: the first years of his reign were marked by the appearance of officially authorised or officially encouraged translations of several significant classic and contemporary texts of political science and economy.⁶⁷ The 'classics' included among the new Russian translations were Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1802), two versions of Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti e*

delle pene (1803, 1806), Tacitus' *Annals* (3 parts, 1805), De Lolme's *Constitutions of England* (1806) and Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* (1809).⁶⁸ Of more recent works, besides Bentham and Dumont's *Traité de législation civile et pénale* (Russian, with additions: 3 vols, 1805, 1806, 1811)⁶⁹ the authorities also had translated (in this case into French) the 'far-famed work' – as Bentham himself described it – of the Spaniard G. M. Jovellanos, *L'Identité de l'intérêt général avec l'intérêt individuel* (St Petersburg 1806; Spanish original 1795). Admiral Mordvinov would subsequently present Jeremy Bentham with a copy of the St Petersburg French edition of Jovellanos, finding ideas in it similar to Bentham's; the gift was brought by Samuel on his return from St Petersburg in 1807.⁷⁰ When Jeremy thought of visiting Spain and Mexico in 1809 he had a flattering exchange of letters with Jovellanos through Lord Holland.⁷¹

The three-volume translation of Bentham's writings was preceded by excerpts published in the MVD's new *St Petersburg Journal* in 1804–5: the MVD journal's 'unofficial' section which published items of political and public interest also served the same educational purpose as the translation programme. A prime mover in the journal translation as well as the book was Speranskii.⁷² On his return to England Dumont had corresponded with Speranskii about the possible additions for the Russian translation of *Dumont Principes*, and on 10 October 1804 the latter wrote a long letter, apologising for delay caused by illness and pressure of work – Dumont had written on 16 May N. S. – and acknowledging receipt of the additions. They had arrived in good time before the completion of the translation and had been placed in the text according to Dumont's instructions.

You will recall, sir, that ... we agreed to place the whole second part of volume 1, *View of a complete body* etc, at the end of the work. This idea has been followed exactly in the translation, and the end of this volume had not yet been reached when the additional chapter on the conservation of laws reached me, so that it fell naturally into the place you had assigned to it.

As to the second addition on *Political Economy*, although we had to go back in order to insert it into Chapter XVIII, we did so with all the more pleasure because this addition, with the breadth of its views, the exactness and precision of its classifications and the systematic character which it possesses, is perfectly made to figure worthily with the other parts of the work and add to their value....

In general, your observation concerning the lack of system in this part of our knowledge is exactly right. Adam Smith provided us in this area with materials of an inestimable value. But he was too

occupied in proving and deducing from experience the truths he wished to establish to think of making them into a Body of Doctrine. The more he has become an object of study, the more this defect in his method has become apparent; but those who put themselves forward to supply this lack thought they had succeeded when they added a few details, removed some digressions, and arranged his materials in another way; so much so that as you put it so well, among all the labourers the architect is lacking. I think that in following Mr Bentham's plan, Political Economy would occupy a position much more natural, more easy to study, and more scientific.

You can well judge from this what value I am bound to attach to the work which you have announced to me and in which he has made a more extensive development of his principles. If you will be so kind as to let me have it, that will be one more essential obligation which I shall owe you. I shall easily find one of our best men of letters to translate it.

To return to the translation which we have undertaken, I have the pleasure of being able to tell you that it is finally finished, and that it is currently in press. But before it is published, it has been thought advisable to prepare and test the taste of the public by inserting a few chapters separately in a semi-official journal which appears here under the title of *St Petersburg Journal* and which publishes various documents of the Ministry [of Internal Affairs: RB]. The success has been remarkable and the welcome which these separate fragments have received augurs in the surest fashion in favour of the work.⁷³

Bentham was in good company in the *St Petersburg Journal*. Its first issue (January 1804) presented 'The famous Bacon's thoughts on government', followed by 'On the usefulness of publishing reports – thoughts taken from Bentham' and an article on hospitals from Raynal. The second issue was largely devoted to selections from Bentham; these included his defence of freedom of publishing, which was deliberately followed by an unattributed article critical of unfettered press freedom: the editors felt that 'writers' opinions on the freedom of the press have always been so varied, that it will of course be pleasant to our readers to find them here together and to compare one with the other'. Subsequent issues in 1804 and 1805 included, besides further extracts from Bentham, articles on Adam Smith and Kant; on principles of government, on British freedoms, and on American and Russian prison administration; and extracts from Adam Ferguson, de Maistre, Plato and Struensee.⁷⁴

Speranskii's letter to Dumont went on to elaborate on the merits of Dumont and Bentham:

It is a real pleasure for me to regale you, sir, with these successes, persuaded as I am that the most flattering recompense for your sleepless labours, the only recompense worthy of your talents, is this propagation of useful truths in a country which is perhaps in present circumstances the most open to good legislation precisely because it presents fewer false concepts to be dissipated, less routine to be confronted, and more readiness to receive the salutary impressions of a wise and considered governance.⁷⁵

The idea expressed here by Speranskii, of Russia as a relative *tabula rasa* on which reform could be readily inscribed, was widely shared in the first Imperial Russian century, notably by Leibniz under Peter I and Diderot under Catherine II. It usually led to disillusionment; in time Speranskii, too, came to adopt a different point of view. For the moment, however, he reiterated to Dumont his high hopes of Jeremy: talking about the refounding and progress of the Commission for the Compilation of Laws, with which at this stage he had no immediate connection, he showed the extent of his regard for Jeremy's abilities. Jeremy would subsequently treasure a copy of this letter and boast of it on occasion.⁷⁶

Since your return to London, the careful measures which you saw taken here for a better organisation of legislative arrangements have been expanded considerably. The different branches of legislation, previously scattered among different departments, have been brought together and formed into a particular Body under the name of the Commission of the Laws. An editorial plan has been adopted and at present the necessary materials are in the process of being collected and classified in accordance with the plan. This commission is under the particular direction of Mr de Novossiltsoff. Not being employed in this field and being little acquainted with the sort of knowledge which it requires, I am not competent to pronounce on the extent of the talents which it may contain within itself. But I am fully persuaded that the advice and the views of a person such as Mr Bentham would be essential there. His profound and analytical intellect will assuredly find an eminent place everywhere where the goal is establishment of legislation based on the true principles of Utility. I am happy to share with you my complete conviction in the consequences to which this idea gives

rise, but not being in a position to ensure it is adopted, I can only make the wish that the good intentions of the Government, by one means or another, will be best fulfilled. Apart from that, since Mr de Novossiltsoff is currently in London, it is possible, sir, that you might converse with him yourself on this matter which is of real interest to humanity. Your testimony is such as will support a proposition of this kind and lend it all possible authority.⁷⁷

As Speranskii noted, at this time he had nothing to do with the Compilation Commission and therefore no immediate means of pursuing his enthusiasm for Bentham's ideas and participating in the Russian codification process, apart from his support for the two translations: the *St Petersburg Journal* was entirely within the sphere of his influence. Novosil'tsev was the crucial person; and he was indeed by this time in England, on an important diplomatic mission. He was eager, too, to make contact with the Benthams in London.

Dumont on his return from Russia had also evidently observed the normal social bienséances by sending a courteous letter to Rosenkamppff, who replied in October, apologising for a delay caused, he said, by the fact that he had been awaiting 'the work on the forms of procedure and proofs' [l'ouvrage sur les formes de procédure et les preuves] which Dumont had promised to send him but which had not yet arrived. Dumont had asked for news of codification progress, and Rosenkamppff, like Speranskii, referred him to Novosil'tsev, currently in London. Rosenkamppff was able to report on a personal errand he had run for Dumont and expressed a great desire to continue their agreeable conversations should Dumont visit St Petersburg again: 'I should find your knowledge and understanding infinitely precious in the present conjuncture.'⁷⁸

Meanwhile, the publication of the full *Dumont Principes* did not materialise and Jeremy in London was upset by the book's non-appearance. In July 1805 (nine months after Speranskii's letter on the subject to Dumont) he heard from Smirnov at the Russian embassy that "the translation of Mr Dumont's book was finished and that the Emperor has ordered it to be printed with the additions and alterations since furnished by Mr Dumont"; at least, Jeremy reflected, 'its being announced to Worontsoff or Smyrnoff by way of news seems to indicate something of a sensation made there'.⁷⁹ The book appeared under the exhaustive title *Dissertation concerning civil and criminal legislation. With a preliminary discourse on the principles of jurisprudence and the general design of a full Book of Laws, and with the addition of an essay on the influence of time and place regarding laws. A work of the English legal consultant Jeremy Bentham.*

*Published to the world in French by Etienne Dumont from manuscripts provided to him by the author. Translated by Mikhail Mikhailov, with the addition of supplementary materials communicated by Mr Dumont. Vol. 1. By order of His Imperial Highness.*⁸⁰

The new publication received a detailed and laudatory review published the following year in the journal *Lyceum*, edited by I. I. Martynov, a high official of the Ministry of Education, translator of foreign socio-economic texts and associate of Novosil'tsev and Stroganov.⁸¹ However, only the first volume appeared in 1805; the two following volumes came out in 1806 and 1811. Nevertheless, interest remained alive: in 1813, Dumont's friend and fellow Genevan Sir Francis d'Ivernois wrote to him from Russia that *Principes* was selling well in Petersburg and was much talked about, though he doubted whether the book was having any serious impact: 'I find it on the tables of the various Ministers, but not to much purpose.'⁸² In fact (as Rosenkamppf had predicted) the Russian translation was not of high quality, since much terminology did not go well into the Russian language of that time;⁸³ but educated members of the elite could of course, and did, read the original in French. The previous year, 1812, Dumont had heard that *Théorie des Peines et Récompenses* was going on sale in St Petersburg.⁸⁴

Meanwhile, in 1804, Jeremy's celebrity was attracting Russians visiting England. The distinguished visitors referred to above were the Tsar's personal envoy Major-General Mikhail Khitrovo ('Hitroff') and his secretary, sent abroad by the Emperor to study hospitals and prisons in Europe. On his arrival in London in mid-1804, Khitrovo was eager to obtain materials on the Panopticon prison project, and had hopes of a personal meeting with its author.⁸⁵ By this time, however, it was Jeremy's well-established custom to receive no-one for purely social reasons, and he followed his usual practice on this occasion (as in the case also of Lord St Helens, mentioned above): it was left to Samuel to take care of the Russian and cater to his wishes, which he did very successfully. But Jeremy, as we have seen, nevertheless hoped to use the visitor to further his cause and the possibility of involvement in Russian legislation. Khitrovo made an outstandingly good impression on Samuel, through both his character and his evident closeness to Alexander I, so that by the time of his departure Jeremy was eager to please and impress him.⁸⁶ He sent to Samuel for Khitrovo a number of his books, and a detailed refutation of the idea that the Panopticon prison project had failed in England because it was defective, emphasising the politics involved. To Dumont he was full of praise (on Samuel's authority) for the Russian's nobility of character and his independence of judgement even vis-à-vis

the Emperor, and he asked Dumont to use his connections to facilitate a fact-finding visit to Sweden which Khitrovo planned on his way back to St Petersburg (see below, pp. 97–101).⁸⁷ He also had Samuel intimate to the visitor that he would like to receive a published collection of Russian laws, something which Khitrovo promised to provide and did indeed eventually send to Queen's Square Place in 1806.⁸⁸

Samuel for his part had engaged Khitrovo with his own engineering and technical interests, 'drawing plans for him' and presenting him with 'communications upon Plans of Mechanical Instruction'.⁸⁹ This appears to have been a deliberate policy, to ingratiate himself with Russian authorities; it is unclear why he should have offered such plans to the visitor unless he hoped that this would enable him to carry them out. Was Samuel thinking seriously at this time of a return to Russia? This is suggested by an otherwise unexplained remark of Jeremy's about 'the secret of [Samuel's] business'. Novosil'tsev in London sought a meeting with Jeremy, who wished Dumont to meet him first; he thought that this could be advantageous not only for himself, but also for Samuel. Jeremy wrote to his brother that

much light may be thrown on what concerns *me* at least by an interview of his [Dumont's] with Navasff. Circumstanced as *you* are at present, might it not be of use that Dumont should be let into the secret of *your* own business? – He might be able to forward it in a thousand ways and say of you abundance of things which you could not say of yourself. It certainly is not a very pleasant part for you to act, to have to fight your way over again up to Navasff after having done it so successfully with Hitroff: but after all it seems an indispensable one: and you may be well assured that his prejudices in your favour are already as strong as Hitroff could make them.⁹⁰

Khitrovo, on his final return to St Petersburg in April 1805, wrote an enthusiastic letter of thanks to Samuel, including a direct message from the Emperor Alexander that Samuel should correspond further with Khitrovo on projects of advantage to the Empire. Khitrovo had also passed on memoranda from Samuel to the Emperor, and Samuel was signally honoured to receive a personal autograph letter of thanks and approbation from Alexander himself.⁹¹

Khitrovo intimated that, in view of a conversation which he had had on the subject with Samuel, he had deliberately prevented the Tsar from sending Samuel a personal material token of his favour (as was the Imperial custom – usually rings or snuffboxes).⁹² The matter of such

Imperial rewards was to become important in Jeremy's later relations with Alexander (see below, see pp. 97-8), and it was evidently of concern to reform-minded persons in Russia too. According to Adam Czartoryski, the members of the Unofficial Committee themselves made it initially a public point of honour ('our [heraldic] device') to stand above all personal interests and not accept rewards or distinctions. 'This device was in total contradiction to the traditions of the country, but corresponded to the ideas of the Emperor, and this inspired Alexander with especial respect for his friends.' However, Czartoryski noted, this disinterested stance did not last: 'My comrades ... did not always find our device to their taste, and in the end the Emperor himself began to find tedious collaborators who sought to set themselves apart by refusing the rewards for which everyone else strove so greedily.'⁹³ Material tokens, promotions and ribbons of the Russian orders of chivalry ranked second only to grants of land and servile peasants as the rewards to which most Russian servicemen, civilian or military, aspired.

Hard on the heels of Khitrovo in London came Novosil'tsev, who became Jeremy Bentham's next Russian would-be visitor. As Speranskii and Rosenkamppff had pointed out to Dumont, Novosil'tsev came to England in late 1804; he had an important diplomatic mission, to negotiate Russia's entry into a new anti-Napoleonic alliance; a treaty was duly concluded in April 1805 which led to the Third Coalition.⁹⁴ The British Foreign Office professed itself highly satisfied with the congruence of Russian and British policy and with Novosil'tsev's conduct of the negotiation: the Secretary of State, Lord Mulgrave, wrote to his ambassador in St Petersburg, Lord Granville Leveson Gower, that 'nothing can exceed the Zeal, Candour and Ability which has marked the whole tenour of his [Novosil'tsev's] conversation and conduct, during the Period of his Residence in this Country, from whence he will carry with him the highest Sentiment of the Esteem and Regard of every member of His Majesty's Government'.⁹⁵ But Novosil'tsev's mission in London was kept officially secret, on the instructions of the Russian government, and his public cover was an examination of British legal institutions. In Gothenburg, where he was waiting for a ship to England, his path had crossed with that of Khitrovo, who gave him a letter addressed to Samuel Bentham: Khitrovo reported in the letter that he had talked about 'Dumont' (whether the man or the *Principes* is unclear) with Novosil'tsev and had especially urged him to see Jeremy, which Novosil'tsev was in any case eager to do in view of his instructions and his own interests in law-making.⁹⁶

The embassy chaplain and factotum Smirnov arranged an interview between Novosil'tsev and Samuel, and requested one with Jeremy too: as the latter wrote to Dumont,

Smirnov, on behalf of Novosil'tsev, renewed the instances he had made before for an interview with me on behalf of Hitroff – and received the same answers: viz: that any thing he chose to write might be assured of having an answer to: and that if he had anything to say that was worth saying and that could not so well be said by writing, I should be very ready to hear it and attend to it; but that for mere general conversation it was not my custom to receive or pay visits.

Nevertheless, Jeremy did not entirely rule out a meeting with the visitor, and as already indicated he was particularly eager that Dumont should meet with him: he wrote to the latter,

On Monday my Brother by his interview with N. will be able to judge whether it is necessary and advisable that *I* should see him: but what we are both agreed is absolutely necessary is – that *you* should see him. My Brother's plan is – if on the occasion of that interview they appear to draw together, to ask him to dine there one day, on which day we hope you will meet him. In the mean time it is matter of pressing necessity that you and I should have a previous consultation, that I may learn every thing about N. that you can tell me: and that we may concert *Dicenda* [things to be said: RB] on your part.⁹⁷

Jeremy correctly understood that Novosil'tsev, now Rosenkamppff's direct superior, would be a pivotal figure if he were to engage with the Russian codification. He was prepared to meet Novosil'tsev if the latter had read *Dumont Principes* and they could discuss it, but otherwise there would be nothing to say.⁹⁸ However, Dumont had already warned him that 'it is not so much *Novasiltssoff* as Kochubei that is a friend to our book: and that *Novasiltssoff* may not unlikely be rather adverse on account of his Understrapper Rosenkamppff, whose jealousy cannot but make him so.'⁹⁹ Consequently, despite Novosil'tsev's previous acquaintance with Samuel and Dumont and his rumoured enthusiasm for *Dumont Principes*, Jeremy was wary rather than well disposed towards him:

This man has more influence than what, I understood from you, one could have wished. It seems he is Adjoint not only to the Commission of public Instruction but to that of Legislation – and I believe some other but am not sure: so that in all these departments he is the efficient man, the nominally head man being a figurehead whom they think it is not decorous or not prudent to remove.

Jeremy added the further significant caveat:

Smirnov talking of me and my plans expressed his apprehension that what I should expect to be done would be too much to be practicable.¹⁰⁰

Nevertheless, Jeremy discussed with Samuel how he might impress Novosil'tsev. Dumont could invite the Russian to dine at Romilly's, where Lord St Helens was also a frequent guest, though this could be an unpredictable and therefore risky step. But there could be no danger, Bentham thought, in convincing Novosil'tsev of his personal suitability,

to impregnate him as much as possible with notions of my facility tractability etc – the absence of all pedantry and attachment to systematic prejudice: that I have no *will* – nothing but *reason* That having resided in Russia, a matter of two years, I am perfectly aware of the differences between the state of things *there* and the state of things *here*: that I should never think of taking English institutions, merely because they were English, ... to force them into use there¹⁰¹

Samuel's 'conference' with Novosil'tsev took place on 3 December 1804; Jeremy waited anxiously for news, though apparently as much for domestic arrangements as for the business itself:

The sooner you can contrive to let me know the result of your conference with Navas^{ff} the better. If he comes here, I feed him; and if I feed him I paper the Dining room to receive him. That will take 2 or 3 days drying included. It will be a stimulus and at any rate if the house were to be let, that room would be to be papered.¹⁰²

No wallpapering was required. The outcome of the 'conference' is reflected not in the brothers' correspondence, but in a separate note in Dumont's hand, jotted in the margin of the copy of Speranskii's letter to

Dumont of 10 October 1804 which was formerly held among Dumont papers in the Imperial Library in St Petersburg:

In everything but goodness of intention, the worthy gentleman's complete unfitness for any such business became immediately so prominent, that any conversation with him on the subject would (it was evident) be worse than labour lost. I accordingly kept carefully and effectually out of his way. Mr N's ideas were at Petersburg in the head of Mr. R[osenkampff]; and Mr R's were (where they doubtless continue to be) in the clouds.¹⁰³

This scornful judgement reflects the fundamentally different approach to codification of Samuel's guest; but it also conforms with Il'inskiĭ's harsh account of Novosil'tsev and Rosenkampff and their direction of the Commission for Compilation, relating to the same period:

The first exercise of the new[ly re-formed] Commission consisted in sending out to all governors and government offices questions on the way they conducted business, and specifically on the basis of which laws? These questions showed clearly that those who had written them knew nothing whatever of Russian law and judicial process and were like infants who, when they gain some little understanding, question their nannies and mothers about everything which catches their eye. The public at once concluded that not only no code, but in fact nothing at all, was to be expected from these people. Prince Lopukhin, seeing the trust which Novosil'tsev enjoyed with the Emperor, showed an appearance of congeniality and agreed with all Novosil'tsev's new ideas. The latter, who, although a kind and intelligent person, had held no offices and had not studied law, in his turn agreed with whatever Rosenkampff put forward.¹⁰⁴

Such dismissive accounts may be set against the enthusiasm of Lord Mulgrave, quoted above, and also against the broadly positive picture of Novosil'tsev in his early years drawn in the memoirs of Czartoryski, who – although no lawyer either – knew him intimately over a long period:

Novosil'tsev was well versed in jurisprudence and political economy. His time in England had not been spent fruitlessly, while there he had read widely on these subjects and gained considerable knowledge.

In Russia at that time nobody was superior to him in whatever knowledge of questions of state administration could be gained

from contemporary French and English literature. His practical mind did not succumb to the blandishments of empty theories and always succeeded in remaining within the bounds of the possible. He possessed the art and skill of [good] relations not only with individual persons, but with the whole of Russian society, which he had brilliantly studied. These were his good qualities, his bad ones had not yet shown themselves. Among his other deserts must be counted the collaboration which he brought to Alexander's efforts to improve the position of the peasantry; it was he who edited the first decree about the peasants. ... Novosil'tsev transformed the Commission for the Compilation of Laws.¹⁰⁵

Czartoryski also wrote: 'The Emperor found in him an instrument who knew how to give a Russian form to his European desires.'¹⁰⁶ Throughout most of the reign Novosil'tsev showed himself to be a relatively willing and flexible executor of Alexander's policies in all their fluctuations. In this respect he was similar to Speranskii, who despite his undeserved difficulties also seems never to have wavered from his loyalty and willingness to serve the Imperial crown and fulfil its demands. Novosil'tsev became a leading figure in the relatively oppressive regime established in Poland after 1815, and so politically opposed to Czartoryski.

Jeremy's scepticism with regard to Novosil'tsev did not diminish over time. A few months later, in 1805, Samuel was suddenly instructed by the Admiralty to go on an official naval mission to Russia (see [chapter 3](#)). The government had consulted Novosil'tsev on the matter while he was still in Britain. Jeremy commented:

The project had been communicated to Novosilsoff: he approved of it: but said it would be proper to propose in form through our Minister there. It had been formed, I understand, by Pitt: ... It was Nepean¹⁰⁷ that opened the matter with Novosilsoff. He saw enough of him to see that he was a foolish fellow: the instance he gave was that of making a mystery of things that presented no demand for mystery. Since then he [Nepean] has been carrying on the business with [the Russian ambassador, S. R.] Woronzoff, always through the medium of Smyrnoff.¹⁰⁸

While Novosil'tsev was in London, he took the occasion to publicise and disseminate the official publication incorporating the 1804 report drawn up by Rosenkamppff for the Compilation Commission; his signed presentation copy of the French version of the *Transactions*, dedicated to

Sir Joseph Banks, is preserved in the British Library.¹⁰⁹ It is very probable that during his 'conference' with Samuel he gave him a copy for Jeremy: Jeremy certainly possessed a copy of the document, however it may have reached him. Dumont apparently received a copy from another Russian acquaintance in London, General N. A. Sablukov.¹¹⁰ (General Sablukov (1776–1848), married to a British wife, spent much time in England and was a friend of Samuel Bentham and a great admirer of Jeremy.¹¹¹) Jeremy and Dumont (or possibly Dumont alone) wrote very critical 'observations' on the Compilation Commission publication and sent this commentary to S. R. Vorontsov, who passed it on to Novosil'tsev as he was leaving for home in February 1805. The commentary cut Novosil'tsev to the quick, and he promised a combative response. About to go on board ship at Margate, he wrote to Vorontsov:

Many thanks, Count, for the letter which I have just received from you this morning and the observations of Mr Bentham under the name of Mr Dumont which accompanied it. I have not had time to peruse more than a very small part of these observations; but from the little that I have read, I can assure you that I am really looking forward to defending myself and combatting Mr Bentham's system. And as I am far from claiming that I could never make a mistake, I shall be delighted to make the matter public and to submit to the judgement of all the jurisconsults which of us is in the right.¹¹²

Novosil'tsev promised Vorontsov a full rebuttal at a later date; however, he appears not to have carried out this undertaking.

Having had his formal request for an interview with Jeremy bluntly refused, and then after such a critique, Novosil'tsev could scarcely be well disposed to Jeremy and his views on Russian law-making. It is likely that the text of the 'observations' which he so firmly rejected also formed the otherwise unidentified 'interesting paper' provided by 'a friend' which Samuel sent to Khitrovo in St Petersburg at about the same time and which elicited by contrast a very positive response: Khitrovo replied,

What gratitude do I not owe you, my dear General, as also to your friend, for the interesting paper which you sent me! How many times have I reread this paper which reveals as much the talents and knowledge of the person who wrote it as the imperfections and the absurdities with which the brochure in question is filled. The accuracy of the observations strikes both the expert and the vulgar by a refutation which is not demonstrated except by evidence. I

hope that our illustrious leg...tor [*sic*] will change his mind after reading it as I do not doubt he will during his journey, and that he will finally open his eyes to the farrago which he is so generously having printed in all languages dead and living.¹¹³

There is no further exact evidence to indicate the identity either of Samuel's 'friend' or of the 'brochure' concerned. However, the final sentence suggests that the 'farrago' referred to was indeed the 1804 draft plan for the constitutional code which Alexander ('our illustrious legislator' [*notre illustre législateur*]) had had printed in Latin and in modern languages; and Jeremy later relayed to Dumont a comment from their acquaintance the old St Petersburg hand Dr John Rogerson,¹¹⁴ accompanying it with a remark which, besides the reference to *Dumont Principes*, may also refer to the same 'manuscript' or 'paper':

Speaking about the Code, Rogerson gave [Samuel] to understand most fully, though in general terms, that they were extremely sore about it. This is just as it should be: they would not be sore about it, if your book or your manuscript had not worked and made them so.¹¹⁵

The text of Dumont's commentary has apparently not survived, and its exact content – the terms of the critique – is therefore unknown. What appears to have been a partial rehearsal of it was at one time to be found among the Dumont papers in the Imperial St Petersburg Public Library, and some details were published by the editor of his 1803 diary.¹¹⁶ This paper was in the form of a letter dated London, 20 December 1804 to an unnamed general, probably N. A. Sablukov. This correspondent had provided Dumont with a copy of the 1804 report and Dumont had already given him oral comments on it. Now he sent some written additions. The editor tells us that Dumont was concerned that the first part, containing the 'fundamental laws', should introduce no major changes: 'everything should stay the same, there should be no change in the political system, no revolution was envisaged, on the contrary, a well-made code should help to prevent one.' The second part included the principles of civil and criminal law, which amounted to a treatise on law-making: Dumont considered the inclusion of such a treatise in a code to be an inappropriate and completely superfluous novelty, presenting both an unachievable ideal and a ready source of disagreement and argument Unfortunately the journal editor excised the rest of Dumont's comments 'because they can only be of interest to specialist jurists': the full range of Bentham's and Dumont's critique remains unclear.

The success of *Dumont Principes* and the intervention of Jeremy Bentham and Dumont thus had some significant impact on the Commission for the Compilation of Laws and the evolution of the 1804 project. However, whatever the effect may have been on those guiding the Commission, the latter's subsequent conduct confirmed their increasing distance from any enthusiasm for Bentham and his involvement. From August 1804, continuing the policy begun by Czartoryski, Rosenkamppff in the name of the Commission had started to appoint further official correspondents: most were legal specialists located within the Empire, but several were foreign, the majority of these German. This process continued over many years. The foreigners received salaries, and were to send suggestions and contributions, as had Czartoryski's correspondents.¹¹⁷ Bentham was not invited to participate. The Commission with Novosil'tsev and Rosenkamppff at its head continued on its designated path. The name of Bentham does not appear in any of the many archive files of the Compilation Commission, or in Novosil'tsev's papers pertaining to it.¹¹⁸

On learning of Samuel's coming Admiralty mission to Russia, Jeremy had thought that Dumont should go with Samuel as his secretary, to support and facilitate his official work, but the proposal was turned down flat when he presented it to Nepean. A subsequent letter repeating the idea to the new Foreign Secretary, Charles James Fox, had no better success. Jeremy nevertheless suggested to Dumont that if the British government 'won't send you there, they can't keep you from going there, if you choose'.¹¹⁹ However, Dumont thought that his appearance in St Petersburg at present in any guise would be counterproductive for Jeremy's cause: in particular, his appearance as part of Samuel's mission would have provoked opposition.

Our simultaneous arrival would have alarmed Novosil'tsev and his party – they would never have believed that we came only for the simple apparent matter in hand – some form of dim intrigue would have coalesced underground which could have put an obstacle in the way of everything – it's better to leave things to their natural course – a journey by me without participation in [Samuel's] mission would be imprudent from all points of view – you will appreciate my reasons when we have opportunity to talk together – the main thing is that they should be thoroughly disgusted with their Code, that they should have a clear sense of its ineptitude and that they should do the only thing feasible for putting it right [i.e., consult JB: RB].¹²⁰

On the other hand, if caution was required in regard to Novosil'tsev, Dumont saw greater grounds for optimism in the importance given to the Russian edition of *Dumont Principes*:

What you tell me about the title of the translation proves that some importance has been given to the additions which I sent, and that they wanted to show that this translation was not just a routine work, one of the thousands of translations that appear continually in Russia – it amounts to raising the book up out of the crowd – and if it is true that they have brought in the name of the Emperor (not in the title but I suppose in the Preface), that is a mark of distinction which promises and will facilitate other successes: it could even be a means skilfully employed by Speranskii to engage the amour-propre of HHH and lead him from the book to its author.¹²¹

By now Dumont and Jeremy saw factional lines clearly drawn, between 'Novosil'tsev and his party' (therefore including Rosenkamppff, who was given a salary increase in 1805 and promoted to the significant rank of State Counsellor in January 1806¹²²) on the one hand, and Speranskii and themselves on the other. Jeremy still had no news of the actual publication of the *Dumont Principes* translation, and connected Novosil'tsev with the delay in its appearance;¹²³ on reading in *The Times* in August 1806 that Novosil'tsev had been removed from his position as Deputy Minister of Justice, he leapt to the conclusion that he had lost the Compilation Commission too, and opined that Khitrovo should now be placed at its head, 'praying aid of us here', which might facilitate an official engagement of some sort for him with the Russian authorities:

If he drew with Kotchubey and Spiranski [*sic*] and they were all in sufficient credit, the thing might be managed. If it comes at all, it must come soon; otherwise I shall be grown too indolent, and my sensibility will be too much decayed to enable me to buckle to it. I feel myself inclined to offer my services to Scotland¹²⁴

If Jeremy's hopes of employment by the Russian government were fading, he thought for a moment that he had found a worthy Russian interlocutor in London. The first part of this letter to Samuel is taken up with an account of the visits to him of General Sablukov. In June 1806 Sablukov wrote directly to Jeremy, offering information on procedures regarding evidence in Russia,¹²⁵ and Jeremy set aside his usual solitariness and allowed him to visit, twice. But he was gravely disappointed: Sablukov

seemed to want merely to impress him. Moreover, Jeremy wrote to Samuel in Russia,

You may remember, or not remember, the flaming-ness of his zeal for preaching Codification. When he dined here tête-a-tête I naturally expected to have heard more or less from him on the subject: – not a syllable. I mentioned the matter, so far as concerned Novosiltsoff, saying nothing of myself; noticing perhaps (for I scarce remember) the stoppage of the two translations: but he appeared to know nothing at all of the state of the Codification business, and by that time had come to care as little.¹²⁶

Sablukov on his way back to Russia in 1806 was nevertheless useful as a channel for sending items to Samuel, then in St Petersburg, and Jeremy hoped that his wife (Juliana née Angerstein, daughter of the prosperous London merchant and art patron, born in St Petersburg, John Julius Angerstein) would provide good company for Mary Bentham. On his return home Sablukov served under Chichagov in the Naval Ministry, and in 1812–15 in the Russian army; in later years he once again spent much time in England, and renewed his acquaintance with Samuel, who also knew and valued Sablukov's brother, a government official in St Petersburg.¹²⁷

In August 1805 Samuel went out to Russia on his official Admiralty mission, and in 1806 was engaged in building a Panopticon in St Petersburg. In September 1806 he reported to his brother from the Russian capital a publication in the MVD's *St Petersburg Journal*:

The part of Dumont's work which treats of Panopticon has been extracted and translated into Russ and published in a periodical paper under the direction of the Minister of the Interior [Kochubei] and I hear it has in general terms been well spoken of in his society: but I do not visit him.

He also corrected the report about Novosil'tsev which had so excited Jeremy: the Russian 'is said to have less business trusted to him than he had before', but remained in charge of the Commission for the Compilation of Laws.¹²⁸ Jeremy was still disgruntled about the apparent disappearance of the supposed full *Dumont Principes* translations: 'Here they go on, publishing extracts from Dum. Principes: and I hear nothing from you of the two translations having either of them, passed the Censorship, and got into the press.' But he remained hopeful of profiting from Novosil'tsev's changed position: 'Novozilzoff out! That should have made a great

revolution in the world of Codification: and at any rate afford an additional chance' (for Jeremy's employment).¹²⁹

On Samuel's departure from England Vorontsov had sent a letter with him for Novosil'tsev which was in some degree a recommendation. Enthusiastically endorsing Samuel's Admiralty mission and acknowledging to Novosil'tsev 'that you were not on best terms with Bentham' [que vous n'étiez pas trop bien avec Bentham], Vorontsov distinguished between the two brothers and emphasised Samuel's complete non-involvement in jurisprudence and law-making: on the contrary, he wrote of Samuel, 'he is a mathematician of great genius and who applies his knowledge to useful inventions: in his own field he's another Ramsden.'¹³⁰ The comparison with the late Jesse Ramsden, FRS, London's leading instrument maker, inventor of the circular dividing engine, member from 1793 of the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences (and a long-standing acquaintance of Jeremy Bentham), was a considerable compliment. But the letter apparently did not dispose Novosil'tsev more kindly. In October 1806 Samuel – who seems to have avoided St Petersburg high society during his time in the Russian capital¹³¹ – reported that so far he had met Novosil'tsev only once, at court, when the latter apologised for not yet having called upon him; 'but I have never had communication with him since, and have no doubt that he wishes me at the devil most heartily'.¹³² In March 1807, however, Mary Bentham sent Jeremy a very favourable picture of Novosil'tsev's lifestyle and his behaviour in a recent controversial incident, adding, 'perhaps there would be enough of good in it to set as a balance against "Code"'.¹³³ Mary's letters at this time were becoming increasingly impassioned against France and Napoleon; she joined in the patriotic Russian mood and eagerly reported somewhat one-sided news about French difficulties. The Treaty of Tilsit, Alexander's alliance with Napoleon, and the consequent breach between Russia and Britain must have been as great a shock to her and Samuel as to the Russian public.

Meanwhile, once they had established themselves in St Petersburg, Mary and Samuel had proposed that Jeremy should come out to visit them, and Jeremy was much taken with the idea of a second trip to Russia. He thought his presence there might strengthen the chance of his employment by the Russian government, and he also proposed, 'if it could be done without hindrance of business', to travel south to visit the Bentham's old friend General Henry Fanshawe,¹³⁴ currently Governor of the Crimea. His imagination set to work upon the logistics and details of such a trip in his older age (he was now 58): he wondered how the St Petersburg climate would affect his digestion, and his eyes, and worried

about plumbing: 'Water closet I ought to have the monopoly of, and near access to, as here at present. You, I think, have one now going out: if I go, I ought to bring one with me, or send one before me: then it would require a closet to be partitioned off for the purpose as here.' For the journey south special equipment would be needed: if it were in winter and using the ordinary Russian coach, the *kibitka*, he mused, the party would have to travel at night and stop over during the day in official post houses, but these are 'horrible places'. Samuel could have a special coach constructed, 'A travelling House, about the size of a Slap-bang [coach], would such a thing be makeable? It should be wide enough to have a table in it, and the seat being only on one side, about that there would be no difficulty', although heating it would be a problem in winter.¹³⁵

In the event, no immediate steps to begin the trip were undertaken and in 1807, unexpectedly for the brothers, Samuel was recalled to London. Jeremy reacted with a humorous religious parody:

Text: And there went forth a decree from the Princes of the Admiralty, unto Samuel the son of Jeremiah, saying – Mind then, return unto us in the month of September which is next to come, for behold, thy longer tarrying in the great city, called the City of Peter, will not be approved.

The *Sermon* which followed was more serious. Jeremy thought that the recall showed the value the Admiralty placed on Samuel's services, but at the same time was clear as to its implications for his own proposed visit to St Petersburg. He was anxious to find out whether an extension of Samuel's time in Russia might be possible: until this was known he 'could not think of stirring' from London, while John Herbert Koe, also invited on the proposed trip, was 'sadly dampened' by the news.¹³⁶ However, Samuel's recall was immediately followed by Tilsit and the reversal of alliances. These developments made Jeremy's visit completely impossible. Jeremy's hopes of involvement in Russian codification also faded entirely in the new circumstances; things Russian disappeared from his correspondence, and his interests turned to other countries: Spain, Mexico, America.

This was somewhat ironic, since very shortly afterwards the Commission for the Compilation of Laws was placed under the direction of Speranskii. In the changing kaleidoscope of Russian governmental politics after Tilsit the 'young friends' were dispersed; Novosil'tsev took leave and went abroad and a decree of 16 December 1808 both made Speranskii Deputy Minister of Justice and gave him charge of the Commission.¹³⁷ Speranskii came in like a new broom. He changed the

Commission's shape, reorganising it into sections (*otdeleniia*), cutting its staff and creating a special high-level council to review the law projects which it produced. The organisation of its work was also changed. The new council's members, besides Speranskii, were Lopukhin, Zavadovskii, Novosil'tsev (when he should return), Czartoryski, Count Severin Pototskii of the Senatorial party, and two further Senators. These measures were presented to the Emperor in a report of 29 December 1808 signed by Lopukhin, Novosil'tsev, Speranskii and Rosenkamppf, which was officially approved and passed into law in March 1809.¹³⁸

Speranskii's arrival was a great blow to Rosenkamppf, who lost his preponderant influence and independence of action, and became simply one of six heads of section. He considered resigning from the service, but was dissuaded by his friend Kozodavlev. Speranskii did not honour the foreign consultant appointments made by Rosenkamppf, and to his chagrin closed down the activity of the Institute of Jurisprudence.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, Rosenkamppf's career did not suffer: Speranskii, overburdened with many tasks and as yet unfamiliar with the work of the Commission, initially made use of Rosenkamppf's work, facilitated the award to him in 1810 of a further official honour, the Order of St Anne third class, and presided over his further promotion to Actual State Counsellor in 1811.¹⁴⁰ Speranskii and Rosenkamppf were also both involved with the controversial cleric and innovative Freemason Ignaz Aurelius Fessler, whom Speranskii summoned in 1809 to teach in Russia: they were briefly members of the Masonic lodge which he set up, and both had some involvement in plans drawn up by him for the reorganisation of Russian Masonry.¹⁴¹

Overall, however, Rosenkamppf remained opposed and hostile to his new superior: he called Speranskii derisively 'fa tutto', because of the multiplicity of his duties.¹⁴² Rosenkamppf's hostility to Speranskii and his 'take-over' of the Commission is given full rein in his memoirs. From 1805 and Novosil'tsev's return from London Rosenkamppf had felt interest in the work of the Commission declining. In his view the Commission's long-drawn-out preparatory examination of current law risked boring the Tsar, while its real long-term aim, to review the laws governing state institutions, in particular estates' rights including the peasantry, was only feasible if Alexander himself gave it his full attention. This was less and less forthcoming, and the Commission's ultimate task was therefore likely never to be achieved. He could only, he wrote, press on doggedly with the preparatory explorations.¹⁴³

Speranskii greatly speeded up the tempo of the Commission's work; his arrival also heralded a change of orientation. In its earlier report to the

Emperor of 1 January 1808 the Commission (guided by Rosenkamppff) had stressed that 'the Russian Code must be truly Russian. It must contain no statutes of foreign powers because in our fatherland's legislative enactments hitherto there has been nothing alien.'¹⁴⁴ Speranskii, however, the Bentham enthusiast, remained wedded to the idea of a philosophically based code. In 1809 he recruited Ludwig Heinrich von Jakob, then a professor at Khar'kov University, to work in St Petersburg, and gave him a post in the Commission. Speranskii told Jakob informally:

Our Russian laws are a product of barbarism. We can indeed find among them excellent decrees and superior formulations, but these have all been borrowed from abroad and are long since known elsewhere in the world; and such things are simply pearls sewn on a coarse and ragged coat. Therefore you need not be worried too much about Russian laws in your work. It is of course necessary that you know them, and that your work should not offend too much against the notions and prejudices common here. It will also be a good thing if you can embellish your new suggestions for laws with the authority of Russian laws already existing. This will be a recommendation for you with our dignitaries, steeped as they are in prejudices and national pride. But in general you should simply follow your genius and work out an ideal book of laws for Russia.¹⁴⁵

Speranskii had also accompanied Alexander to his meeting with Napoleon at Erfurt in 1808, and was increasingly impressed with the French Emperor, and with the legislative work carried out in his name: anglophilia gave way to the charms of things French. The draft civil code which was produced in Rosenkamppff's section under Speranskii's leadership and presented to the Council of State in 1812 was based on a new plan similar to that of the 1804 Code Napoléon.¹⁴⁶

In the years up to 1812, work on the codification continued. Speranskii was also commissioned by Alexander to draft a reorganisation of government institutions, and in consultation with the Emperor duly produced in 1809 a 'Plan of State Reorganisation (an introduction to the code of state laws)', which was followed in 1810–11 by measures reorganising the central Ministries.¹⁴⁷ In reshaping the institutions of state, the Plan of State Reorganisation allowed for the devolution to them of political power: this was in fact a potential constitutional arrangement limiting the Tsar's prerogatives, but one which could be implemented at Alexander's own pace and discretion.¹⁴⁸ The Tsar, however, put into effect only a small part of the Plan, creating a new Council of State at the top of

the administrative hierarchy. The new Council had its own Department of Laws, to which projects drawn up in the Compilation Commission were now referred: a clear downgrading of the Commission's importance. In 1809 Speranskii also drew up a measure to help address the lack of qualified Russian civil servants, a new legal requirement for state civil servitors: they must have a university degree or equivalent. This measure, and consequently also its author, were greatly resented by the nobility.

Although Speranskii's Plan was not fully implemented, its perceived or supposed threat to autocracy and his apparent attachment to liberal and French principles nevertheless attracted great hostility among conservative circles in St Petersburg. After Tilsit the Emperor too, with whom Speranskii was closely identified, became increasingly unpopular: in the period before the Napoleonic invasion his standing in noble opinion was very low. As tensions with France grew, Speranskii – a commoner by origin, with no party or other protection of his own, politically dependent entirely on the Emperor's support – was increasingly vilified as a low-born *popovich* (priest's son) and a radical and unpatriotic francophile. Finally in 1812, with the French threat imminent, a plot was hatched against him by a group of prominent officials and courtiers, including the Tsar's sister; incautious uncomplimentary remarks of his about the Emperor were relayed back to Alexander, and he faced accusations of treasonable relations with France. Alexander initially expressed outrage at Speranskii's alleged betrayal and declared himself compelled to act in the tense circumstances despite a lack of direct proofs; on 17 March Speranskii was removed from all his offices and sent into exile.

The evidence against Speranskii was tenuous, and the exact course and motivations of the affair remain less than clear; it has even been suggested that Alexander himself orchestrated the intrigue.¹⁴⁹ Certainly Speranskii served as lightning conductor and scapegoat for unpopular policies. Count Gustav Armfelt,¹⁵⁰ an associate and patron of Rosenkampff, was closely involved, as was Rosenkampff himself; and after Speranskii's removal Rosenkampff joined further in the attack on him with an extensive anonymous memorandum.¹⁵¹ Here, mentioning without comment the common accusations circulating against Speranskii of 'treachery to the state and Illuminism' (that is, of being a member of the clandestine Illuminati), Rosenkampff fiercely attacked Speranskii personally and professionally, claiming that the policies with which he was associated were disastrous and that out of overweening pride he intended to 'disorganise the existing order of things and bring about a general collapse' [*désorganiser l'ordre des choses existant et d'amener un bouleversement general*], a reference to Speranskii's championing of the

new Russian Ministries on the French model, which Rosenkamppff had always opposed and which he considered had ‘thrown the whole edifice of state out of its proper tracks’.¹⁵² Speranskii’s political isolation in his fall was compounded by his loss of favour: few wished to know a disgraced favourite. Only Mordvinov, who had been closely associated with him and whose own position was therefore affected, made a public protest, resigning his seat on the Council of State and going down to the country.¹⁵³

With Speranskii gone, the Commission for the Compilation of Laws was entrusted once more to Lopukhin, and Rosenkamppff regained his former leading role in it. After Speranskii’s fall Rosenkamppff was also given new responsibilities in the central administration. He became a member of a committee on Finnish affairs chaired by Armfelt, worked in the Department of Economy of the Council of State and was a member, too, also with Armfelt, of a committee set up there to examine Russian finances as the 1812 war began. The committee was stillborn, and Rosenkamppff produced his own financial plan to meet the emergency, which was, however, rejected out of hand by the State Council.¹⁵⁴ For the Commission for Compilation he drew up a memorandum reviewing its work hitherto, in which Speranskii’s regime was strongly criticised.¹⁵⁵ In May 1812 the Commission’s Council made a ‘submission’ (*predstavlenie*) to Lopukhin in which it asked whether the new Civil Code, parts of which were already printed, should be completed on its existing principles,

or will [you] give instructions that it be subjected to new review with reference to its principles, method and form and therefore that certain changes be proposed which may be necessary to bring this project into accord with the principles already dignified with Imperial confirmation in the Report of 28 February 1804?

The Council now expressed itself strongly in favour of the 1804 ‘conservative national’ approach, arguing that new legislation should be based on an updating of existing Russian law.¹⁵⁶

The brave new post-Napoleonic world

Conservative nationalism was also the wider order of the day in Russian high society.¹⁵⁷ Alexander’s action against Speranskii in 1812 appears to have been in part a move to consolidate his own position and neutralise the hostility of St Petersburg society. However, the disaster and triumph of 1812–14 and the overthrow of Bonaparte elevated the Tsar to the

status of conquering hero, both at home and in Europe. The war between Russia and France had also made Russia once more a British ally.¹⁵⁸ Meanwhile in London Jeremy Bentham had fought to the bitter end his unsuccessful battle to build a Panopticon penitentiary, then had campaigned successfully for adequate compensation from Parliament for losses incurred; in October 1813 the whole process was finally over.¹⁵⁹ He was now freer to pursue thoughts of codification which had also occupied him in the preceding years: a penal code for Britain, a ‘pannomion’ or complete compendium of law for the USA,¹⁶⁰ laws for Pennsylvania. But the new situation in Europe promised still more: the destruction of Napoleon and the crumbling of French hegemony opened the prospect of widespread regime change, and it had become possible to hope once more for change in Russia too, and to appeal to the Tsar in person.

In the years 1809–13 Bentham had moved politically to a much more radical position.¹⁶¹ But autocratic Russia remained an attractive goal: he still considered that suitable penal and civil codes could be drawn up under any form of constitutional arrangement, without prior constitutional reform: as he would write after the event, in July 1817, in a missive to the citizens of the United States, whose constitution he much admired,

Without parliamentary Reform, Britain can not, without revolution or civil war, no other monarchy can, take for a model the essentials of your *Constitutional* law: but on the ground of *penal* law, and to no inconsiderable extent, even on the ground of *civil* law, might it – and without change in any part of the constitutional law-branch, be made use of as a model anywhere: in Russia, in Spain, in Morocco. Hence it was – and without any thought or need of betraying him, [nor] any act of self-denying beneficence ... that these my services were offered to the Alexander of these days.¹⁶²

As already noted, Jeremy Bentham’s direct contacts with Russia in the years up to 1813 were by all available evidence very few: nevertheless, he still had some channels of information from St Petersburg. His friendly relations with Smirnov at the London embassy, and Samuel’s with S. R. Vorontsov, were of long standing, and Dumont retained his connections.¹⁶³ Now the immediate stimulus for Bentham appears to have come from Czartoryski, who under the new circumstances was eager to achieve the best possible outcome for Poland in the coming post-war settlement. In 1813 the Prince sent a secret emissary to England, who met important public figures, and made a significant impression particularly on Sir Henry Brougham, who took up the Polish cause in print.¹⁶⁴ Bentham, like

many on the liberal wing of opinion, had long been attached to the cause of Polish liberty; he had a portrait of Stanislas August on one of his chimney breasts, derived from the estate of his friend John Lind who had been in Polish service. 'It is now about forty years since I began to lift up my prayers for Poland,' he told Czartoryski in 1815.¹⁶⁵ Bentham hoped to be of use in drafting legal frameworks for Poland under the new dispensation; and it seems that Czartoryski was 'the principal agent'¹⁶⁶ in persuading him to think that, in the post-Napoleonic situation, his talents might also be applied to Russia herself. Bentham decided upon a direct personal approach to the Emperor.

In December 1813 Bentham drafted a letter to Alexander I. He sought prior advice on it, from Smirnov at the Russian embassy and from Dumont. The latter insisted that he should write not in French but in English, for which Alexander (Dumont thought) 'will have more respect'.¹⁶⁷ The letter presented to Alexander 'an offer relative to the department of Legislation': Bentham would draw up a code for the Empire. He referred to the Russian translation of *Dumont Principes*, and the favourable mention which his work since then had received in both the major recently published European codes, of Bavaria (1808) and France (1804). Now Russia should have a code too, suitable to its present condition: Bentham stressed his 'constant and pointedly manifested cares' to take account of particular and local circumstances: he had, after all, spent 'two of my most observant years' within the Tsar's domains. 'Codes upon the *French* pattern are already in full view. Speak the word, Sire, *Russia* shall produce a pattern of her own, and then let Europe judge.' He acknowledged that he was, of course, a foreigner. 'Yet to *this* purpose scarcely more so than a *Courlander*, a *Livonian*, or a *Finlander*', a transparent reference to Rosenkamppff and to the latter's patron Armfelt, of Finnish-Swedish origin; and he was as eager to receive suitable local information as any informant could be to supply it. Alexander had only to give a sign: 'In the midst of War, and without interruption to the successes or the toils of war, a line or two from Your Majesty's hand would suffice to give commencement to the Work: – to this greatest of all the works of peace.' As to remuneration, he could not accept anything material: 'the honour of the proposed employ, joined to such satisfactions as would be inseparable from that honour, compose the only reward which ... my way of thinking would allow me to accept.'¹⁶⁸

Bentham had to find a way of delivering the letter into the Tsar's hands. Smirnov had suggested that Chichagov might be the messenger: 'even circumstanced as Tchichagoff is with the Emperor [after the Berezina failure], his efforts might be of very considerable use. It is rather

the Emp. that is in disgrace with him than he with the Emperor.¹⁶⁹ Bentham's first *démarche*, apparently, was to send two slightly varying versions of the missive, with a covering letter dated 28 January 1814 and a copy of Speranskii's flattering 1804 letter to Dumont, to a highly placed correspondent in Russia, who he hoped would help to deliver the letter and from whom he also sought advice.¹⁷⁰ The covering letter was recorded and quoted by Pypin from a text, probably the original, then preserved in the Imperial Public Library in St Petersburg; however, his text lacked a beginning, and also the name of the addressee. Pypin considered the latter, on internal evidence, to be Mordvinov, who was by now back in St Petersburg, and this is much the most probable reading;¹⁷¹ the letter's wording could, however, also fit Chichagov, if (like Smirnov) we discount his post-Berezina disgrace.

Pypin's text of the covering letter starts abruptly in mid-flow. Bentham emphasised his attachment to Mordvinov (we will assume him to be the addressee) as a friend of Samuel's who has also previously expressed admiration for Jeremy's work. Now he sought his help:

I take the liberty to entrust to your care the enclosed two copies of a letter which I have written to your emperor. In one of them is *inserted* a paragraph which is *omitted* from the other: that is the sole difference. The one of these letters which you find best suited to its purpose, I would ask of your good will to send to him by any means which may prove most suitable.

Mordvinov should judge the suitability of his letter to Alexander, not only choosing the more suitable variant of the two offered, but editing it if necessary to remove anything inappropriate: 'You are my plenipotentiary:—you have *carte blanche*.' Bentham excuses the 'self-aggrandising' tone of his writing: he has been assured that he must be emphatic and specific, clearly comprehensible even at the expense of immodesty. He alludes to Rosenkamppf and his hostility, and the difficulties which this undoubtedly may cause, and wonders whether he could conciliate Rosenkamppf by collaborating with him and allowing him to take all the credit for the work which he (Bentham) would do. He also worries that if the present British government came to hear of his participation in Russian codification, it would try to prevent it: for the current British administration 'I serve ... as an object of *revulsion* and equally of *apprehension*'.

Even if his proposed Russian Code were neglected and not used after it reached St Petersburg, Jeremy thought, the exercise would still be worthwhile: it could be published in Britain and help to gain attention for

his ideas among the wider public, among ‘*the many*’ citizen subjects of the hostile British administration. This would further his cause after his death:

If I do not flatter myself excessively, I have already laid the foundation at least of a small school, consisting of persons gifted and active who, fully penetrated with my principles, will not lack either the desire or the ability to move forward and complete that which I leave unfinished.

In a postscript Bentham asks whether it would be possible to obtain an autograph letter from the Emperor in response to his proposal, and whether such a letter would produce a greater impression than one merely signed by him. A final note reports that Samuel Bentham is in good health.

The timing was not particularly propitious. Between the battle of Leipzig (October 1813) and his entry into conquered Paris (March 1814), Alexander was deeply engaged in international and military matters. But Mordvinov appears to have done as he was asked: the shorter version of Jeremy’s letter to Alexander made its way into the Tsar’s personal chancellery. The copy cited by the editors of the *Correspondence*, which is the shorter of the two versions, is dated January 1814 and is held at present in the Russian (formerly Central) State Archive of Ancient Documents in Moscow. Another copy dated 28 January 1814 is listed among papers from Alexander’s office which were examined and reported upon in 1826 to the new tsar Nicholas I (Alexander I’s younger brother, ruled 1825–55): these are held in the Russian State Historical Archive (St Petersburg).¹⁷² The papers used by Pypin contained only one version of Jeremy’s letter to the Tsar, the longer version, together with the covering letter: so the shorter version had gone elsewhere. Pypin pointed out that the remaining longer version was identical with the version Bentham himself eventually published. This was the text that Jeremy sent when he tried once again to reach the Emperor; when he later published it, he dated it May 1814. In January and the following months Bentham apparently received no reply to his St Petersburg missive and its enclosures, either from Mordvinov or from the Tsar: there is, at least, no recorded evidence of a reply. Thus he was initially left in uncertainty as to the fate and status of his letter.

When Alexander soon after came to Britain himself, on a state visit in which he was joined by the King of Prussia, from 7 to 26 June NS,¹⁷³ Jeremy still did not know whether the Tsar had received his proposal. While in London Alexander flirted undiplomatically with the Opposition

and showed considerable interest in constitutional and parliamentary affairs. Bentham, however, deliberately avoided him. On 16 June 1814 he wrote to Albert Gallatin, the American Minister at the Court of St James, who had promised public support for his work:

When the Emperor Alexander and my Proposal to him, were the subject of conversation between us, I was mentioning to you, that it was not my wish to have any personal communication with him, and that my wish was rather to avoid it. Such it continues to be still, but, considering that by one accident or other, he might, with or without having received my Proposal, happen to hear of my existence, and in consequence command my attendance, on that supposition I could not but be anxious, to have in my pocket, a recommendation so persuasive, as the letter which you have so obligingly and repeatedly led me to expect.

Among the incidents, which might possibly render my personal attendance on the Emperor unavoidable, is the arrival of Admiral *Tchichagoff*, who, after obtaining a letter of leave from his master, conceived in very gracious terms, left Petersburg on the 22 of last month, in the declared intention of reaching this country as soon as the post could carry him. He is accordingly expected every hour¹⁷⁴

The fact that, having sent his letter out to St Petersburg, Bentham made no attempt to press his case personally with the Tsar is very striking. It conformed to his habitual determined shunning of unnecessary personal contacts but could scarcely be conducive to his purposes. He thus repeated his deliberate failure in 1787 to meet Catherine II in Krichëv. The Imperial visit to London is not even spoken of specifically or directly in his correspondence. This attitude contrasts with that of Bentham's good friend the Quaker William Allen, who waited personally on the Tsar in London on behalf of the Religious Society of Friends and was able to turn his gracious reception to very great effect on subsequent visits to Russia.¹⁷⁵ It also belied popular expectation: in an article titled 'Emperor Alexander and the English people', *The Examiner* of 12 June 1814 wrote: 'His Majesty has seen our greatest warrior, – the Duke of Wellington; perhaps he has seen our greatest philosopher, who resided, we believe, some time in Russia, – Mr. Bentham.'¹⁷⁶ Had Bentham been prepared to bend his back and spend his time paying personal court to Alexander, he would perhaps have had the opportunity both to explain clearly and exactly what he wished to offer, and to dispose the Tsar in his favour.

On this occasion as on so many others, it was Samuel, not Jeremy, who met the Russian visitor. On 24 June 1814 the visiting monarchs were shown round the Portsmouth dockyards, and Samuel Bentham was in attendance. His son George, 14 at the time, later retold the event in his autobiography:

When the Sovereigns came down [to Portsmouth], the scene was a very busy one, the weather was fine, and I can never forget the curious scene when the Emperor of Russia and the Duchess of Oldenbourg, his sister, went on board a man of war at Spithead, the immense crowd of boats all around, the bustle and screams, the loud hurras and cries of 'Emperor a-head, Emperor a-stern,' 'Duchess a-head,' etc., as the spectators at one end or the other hoped to get a glimpse of them.

Their visit to the Dock Yard was strictly a private one, and very stringent regulations prevented the admission of any but their own party on that day. My father however who, though no longer in Office, was privileged as being the chief author of the most important establishments in the Yard, and was officially present among those who attended on the Sovereigns, had taken my brother, myself and [my cousin] Philip Abbott in the day before – we spent the night in the Office of the Master of the Wood Mills, and awaited in those Mills the Imperial and Royal Party. Alexander, on learning who we were, said some very civil things to us to our great gratification.¹⁷⁷

If Jeremy Bentham was not willing to see the Tsar personally, he was happy to meet Czartoryski, who was also in Britain as part of the Imperial entourage. Through the agency of Brougham, the Prince was able to visit Jeremy in late June 1814.¹⁷⁸ Bentham later summed up the encounter:

While the Emperor was still in London, Prince Adam Czartoriski, being apprised of the habitual state of seclusion to which my pursuits have condemned me, obtained through the intervention of a common friend, the assurance that the door of my hermitage would be open to him, for the purpose of a request he wished to make to me for my eventual assistance in relation to a Code of Laws, of the concession of which some expectation at that time was entertained. He came accordingly, and was received with the respect commanded by his well-known character, and the cordiality produced by the remembrance of old acquaintance.

Being at that time in a state of constant attendance on his Imperial Majesty, the Prince had already for some time been, and for

a considerable time continued to be, universally regarded as the destined Vice-Roy of the then future [Polish] Kingdom. The intentions of his Imperial Majesty with relation to it were at that time either not, or not yet disclosed: but, if not the hopes, at any rate the wishes, of the Polish nation pointed to the comparatively at least, and in no unconsiderable degree even absolutely, excellent Constitutional Code, which towards [the end of] the reign of the amiable and unfortunate Stanislaus [in 1791] had been brought forward under his auspices.

The eventual assistance desired was no sooner asked than promised. But, every thing depending upon the perhaps unformed and at any rate unscrutable will of his Imperial Majesty, every thing that was said on that subject was, on the Prince's side naturally, and on my own carefully, confined to general[itie]s.¹⁷⁹

Besides conferring on constitutional change, Bentham took advantage of the meeting for less elevated, more mercenary purposes: he showed Czartoryski a gold Polish snuffbox with a portrait of Stanislas August, which had belonged to Lind,

asking him whether he knew of anybody who would be disposed to give for it anything more than the value of the gold. After keeping it a few days, [Czartoryski] returned it to me, saying that there was nothing very particular either in the likeness or in the workmanship, and that resemblances, in different forms, of the unfortunate king were by no means scarce.¹⁸⁰

In the absence of a reply from Mordvinov or a response from Alexander, Jeremy (as he indicated to Gallatin) did not know if his dispatch to the Tsar had reached its intended goal; now he had to decide how to proceed further. A logical step would have been to give a copy of his letter for the Emperor to Czartoryski during their interview, and it has been claimed that this is what Bentham did. But there appears to be no firm supporting evidence for this contention, and Jeremy does not mention any such thing.¹⁸¹ Moreover, his next known action was to send out his letter yet again independently, hotfoot after the Imperial party, something which makes little sense if Czartoryski was already carrying it with him. Within days of the departure of the Tsar and his entourage Jeremy organised the transportation of his letter – this time the longer version – once more. Now, in order to make sure that the proposal was definitely delivered to Alexander, he pinned his hopes on Chichagov, who had arrived in England

from Russia in June 1814. Chichagov brought with him documentation for a justificatory account of his army service, and Jeremy encouraged him and advised him on it. As Anthony Cross remarked, 'the flurry of letters which passed between them in 1814 and 1815 in their number, length and expression reveal a degree of intimacy never achieved before by Bentham with a Russian'.¹⁸² With regard to the missive to the Tsar, Chichagov – unhappy and disenchanted with his Imperial patron, and outspoken as was his habit – was savagely sceptical about Bentham's chances, but agreed nevertheless to forward the letter, and another to Czartoryski. Chichagov asserted (Jeremy wrote) that

Alexander's head ... is ... a perfect '*vacuum*:' that was several times his word: fickle as a weathercock: when a plan for any purpose had been proposed to him, and even established, let him be ever so well satisfied, when the back of the person who proposed it is turned, the first person who finds anything to say against it drives it off the stage. More, a good deal, than I can stay to write about the same character, the general result is – that under such a man, and with such people about him, all chance of the establishment of any such Code as I should pen, and hence of any immediate good to Russia, is altogether out of the question. Yet, when I asked him about getting the letter conveyed, he undertook to do it with the utmost readiness: this accordingly is what it will be my object to get him to do: presuming from a Letter of acceptance from [H]is [V]acuity [the Tsar: RB] various good effects, though his vacuity were to think no more of it¹⁸³

Alexander was by now on his way to the Congress of Vienna, which assembled in September 1814; it continued in session until June 1815, when the final treaty was signed. In October 1814 Chichagov wrote, in imperfect English:

The person through whom I have send your letters is one of the Emperors secretaries of state and a good friend of mine by some particular chance he was my secretary two years ago. He wrote to me since informing me particularly of this business. He says that as Cz. has been the principal agent in it he thought proper to sent to him to warsaw both the letters, and as the Emperor is now gone there also he will soon get it. We shall presently hear of balls, dancings, reviews and Constitutions for the poles.¹⁸⁴

In the end Bentham's crucial letter reached its goal: Czartoryski delivered Jeremy's proposal to 'His Vacuity' when the Emperor was in Vienna, in the midst of the affairs of the Congress, nearly ten months after the Imperial departure from England. As he wrote, apologetically, on 25 April 1815, enclosing the Imperial response,

The continual excursions, which his Majesty the Emperor has been making, since his departure from England, and the great interests with which he has for some time been occupied, allowed not, until this moment, of my remitting to his Imperial Majesty the letter you addressed to Him.

Czartoryski expressed himself eager, as before, to draw on Bentham's advice when Alexander should turn to legislation for Poland.¹⁸⁵ The Tsar himself now sent Jeremy a personal reply, a mark of distinction in itself; however, his letter was cordial but non-committal, wishing to 'profit from your knowledge and your experience' [*profiter de votre savoir et votre expérience*], but promising only to order the Commission for the Compilation of Laws 'to have recourse to you and to send you its questions' [*d'avoir recours à vous et de vous adresser ses questions*]. Bentham was being offered merely the despised role of correspondent and consultant. To add insult to injury, Alexander joined to his 'sincere thanks' [*remercimens sincères*] 'the attached keepsake as a mark of the particular esteem in which I hold you' [*le souvenir ci-joint comme une marque de l'estime particulière que Je vous porte*]: a valuable ring in a packet bearing the Imperial seal.¹⁸⁶ This was in fact a demonstration of particular favour on the part of the Emperor. But Jeremy could not see it or appreciate it in that light, and this time there was no Khitrovo to avert the unwelcome present.

Bentham responded a month later with long letters to both correspondents. To Czartoryski he expounded his interests in Polish constitutional matters and education, wondering whether the 1791 constitution was intended to serve as a basis for further development in the post-Vienna dispensation: the Congress of Vienna had laid the groundwork for a Polish constitutional settlement. On the Tsar's own legislative and codificatory intentions, he declared to Czartoryski that it was his absolute duty to speak out, to make the Emperor hear unpleasant truths about the uselessness of current Russian codification arrangements. He was concerned that the Emperor (and Czartoryski) would be 'sadly annoyed' by both the length and the content of his letter to him, and he acknowledged that he was going to put the Emperor's well-known good

nature to the test; he hoped nevertheless that Alexander would have sufficient patience to read his (Jeremy's) truths which, he insisted, could not reach him from anyone else.

A bandage on his eyes – leading strings on his shoulders – on this part of the field of Government, such has hitherto been his custom. My aim is to rid him of those appendages: is it possible he should forgive me? Forgive me or not, that is not the point: that he should suffer himself to be rid of them, *that* is the one thing needful.¹⁸⁷

He concluded by commenting upon the Emperor's ring, which he now sent back in its original packet with the Imperial seal unbroken: as before, expensive baubles and valuable rewards were irrelevant and unacceptable. 'I hope the Emperor will not be angry with me for returning his ring; if it had been a brass or a glass one, I would have kept it.' This concern also formed the opening of his accompanying letter to Alexander: Bentham regretted that he had not made himself clearly understood in this area in his initial communication and assured the Emperor that compared to the latter's previous letter, which showed him 'the place I am fortunate enough to possess in Your Majesty's good opinion', he considered valuable rings and monetary values worthless.

The missive in which Bentham undertook to disabuse the Tsar was a broadside of a letter, which when published ran to 50 pages.¹⁸⁸ In it he explained and proclaimed his own design. He wished to present not answers to others' questions, but a complete and printed law project [*Projet de loi*] which would provide an *outline* code to be filled in through public discussion in Russia. Questions to him from the Commission would be pointless: his answers would be either redundant (if the Commission members were truly competent) or disregarded (if they were not, and stuck blindly to their project). Then he came to speak of Rosenkamppff, who (he stressed) was in truth the only person of any consequence in the Commission.

Of this person ... I have not any personal knowledge. But of *his* writings I know a great deal more, and of *mine* he knows a great deal more, than it is agreeable to *him* to think of. Ever since he began his career, he has beheld in my name an object of terror: an emotion, which, at several distinct times, in the view of several different persons, has betrayed itself by symptoms, such as would figure in a Comedy

Sire, I shall as soon have answers to send to the Emperor of Morocco, as to a Commission so *headed*. But if you have a mind for

a laugh, tell him you have received papers from me, and that they are satisfactory. But salts and a smelling bottle should be at hand.

Sire, I should ill warrant the good opinion entertained of me, if I hesitated to pronounce him *radically* incapable: for, supposing this to be a truth, I am perhaps the only person, from whom, with any chance of good effect, Your Majesty could receive it.

Persons in Russia capable of a professional judgement on Rosenkamppf were few, Bentham argued, and not such as would dare to disabuse the Tsar on the subject, 'unless, perhaps, it were some *rival*' whose motives would be suspect, while Rosenkamppf himself and his supporters would reassure the Tsar that outside intervention was unnecessary and unjustified.¹⁸⁹

At this point Bentham's frustration with and resentment of the disregard of those in charge of Russian codification came to the surface:

At the same time it will be known – for it is known already – that the labours of an Englishman – of an Englishman, whose labours in this line stand approved, not only by other governments – by the Bavarian – by the French, at several different periods – but by your Majesty's – and even by your Majesty in person – that these labours have, to this very purpose, been for these dozen years at your Majesty's command; and all that while, those who, in this part of the field, have been in possession of your Majesty's ear, have been successful in their endeavours to keep the fruit of those labours from making its appearance.

Bentham continued by distinguishing between two modes of composing major codificatory legislation, such as penal or civil codes. 'The *close* mode' involved one or few persons drafting measures in private which were then promulgated at once with the full force of law: this was the manner favoured by the Commission 'because, in this mode, their inaptitude, be it ever so compleat, will be screened, till exposure come too late for obviating and preventing mischief, with which it is pregnant', and which would be incalculable in a large empire. The *open* mode involved prior publicity and public comment on draft new legislation before it became law – in any case a salutary delay in fields where old law already existed and should be superseded slowly – and even open competition between alternative draft codes. The known disappointments which Alexander had suffered in his attempts at law-making hitherto were all caused, Bentham asserted,

[b]y this one circumstance; – by the adoption of the *close*, to the exclusion of the *open* mode: by the omitting to take the benefit of such lights, as the world at large might be capable of affording: by exclusive confidence, placed in a small number of persons, or rather in a single person, of whose aptitude for the task no proof has ever seen the face of day: a task in which the whole field of government is included, and for which the whole stock of genius, knowledge, and talent, which the civilized world affords, would not be too great.

Even in England with its legal traditions, Bentham thought, the ‘close’ approach could not succeed:

Sire, there exists not, even in this country, that man, or that limited number of men, who in the eyes of the public, or even in their own would be competent to such a task, without receiving all such lights, as, after publication made for that declared purpose, the public in its utmost amplitude should be disposed to furnish. In the Commission in question, is it possible that your Majesty should continue to see any such matchless combination of genius, intelligence, and wisdom – to say nothing of probity – as should render superfluous in Russia, those precautions, which in England are so indispensable?¹⁹⁰

Bentham’s and other, similar, draft codes for Russia, for which (he emphasised) the government itself would have no responsibility, should be subject to competition and public scrutiny. Foreign authorship would have the benefits of attracting criticism unfettered by local political considerations, and of preventing undue political influence on the part of the author; local criticism and local knowledge would remedy deficiencies and fill in the outline which the foreign author had provided. And this public, wide-ranging process would constitute a ‘Legislation or Codification School’ for Russia which could avoid the repeated failures of the ‘unschooled Codification Establishment’ which had existed *de facto* in the Empire since 1700, and even since 1804, without ever achieving meaningful results. Bentham used the historical section of the published 1804 report, which ‘lies before me’, to criticise the huge expense and ill outcomes of the present and previous Commissions. He discussed the methodology necessary and rebutted possible objections to his ‘open’ method; he stressed that if things were done in the right way, basing reasoned laws on ‘the one true and only defensible principle – the *principle of general utility*’, then ‘Here, Sir, will *indeed be a new aera*; – the aera of

rational legislation: an example set to all nations: – a new institution – and Your Majesty the founder of it.’ The ‘open’ methodology of a pre-prepared and publicly debated *projet de loi* which he here advocated was that embodied in all his later proposals for codification.

Finally Bentham turned to Poland, and his undertaking to Czartoryski. He understood a constitution to be under consideration, something necessitating local knowledge and therefore less suitable to his ‘open’ method. But he was eager to be of service, to give advice and answer questions in that case.

Once again Bentham relied on Chichagov to get his letters delivered. On 13 July 1815 the Admiral reported that he had received the package from Bentham’s factotum John Herbert Koe, but had just missed ‘the best opportunity of sending anything through the hands of a confidential person. Now I shall do my best to forward them by the first opportunity.’¹⁹¹ At the end of August Chichagov, while mocking the new proposals put forward from Russia for a Polish settlement, nevertheless reassured Bentham that ‘your letters to the Emp. and Cz. and the ring have been sent to Paris I have heard nothing of them since. Cz is at Warsaw but your letter will be forwarded to him as I hoped to do it.’¹⁹² Finally in January 1816 Bentham received Chichagov’s confirmation of delivery, dated 25 December 1815: ‘He mentions Prince Czartoryski’s receipt of the recipienda accompanied with a letter of Tchichagoff’s own to him, which of course if the end be furtherable will not fail to further it.’¹⁹³

Bentham himself doubted, and rightly, whether the ‘end’ was ‘furtherable’. His interminable letter, written in his prolix and complex personal style, and attacking in self-satisfied manner a senior official personally known to Alexander and deliberately maintained by him in post for over a decade, was unlikely to be read, and still less acted upon, by its addressee. The return of the Emperor’s ring must also have appeared as a snub (for Bentham, it was a mark of principle in which he would subsequently take great pride; commentators at the time considered it ‘ungracious’).¹⁹⁴ Commenting later on this correspondence, Jeremy wrote:

After a letter to any such effect as the above, as far as concerned Russia, my expectations, it may well be imagined, could not be sanguine: but as far as concerned Poland, – on the suggestion of Prince Czartoryski’s being what he was at that time universally said to be, such was the known benignity and indulgence of his Imperial Majesty’s disposition, there might, it seemed to me, still be a chance. From the Prince, at any rate, though scarcely from his Majesty, I was still in expectation of an answer, – when, on a sudden ... I learnt

from the public prints, that the appointment of a Vice-Roy, over the newly organized or rather disorganized remnant of the once Republican Kingdom, had been given to a name that I had never heard of.¹⁹⁵

After this, the treaties that were made public, rendered it but too manifest, that, together with so many other looked for Constitutions, the Constitution of *Poland* had taken its seat on the same cloud with *Utopia* and *Armata*: that what remained of that unhappy country under its own name, had been finally swallowed up in the gulph of Russian despotism: that, in a word, engagements are regarded as binding, by those alone who cannot violate them with impunity; and that of that modern *Holy League*, which in its spirit is so congenial to that of the original one, it is a fundamental principle, – that in the hands of the *ruling* and *subruling* few, the nearer the condition of the *subject-many* can be brought to the condition of the beasts of the field, the better it will be for the interests, eternal as well as temporal, of all parties.¹⁹⁶

Bentham published the correspondence and his commentary in 1817 in his *Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction* and their *Supplement*, perhaps (as he had intimated to his Petersburg correspondent in January 1814) in the hope of attracting the attention of ‘*the many*’ in Britain as well as that of leading politicians at home and abroad. His ill success with Alexander must have contributed to a further hardening of Bentham’s radical political perspective: in 1817 he had still justified his approach to the Tsar, but a year later he changed his mind. In April 1818 he wrote that Dumont, in 1802, in *Dumont Principes*,

found himself authorized in saying that in the eyes of Mr Bentham, there scarce existed a political Constitution, there scarce existed that form of Government, under which, in his view of the matter, a good system of laws in its other branches – a good system of law in penal and civil matters – might not, supposing good principles once laid down and presented to the eyes of rulers, be reasonably looked for at their hands. But the more clearly he pried into all these several branches, the more hopeless in his eyes has been the existence of a good system of penal and civil under a bad system of constitutional law, till at last the impossibility became a point demonstrated.

Bentham explained the shift in his position in general terms, by intensity of focus as his age advanced:

attention has been gradually led to this final point, and as occasion has called bent towards it with a steadier and intenser force, the more anxious and unremitting and more scrutinizing intensity.¹⁹⁷

But the Russian experience was evidently critical; and in immediate practical terms, too, he had entirely failed of his ultimate purpose. Not only was his offer to Alexander not taken up, but his denunciations went unheeded: the Commission and Rosenkamppf remained in charge of Russian codification.

Rosenkamppf, Speranskii and the completion of codification

During the following years Rosenkamppf's career flourished. In December 1812 he had received a further honour, the Order of St Anne first class; in 1817 he was made a Baron of the Grand Duchy of Finland,¹⁹⁸ with a coat of arms showing the word 'Law' and the Imperial crown, and the Latin motto 'For ruler, law and fatherland'. In 1819 he was awarded the Order of St Vladimir second class. In 1816 the new draft law emancipating the Estonian servile peasantry came before the Commission, and it was Rosenkamppf who edited it (it required an official German version as well as the original Russian); it was later reported that a large bribe had been accepted from the Captain (*Ritterschaftshauptmann*, elected leader) of the Estonian nobility.¹⁹⁹

The subsequent development of the Commission for the Compilation of Laws under Rosenkamppf's leadership is summarised by Marc Raeff:

[T]he Commission took steps to lay the ground for a more complete and scientific acquaintance with Russian jurisprudence and the history of Russian law. It published a *Zhurnal Zakonodatel'stva* (Journal of Legislation) in 1817 and in 1819 planned the publication of a *Kriticheskii zhurnal rossiiskogo zakonodatel'stva* (Critical journal of Russian legislation). Baron Rosenkampf was also the first to take concrete steps to search the archives for legal monuments. He ordered a survey of archival holdings in the capital and prepared a preliminary register (30,000 titles) of past legislation that would have to be included in a code. On the basis of this work, the Baron

edited a 'Systematic survey of active laws of the Russian Empire with the foundations of law derived from them' (*Sistematicheskii svod sushchestvuiushchikh zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii s osnovaniiami prava iz onykh izvlechennymi*). It consisted of 15 volumes and was published between 1815 and 1822. In it he also attempted to formulate the basic norms and principles of Russian legislation and to order them clearly and systematically. In so doing, Baron Rosenkampf took an important step which paved the way for the Digest compiled later by the Second Section. In spite of these significant, but limited, technical contributions, the work of the Commission on Laws between 1815 and 1825 was rather desultory. Alexander I did not show much interest in it, and it was allowed to stagnate.²⁰⁰

Over the same period, Russian and European politics also moved further in directions opposed to Bentham's hopes. From 1815 onwards the head of Alexander's personal chancellery or private office, and so effectively chief minister and executive, was the martinet Count A. A. Arakcheev. In 1815 the gathering paranoia of the Russian authorities led the Minister of Education to lodge an official censorship complaint against a journal which, by republishing an old essay of Bentham's, implicitly suggested criticism of the Russian government's economic policy.²⁰¹ The principles of absolutist legitimism embodied in the Holy Alliance (Bentham's *Holy League*), and the growing fear of revolution, would soon lead on to the Six Acts in Britain and the Karlsbad Decrees in Germany (1819) and from 1820 in Russia to the notorious reaction of the last years of Alexander's reign, the *Arakcheevshchina* ['evil times of Arakcheev'].²⁰²

The further development of the new Polish constitutional arrangements worked out at Vienna did little to change the mood.²⁰³ The Congress of Vienna had enacted that newly constituted states emerging from the Napoleonic order should have constitutions: post-Napoleonic France received one in 1814 with Alexander's blessing, the re-formed Kingdom of Poland's constitution was granted in 1815. Bavaria, Württemberg and Bessarabia received new constitutions in 1818–19. In 1818 Alexander made a sensational speech to the new Polish Diet in Warsaw, in which he held out the prospect of a similar constitution for Russia. The speech was probably intended for European consumption. It offered some encouragement to the liberal-minded in Russia, though more radical opinion was dismayed that the disloyal Poles should be showing Russia the way, while conservatives feared popular unrest or a dilution of autocratic principles. Alexander was not pleased when his

speech was translated (from his French) and published 'at home' in the Russian press:²⁰⁴ he sent a reprimand to the Minister responsible.²⁰⁵

Meanwhile, with no public announcement, the Tsar had commissioned Novosil'tsev, who had worked on the Polish constitution in Warsaw, to continue his work there, now on a draft constitution for Russia. Novosil'tsev's project, a 'State Charter for the Russian Empire', drawing heavily on the Polish constitution, was completed in 1820. That year, however, the mutiny of the elite Semënov Guards regiment, goaded beyond endurance by a sadistically authoritarian colonel, finally convinced Alexander that treason and revolution were imminent: reaction set in. The constitutional project also involved basic questions of Imperial administrative structure. It was shelved. The Novosil'tsev plan was accessible to a small circle connected to those drafting it, including some Decembrists, but became more widely known only when the Polish rebels published it in 1830.²⁰⁶ (During the Polish uprising, while Warsaw was in rebel hands, the constitutional project was discovered among state papers and published for public sale in a printed edition in three languages, French, Russian and Polish. The rebels' Foreign Minister, in a foreword, expressed the hope that the publication would remind the Imperial government what it owed to the great Russian people. On regaining control of the Polish capital, the conquering Russian force bought up all accessible copies of the book: 1,578 copies were sent back to Moscow and burnt.²⁰⁷)

The Compilation Commission had not been involved in Novosil'tsev's clandestine Warsaw composition. But meanwhile it had continued its work, and the following year, in 1821, it was once again placed under the direction of Speranskii. The slow process of Speranskii's rehabilitation had been completed, and he had returned, chastened and more cautious, to service in St Petersburg, though he was never to regain fully his previous intimacy with Alexander. With Speranskii once more in control, Rosenkamppf's position became more difficult. A year later he petitioned the Tsar to be released from service.

This resignation has been linked directly to Speranskii's return. It is possible that that did have some effect upon the Tsar's response to Rosenkamppf's request, since Speranskii on his reappointment in September 1821 had made serious criticism of him to Alexander: he reported to the Tsar that the Commission's products were a 'disgraceful jumble' which must be corrected in the Council of State, because the Commission was dominated by Rosenkamppf.²⁰⁸ The direct cause, however, seems to have been something quite different: according to Rosenkamppf himself his resignation was provoked by pressures unjustly placed upon him by Prince Lopukhin before Speranskii's reappearance.²⁰⁹

In 1817 permission had been given for the Compilation Commission to set up its own typography; when no commercial contractor could be found, Rosenkamppff undertook the task himself at his own expense.²¹⁰ According to Maikov's account, when the Commission presented law projects to the Council of State, the Council required Lopukhin to print sources and commentaries for the new legislation. Lopukhin, miserly to the extreme in the use of Commission funds, had Rosenkamppff print these at his own cost, on the promise that the Commission would purchase from him a set number of copies at a set price. A contract was made in 1820: Lopukhin undertook to pay Rosenkamppff for 680 copies of the new Digest (*Svod*), which was to be printed in 12 volumes, at 8 roubles per volume. When the printing was completed, however, Lopukhin would accept only far fewer copies, and moreover paid for them piecemeal, leaving Rosenkamppff with a heavy loss. In addition the current Minister of Justice, Prince D. I. Lobanov-Rostovskii, queried the quality and contents of the publication. Rosenkamppff petitioned the Emperor, setting out the whole matter and requesting his release from the Commission; no doubt he hoped for some sign of Imperial support and favour for his long service. A decree to Lopukhin of 13 April 1822 duly removed Rosenkamppff from the Commission's work; however, it awarded him no pension or compensation. For the moment Rosenkamppff continued to receive his existing salary as a member of the Committee on Finnish Affairs, but this Committee was closed in 1826, at the start of the reign of the new emperor Nicholas I, and Rosenkamppff was left with no pension or income at all.

This was an unusual outcome to a long and successful career in Russian state service which had brought the award of civil service rank, numerous orders of chivalry, and a barony and coat of arms, and he had long since lost his Livonian estate. Looking back later, and thinking of his previous status in Livonia, Rosenkamppff regretted his entry into the Imperial state bureaucracy: 'How happy my old age would have been if I had been able to resist my first step on the slippery career of Petersburg service!'²¹¹ He fell further out of official favour in the new reign, and died in great poverty in 1831. The 100 roubles needed to defray his funeral expenses was found from funds of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment; to provide the traditional entertainment for the officiating clergy and meet other costs, his widow had to sell his library and furniture, and she herself died shortly afterwards in penury.²¹²

Speranskii continued to direct the Commission for the Compilation of Laws and remained in charge of codification for many years. In 1826, as Nicholas I's reign began in earnest, the Commission was closed and codification work reorganised as part of a larger rearrangement of the

new ruler's administration. Nicholas inherited the private chancellery which Alexander had created as his personal office in 1812. He retained this for his own work, renaming it the First Section of His Majesty's Own Chancellery; codification was assigned to a new Second Section, a sign of the importance Nicholas attached to it. At the same time another new department was created, the Third Section of His Majesty's Own Chancellery, Nicholas I's new and subsequently notorious secret police.

The new Second Section was initially headed formally by M. Balugianskii, previously one of Speranskii's assistants in the Compilation Commission, the senior member after Rosenkamppf, also the former first rector of the new St Petersburg University; Speranskii had no formal title within the Section. But he became its administrative director, and remained in that position until his death in 1839. The new Tsar wished to keep him out of the limelight, and made Balugianskii responsible for his conduct, while at the same time giving him space and authority to carry out his task.²¹³ Now, however, Speranskii followed a path much closer to Rosenkamppf's than had been the case in 1808–12. As Raeff explained,

During his exile Speransky had come to realize ... that in [1808–12] he had taken the wrong course for codifying Russian law. The Benthamite idea of working out a completely new set of legal norms was not well suited to Russia at the time; neither could Roman law and the *Code Napoléon* be applied directly, as there was no tradition of a well worked out civil law. In connection with his studies of German romantic literature and thought, Speransky had also become acquainted with the historical school of jurisprudence and the writings of its main proponent, Savigny. As a result, he had become aware – even if he did not fully realize all the implications of the position – of the value of laws formed and determined by the historic evolution of a nation. Taught by bitter experience of his own lack of professional training in law, he actively pursued the study of history and jurisprudence. He now understood more clearly than before that ere a code could be drawn up, much work would have to be done first to find and order the necessary documents and sources of Russian legislation.²¹⁴

Speranskii was now much better informed about codification, and the national-historical approach found decisive favour as the Tsar and his entourage, and the Council of State, became politically more conservative; this was also the methodology decisively adopted by Tsar Nicholas I at his accession.²¹⁵ It was along these lines that Speranskii guided the on-going

work of codification: he wrote in a formal memorandum to the new Emperor in 1826, 'Law codes are not invented, but are composed from previous laws with additions and corrections appropriate to the mores, customs and actual need of the state.'²¹⁶ Speranskii criticised the work of the Commission hitherto, including that carried out in the State Council, describing the drafts it had considered as 'only the first beginnings of codes and not codes themselves, first beginnings which are extremely imperfect and as yet far from having practical value'. He proposed that the work should concentrate on completing a chronological collection of all laws within two years. However, he still wished to proceed thereafter to the composition of civil and criminal codes, which he recommended should be entrusted to 'a special person'. Tsar Nicholas did not agree: he insisted that the Second Section should concentrate on collecting all previous laws together, systematising them, and producing a truly comprehensive set of digests. New codes were to be left for the future.²¹⁷

Basing itself on the preliminary collections of the old Compilation Commission – for which Rosenkampff was largely responsible – the new Second Section successfully carried out extensive further work in the following years. Speranskii as the man in charge still had some room for manoeuvre. While following the instruction to base systematised laws on existing Russian legislation, on occasion he nevertheless used this to camouflage modernisation of Russian legal norms by the use of foreign sources: 'it may be taken as proven that sometimes clauses of volume X of the Digest of Laws have no source in the Complete Collection of Laws, they are borrowed from foreign jurists and foreign codes.'²¹⁸

In 1830 Jeremy Bentham published the first volume of his *Constitutional Code; for the use of all nations and all governments professing liberal opinions*, in order to improve the world 'by covering it with republics'. In the same year Speranskii's Section produced the systematic 'first collection' of a *Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire*, in 48 thick volumes covering the years 1649–1830; a 15-volume *Digest of the Laws of the Russian Empire* covering all areas of state legislation followed in 1832, systematising existing Russian active law.²¹⁹ Consequently it reflected the current state of legislation and of national legal practice and gave no scope for constitutional innovation such as Jeremy Bentham might have offered. Thus serfdom, for example, which Alexander had wished to reform and which Nicholas also disliked intensely, remained in place and the current legal framework around it was reiterated and so reinforced;²²⁰ Russian court procedure could now be discovered more easily, but was little improved or reformed. Nevertheless, this was a huge achievement, providing Russian officials and administrators, judges and

lawyers with a reliable and accessible foundation for their work: the distinguished legal historian William Butler has described the Section's productions as 'the greatest systematization and codification of legislation, in its day, on this planet and far ahead of anything commensurate in continental Europe, England or the United States'.²²¹ In reward for his long, faithful and successful service, shortly before Speranskii's death the Emperor personally conferred on him the distinguished Order of St Andrew and the title of Count. The long-standing task of clarifying Russian law was finally completed.²²²

After the fall: Jeremy Bentham's Russian connections after 1815

In 1819 the British radical John Bowring, later Bentham's friend and disciple and his ultimate executor and publisher, visited Russia during a commercial journey around Europe. He was much struck by the contrasts of magnificence and squalor in St Petersburg, and while he found 'great fascination' in the Imperial court, he experienced the 'character and institutions of the Russian government' as 'corrupt and barbarous'; Alexander personally he considered a 'weak, vain and impressionable man' whose 'policies changed as frequently as the wind'. He recalled his pleasure at meeting the political economist and former Imperial tutor Heinrich Storch, who complained bitterly of the constraints imposed on free enquiry by arbitrary and despotic government. Bowring concluded that tsarist despotism must be confronted through free speech – perhaps the sort of process Bentham had recommended to Alexander for his 'Legislative School' – 'for discussion would soon undermine [despotism's] foundations, while the proclamation of sound principles would shake its fiscal, judicial and administrative organization. There is no safety for it unless the press is shackled, free thought discouraged, and the exercise of the noblest faculties of man restrained and paralysed.'²²³ Bowring's views echoed the disillusionment of Jeremy Bentham.

In the same year, 1819, though disenchanted with the Tsar and his circle, Jeremy renewed contact with Mordvinov. The latter had been reappointed in 1816 to the Council of State in St Petersburg, as Chairman or President of the Department of Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs. But in 1818 he requested leave to go abroad, and travelled in Europe until mid-1820.²²⁴ In 1819 he was in England, and Jeremy, apprised of his journeys, was anxious to see him; Samuel was also enquiring of his brother concerning the

traveller's whereabouts. After tracking Mordvinov's movements for some time through the Russian embassy, Jeremy wrote to him on 1 September:

I write to you in English You were once an Englishman: I hope you have not altogether ceased to be so. How slender soever my right to that honour may be, I have for I know not how many months been in the expectation, and that by no means an unanxious one, of seeing you at this my Hermitage: and have accordingly more than once made enquiries about you from my old friend Mr Smyrnove. The last tidings I have heard, have been, that you have been not less than six or seven weeks in England: and I have reason to think that at present you are in Liverpool, but mean to revisit London before your departure from this island.

Your name is so intimately associated in my mind with that of my Brother, that it will be a matter of no small regret to me, and I am sure still greater to him, if, after your return to London, many days elapse before I have had the satisfaction of taking you by the hand at this my aforesaid Hermitage.

He invited Mordvinov to one of his dinners for two:

If you can put up with a Hermit's dinner in a place which happens just now to be in a state of more than ordinary disorder, I shall be happy to see you from 6 o'clock to ½ after 10, tête-à-tête any day you will have the goodness to name: – the earlier the better.²²⁵

Mordvinov evidently soon returned to London and the invitation was accepted, but the visit delayed by illness. Perhaps encouraged by the Warsaw events of 1818, Mordvinov had left in St Petersburg a Plan for an Imperial Russian representative national assembly, to be presented to Alexander, a project for a form of limited constitutional government. Now, he explained, he had occupied himself in his sickroom with setting down from memory these ideas about possible nationwide representation in Russia, 'the principles on which, I suppose, national representation could be introduced into a government which is making a first trial of it and whose ideas are still too distant to accept a constitution which is free in all respects'.²²⁶ Bentham wrote back the same day, reiterating his eagerness to see Mordvinov, and urging him meanwhile to peruse *Papers Relative to Codification* and its *Supplement*, 'which I left for the honour of your acceptance, that you might see the sort of intercourse that I have had

with your Emperor, and so forth'.²²⁷ Next day Mordvinov sent his sketch on national representation, with the still optimistic comment:

Here are the general features of an imperfect representation, but such, I presume, as might be proposed to a Despotic government. But the plant will grow; to have the tree, it has to be planted before its age of maturity and before the appearance of vigorous branches. I present you the sketch, to be perfected.²²⁸

His covering letter said that he hoped to call that evening, but the visit was again postponed: the next day another note arrived with the same message of an imminent visit. In it Mordvinov added, 'I have read twice your correspondence with the Emperor, and I read it with much pain at the failure to appreciate and profit from your offers, whose acceptance could have laid the foundation of prosperity for my Country.' [J'ai lu deux fois vôtre correspondance avec l'Empereur, et je l'ai lu avec bien de douleur de ce qu'on n'a pas su profiter de vos offres, dont l'acceptation auroit pu mettre le fondement à la prospérité de ma Patrie.]²²⁹ When they finally met, apparently that evening, Mordvinov nevertheless tried to get Bentham to prepare a code for Russia: as Jeremy later told the story, 'I thought he would have knocked me down, because I would not say I understood magnanimous' [Alexander's: RB] letter to be an order for my goods and swear that I would set about making an assortment of them.'²³⁰ The Admiral had also commented on Bentham's *bête noire* Rosenkamppf:

You have stated the truth, pure and exact, about the talents of the man who is at the head of the country's codification, which you speak about. I have said as much myself. But he is a fool and an intriguer, and people like that always manage to keep their jobs, because they don't attract envy and they flatter the high-ups who protect them, who are just as ignorant as they are.²³¹

Rosenkamppf's continued ascendancy exemplified for both correspondents the ills of autocratic law-making.

During the 1820s things Russian largely disappeared from Jeremy's correspondence and his direct concerns, though they seem never to have been far from his mind. These years saw his greatest celebrity, and his engagement with codification projects across Europe and the Americas as well as with new connections to India, Egypt and elsewhere. In 1820 he had high hopes of becoming the arbiter of the new Spanish constitution, and repeated to his correspondent José Joaquín de Mora the methodology

he had proposed for Russia, referring de Mora specifically to *Papers Relative to Codification*. He would provide a complete draft code, not using the existing 'old foundations' and also not answering questions or making statements on individual points; other competent specialists should do the same. From these drafts a suitable code would be worked out: 'on this head, I need not say anything more *here*: the matter being so fully discussed in my letter to Emperor Alexander, in "Papers on Codification". Howsoever it might have been in Russia under the wet blanket of despotism, in Spain, at the present day, I should not expect to find any want of candidates.'

He also hoped to give Spain the benefits of Samuel's talents and expertise: '— so to order matters that in his portion of the field of art and science, the singularly extensive and various services which he will be capable of rendering, should be rendered to Spain, and on the same gratuitous terms as mine'. To make this credible, he accompanied the offer with an extensive and eulogistic account of Samuel's doings and achievements both in Russia and in Britain.²³² To Chichagov, then in France, he wrote triumphantly at the same time, 'My reign in Spain is upon the point of its commencement I have in my possession a fine broad piece of sealed sealing wax; and expect in a month or less a letter from the beloved [King Ferdinand VII: RB], whether he knows any thing of it or not, making over to me all his beloved subjects.' He added jokingly, 'If any of your Estates under magnanimous [Alexander I: RB] want a few thousand Moojicks to help improve them, now is your time, we shall not differ about the prices.'²³³ In 1820, between the British abolition of the African slave trade and that of slavery itself, amid great controversy over final abolition, Bentham apparently found the sale of Spanish peasants a matter of sufficient indifference to be a subject for humour. The Spanish project did not come to maturity, but in 1822 an invitation from the Portuguese Cortes launched Bentham into sustained work on his constitutional code, of which volume I (as already mentioned) was published in 1830.

About 1821 Bentham met John Bowring, who rapidly became an eager disciple. Bowring was a great linguist; during his short stay in Russia he claimed to have learned the language from scratch sufficiently for daily purposes. His first calling had been commercial, but he was now branching out into literary pursuits. In St Petersburg he had made 'many agreeable literary acquaintances', among them the fabulist Krylov and the prosaist, poet and historian Karamzin, both major literary figures. His closest St Petersburg friend, however, became the philologist Friedrich Adelung, another former Imperial tutor and the librarian of the Compilation Commission; when Bowring conceived a plan to publish

translations of Russian poetry in English, Adelung was of great assistance to him both in the choice of poets and texts and in providing German prose translations for poems which in fact exceeded Bowring's linguistic skills. The resultant *Russian Anthology: Specimens of the Russian poets* (London, 1821) was a landmark publication, the first widely read collection of Russian literature in English. Despite his poor opinion of Alexander, Bowring sent the Emperor a copy of the second edition (1822) and was evidently very satisfied to receive in return a large ring of amethyst surrounded with diamonds.²³⁴ He went on to publish similar selections from other Slavonic and East European literatures.

Bentham later dismissed these translations as 'a foolish sort of work – a waste of talent which he engaged in before he knew me, and which I shall not suffer him to repeat'.²³⁵ Bowring noted that though Bentham always spoke slightly and even insultingly of poetry, he had himself on occasion written verse: Bowring quoted a poem composed in 1780 which, he claimed, expressed 'the enthusiasm and delight [Bentham] felt in anticipating the progress of the "greatest felicity" principle'.²³⁶ Bentham's dismissive judgement on the *Russian Anthology* entirely missed the contemporary vogue for poetry, and especially folk literature, in Russia, England and Europe; but Bentham was very happy to recognise Bowring's literary capacities when in 1823 together with James Mill he founded the *Westminster Review*, to provide a platform for his opinions and those of the 'philosophical radicals'. Bowring became co-editor of the new venture with responsibility for the literary side, and placed in the very first edition of the new *Review* an extensive article, 'Politics and literature in Russia', based on an important recent Russian literary survey. In fact he had taken his material from a German translation of the Russian original, and this and hasty composition had produced numerous errors: however, this diminished neither the impact of the article, nor Bowring's growing reputation as an authority on Slavonic literatures.²³⁷ Other, similar articles followed.

Besides Spain and Portugal at this period, Bentham was greatly interested in and involved with Greek events after the revolt of 1821; he hoped to write a constitution for Greece. Bowring was Secretary of the London Greek Committee, which he had also helped set up. These concerns brought no mention, in the correspondence at least, of the Russian dimension of Greek affairs,²³⁸ but Russia was never far away. In 1822, Bentham's friend the French economist Jean Baptiste Say sent him a copy of a new Paris publication: a second edition of H. Storch's *Cours d'Economie politique*, originally published in St Petersburg in 1815, which Say had just edited. Storch, publicist and noted economist, whose acquaintance Bowring had enjoyed in 1819, had been tutor to the Grand Dukes Michael and

Nicholas, Tsar Alexander's younger brothers. Say explained the context to his 'dear and worthy Master' [cher et digne Maître] Jeremy Bentham:

Mr Storch had written at St Petersburg, for the usage of the Russian grand dukes, a Course of Political Economy composed almost entirely of pieces taken from Adam Smith, Sismondi and myself. This Course was printed, before it had been read, at the imperial printing house, at the expense of Alexander who is not the Great; but, oh, disaster! It had scarcely appeared when it was noticed that it was stained with liberalism; and what was even more annoying, it was this defect which brought it success both in Russia and in Germany. Reprinting was forbidden, naturally; but the Paris booksellers have just produced a second edition for which they pressed me hard to add a commentary, which unfortunately has done nothing to diminish the great vice attributed to this work, but in which I have been fortunate enough to be able at several points to express the admiration and attachment which I feel for you.²³⁹

Bentham was delighted to be able to put to use this new tribute to him: Dumont's widely esteemed French recension of his work on punishment and reward, from which Say quoted extensively, was just in the process of being finally translated into English, and Bentham intended to use Say's commentary to emphasise how his important writing was slighted by having received no English translation up to that time.²⁴⁰

In later life Jeremy Bentham made a practice of presenting one or more of his works to recipients he considered suitable.²⁴¹ In 1822 he decided to send out copies to potentially receptive persons in the Russian Empire. Bowring's circle of recent St Petersburg acquaintances was a promising channel. Bowring sent Jeremy an international list of 'individuals [to whom] you may write (mentioning my name) without reserve in any subject where "greatest happiness" principle is concerned'; the list included Adelung and Jacob Tengström, Archbishop of Åbo (Turku) in Finland:²⁴² Åbo was the seat of Sweden's third university, founded in 1640 and which Tsar Alexander, on annexing Finland in 1809, had included in his Imperial programme of university expansion. On receipt of the list, Jeremy sent four large packets of his writings to Bowring, who posted them all on to Adelung in St Petersburg. The addressees were Mordvinov, Speranskii (now rehabilitated), Adelung, and Tengström or the university.²⁴³ On 23 November 1822 Adelung wrote acknowledging receipt of 50 copies of Bowring's *Russian Anthology* and the four packets. He particularly asked Bowring to thank 'your famous

friend Mr Bentham for the precious present of his learned works'. Adelung distributed the *Russian Anthology* among Bowring's friends and local booksellers as instructed, and forwarded the other three packets promptly to Mordvinov, Speranskii and Åbo university.²⁴⁴

No response was recorded from Speranskii or from Åbo, but Mordvinov finally replied in May 1824:

You had the goodness to send me last year a library of your works, which are revered by the learned world and which I study with the zeal of a schoolboy who admires every product of his master's pen. I have had occasion to support my arguments in some serious cases with your luminous sentences, in my capacity as president for matters civil and ecclesiastical of the State Council.

I present myself to you now with a humble little work which I thought it my duty to write at a moment which seemed to me favourable for drawing my compatriots' attention to certain establishments which could be useful to them and without which nations do not prosper. Please be so good as to glance through it in order to enlighten me in my attempts to make myself useful to my country.

The 'humble little work' was a discussion of provincial banking institutions, which Mordvinov had published in Russian and French in 1816–17; he circulated it to other European luminaries, and after receiving a generally favourable response sent copies to all the regional noble corporations in the Russian Empire.²⁴⁵

Mordvinov's letter was delivered, and the reply carried back, by L. L. Fleury, Curator and Librarian of the Imperial Botanical Garden at St Petersburg.²⁴⁶ Bentham responded with a long and humorous letter, making no reference to Mordvinov's work on banks, and reproaching the Admiral for his tardy reply: he had feared that Mordvinov had either used the books to fuel his stove, or been sent to Siberia as the recipient of a letter from Bentham.²⁴⁷ He also announced the composition of his constitutional code, 'having for its object the bettering this wicked world, by covering it over with Republics', a fact he was communicating to Mordvinov so that he, as a highly placed Russian minister, could surround the Tsar's dominions with a *cordon sanitaire* of massed troops, 'all which, I tell you in confidence, will be of no avail against the copies which I shall enclose in bombshells, and shoot over their heads'. He complained that Speranskii had also not acknowledged his books: 'True it is, I never saw him; equally true it is, his sentiments, in regard to my stuff, are known to me by a letter of his to Dumont, which I have in my holy keeping, and

which, when I am in a bragging mood, I produce every now and then to some young friends',²⁴⁸ a striking testimony both to Jeremy's continuing regard for Speranskii, and to his regard for his own reputation and status.

Bentham had also heard of the administrative reforms which Speranskii had undertaken, while still relatively out of favour, as Governor-General of Siberia, and he longed to have an account of the abuses which Speranskii had uncovered in Russia's Far East.²⁴⁹ At the same time he declared his belief that corruption in Britain was as bad or worse: if 'sinister profit were all the mischief, I could stake my life on sending him, in return, an indisputably true statement of some dozen times as much sinister profit, made, though by so much safer and irresistible means, in the same space of time here'. He also thought that even in ill-governed Russia his Code might have some relevance to such reform: 'Seriously though, I should now absolutely despair, but that here and there, in my Constitutional Code, an arrangement might be found applicable with no less advantage in your monarchy than in my Utopia.' Bentham sent to Mordvinov with this letter a copy of a 'little Republican squib – *avant courier* of my Code': his *Leading Principles of a Constitutional Code* (1823), together with his *Essai sur la nomenclature et la classification des principales branches d'art-et-science ...* (Paris 1823).²⁵⁰

Bentham recalled, further, that he had sent with his publications to either Mordvinov or Speranskii a request 'for a copy of what has been officially published in your country in relation to the state of the laws, since the establishment for that purpose was set on foot'.²⁵¹ It is not clear whether Bentham knew exactly what had been published by the Commission; taken literally, his request encompassed all the publications of the Compilation Commission since its creation in 1801: a tall order, though no more, perhaps, than what Bentham himself had provided in dispatching his own collected works. Surely, he joked, 'two such mighty, mighty men as you and he, could contrive between you to steal a copy for such a purpose, without much danger of being whipt'; or perhaps even the Emperor himself would deign to send a copy: 'I would not return it to him, as I did his ring. I have no use for his rings. I might have many uses for his laws.' Bentham concluded his remarks on the productions of the Commission for the Compilation of Laws with a reference to its principal personality: 'As to Rosenkamppf, – he is gone (I hear) to the dogs. He could not (I have a notion) have been more appropriately disposed of.' As we have seen, Rosenkamppf had indeed left the Compilation Commission. Bentham did not specify the source of his information on this point, but it is evidence that he was able to keep abreast of developments in St Petersburg. He commented in similar vein on Alexander's recent decree

reorganising the Imperial Botanical Garden at St Petersburg, and used the occasion to share his own very real botanical enthusiasms:

I am glad to hear your master has turned Philo-Botanist at last. I have myself been one above these sixty years:²⁵² though, except as above, I cannot afford to receive anything from him, there are some things I can afford to give him. Amongst them I have found four seeds, which I send by Mr Fleury, of the American Cherimoya, a fruit from Peru, said by several, who have eat of it lately, to be the most delicious known.

Although Bentham had grown a cherimoya plant, it would never fruit in the English climate, and he hoped that ‘even St Petersburg would be better suited’.

The connections with Jeremy’s established Russian friends, also friends of Samuel – Mordvinov, Chichagov, Smirnov at the embassy – were maintained sporadically through the last years of his life. Jeremy cited as a ‘testimonial’ for his Codification Proposal a letter from Mordvinov to Samuel of March 1829, in which Mordvinov sent fulsome greetings:

Let me beg of you to pay my sincere homage to the illustrious Jeremy Bentham, our master and lawgiver in the great science of law, by whose instructions and precepts I frequently do my endeavour to guide my footsteps in the walks of judicature.²⁵³

Also in 1829 Jeremy’s nephew George Bentham, now a qualified lawyer and his unofficial amanuensis, became involved in discussions with another old friend, General Sablukov, then in London, about Russian judicial institutions, which led to George submitting formal reform proposals for consideration by the Russian government. Samuel Bentham wrote to Mordvinov in Russia to recommend George’s paper, and explained the background:

When Gen. Sablukoff came here a year or two ago, he brought with him a great collection of Russian law books and being at a loss where to deposit them, we induced him to leave them some time with us in hopes that my son who, having inherited a great attachment to your country, has kept up a sufficient knowledge of its language, might profit by this opportunity of acquiring some idea of your laws and of the mode of administering them. The consequence has been that Gen. Sabloulkoff having represented to

my son the great need of an entire reform of the judiciary establishment and having assured him of the Emperor's earnest wish to effect it, prevailed on my son to offer his ideas on the subject; so that at the time when I received your last letter he was actually involved in drawing up a paper, which I have no doubt our friend Gen. Sablukoff will submit to your judgment before he offers it to the Emperor. Should His Majesty after having perused this paper express a desire of receiving any continuance of the subject from my son, there can be no doubt of the earnestness of my son's exertions to conform to any instructions he may receive either from you or from Gen. Sablukoff.²⁵⁴

It is not clear whether or how far Jeremy was involved in this transaction, but in presenting his proposals to Sablukov George declared that it was his connection to his uncle as well as his own profession which had led him to study such institutions in various countries, and also ways to improve them, and as Sablukov had assured him that any observations he cared to make would be brought to the personal attention of Tsar Nicholas I, he had laid out the principal abuses to be found in the Russian judicial system, as well as their remedies.²⁵⁵ There is no evidence that this initiative went any further, and George himself does not mention it in his autobiography. (There George recalled as his most special discovery among Sablukov's books Karamzin's classic *History of the Russian State*, which is famous for its elegant style and which he was 'surprised to find ... the most agreeable reading I have had for some time'.²⁵⁶) At about this time George, later a renowned botanist and even now making his way in that field, was gratified to receive a diploma of Foreign Member of the Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscou.²⁵⁷

George's readiness to correspond directly with Nicholas I on judicial matters suggests that untrammelled autocratic power and its ability to embody ideas in legislation perhaps exerted as strong an attraction on the nephew, George, as they had previously on the uncle, Jeremy. And was Jeremy himself still not immune to this seduction? At just the same time, he was himself intent on renewing contact once more with Mordvinov, and to this end he sought the help of the Russian ambassador in London, Prince Lieven, with the dispatch of more books – 'a few works in my style' [quelques ouvrages de ma façon] – which he wished to send (he wrote cautiously) to 'my former friend' [mon ancien ami]. In his letter to Lieven he emphasised, with unexpected unctuous deference, the pleasure he continued to take in doing whatever he could to serve the Russian Empire 'and its august Autocrat' [et son auguste Autocrate].²⁵⁸ It is, however, possible that this

tone, so different from that which he adopted elsewhere at this time, was prompted by a desire to promote, or not to prejudice, Samuel's plans and hopes of the same period, in which Russia also played a part; alternatively, Jeremy may have seen it as a necessary diplomatic nicety when seeking the good disposition and help of a senior representative of the Russian crown.

Mordvinov made no response. The following year Jeremy wrote to him again, this time a letter of recommendation for the South American General Santander.²⁵⁹ 'My dear Admiral,' he began, 'I am still alive: though turned of eighty-two, still in good health and spirits, and codifying like any dragon.' Santander took with him to Russia Jeremy's draft text on codification, about to be published, in which he had cited Mordvinov; Jeremy offered to delete the reference if Mordvinov was unhappy with it. He also repeated his earlier request for further information on codification in Russia: 'some account of what progress had been made in the work of codification in your country, since the appearance of your codifactor (Novoseltzoff – was not that his name?) in this'. He received a reply only five months later: on 28 October/9 November 1830 Mordvinov finally acknowledged Jeremy's books; they had been taken as relating to the Free Economic Society of which Mordvinov at this time was president, and he had opened the packet in the middle of a Society meeting. (On Samuel's first arrival in St Petersburg in 1780 he had been admitted to membership of the Free Economic Society, the Russian equivalent of Britain's Royal Society of Arts.²⁶⁰) Previously Mordvinov had been away from St Petersburg, which explained both his late reply and his inability to meet Santander, over which he expressed great disappointment.

Jeremy, in his covering letter for the books, had already apologised for citing Mordvinov in his writings: Mordvinov on the contrary declared himself honoured.

I shall always take great pride in acknowledging you as my master and guide in cases where judicial chicanery could lead me astray. You have thrown beams of light on the paths of justice so that reason and conscience can walk boldly, and the code of laws which could make the peoples happy is already outlined in its principles which have been developed by your indefatigable labour and wisdom.²⁶¹

Almost a year later came a further communication from Mordvinov, of 2/14 September 1831, enclosing a work from a rather different sphere, *Apologie de l'homéopathie*: he had earlier sent Jeremy a manuscript copy, but now the book or brochure was revised and printed. Mordvinov claimed that homeopathy could probably deal with the cholera epidemic

then raging in Russia: tests in some parts of the country had had ‘the most fortunate and decisive successes’ [les succès les plus heureux et les plus décisifs]. He had printed his brochure to counter scepticism at the minute size of the homeopathic dose, and to bolster the public confidence necessary for the acceptance of the method.²⁶²

This is the last known connection of Jeremy Bentham with Russia; he died eight months later, on 6 June 1832.

Notes

- 1 This was a direct continuation of Catherine II's 1767 Commission, whose chancellery had continued in existence after 1774, but it was to codify, not create, a law code: see *1PSZ* nos 17610, 17652, 17697; Maikov, ‘Komissiia’, September, 263.
- 2 Polskoy, ‘The concepts of constitution and fundamental laws in Russian political discourse at the turn of the nineteenth century’, 159–61; O’Meara, *The Russian Nobility*, 170–1. ‘Alexander (like Stalin) saw a constitution as a top-down statement by a government seeking to make its edicts more efficiently executed rather than as a statement of limits placed on the government by the separation of powers’ (Simon Dixon, pers. comm.).
- 3 Raeff, *Plans for Political Reform in Russia, 1730–1905*, 75–84; Kenney, ‘The Vorontsov party in Russian politics’, 286–93; O’Meara, *The Russian Nobility*, 150–1; Safonov, *Problema reform v pravitel’svennoi politike Rossii na rubezhe XVIII i XIX vv.*, 169–70; Safonov, ‘A. N. Radishchev i “Gramota rossiiskomu narodu”’; Minaeva, *Potaennye konstitutsii Rossii*, 22–48. Minaeva reproduces a full text of the 1801 and 1820 drafts, 141–84, Appendices 1 and 2, as does *Constitutional Projects of Russia 1799–1825* (Russian text).
- 4 *1PSZ* XXXVI, 682–5, no. 19904, also quoted in full in Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie*, 17–22; Maikov, ‘Komissiia’, September, 272–6. See also Shil’dler, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*, II, 22; Raeff, *Michael Speransky*, 66; *Trudy komissii sostavleniia zakonov*, 2nd edn, 1822 (hereafter *Trudy* (1822)). Speranskii later summarised the course of codification affairs from 1700 to 1833 in his essay ‘Obozrenie istoricheskikh svedenii o svode zakonov’, in *Speranskii, Rukovodstvo*, 126–75.
- 5 *1PSZ* XXII, 221–2, no. 16074, 27 September 1784; Omel’chenko, *Kodifikatsiia prava v Rossii v period absolutnoi monarkhii: vtoraiia polovina XVIII veka*, 114–15.
- 6 Kaplunovskiy, ‘The Alexandrine Commission’, 180–2.
- 7 *1PSZ* XXXVI, 759–60, no. 19989, 25 August 1801, also in full in Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie*, 22–4; Storch, *Russland unter Alexander dem Ersten. Eine historische Zeitschrift*, III, xi, 202–70, ‘Annalen der Alexandrinischen Gesetzgebung’.
- 8 Lang, ‘Radishchev and the Legislative Commission of Alexander I’. See also Maikov, ‘Iz zapisok N. S. Il’inskogo’, 415, and in general McConnell, *A Russian ‘Philosophe’: Alexander Radishchev, 1749–1802*; Hoffmann, *Aleksandr Nikolaevič Radiščev (1749–1802). Leben und Werk*.
- 9 Galaktionov, *Imperator Aleksandr I i ego tsarstvovanie*, I, 35–6.
- 10 Nikolai Mikhailovich, *Graf Pavel Aleksandrovich Stroganov*, II, 141, 193–5: Unofficial Committee meetings of 10 and 17 March OS. 1802, notes in French, the common language of the Russian elite and of international intercourse; Raeff, *Michael Speransky*, 127 n. 3. On James Mackintosh (1765–1832) see *ODNB*, and references in *BC* VII, passim, esp. no. 1839.
- 11 JB to Dumont, 16 February 1802: *BC* VII, 10. ‘Count Saw—’ was the Commission’s first chairman, Zavadovskii. The latest commentator on Bentham and Alexander I gives a wholly false view of Jeremy’s standing in Russia at this time: Orlov, ‘The influence of British Jurists, political economists, and educators on the ideas of Russia modernization during the reign of Alexander I (1805–1825)’.
- 12 [Dumont], *Traité de législation civile et pénale*. On the reception see Selth, *Firm Heart and Capacious Mind*, 163–5.
- 13 Champs, ‘Bentham et l’héritage de Beccaria en France’.
- 14 *BC* VII, 64.

- 15 In his *Draught of a New Plan for the Organisation of the Judicial Establishment in France* (1790), Bentham had advocated the election of judges by popular vote; he had also been given French honorary citizenship by the revolutionary authorities. The representative of Russian autocracy, the Ambassador to London, Semën Vorontsov, was displeased. In 1791, however, when Bentham met Prince Adam Czartoryski at Bowood House, Czartoryski had requested and received a copy of *Draught*: *BC VII*, 258, 278; Cross, “Russian Englishmen”, 89.
- 16 By this copy in his life Jeremy had developed a deliberately reclusive policy of devoting himself exclusively to his work and receiving none but useful visitors.
- 17 *BC VII*, 152–3. St Helens had left St Petersburg in August 1802.
- 18 Lopato, ‘Les joailliers suisses à Saint-Petersbourg’. Dumont spent time with his family and attended a niece’s wedding. He also went sightseeing and met a variety of Russian people, some highly placed (though not the Tsar), especially as his book at this time was a sensational bestseller in St Petersburg. It has been claimed that Dumont was invited to Russia to help in the translation of Bentham’s works; but neither his diary nor any other known source supports this, and persons and events mentioned in the diary make it impossible. Dumont’s manuscript diary of his 1803 trip is preserved in the Dumont MSS (MSS Dumont 7–8) at the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva, and is occasionally quoted in *BC*. Use has been made here of the original but also of the published Russian translation: ‘Dnevnik Et’ena Diumonia ob ego priezde v Rossiiu v 1803 g.’ (hereafter ‘Dnevnik’).
- 19 MS Dumont 7, f. 37; ‘Dnevnik’, no. 2, 159–60: ‘Il m’a fait un accueil très flatteur. ... J’étois en pays de connoissance et passai quatre heures fort agréablement. Ces messieurs connoissent bien l’ouvrage d’Adam Smith qui peu à peu devient un livre classique partout où on sait lire.’
- 20 MS Dumont 7, ff. 35–6; Dnevnik, no. 2, 158.
 Passé une partie de la matinée avec M. de Rosenkamppf, Livonien, ci-devant juge à Riga pendant 15 ans. Il m’a promis un exposé de la procédure civile et pénale de la Russie. Sa conversation étoit intéressante pour moi. Degouté de sa charge de Judicature, il a obtenu du present Empereur une pension de 2 mille R. pour se livrer à des travaux de legislation sur le Code Russe: il redige les Oukases, il les classe, il separe celles qui ont une contradiction, il supprime celles qui se repetent, il cherche à introduire quelques principes généraux de jurisprudence, et ce travail sera soumis à un Comité et servira peut être de base à un Code Alexandre, sur le modèle du Code Frederic. Je ne saurois dire si l’ouvrier est capable d’un si grand ouvrage. Il a lu les livres les plus distingués, il en sait sûrement plus que les légistes Russes qui ne sont que de misérables procureurs, justement au dernier degré de mépris et de la bassesse. Mais il me semble que les notions anciennes du droit romain et les principes nouveaux de la philosophie sont un peu confus dans sa tête. Il me parle avec admiration de mon Bentham, et cependant le préambule de sa rédaction qu’il m’a remis me m’annonce pas qu’il en ait beaucoup profité. Il n’ose pas suivre pour l’arrangement des loix des classifications dont il reconnoit le merite, c’est qu’il craint avec des jaloux et des ignorants de ne passer que pour un copiste, il voudroit avoir le merite d’être original, et sacrifiera le bien de la chose à son amour-propre personnel. C’est encore ici comme ailleurs. Les Rédacteurs du Code Civil en France en ont fait tout autant.
- 21 MS Dumont 7, ff. 59–9v; ‘Dnevnik’, no. 3, 98:
 Mr de Rosenkamppf a passé la matinée avec moi. Il m’a montré un premier projet de principes généraux de législation, qui forme des tables synoptiques qu’il veut mettre sous les yeux de l’Empereur. J’y ai trouvé un amalgame de quelques anciennes idées avec quelque nouveaux principes de Bentham. Toujours le droit naturel qui doit servir de base à tout – j’ai combattu – j’ai expliqué – il m’a paru tout à fait convaincu et m’a dit qu’il donneroit une autre tournure à son ouvrage. – Deux jours après il m’a lu le projet d’une lettre qu’il m’adresse et qui doit être insérée dans un journal Russe – l’Emp. lui a donné un traducteur Russe payé à deux mille Roubles et deux secretaires – j’ai exigé qu’il retranchât de cette lettre des compliments que je ne peux recevoir et qu’il rendit à Bentham ce que lui est dû – j’ai écrit un paragraphe où j’explique le progrès que B. a fait à la science par ses classifications et la nouvelle logique.
 Bentham had no time for natural law. It is unlikely that the translator’s salary was 2,000 roubles p.a., which was what Rosenkamppf himself received. Whether the letter referred to appeared in print is unclear.
- 22 Bowring, X, 406–7, 10 June 1803: Bowring’s (not always impeccable) translation from French. See also *BC VII*, 244 n. 11. The Latin quotation is: ‘I see better things and approve of them, but I follow worse things’ (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 7.20).

The letters to Romilly reflect very closely similar passages in Dumont's diary, which sometimes provides greater and additional detail; Dumont evidently smoothed and abridged the narrative for the letters to his correspondent. 'Dnevnik', no. 2, 158.

- 23 Maikov, 'Rozenkampff', 10, 179–80.

... распространял сочинения и взгляды знаменитого Бентама и в особенности его предположение основать на общих философских началах законодательство и кодификацию. Дюмон был представлен Новосильцову, Строганову, Чарторыйскому и поднес им свой перевод означенного сочинения Бентама. Означенные лица пожелали иметь и мое мнение об этой книге. Я прочел ее, кроме того лично познакомился и встречался с ее издателем в доме его племянника Френа (Fraen), также и Дюваля, очень почтенных и достойных уважения людей, которых я часто посещал и ранее с большим удовольствием и был очень радушно ими принят. Граф Строганов пригласил меня однажды к себе к обеду в его саду вместе с Дюмоном, имевшим при этом случай подробно изложить все свои взгляды, а также и теорию Бентама. Применение этих теорий на деле нигде конечно не являлось большею историческою выдумкою, как в России. Едва-ли в России возможно было содержание действующего русского законодательства изложить и разъяснить по началам, предлагаемым Бентамом. Книга Дюмона в том виде, как она лежала перед нами, являлась невозможною для чтения и совершенно непонятною для русского исторического мира. Самый язык русский, в то время, не разработанный еще для изложения философских и юридических определений и выражений, являл непреодолимые к тому препятствия, хотя нельзя не заметить, что вскоре явился опыт перевода этого сочинения на русский язык.

Я с большим удовольствием виделся с Дюмоном, так как он был образованный человек, но не мог усмотреть, каким образом проводимые им начала могут быть им применены при улучшениях, необходимых для русского права вообще. Он, как я после слышал, был этим не доволен, сердился на меня за это и позднее вручил Новосильцову, во время его пребывания в Лондоне, резкую критику составленного мною плана трудов законодательной комиссии. Эти воззрения Бентама, проводимые Дюмоном, являлись в Петербурге, в продолжение нескольких недель, предметом оживленных разговоров образованного общества. Все не упускали случая отдавать должную справедливость автору и его переводчику за их великий талант, большое остроумие и проницательность, с которыми изложены многие отдельные главы, составляющие с теоритической стороны само по себе прекрасно разработанное целое.

- 24 Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 183.

- 25 Savigny, *Vom Beruf unserer Zeit für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft*. See further Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 200–1.

- 26 Baulked of his pursuit of his initial Senate project, Rosenkampff found that, 'in this way, the sole object of my activities became the composition of a project for the disposition of the new legislative commission. A new, causative reason for the arrangement of such a commission was the appearance in French, in the translation of Dumont and with additions, of Bentham's work on legislation.'

Таким образом единственным предметом моих занятий являлось составление проекта устройства новой законодательной комиссии. Новою, побудительною причиною к устройству такой комиссии явилось появление, на французском языке, в переводе Дюмона, с дополнениями, сочинения Бентама о законодательстве. (Maikov, 'Rozenkampff', 10, 178–9).

- 27 Bowring, X, 407–8. Bowring's translation from French. This real lack of well-qualified native state servitors and the consequent use of foreigners also became a source of dismay and resentment to well-educated Russians and was one grievance the Decembrists held against the Emperor. Chichagov experienced similar feelings: in a letter to S. R. Vorontsov he complained of the 'great evil and dishonour' [grand mal et déshonneur] of Russia employing so many foreigners, and imagined a Russian pantheon of Imperial statesmen inevitably filled not with native Russians but with 'the mausoleums of Czartorisky, of Winzingerode, of Richelieu, of Rosenkampff, of Campenhausen, of Michelson, of Buxhoevden, etc etc'. The thought made his heart bleed: AKV XIX, 154–5, 14 February 1806. Chichagov challenged the Emperor directly about the policy: Alexander replied without pomp: this was a necessary evil, as without it the insufficient number of competent servitors would become smaller still: *Russkaia Starina*, 50–1 (May 1886), 239–40, 9 March 1806. In 1802 Vorontsov had suggested the creation of a Diplomatic Institute to train native Russian diplomats and so avoid reliance on foreigners in

that sphere (Vorontsov-Dashkov and Mikeschin, *S. R. Vorontsov*, 321); Rosenkamppff had the same goal with the Institute of Jurisprudence (see p. 58). Ironically Rosenkamppff (a Baltic German subject of the All-Russian Tsar) did not think of himself as a foreigner and declared that foreigners were not needed: Russia, he declared, was quite able to walk without such foreign crutches: Maikov, 'Rozenkampf', 10, 141–2.

28 MS Dumont 7, f. 72v; 'Dnevnik', no. 3, 102: 'Mr Speransky, chef d'un bureau de l'intérieur, m'a beaucoup parlé de Bentham.'

29 MS Dumont 7, ff. 76v–80v; 'Dnevnik', no. 3, 104–5 (10/21 July). Cf. Bowring, X, 405; *BC VII*, 243 n. 10.

... et il m'a demandé des notes pour une translation qu'il fait faire et à laquelle on se propose de mettre beaucoup de soin et même de la magnificence.

30 Bowring, X, 408 (Bowring's translation from French). Cf. *BC VII*, 278 n. 13; MS Dumont 7, ff. 79v–80; 'Dnevnik', no. 3, 106–7.

31 Bowring, X, 410, translation from French; 'Dnevnik', no. 3, 103, 108. Maria Fëdorovna was an energetic woman of considerable influence, who ran a large number of charitable and educational foundations: see Rosslyn, *Deeds, not Words*, passim; M. Martin, *Maria Fëdorovna en son temps (1759–1828): Contribution à l'histoire de la Russie et de l'Europe*; Kudrina, *Imperatritsa Mariia Fëdorovna*, Moscow: Molodaia Gvardiia, 2001. On Karazin see O'Meara, "'The opinion of one Ukrainian landowner": V. N. Karazin, Alexander I, and changing Russia'.

There is no evidence at all for the repeated claim that Dumont met the Tsar himself: if such a meeting had taken place, Dumont would certainly have mentioned it in his diary.

Bentham summarised Dumont's letters to Romilly in one of his own: 'Romilly has received within these three months, three letters from Dumont, at St Petersburg. Legislation book in the highest odour there. More copies sold than in London. Translation going on by authority. Men at the head of things delighted with it, and impatient for a continuation of it. Empress Dowager the only one of the family who sees anybody, hearing the editor was there, desired to see him and saw him accordingly. A man who has a commission from the Emperor to put the laws in order, shut himself up with it for a fortnight'; *BC VII*, 243–4, 275, 282.

32 MS Dumont 33/4, f. 425r, 31 July 1803, reply ff. 427r–427v, 1/13 July 1803 (*sic*): 'ce qui me flatte le plus, c'est de la devoir à votre choix et de l'envisager comme une marque de l'intérêt que vous prenez à la continuation des travaux dont je me suis chargé.'

33 *1PSZ XXVII*, 936, no. 20996.

34 *AKV XII*, 266, 1 August 1801 (appointment); 277, November 1803 (removal from office): 'Составление законов перешло из моих в руки Ник. Н. Новосильцева, который весьма того желал; а я весьма доволен, освобождаясь от больших трудов не ко времени.'

35 *1PSZ XXVIII*, 160–73, no. 21187. Makarov devoted an important study to this legislative text: 'Entwurf der Verfassungsgesetze'. Like Makarov's, Alexander Kaplunovsky's article, already quoted, which also deals with it at length is an impressive archive-based work of research and interpretation.

36 In the course of its later work, the Commission carried out a comparative survey of the legislation of other European countries. The outcome of such comparisons was that 'the Novorossia Code cannot be founded on the theory of Roman law. The laws of our country are known for their simplicity and clarity, drawing their provisions from practical considerations and respect for the local [norms], thus the whole theory of Russian law, derived from these, would convey the same sense.' Quoted by Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 205.

37 Amburger, *Behördenorganisation*, 472, 484–5; Storch, *Russland unter Alexander dem Ersten*, IX, v, 66–9, 'Errichtung einer Specialschule fuer Rechtsgelehrsamkeit'; Maikov, 'Iz zapisok N. S. Il'inskogo', 425–6. The Institute did not function beyond 1809, largely because of Lopukhin's niggardly approach to the use of state funds, and was closed in the reorganisation of 1816: *Trudy* (1822), II, 175–7; Maikov, 'Komissii', November, 266; Maikov, 'Rozenkampf', 10, 172–3; 11–12, 379–80, 387; Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 207.

38 *NNN* to *ARV*, 30 August 1804, *AKV XXX*, 302–5:

Les papiers que je vous communique pour le moment contiennent : 1-ment, le plan du code tel qu'il sera imprimé ; 2-ment, les principes de droit relativement aux loix mêmes (sanction, publication, effets, etc.); cette partie des principes de droit, qui leur sert d'introduction, sera suivie d'abord des principes de droit relativement aux personnes dans leur rapport public et privé, ensuite relativement aux choses ou biens et ainsi de suite ; 3-ment, marginales, d'après lesquelles les rédacteurs des loix générales et les loix provincielles doivent compiler les lois, qui se rapportent aux droits et obligations qui dérivent des rapports domestiques ; et 4-ment, les

questions que la commission adresse aux tribunaux des différents gouvernements pour savoir le *status quo* de tout ce qui appartient aux formes de procédures, ainsi que les différences que l'usage et la pratique y ont introduit particulièrement dans les circonstances, où la loi n'a rien déterminé d'une manière positive.

Cet envoi sera suivi dans peu de jours des rapports que la commission a présenté a SMI à la fin de chaque mois: votre excellence y trouvera quelques choses qui doivent être décidées par le Souverain lui-même; mais comme S.M. n'a d'autres sentiments sur tous ces objets que celui qui porte sur soi le caractère de convenir de la manière la plus propre au bien-être général et à l'ordre des choses le plus solide et stable, il n'est pas douteux que l'opinion de votre excellence sur ces sujets, guidées par l'expérience et la réunion des lumières, ne pourraient être que très agréables à l'Empereur et infiniment utiles à la chose. Pénétré de cette vérité, j'ai demandé et obtenue de S.M. la permission de vous communiquer tout travail de la commission, qui sortira un peu de la sphère ordinaire de son activité. ...

Par crainte de ne pas trop abuser de votre complaisance, je me dépêche de terminer ce sujet en vous faisant part que les rédacteurs des provinces de la Courlande, Livonie, Esthonie et les provinces polonaises ont déjà fini la compilation des loix respectives sur les marginales, qui vous sont communiquées par la présente, et que les rédacteurs des loix générales sont aussi très-avancés. Ceux des formes de procédure et organisation des tribunaux vont aussi bon train. A l'aide de Dieu, j'espère que sous peu nous pourrions envoyer dans les provinces cette partie de leur loix qui traite des rapports domestiques, afin de savoir si tout y est, et si toute l'exactitude nécessaire y est observée.

39 Shil'der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*, II, 249–50: italics in original. This summarises and adds to a passage in Rosenkamppf's memoirs, Maikov, 'Rozenkampf', 11–12, 373–4.

40 Polskoy, 'The concepts of constitution', 157–8; Makarov, 'Entwurf der Verfassungsgesetze', 242–4.

41 'Doklad Ministerstva Iustitsii o preobrazovanii Komissii Sostavleniia Zakonov ... i vypiska iz ... raportov ob uspekhe trudov ee ...', in *Trudy komissii sostavleniia zakonov*, part 1, St Petersburg: tip. Shnora, 1804 (hereafter *Trudy* (1804)).

42 Maikov, 'Komissiiia', September, 283 and n. 1; Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie*, 25–32; Recke and Napiersky, *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexikon der Provinzen Livland, Estland und Kurland*, V, 154 recorded a Polish translation as well, not otherwise documented. Maikov points out that these translations, together with the Russian original, were printed as a separate version of the 1804 *Trudy*, with the same title, date and printer. British readers may like to know that both versions were held by the British Library and are listed in its catalogue; the Russian one remains (S.N.97, see also Mic.A.6357) but the multilingual one (contents listed individually) was destroyed in World War II (5758.c.38 (2), (3), (4), (5)). A defective copy of the French version survives (B.270.(2.)): *Mémoire présenté par le Ministère de justice relativement à l'organisation de la Commission des Lois ... Suivi d'un extrait des rapports sur les travaux de cette Commission ...* Pt. 1, St Petersburg, 1804. This British Library copy carries a personal presentation inscription to Sir Joseph Banks from Novosil'tsev.

Catherine II had had the *Nakaz* translated into other European languages. Was Alexander imitating this precedent?

Rosenkamppf was in favour of publicity and publication for the works of the Commission, so that the public could be involved in its progress, but wished to avoid the direct participation (as in 1767) of popular representatives. In his approval of publicity, and also in the principle of seeking laws which could be used to define general Russian principles of law, Rosenkamppf was following the Prussian example: Makarov, 'Entwurf der Verfassungsgesetze', 213–15.

43 Maikov, 'Komissiiia', September, 280 n. 1; Storch, *Russland unter Alexander dem Ersten*, III, xi, 202–70, 'Annalen der Alexandrinischen Gesetzgebung'; Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 200. On Thibaut's appointment see note 117. Thibaut later became involved in controversy with Savigny over German codification.

44 *Trudy* (1804), 30, 44, Tab. 1; *Mémoire*, Tab. 1.

45 *Trudy* (1804), Tab. 3.

46 Maikov, 'Komissiiia', November, 239; *Trudy* (1804), 41–2, 65–93; Storch, *Russland unter Alexander dem Ersten*, III, 267–70, V (1804), ii, 37–47, xi, 37–47, xix, 165–74. On the sudden changes resulting from the new leadership see Maikov, 'Iz zapisok N. S. Il'inskogo', 423, and Raeff, *Michael Speransky*, 67. Novosil'tsev left for England on a diplomatic mission in late 1804, taking copies of the *Trudy* (*Transactions*) with him: these must therefore have been published between September (date of the last monthly report) and Novosil'tsev's departure.

- 47 Maikov, 'Rozenkampff', 11–12, 372:
Я охотно признаю себя автором этого положения и сопровождающего оное плана со всеми приложениями и разъяснениями, положивших начало историко-практическому методу разработки права в России, который я с тех пор проводил и в моих лекциях о праве и в совещаниях законодательной комиссии, особенно в происходивших в 1812 году. Некоторые места утвержденного в 1804 г. плана могли бы быть изложены обстоятельнее на русском языке, но не должно забывать, что это было не обстоятельное исследование, а только программа для большей работы.
- 48 Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 171–7.
- 49 Korf, *Zhizn' grafa Speranskogo*, 147–8; Maikov, 'Iz zapisok N. S. Il'inskogo', 422–5; Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 191–2.
- 50 'Dnevnik', no. 3, 107.
- 51 Maikov, 'Komissiiia', September, 245–6, and *RBS*, 366.
- 52 Other languages (French, German, Latin) might have been sufficient in the Foreign Affairs archive. For comparison, S. R. Vorontsov never learnt more than rudimentary English in all his many years of diplomatic service in Britain, getting by in French with the help of Smirnov and other Embassy officials: Vorontsov-Dashkov and Mikeschin, *S. R. Vorontsov*, 189.
- 53 Maikov, 'Rozenkampff', 10, 141. Maikov wrote several somewhat varying accounts of Rosenkampff, including the entry in *RBS*.
- 54 Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantseliarii 1826–1882*, 48–9; Korff judgement: note 49 above.
- 55 Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 170–7. Cf. Makarov, 'Entwurf der Verfassungsgesetze', 224.
- 56 Makarov, 'Entwurf der Verfassungsgesetze', 224–5: *Obozrenie Kormchei Knigi*, published by the Society for the History and Antiquities of Russia.
- 57 Makarov, 'Entwurf der Verfassungsgesetze', 216–17, 221.
- 58 Maikov, 'Iz zapisok N. S. Il'inskogo', 425: *iskatel'nyi chelovek*.
- 59 MS Dumont 7, ff. 45–45v; 'Dnevnik', no. 3, 82:
Matinée chez Rosenkampff – grand cajoleur de son métier – il auroit bien envie de se servir dans l'arrangement des loix Russes du plan de Bentham mais il n'ose et il fait des objections assez faibles, lesquelles ne sont que pour déguiser la crainte de passer pour copiste. ... Rosenkampff après m'avoir parlé avec admiration de l'Empereur lui-même et de ceux qui ont sa confiance immédiate, s'est jetté dans les beaux sentiments sur son désintéressement, son mépris des honneurs, son désir de terminer son ouvrage et de se retirer dans un pays où il puisse trouver une société plus éclairée & – tout le mal qu'il m'a dit du pays est une ruse Il a peur que l'on ne me fasse des propositions pour m'engager en Russie, il m'a même dit que l'on y songeoit et il vouloit indirectement me prévenir contre – je lui ai laissé battre la campagne et ruser tout à son aise.
In his memoirs, written late in life, Rosenkampff expressed regret at having left Livonia for St Petersburg.
- 60 *Dnevnik i pis'ma Nikolaiia Ivanovicha Turgeneva*, II, 195–6, 8 June 1812 (text otherwise in Russian); III, 21, January 1817. Similar comments occur on other pages: 'fools and idlers like the Balugianskiis and the Rosenkampffs – people whom I can't abide and cannot conceal my contempt for' (II, 455, September 1814); in 1818 Turgenev was feeling 'very dim and confused': 'the reason was my conversation with the strangely vile Rosenkampff and also my ponderings on the status quo of Russia' (III, 124, 17 April 1818). However, on his travels in 1814 Turgenev took time to send congratulations to Rosenkampff on the conferral of a new order, and reproached him for forgetting him (II, 269); in later years, after 1822 and Rosenkampff's retirement, references are neutral and unemotional.
- 61 Shil'der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*, III, 487:
J'ai encore une raison pour douter que Spéransky soit aussi coupable qu'il le paraît, c'est que Rosenkampff est au nombre de ses délateurs, cet homme vil qui a essayé de faire tomber son bienfaiteur Novossilzov et dont je déjouai alors la cabale sans vous l'avoir dit. Faites voir par la modération de vos mesures que vous ne donnez pas dans les idées outrées qu'on veut vous suggérer et éloignez Rosenkampff des affaires le plus tôt possible.
The Prussian Minister Freiherr vom Stein reportedly called Rosenkampff an 'intriguer' (Ränkemacher): Wistinghausen, *Freimaurer und Aufklärung im Russischen Reich. Die Revaler Logen 1773–1820*, II, 560. While Dumont was in Russia, he met Parrot: Bowring, X, 409.

- 62 1819: *BC IX*, 351–2; ‘Tri pis’ma N. S. Mordvinova k Ier. Bentamu’, *Russkaia Starina*, 106 (1901), 202. 1821: *AGM V*, 473. Cf. p. 111:
Il est un sot et un intrigant, et tel homme reussit toujours à être en place; car il n’a contre lui l’envie et flatte les grands qui le protege [*sic*], tout aussi ignorants que lui.
- 63 This reflects Rosenkamppf’s status before the reorganisation of October 1803. On 28 September 1804 Jeremy belatedly discovered from the *Archives Littéraires* that ‘the commission for drawing up a Code is taken from the Committee of Legislation and given to Novosiltsoff singly. This must have happened many months ago’ (*BC VII*, 273).
- 64 *BC VII*, 275–9, 22 September 1804. A succedaneum is a substitute or replacement.
- 65 *BC VII*, 275–9, 289.
- 66 *BC VII*, 252, 262, 272, 276, 366 n. 15; Liubavin, ‘O publikatsii Bentama v “Dukh Zhurnalov” v 1815 godu’, 156.
- 67 Pypin, ‘Russkie otnosheniia Bentama’, kn. 2, 815–16; Shil’der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*, II, 107–8. Throughout his reign Alexander was very generous in supporting literary and other publications, and he began as he would go on: according to Storch, in 1802 alone his *kabinet* [private office] paid out 160,000 roubles in connection with publications and translations: Storch, *Russland unter Alexander dem Ersten*, I, 134–8.
- 68 Shil’der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*, II, 107–8. On the reception of Adam Smith in Russia see Lai, *Adam Smith across Nations: Translations and receptions of The Wealth of Nations*.
- 69 JB thought that there were two book publications but the other translation referred to was the excerpts published in the *St Petersburg Journal*: cf. Pypin, ‘Russkie otnosheniia Bentama’, kn. 2, 817. The editors of *BC* also query references to two translations of *Dumont Principes* (VII, 379); there is a correct account in [Bentham], *Legislator of the World: Writings on codification, law and education*, 14 n. 4.
- 70 *BC VII*, 566–7; cf. VII, 562–3.
- 71 *BC VIII*, 34–5, no. 2048, 27 June 1809; 43, no. 2055, 6 September 1809.
- 72 Pypin, ‘Russkie otnosheniia Bentama’, kn. 2, 812–13; *BC VII*, 366 n. 15. (Bentham later seems to attribute the initiative to Speranskii’s superior, Kochubei: *BC VII*, 566, no. 2014, JB to Lord Holland, 13 November 1808.)
- 73 MS Dumont 33/4, ff. 217–9:
Vous voudriez bien vous rappeler, Monsieur, que ... il était convenu de porter à la fin de l’ouvrage toute la seconde partie du 1er volume, *Vue d’un corps complet*, & c. On a exactement suivi cette idée dans la traduction, & on n’était pas encore à la fin de ce volume, lorsque le chapitre additionnel sur la conservation des lois me fut parvenu, ainsi il se retrouva naturellement à la place que vous lui avés assignée.
Quant à la seconde addition sur *l’Economie Politique*, quoique nous avons été obligés de rétrograder pour l’insérer au Chapitre XVIII, nous l’avons fait avec d’autant plus de plaisir, que par l’étendu de ces vues, par la netteté et la précision de ses classifications & par le caractère systématique qu’elle porte, cette addition est faite pour figurer dignement avec les autres parties de l’ouvrage & ajouter à leur prix. ...
En général, rien de plus juste que l’observation que vous faites sur le défaut de système dans cette partie de nos connaissances. Adam Smith nous a fourni, en ce genre, des matériaux d’un prix inestimable. Mais plus occupé à prouver & déduire de l’expérience les vérités qu’il établissait, il n’a pas songé à en faire un Corps de Doctrine. A mesure que l’on s’est appliqué à l’étudier, on s’est aperçu du défaut de méthode: mais ceux qui se sont mis en avant pour y suppléer ont cru avoir tout fait en mettant quelques détails, en éloignant quelques digressions, & en donnant un autre arrangement à ses matériaux; tant il est vrai, que parmi tant d’ouvriers, comme vous l’observés très bien, l’architecte nous manque. Je crois qu’en suivant le plan de Mr Bentham, l’Economie politique prendrait une position beaucoup plus naturelle, plus facile à étudier, et plus scientifique.
Vous jugés aisément d’après cela quel prix je dois attacher à l’ouvrage que vous m’annoncés et dans lequel il a fait un plus grand développement de ses principes. Ce seroit une obligation essentielle que je vous devrai de plus, si vous voulés bien me le faire parvenir. J’engagerais facilement quelqu’un de nos meilleurs littérateurs à le traduire.
Pour revenir à la traduction que nous avons entreprise, j’ai le plaisir de vous annoncer qu’elle est enfin achevée, et que l’on s’occupe à présent à la faire imprimer. Mais avant qu’elle soit publiée, on a cru bien faire de préparer & essayer le gout du public en insérant quelques chapitres détachés dans un journal demi-officiel, qui paraît ici sous le titre de journal de St. Péterbourg, & dans lequel on publie divers actes du Ministère. Le succès fut des plus

- marquants & l'accueil que l'on fit à ces morceaux détachés, fait augurer d'une manière sure en faveur de l'ouvrage.
- Excerpted in Bowring, X, 416 (Bowring's translation from French). Reproduced in Russian by Pypin, 'Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 2, p. 812; 'Dnevnik', no. 4, 142. On the new Bentham work announced to Speranskii by Dumont see note 78.
- 74 Pypin, 'Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 2, 812–14.
- 75 MS Dumont 33/4, f. 219v:
 Je me fais un vrai plaisir de vous entretenir, Monsieur, de ces succès, persuadé comme je suis, que la récompense la plus flatteuse de vos veilles, la seule digne de vos talens, est cette propagation de vérités utiles dans un pays, qui est peut-être le plus susceptible dans les circonstances actuelles d'une bonne législation par cela même qu'il présente moins de fausses lumières à dissiper, moins de routine à combattre, et plus de docilité à recevoir les impressions salutaires d'un gouvernement sage et réfléchi.
- Not in Bowring. Quoted in Russian by Pypin, 'Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 4, 735, from a French copy among Dumont papers then in the St Petersburg Public Library, now the Russian National Library, and marked in English: 'Russian legislation. His [Speranskii's] and Kotchubey's views in regard to Bentham superseded by appointment of Novosil'tsev and Rosenkampff': 'Dnevnik' no. 4, 142.
- 76 See p. 115 below.
- 77 MS Dumont 33/4, ff. 219–20:
 Depuis votre retour à Londres, les soins que vous avés vu prendre ici d'une meilleure organisation de la partie législative ont pris un accroissement considérable. On a réuni les diverses branches de la législation, qui étaient éparées dans les différens départemens, & on en forme un Corps particulier, sous la dénomination de *la Commission des Lois*. On a adopté un plan de rédaction et on procède à présent à recueillir et à classer d'après ce plan les matériaux nécessaires. Cette commission est sous la direction particulière de Mr de Novossiltzoff. N'étant pas employé dans cette partie, et quelque étranger au genre de connaissances qu'elle exige, je ne suis pas à portée de prononcer sur l'intensité des talens qu'elle peut renfermer dans son sein. Mais je suis persuadé, que les conseils et les vus d'un homme, tel que Mr Bentham, y seraient essentiels. Son esprit analytique et profond doit trouver une place éminente, partout où il s'agit d'établir une législation, basée sur les vrais principes d'Utilité. Je partage volontiers avec vous toute la conviction des conséquences que cette idée fait naître, mais n'étant pas à même de la faire adopter, j'en suis à faire des vœux que les bonnes intentions du Gouvernement, de manière ou d'autre, soient le mieux remplies. Au reste, Mr de Novosiltzoff se trouvant actuellement à Londres, il est possible, Monsieur, que vous l'entretenez vous-même de cet objet vraiment intéressant pour l'humanité. Votre témoignage est fait pour appuyer une proposition de cette nature, et pour lui concilier toute l'autorité possible.
- See also Pypin, 'Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 4, 735.
- 78 MS Dumont 33/3, f. 308, Rosenkampff to Dumont, 12 October 1804:
 Vos lumières me seroient infiniment précieuses dans la conjoncture actuelle.
- The Bentham work 'on forms of procedure and proofs' which Dumont had promised Rosenkampff was presumably the same volume desired by Speranskii (note 73). Between 1803 and 1809 Bentham was much concerned with judicial procedure and evidence, but the first fruits only appeared in print in *Scotch Reform* (1807–8): see Schofield, *Utility and Democracy*, 117–23.
- 79 BC VII, 309, JB to Dumont, 16–17 July 1805.
- 80 *Rassuzhdenie o grazhdanskom i ugovnom zakonopolozhenii. S predvaritel'nym polozheniem nachal zakonopolozheniia i vseobshchego nachertaniia polnoi Knigi Zakonov, i s prisovokupleniem opyta o vliianii vremeni i mesta otnositel'no zakonov. Soch. Angliiskogo Iuriskonsul'ta Ieremia Bentama. Izdannoe v svet na frantsuzskom iazyke Step. Diumonom, po rukopisiam ot avtora emu dostavlennym. Perevedennoe Mikhailom Mikhailovym, s pribavleniem dopolnenii ot g-na Diumona soobshchennykh. T. I. Po Vysochaisshemu povelenniu. St Petersburg: tip. Shnora, 1805; II, 1806; III, 1811. A detailed description of the edition is provided by Pypin, 'Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 2, 815–16; see also BC VII, 366 n. 15. The translator, Mikhail Kuz'mich Mikhailov, is not otherwise known.*
- 81 *Litsei*, 1806, part 1, no. 2, 61–77. *Litsei* was a continuation of the journal *Severnyi Vestnik*, also edited by Martynov.
- 82 D'Ivernois to Dumont, St Petersburg, 6 February 1813, quoted in variant versions by Bowring, X, 440 and Pypin, 'Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 2, 817–18, kn. 4, 738; see also [Appendix](#)

- I. Sir Francis d'Ivernois (1757–1842), Swiss writer on politics and economics: *BC* VII, 8 n. 1; Bowring, X, 473.
- 83 I am grateful to Professor A. Medushevskii for this observation.
- 84 *BC* VIII, 299, no. 2200, Dumont to JB, 28 December 1812, recording another Russian Bentham admirer: 'I've seen that Prince Kostuevsky, who is a great admirer of *Théorie des Peines et Récompenses* – it was about to go on sale when he left St Petersburg.' [J'ai vu ce Pce Kostuevsky grand admirateur de *Théorie des Peines et Récompenses* – on alloit la mettre en vente quand il a quitté Pg.] Kostuevsky is probably Kostievsky, possibly Andrei Gavrilovich Kostievskii, in state service from 1795, who is recorded as an Actual State Counsellor in 1846: [history.wikireading.ru/h0qfGVIS1e](https://www.wikireading.ru/h0qfGVIS1e) (accessed 12 March 2022).
- 85 Major-General Mikhail Eliseevich Khitrovo (1765–1848): *BC* VII, 272, 292; Cross, "“Russian Englishmen”", 90–1.
- 86 S. R. Vorontsov asserted in a letter of 1805 that Jeremy had in fact 'consulted' with Khitrovo: '[he] was consulted by the all too famous Khitrovo, by means of Erskine, who brought them together' [[il] a été consulté par le trop fameux *Khitrovo*, par le moyen d'Erskine, qui les lia ensemble]. *AKV* XI, 418–19, 18/30 July 1805. Thomas Erskine, radical lawyer and parliamentarian, would become Baron Erskine and Lord Chancellor the following year in the Ministry of All the Talents. Vorontsov evidently took a rather dim view of Khitrovo. Bentham's correspondence provides no evidence of direct personal contact of Khitrovo with Jeremy.
- 87 *BC* VII, 272–3, 282, 284–90.
- 88 *BC* VII, 288, 368, 376.
- 89 *BC* VII, 273, 293 n. 3; they included drawings of patented hollow fire-irons, VII, 282: cf. Mary Bentham, *Life*, 101.
- 90 *BC* VII, 293–4, no. 1862, 30 November 1804.
- 91 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 134–8: Khitrovo to SB, St Petersburg, 13/25 April 1805; ff. 128–131: AI to SB (original and 4 copies), St Pg, 11 April OS 1805, extract printed in *BC* VII, 293 n. 3; ff. 139–41: SB's reply to Alexander I (2 copies), Portsmouth 28 May NS 1805. Reproduced in [Appendix I](#).
- Khitrovo expressed himself in very warm terms: Alexander having wished to write personally to Samuel,
- I have dispatched His letter with the same courier. And I will add that he charged me to say to you that being convinced of the utility of your advice and your knowledge for His country, he called on you to establish an on-going correspondence with me and to let us have from time to time your *reflections* &c. ... And that for His part he will make it a duty very agreeable to His heart to show you His gratitude in the most suitable manner.
- J'ai expédié Sa lettre par le même Courrier. Et j'ajouterais qu'il m'a chargé de vous dire, qu'étant convaincu de l'utilité dont vos conseils et vos lumières peuvent être pour Son pays, il vous engageait d'établir une correspondance suivie avec moi, et de nous faire part de tems en tems de vos *reflexions* &c. ... et que de Son Côté il se fera un devoir très agréable à Son Cœur de vous manifester Sa gratitude, de la manière la plus convenable.
- 92 'My brother made [Hitroff] sufficiently understand that neither of us wore rings, or took snuff': JB to Dumont, *BC* VII, 288, no. 1858.
- 93 *Memuary kn. Adam Chartorizhskogo i ego perepiska s imperatorom Aleksandrom I*, I, 232–3.
- 94 Novosil'tsev's instructions and his report are included with other relevant papers in Czartoryski's memoirs, *Memuary*, II, 27–52. See also Wirtschafter, *From Victory to Peace*, pp. 23–4.
- 95 TNA, FO 342/3, f. 51, Mulgrave to Leveson Gower, 21 January NS 1805. Novosil'tsev reciprocated the high regard, on his departure from England asking Ambassador Vorontsov 'to express in the strongest possible manner to Lord Melville, Mr Pitt, Lord Mulgrave and all the members of the Cabinet the gratitude I carry away with me for all the marks of kindness and attention which have continually been shown to me right up to the last moment of my stay here'. [d'exprimer de la manière la plus forte à Lord Melville, à m-r Pitt, lord Mulgrave et à tous les membres du cabinet la reconnaissance que j'emporte avec moi pour toutes les marques de bonté et d'attention qu'on n'a cessé de me marquer jusqu'au dernier moment de mon séjour ici.] *AKV* XVIII, 457, 4 February OS 1805.
- 96 *BC* VII, 291–2, no. 1861, JB to Dumont, 30 November 1804.
- 97 *BC* VII, 291–2, no. 1861.
- 98 To Samuel Jeremy explained his conditions for a meeting: 'It seems to me that my seeing or not seeing Navasiltzoff may be put upon this footing – If he has read Dumont's book through and

writes to tell me he has done so – and wishes to converse with me on the subject of it, yes: – otherwise not. Suppose he has not, what use would there be in his so much as writing to me?’ BC VII, 293, no. 1862, 30 November 1804. Dumont in his 1803 diary had noted when he dined with Novosil'tsev that the latter, although very busy, had found time to read *Dumont Principes*: ‘Dnevnik’, no. 2, 160.

- 99 BC VII, 283, JB to SB, 8 October 1804.
- 100 BC VII, 292, JB to Dumont, 30 November 1804.
- 101 BC VII, 293–4, no. 1862, JB to SB, 30 November 1804.
- 102 BC VII, 295, no. 1863, JB to SB, 3 December 1804.
- 103 Original English text of this annotation cited by Pypin, ‘Russkie otshoseniia Bentama’, kn. 4, 736, n. 1; cf. ‘Dnevnik’, no. 4, 143.
- 104 Maikov, ‘Iz zapisok Il'inskogo’, 423.
- 105 *Memuary*, I, 283–4.
- 106 Shil'der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*, II, 250–1.
- 107 Sir Evan Nepean (1751–1822), First Secretary to the Admiralty 1795–1804, Lord of the Admiralty 1804–6.
- 108 BC VII, 308, no. 1873, 16–17 July 1805, JB to Dumont.
- 109 *Mémoire présenté par le Ministère de justice relativement à l'organisation de la Commission des Lois* (BL: B.270.[2]) see notes 41 and 42.
- 110 ‘Dnevnik’, no. 4, 143–4 n. 3; Jeremy had a copy of the 1804 publication in front of him when he wrote to Alexander in 1814 (see p. 100). On Sablukov see further note 127 and pp. 117–18.
- 111 In a letter of 1804 to Samuel he had written:
I can hardly wean myself away from Dumont's *Principes*, even to write to you. Your brother's book satisfies alike the soul, the heart, and the mind. It fills the soul with peace, the heart with virtue, and dissipates the mists of the mind. . . . Russia wants laws. It is not only Alexander the First who desires to give her a Code – Russia herself demands one. We Russians have seen the growth of the French Revolution – the despotism to which it led, and from which they have lately been delivered; but we must have a Code – a Code which will preserve to government the necessary energy for governing in justice this vast country, composed of varied nations – all of them conquered – but which paralyze it for injustice too. Let Jeremy Bentham prepare it! I do not know him – but I say to myself, ‘If he die without having dictated a Code, he will be ungrateful to that Creator who gave him his intellectual powers.’ Let it only be ready. Let it be translated into Russian. All that I can do shall be done. (Bowring, X, 413, 5 February 1804).
- 112 AKV XVIII, 456–7, 4 February 1805:
Bien des remerciements, m-r le comte, pour la lettre que je viens de recevoir de vous ce matin et les observations de m-r Bentham sous le nom de m-r du Mont qui l'accompagnaient. Je n'ai eu le temps de parcourir qu'une très-petite partie de ces observations; mais par le peu que j'ai lu, je puis vous assurer que je me fais une fête de me défendre et de combattre le système de m-r Bentham, et comme je suis loin de prétendre que je ne saurais me tromper, je serai bien aise de le rendre public et de soumettre au jugement de tous les jurisconsultes qui de nous deux a raison. That this refers to the draft code is clear from a reference to ‘le doklad [report] de la commission’, whose translation Dumont/Bentham criticised. Rosenkamppf wrote that Dumont had given Novosil'tsev ‘a sharp critique of my plan for the works of the legislative commission’ (Maikov, ‘Rozenkampf’, 10, 180).
- 113 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 134–34v, 13/25 April 1805:
Que de reconnaissance ne vous dois-je pas, mon cher Général, ainsi qu'à votre ami, pour l'intéressant papier que vous m'avez envoyé! Que de fois j'ai relu ce papier qui décèle autant les talents et les connoissances de celui qui l'a écrit que les imperfections et les absurdités dont la brochure en question est remplie. La justesse des observations frappe également l'homme instruit et le vulgaire par une objection qui ne soit démontrée jusqu'à l'évidence. J'espère que notre illustre leg...eur [sic] se raviserà après [l']avoir lu comme je n'en doute pas pendant son voyage, et qu'il ouvrira enfin les yeux sur le fatras qu'il fait si généreusement imprimer sur toutes les langues mortes et vivantes.
The continuation of the letter is also deliberately opaque and refers to another private plan not otherwise decipherable, promising more detail later: ‘I have arranged things for the best, and I hope you will not be displeased. – Without displacing anyone, I believe I have found the way to make [good] use of those persons, who in their turn will have no cause for complaint’ [j'ai arrangé les choses pour le mieux, et j'espère que [vous] n'en serez mécontent. – Sans déplacer

- personne, je crois avoir trouvé le moyen d'utiliser les personnes, qui à leur tour n'auront pas lieu de s'en plaindre] (33544, ff. 134v–135.)
- 114 Rogerson (1741–1823) practised in Russia from 1766 to 1816 and was body physician to Catherine II; he was also a major mover in international financial matters affecting Russia.
- 115 *BC* VII, 308, no. 1873, JB to Dumont, 16–17 July 1805.
- 116 'Dnevnik' no. 4, 143–4 n. 3.
- 117 Maikov, 'Komissiiā', November, 238, 267 and n. 2. The 1805 list included the Jena, later distinguished Heidelberg, Professor A. F. J. Thibaut (1772–1840), the Halle Professor and Prussian legal official E. F. Klein (1744–1810), the Leipzig Professor C. D. Erhard (1759–1813), H. E. von Globig (1755–1826), legal official and Privy Councillor in Saxony, and l'Abbé Piatoli, secretary to Czartoryski. According to Rosenkamppf (11–12, 405–7), Speranskii later refused to honour these appointments; but new appointments continued in later years. In 1807 the diplomat Baron K. H. Heyking and the noted Göttingen historian A. L. von Schlözer were appointed. An 1818 list of foreign correspondents included: Professor Gustav Hugo (1764–1844) of Göttingen; F. L. von Kircheisen (1749–1825), Prussian Minister of Justice; P. J. Ritter von Feuerbach (1775–1833), professor, well-known criminologist and Bavarian Privy Councillor; C. L. Reinhold (b. ca 1755), writer on criminal law; and Councillor Hofrup, a royal Danish official.
- Il'inskii commented: 'Correspondents were appointed from among scholars living in distant towns and abroad, with salary, to no useful purpose whatsoever, so that I never saw a line that they had contributed towards the compilation of laws' (Maikov, 'Iz zapisok N. S. Il'inskogo', 425). Most correspondents were indeed unproductive, but a few sent contributions (Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie*, 75–6).
- 118 Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 200.
- 119 *BC* VII, 306–9, no. 1873, JB to Dumont, 16–17 July 1805; cf. VII, 304, no. 1872; VII, 344–7, no. 1887, JB to C. J. Fox, 13 May 1806.
- 120 *BC* VII, 311–12, no. 1875, Dumont to JB, 22 July 1805:
[N]otre arrivée simultanée eut alarmé Navasilsof et son parti – jamais on n'eut crut que nous n'eussions que l'objet simple et apparent – il se seroit formé dans quelque souterrain quelque intrigue sourde qui eut pu mettre obstacle à toute – mieux vaut laisser les choses à leur cours naturel – un voyage de moi sans participation à la mission seroit imprudent à tous égards – vous entrerez dans mes raisons quand nous causerons ensemble – l'objet principal, est qu'ils soient bien dégoutés de leur Code, qu'ils en sentent bien les inepties et qu'ils fassent la seule chose faisable pour les réparer.
- 121 *BC* VII, 311–12, no. 1875:
Ce que vous me marquez par rapport au titre de la traduction, prouve qu'on a mis quelque importance aux additions que j'avois envoyées, et qu'on a voulu montrer que cette traduction n'étoit pas une oeuvre courante, un des milliers de traductions qui paroissent continuellement en Russie – c'est tirer l'ouvrage de la foule – et s'il est vrai qu'on ait fait intervenir le nom de l'Empereur (non dans le titre mais je suppose dans la Préface) c'est une distinction qui promet et facilite d'autres succès: ce seroit un moyen habilement employé par Spéransky pour intéresser l'amour-propre de Sa M. I., et le conduire du livre à l'auteur.
The full title of the book did mention authorisation by the Emperor: cf. pp. 70–1 above.
- 122 Maikov, 'Komissiiā', September, 288; Maikov, 'Rozenkampf', 11–12, 376.
- 123 *BC* VII, 367, JB to SB, 20 August 1806; cf. 379, JB to SB, 18–20 September 1806.
- 124 *BC* VII, 368, no. 1898, and n. 3, JB to SB, 20 August 1806; cf. 366.
- 125 *BC* VII, 347, no. 1888, 8 June 1806.
- 126 *BC* VII, 366–8, JB to SB, 20 August 1806.
- 127 See further Cross, "Russian Englishmen", 91–2, and below, pp. 117–18. Sablukov was the author of important memoirs on the reign of Paul, written in English, published only much later (*Frazer's Magazine*, August/September 1865, in Russian in *Russkii Arkhiv* 1869). In general on the Sablukovs and the family of Sablukov's English wife Juliana Angerstein see Twist, *A Life of John Julius Angerstein*, especially 316–24.
- 128 *BC* VII, 373, no. 1901, SB to JB, 7 September 1806. Dumont's version was a revision and abbreviation of Jeremy's proposal for the Panopticon: Pease-Watkin, 'Bentham's Panopticon and Dumont's *Panoptique*'.
- 129 *BC* VII, 379, no. 1904, 18–20 September 1806.
- 130 *AKV* XI, 418–19: 'c'est un mathématicien d'un grand génie et qui applique son savoir à des inventions utiles; c'est un autre Ramsden dans son espèce.' On Ramsden see: Chapman,

- 'Scientific instruments and industrial innovation: The achievement of Jesse Ramsden'; McConnell, *Jesse Ramsden (1735–1800): London's leading scientific instrument maker*.
- 131 See pp. 152–3 below. Apparently Samuel did not even bother to follow up an introduction sent to him for Dumont's relatives.
- 132 BC VII, 384–6, no. 1907, SB to JB, 29 September OS, 10 October NS 1806.
- 133 BC VII, 413, no. 1919, MB to JB, 18 February/2 March 1807.
- 134 Henry Fanshawe (1756–1828) was a comrade-in-arms of Samuel's from the Black Sea campaign of 1788; see also Cross, 'By the Banks of the Neva', 157, 207; Mary Bentham, *Life*, 238.
- 135 BC VII, 360, no. 1896, M&SB to JB, 7/19 August 1806; 378–9, no. 1904, JB to SB, 18–20 September 1806; cf. 402–3, no. 1912, JB to SB, 25 December 1806–9 January 1807.
- 136 CF. BC VII, 401, no. 1911; 427, no. 1923; 428, no. 1924; JB to SB, 9–10 April, 17–30 May 1807.
- 137 Efreanova, *Ministerstvo Iustitsii Rossiiskoi Imperii 1802–1917 gg.*, 46; *Ministerstvo Iustitsii za sto let 1802–1902* (hereafter *Ministerstvo Iustitsii*), 58–60; Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie*, 50–4; Raeff, *Michael Speransky*, 67. Pypin ('Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 4, 736) supposes that Speranskii's appointment to the Commission must have pleased Bentham. But there is no indication that he knew of it: Speranskii's name does not occur at all in the Bentham correspondence at this time. See *Arkhiv brat'ev Turgenevykh*, II, 368–91: impact of Speranskii on the Commission.
- 138 IPSZ XXX, 857–63, no. 23525, 7 March 1809.
- 139 Maikov, 'Rozenkampf', 11–12, 399–407.
- 140 Maikov, 'Komissiia', September, 288.
- 141 Wistinghausen, *Freimaurer*, II, 559–66; Tomsinov, *Speranskii*, 205; Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 192–3.
- 142 Shil'der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*, III, 9.
- 143 Maikov, 'Rozenkampf', 11–12, 377–8, 386, 396–419.
- 144 Quoted by Maikov, 'Komissiia', November, 243. As has been seen, this reflected the established views of Rosenkamppf: 'Komissiia', September, 291. See also Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 205–6. There is some irony in the fact that Russian laws which Rosenkamppf considered exclusive and essential included legislation of Peter I and the *Nakaz* of Catherine II, both of whom followed common practice in drawing upon foreign sources, which they borrowed and adapted. See Butler, 'Catherine the Great, William Blackstone and comparative law'.
- 145 Jakob, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*, 234, also quoted by Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 206:
- Unsere russischen Gesetze sind ein Produkt der Barbarei. Man findet freilich mitunter gute Ukasen und vortreffliche Aeusserungen. Aber das ist alles aus der Fremde entlehnt und anderwärts längst bekannt; auch sind dergleichen nur Perlen auf einem groben zerlumpten Rock. Sie müssen sich daher bei Ihrer Arbeit um die russischen Gesetze nicht zu ängstlich kümmern. Es ist freilich notwendig, dass Sie dieselben kennen und dass Sie bei Ihrer Arbeit gegen die hier geltenden Begriffe und Vorurtheile mit Auctoritäten schon vorhandener russischer Gesetze ausschmücken können. Dieses wird Ihnen bei unsern mit Vorurtheilen und National Eitelkeit behafteten Herren zur Empfehlung dienen. Im Allgemeinen aber folgen Sie lieber Ihrem Genie und arbeiten ein ideales Gesetzbuch für Russland aus.
- Jakob gives an interesting picture of this stage of Speranskii's management of the Compilation Commission (pp. 227–35).
- 146 Raeff, *Michael Speransky*, 67–70; *RBS*, 366. See also Maikov, 'Iz zapisok N. S. Il'inskogo', 433–4, and Speranskii's own comments in his well-known 'Perm' letter' of self-justification to Alexander I (including his denunciation of 'the disgraceful compilations presented to me by the Commission, that is, by Rosenkamppf'): Speranskii, *Rukovodstvo k poznaniu zakonov*, 575–6.
- 147 Raeff, *Michael Speransky*, chap. 5; Speranskii, *Plan gosudarstvennogo preobrazovaniia: (vvedenie k ulozheniiu gosudarstvennykh zakonov 1809 g.) grafa M. M. Speranskogo*; Raeff, *Plans for Political Reform in Imperial Russia*, 92–109.
- 148 Gooding, 'The liberalism of Michael Speransky'.
- 149 Shil'der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*, III, chap. 3; Raeff, *Michael Speransky*, chap. 6; Zorin, *Kormia dvuglavogo orla*, chap. 6; Tomsinov, *Speranskii*, chap. 5; O'Meara, *The Russian Nobility*, 134–7.
- 150 Gustav Mauritz Armfelt (1757–1814), of Finnish-Swedish origin, a talented servitor of the Swedish crown, was expelled from Sweden for political reasons and came to Russia in 1811, where he enjoyed great influence with the Emperor and was instrumental in shaping Russian policy in newly conquered Finland.

- 151 Korf, *Zhizn' grafa Speranskogo*, II, 31–40, excerpted in [Turgenev], *La Russie et les Russes*, III, 502–8. Turgenev asserted that in the plot against Speranskii Rosenkamppf 'was merely the tool of his patron Armfeld' [ne fut que l'instrument de son patron Armfeld] (*La Russie et les Russes*, III, 501).
- 152 Maikov, 'Rozenkampf', 11–12, 375.
- 153 Raeff, *Michael Speransky*, 193; Ikonnikov, *Graf N. S. Mordvinov*, 132–3. Speranskii was sent into exile in Nizhnii Novgorod, then Perm', but in 1816 was allowed back into state service as Governor of Penza, and later as Governor of Siberia, where he carried through major reform. He was summoned back to the capital in 1821; however, he never fully regained his previous favour with Alexander.
- 154 Korf, *Zhizn' grafa Speranskogo*, I, 248–9, II, 44; AGM IV, 146–7. Much later, in the 1830s, Rosenkamppf penned another memoir attacking Speranskii's handling of state finances (on which Speranskii had worked together with Mordvinov) in the period 1810–12: Korf, *Zhizn' grafa Speranskogo*, I, 231–2; Ikonnikov, *Graf N. S. Mordvinov*, 132.
- 155 Korf, *Zhizn' grafa Speranskogo*, II, 42–4. Nevertheless, Rosenkamppf maintained some contact with the exiled Speranskii, sending him copies of the Commission's publications.
- 156 *Trudy* (1822), I, 134–46, 13 May 1812.
- 157 See A. M. Martin, *Romantics, Reformers, Reactionaries*; Pipes, *Karamzin's Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia*.
- 158 See in general Lieven, 'Russia and the defeat of Napoleon (1812–14)'.
- 159 Semple, *Bentham's Prison*; BC VIII, xxviii. Bentham's own view of the process and the injustice done him is eloquently expressed in a letter to Francis Hall, a South American volunteer, of 17 May 1822: BC XI, no. 2882, esp. 79.
- 160 BC VIII, 248, no. 2177, JB to Lord Sidmouth, 20 June.
- 161 Dinwiddy, 'Bentham's transition to political radicalism, 1809–1810'.
- 162 [Bentham], *Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction: Including correspondence with the Russian Emperor, and divers constituted authorities in the American United States, Supplement no. V*; also reproduced in 'Legislator of the World', p. 121 note a, and quoted in Schofield, *Utility and Democracy*, 246.
- 163 See for instance the letter of F. d'Ivernois to Dumont of 6 February 1813, quoted in variant versions by Bowring, X, 440 and Pypin, 'Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 2, 817–18, kn. 4, 738; see also [Appendix I](#).
- 164 Zawadski, *A Man of Honour*, 218–21.
- 165 BC VIII, 461; Bowring, X, 61.
- 166 BC VIII, 500, no. 2330.
- 167 BC VIII, 365–8, nos 2261, 2262, 2263, 25 December 1813–22 January 1814.
- 168 *Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction*, no. VII, 83–8; Bowring, IV, 451–535; BC VIII, 369–71, no. 2266; 'Legislator of the World', 44–7.
- 169 BC VIII, 365, no. 2261, JB to SB, 25 December 1813.
- 170 Reproduced in Russian, partly paraphrased, by Pypin, 'Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 4, pp. 736–43. Since the letter is absent from the Bentham *Correspondence* and is no longer preserved in the National Library in St Petersburg, Pypin's part-translation, part-summary is reproduced in full, in my English translation, in [Appendix I](#). Pypin's article has been translated into English by N. Renaud as 'Bentham's Russian relations', published in *Sudebnik* no. 7 (2002), 581–623.
- 171 Ikonnikov, *Graf N. S. Mordvinov*, 138.
- 172 BC VIII, 369–71, no. 2266, note; RGIA, f. 560, op. 22, d. 38, ll. 4–6.
- 173 See Shil'der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*, III, 243–4; Hartley, "'It is the festival of the crown and sceptres': The diplomatic, commercial and domestic significance of the visit of Alexander I to England in 1814'.
- 174 BC VIII, 379. The phrase 'by one accident or other, he might, with or without having received my Proposal, happen to hear of my existence' makes clear Bentham's uncertainty. Bentham at this time was actively courting American law-makers.
- 175 Allen, *Life of William Allen, with Selections from his Correspondence*, I, 193–201, 421–65 passim, II, 13–16 and elsewhere; Scott, *Quakers in Russia*, 46–56, 84–100. On Allen's relations with Bentham see BC VIII, no. 2193; X, 208–9, no. 2724; BL Add. MS 33545, ff. 295–6.
- 176 Quoted in BC VIII, 415 n. 2; cf. VIII, no. 2289, XII, 301–2.
- 177 George Bentham, *Autobiography, 1800–1834* (hereafter *Autobiography, 1800–1834*), 11.
- 178 BC VIII, 382, no. 2276, 27 June 1814, Brougham to JB.

- 179 *Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction*, 90–1. On the 1791 Polish constitution see most recently Butterwick-Pawlikowski, *The Constitution of 3 May 1791*.
- 180 Bowring, X, 61.
- 181 *Legislator of the World*, xxii, states that ‘as will be seen below, Bentham must have given Czartoryski a copy of his letter to the Emperor at some point during his visit to London in June–July 1814’. Czartoryski’s eventual reply (ten months after the London interview) could be read as supporting this assertion, but is not decisively clear. Apart from that, however, no evidence for this hypothesis is in fact offered, and none has been found elsewhere. See also *Legislator of the World*, 44 n. 1. This hypothesis is repeated as fact in Schofield, *Utility and Democracy*, 245.
- 182 Cross, “Russian Englishmen”, 94.
- 183 BC VIII, 365, no. 2261; 385, no. 2278, JB to SB, 4 July 1814. Alexander was well known for indecision and changing his mind, which may have been a way of protecting himself from personal and political pressures. See also BC VIII, 377–8, 387–8, nos 2279 (4 July) and 2280 (5 July) 1814.
- 184 BC VIII, 500, no. 2330. The agent referred to was I. A. Capodistria (1776–1831), a Corfiote who entered Russian service in 1809, headed Chichagov’s diplomatic chancellery in 1812–13, and later served as Russian Secretary of State and Foreign Minister before becoming head of the new Greek Republic: BC VIII, 449 n. 8, 502.
- 185 ‘Les courses continuelles que Sa Majesté l’Empereur a faites, après avoir quitté l’Angleterre, et les grands intérêts qui L’ont occupé depuis quelque tems, ne m’ont permis que dans ce moment de remettre à Sa Majesté Impériale la lettre que vous Lui avez adressée, Monsieur’ (Bentham’s translation: *Supplement to Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction*, 81–6); BC VIII, 415–16, no. 2314, Czartoryski to JB, Vienna, 25 April 1815; *Legislator of the World*, 105–6.
- 186 *Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction*, 86–90, nos VI, VII (commentary on the ring and following events, 90–2); BC VIII, no. 2313, AI to JB, 22 April 1815, enclosed in no. 2314; *Legislator of the World*, 48, 48–51.
- 187 *Supplement to Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction*, no. IV, 86–96; BC VIII, 459, no. 2318, JB to Czartoryski, 21 June 1815; *Legislator of the World*, 107–12.
- 188 *Supplement to Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction*, no. II, pp. 31–81; 23 printed pages in the *Correspondence*, BC VIII, 464–87, no. 2319, June 1815; *Legislator of the World*, 82–105.
- 189 BC VIII, 464–7, no. 2319 (italics in original).
- 190 BC VIII, 470–1, no. 2319.
- 191 BC VIII, 488, no. 2321, Chichagov to JB, 13 July 1815.
- 192 BC VIII, 494–5, no. 2326, Chichagov to JB, 31 August 1815.
- 193 BC VIII, 507, no. 2335, JB to Koe, 2 January 1816.
- 194 See repeated references in the *Correspondence*, for instance BC X, 355–6, no. 2777, JB to Chichagov, 8 July 1821; XII, 15, no. 3125, JB to Mordvinov, 16 August 1824; 259, no. 3285, JB to Manuel José Arce, 9 November 1826; 263, no. 3286, JB to José Cecilio del Valle, 10 November 1826; 412, no. 3378, JB to Ludwig of Bavaria, 20 December 1827; Bowring, X, 478.
- 195 The appointment as viceroy of General Józef Zająček surprised everybody: Zawadzki, *A Man of Honour*, 263.
- 196 *Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction*, 93–4; Bowring, X, 478; *Legislator of the World*, 49–51; cf. BC VIII, 511–13. *Armata* was the name of an imaginary land conceived in 1817 by Thomas Erskine in imitation of Thomas More’s *Utopia*: *Legislator of the World*, 51 n. 1.
- In general on Alexander’s Polish policy at this time see Zawadzki, *A Man of Honour*; Thackeray, *Antecedents of Revolution: Alexander I and the Polish kingdom, 1815–1825*.
- 197 Quoted in Schofield, *Utility and Democracy*, 247.
- 198 Rosenkampff, like Armfelt, was a member of the Committee on Finnish Affairs, created in 1811 following the 1809 conquest of Finland.
- 199 Wistinghausen, *Freimaurer*, II, 859, 885, citing Turgenev, *Pis’ma Aleksandra Ivanovicha Turgeneva k Nikolaiu Ivanovichu Turgenevu/Lettres d’Alexandre Tourgueneff à son frère Nicolas*, 109–10. Rosenkampff also edited the Livonian peasant edicts of 1804 and 1817.
- 200 Raeff, *Michael Speransky*, 321–2, largely based on Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie*, 80–113. In 1819 there also appeared *Osnovaniia rossiiskogo prava, izdannye Kommissieiu sostavleniia zakonov* [The foundations of Russian jurisprudence, published by the Commission for the Compilation of Laws], which became the subject of a polemic between Rosenkampff and the legal expert Professor A. Kunitsyn: Maikov, ‘Komissiiia’, November, 277–9; Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie*, 85–6,

- 89; *Syn Otechestva*, 1819, part 51, VI, 241–52 (Kunitsyn review); part 52, XII, 241–72, XVI, 145–76, XVII, 193–218 (Rosenkampff rejoinder); part 53, XVI, 173–87 (Kunitsyn reply). I am grateful to Professor Wendy Rosslyn for this reference.
- 201 Liubavin, 'O publikatsii Bentama v "Dukhe Zhurnalov" v 1815 godu'; O'Meara, *The Russian Nobility*, 230; *Dukh Zhurnalov* 1815, part 4, no. 26, 1421–6. *Dukh Zhurnalov* ['The spirit of the journals'], a digest of press items which appeared from 1815 to 1820, took a strong interest in political and constitutional matters. The article produced an immediate reaction in the more conservative *Vestnik Evropy*, which under the heading 'An important difference of opinion' contrasted it with a home-grown book on the same topic (*Vestnik Evropy*, part 83, no. 20 [October 1815], 269–83). *Dukh Zhurnalov* was evidently undeterred: two years later it published an article, 'On usury. (From Bentham)': *Dukh Zhurnalov* 23 (1817) part 23, no. 40, 579–99.
- 202 Jenkins, *Arakcheev, Grand Vizier of the Russian Empire*; Tomsinov, *Arakcheev*. Speranskii after his return to St Petersburg in 1821 had a very cordial relationship with Arakcheev, from whom he derived considerable support.
- 203 Zawadski, *A Man of Honour*, 256–76; Thackeray, *Antecedents of Revolution*.
- 204 *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*, 1818, no. 26, 29 March, 293–4: <https://gpa.eastview.com/crl/irn/newspapers/stpn18180329-01.1.1> (accessed 15 March 2022).
- 205 O'Meara, *The Russian Nobility*, 158–9, 162–3; Minaeva, *Potaennye konstitutsii*, 38–45.
- 206 Vernadsky, *La Charte constitutionnelle de l'Empire russe de l'an 1820*; Mironenko, *Samoderzhavie i reformy. Politicheskaiia bor'ba v Rossii v nachale XIX v.*, 148–202; Hartley, *Alexander I*, 170–3; LeDonne, 'Regionalism and constitutional reform 1819–1926'; O'Meara, *The Russian Nobility*, 162–3.
- 207 Minaeva, *Potaennye konstitutsii*, 46–7.
- 208 Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie*, 100–13. The Council of State did begin reviewing proposed new legislation, but this soon stopped and in 1824 the Tsar issued peremptory orders to Lopukhin to restart and complete it, a process overtaken by Alexander's death in November 1825.
- 209 *Trudy* (1822), II, 296–330; Maikov, 'Komissiiia', September, 286–91, November, 200–2; *RBS*, 368–9; Maikov, 'Rozenkampff', 11–12, 425–9.
- 210 *Trudy* (1822), II, 178–88.
- 211 Maikov, 'Rozenkampff', 11–12, 376. The contentious publication in question was presumably the *Sistematicheskii svod sushchestvuiushchikh zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii* (1817–22): see above, pp. 103–4.
- 212 Maikov, 'Rozenkampff', 11–12, 376–7; *RBS*, 368–9; O'Meara, *The Russian Nobility*, 24. After his retirement from service Rosenkampff devoted himself to private historical research on the medieval ecclesiastical code *Kormchaia kniga* (*Book of the Helmsman*). He spent his last years largely in oppositional isolation. Further biographical details in Maikov, 'Rozenkampff' and *RBS*.
- 213 *PSZ I*, 175, no. 114, 31 January 1826; Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie*, 140–1; Tomsinov, *Speranskii*, 391–2.
- 214 Raeff, *Michael Speransky*, 322, 360.
- 215 Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 199, 211.
- 216 Quoted by Tomsinov, *Speranskii*, 393.
- 217 Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie*, 114, 140–1.
- 218 Medushevskii, *Proekty agrarnykh reform v Rossii XVIII–XXI veka*, 223–4, quoting a consensus of historical opinion from S. M. Seredonin, *Graf M. M. Speranskii. Ocherk gosudarstvennoi deiatel'nosti*, St Petersburg 1909, 173.
- 219 *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii, poveleniem Gosudaria Nikolaia Pavlovicha sostavlennoe. Sobranie pervoe*, 1830–43; *Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii, poveleniem Gos. Imp. Nikolaia Pavlovicha sostavlennyi*, 1832.
- 220 A point soon made by Speranskii's critics: Medushevskii, *Proekty agrarnykh reform*, 99.
- 221 Butler, review of works on Russian law in *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 7 no. 3 (2006), 658.
- 222 Maikov, *Vtoroe otdelenie*, 154–60; Raeff, *Michael Speransky*, 322–44. Kaplunovsky, 'The Alexandrine Commission', 211 emphasises the important part played by the revisions in the Council of State. 'Second' and 'third' collections of Imperial Russian laws, made as the years progressed, covered the decades after 1830.
- 223 Bowring, *Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring*, 118–19, 121–2. Further on Bowring see: the (very critical) *Autobiography, 1800–1834* of George Bentham; Bartle, 'Jeremy Bentham and John Bowring'; Bartle, *An Old Radical and his Brood: A portrait of Sir John Bowring and his family*.

- 224 Ikonnikov, *Graf N. S. Mordvinov*, 159, 274.
- 225 BC IX, 347–8, no. 2557, JB to Mordvinov, 1 September 1819.
- 226 BC IX, 349, no. 2558, Mordvinov to JB, 11 September 1819:
 les principes sur lesquels, je suppose, la representation nationale pourroit être introduite dans un gouvernement qui en fait le premier essai, et dont les idées sont encore trop éloignées pour accepter une constitution libre dans tous ses rapports.
- 227 BC IX, 349, no. 2559, JB to Mordvinov, 11 September, 4 p.m.
- 228 BC IX, 350–1, no. 2560, 12 September 1819, Mordvinov to JB, including the text of the sketch:
 Voici les traits généraux de la representation imparfaite; mais telle, que Je presume, pouvoir être proposée à un gouvernement Despotique. Mais la plante croitra; pour avoir l'arbre, il faut le planter avant son age de maturité, et avant l'apparition de ses branches vigoureuses. Je vous presente l'ébauche, pour être perfectionnée.
 The sketch and Mordvinov's original text, 'O predstaviteliakh oblastnykh', were published in AGM IV (1901), 155–8, no. 942, and Mordvinov's letters and sketch, in Russian translation, in 'Tri pis'ma N. S. Mordvinova k Ier. Bentamu'.
- 229 BC IX, 347–52, nos 2557–61.
- 230 BC X, 199, no. 2721, JB to Chichagov, 28 November 1820. Chichagov replied: 'I am rather surprised at your having had a serious conversation with Mordvinoff. He is reckoned crazy and therefore must admire the magnanimous [Alexander I: RB] and attack whoever does not appreciate the things in the same way as he does' (BC X, 314, no. 2761, Chichagov to JB, 12 March 1821).
- 231 BC IX, 351–2 (orthography as in original):
 Vous avez dit la pure verité et exacte avec les talents de l'homme qui est à la tete de la codification du pays, dont vous parlez. J'en ai dit autant. Mais il est un sot et un intrigant, et tel homme reussit toujours à être en place; car il n'a contre lui l'envie et flatte les grands qui le protege [sic], tout aussi ignorants que lui.
 See also *Russkaia Starina*, 106, 202; AGM V, 473, and above, p. 64.
- 232 BC X, 153–73, nos 2712–14, JB to de Mora, 15–21 November 1820. The methodology he proposed would be repeated in his *Codification Proposal* (1822) and *Justice and Codification Petitions* (1829), and exemplified in his *Constitutional Code* (1830); *Legislator of the World*, 244–384.
- 233 BC X, 198–9, no. 2721, JB to Chichagov, 28 November 1820.
- 234 *Autobiographical Recollections*, 123. See further Alekseev, *Russko-angliiskie literaturnye sviazi (XVIII–pervaia polovina XIX vv.)* chap. 3, 187–246; Cross, 'Early specimens of the Russian poets'.
- 235 BC X, 208; but see also X, 355–6.
- 236 Bowring, *Autobiographical Recollections*, 343. Among the Bentham papers is preserved a copy of an article from *Chambers Edinburgh Journal*, no. 327 NS (6 April 1850), 209–11, entitled 'What is the use of poetry?', a defence of poetry against its detractors, starting with Jeremy Bentham: UCLSC, MS ADD 413/A.10.3b.
- 237 Alekseev, *Russko-angliiskie literaturnye sviazi*, 220.
- 238 Dixon, 'Russia and Greece in the Age of Revolution'.
- 239 BC XI, 230–1, no. 2968, Say to JB, 27 April 1823:
 M. Storch avait fait à Petersbourg en faveur des grands ducs de Russie, un Cours d'Economie politique presque entierement composé de morceaux pris à Adam Smith, à Sismondi & à moi. Ce cours a été imprimé, avant d'être lu, à l'imprimerie imperiale, au frais d'Alexandre qui n'est pas le grand; mais, ô malheur! A peine a t'il été en lumiere, qu'on s'est aperçu qu'il etait entaché de libéralisme; et ce qu'il y a de plus fâcheux, ce défaut a fait son succès en Russie et en Allemagne. On en a défendu la réimpression comme de raison; mais les libraires de Paris viennent d'en donner une seconde edition où ils m'ont beaucoup sollicité d'ajouter un commentaire, qui malheureusement n'a rien diminué du grand vice qu'on a reproché à cet ouvrage; mais où j'ai été assez heureux pour pouvoir en plusieurs endroits exprimer l'admiration & l'attachement que je vous ai voués.
 The publications concerned were Storch, *Cours d'Economie politique*, 1815, and *Cours d'économie politique*, 1823. In 1816 Storch had sent a very friendly letter to Dumont, requesting his acceptance of a copy of the newly published *Cours d'Economie politique*, which his agent would send: MS Dumont 33/4, f. 229. Say's notes and commentaries to the second edition included substantial footnotes on Bentham's work: BC XI, 231 nn. 4–6. On Storch see McGrew, 'Dilemmas of development: Baron Heinrich Friedrich Storch (1766–1835) on the growth of imperial Russia'; Storch, *Cours d'Economie Politique*, 1997 (reprint of and introduction to 1815 edition).

- 240 BC XI, 273–4, no. 2988, JB to Say, 4 August 1823.
- 241 See for example BL Add. MS 33554, ff. 305–17.
- 242 BC XI, 129–30, no. 2906, Bowring to JB, 23 July 1822.
- 243 Alekseev, *Russko-angliiskie literaturnye sviazi*, 200–1; BC XI, 450 n. 2; XII, 13 n. 4, 14 n. 5. Mordvinov's packet contained 21 items and a list of Bentham's works; Speranskii received 24 works.
- 244 Alekseev, *Russko-angliiskie literaturnye sviazi*, 201.
- 245 5/17 May 1824: Ikonnikov, *Graf N. S. Mordvinov*, 324, 348–51; AGM IV (1902), 339–40, 344–5, no. 1013; Pypin, April, 785–6; Bowring, X, 542–3; BC XI, 450–1, no. 3105:
 Vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer l'année passée une bibliothèque de vos ouvrages, que le monde savant révère, et que j'étudie avec le zèle d'un écolier, qui admire tout ce qui sort de la plume de son maître. J'ai eu l'occasion d'appuyer mes arguments, dans des procès graves, par vos sentences lumineuses, en ma qualité de président de Conseil d'Etat pour les affaires civiles et ecclésiastiques.
 Je me présente à vous avec un humble opuscule, que je cru devoir écrire au moment qui me paraissait favorable pour porter l'attention de mes compatriotes, vers des établissements, qui pourraient leur devenir utiles et sans lesquels les nations ne prospèrent pas. Daignez le parcourir à m'éclairer dans la voie de me rendre utile à ma patrie.
- 246 BC XI, 450 nn. 1, 4; XII, 12 n. 1.
- 247 BC XII, 12–16, no. 3125, JB to Mordvinov, 16 August 1824; Ikonnikov, *Graf N. S. Mordvinov*, 349–51; Bowring, X, 542–3.
- 248 BC XII, 14. The reference is to the letter of 10 October 1804: see p. 67–70 above. BC XII, 14 n. 6 wrongly suggests that the letter is missing.
- 249 On Speranskii's Siberian work see Raeff, *Siberia and the Reforms of 1822*; Tomsinov, *Speranskii*, chap. 9.
- 250 BC XII, 12 n. 1.
- 251 BC XII, 15 n. 7 suggests that Bentham had in mind one work only, possibly *Osnovaniia rossiiskogo prava*, but that is not what Bentham's words say.
- 252 This enthusiasm is amply reflected in the correspondence. For another Russian context see for instance BC VII, 337, JB to SB, 18 November–21 December 1805.
- 253 'Legislator of the World', 380, St Petersburg 18/30 March 1829.
- 254 AGM VII, 303–5, no. 1349, SB to Mordvinov, 26 May 1829. Samuel and his family were on good social terms with the Sablukovs: *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 285.
- 255 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 288–9, GB to General Sablukov, London, May 1829; [George Bentham], 'Mémoire sur l'organisation judiciaire en Russie, 1829, May 4th', BL Add. MS 33551, ff. 239–54.
- 256 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 286.
- 257 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 286.
- 258 BL Add. MS 33546, f. 290, JB to Lieven, London, 5 May 1829.
- 259 AGM VII, 326–9, no. 1357, JB to Mordvinov, 9 July 1830; Bowring, XI, 33; Cross, "Russian Englishmen", 92; Pypin, 'Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 4, 787–8.
- 260 Christie, *The Bentham's in Russia*, 40.
- 261 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 462–62v, Mordvinov to JB, St Petersburg, 28 October/9 November 1830. The Russian codification did not, of course, follow Bentham's principles.
- 262 BL Add. MS 33546, f. 510, Mordvinov to JB, St Petersburg 2/14 Sept 1831. In a letter to Samuel of March/April 1831, Mordvinov had noted that his wife had been cured by homeopathy of a dangerous illness, and Russian savants had found his arguments well founded: he sought to prove that 'les agens les plus puissants de la nature sont tous des substances presque non materielles, comme l'attraction, l'électricité, le galvanisme, le magnétisme, la lumière & c. & qu'il y a une chaîne non interrompue dans l'existence de la création' (BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 496–7). Mordvinov's advocacy of homeopathy was well received, according to his correspondence, and translations appeared in French and German: AGM VII, 337, 348–54, 358, 366, 368–9.

Samuel Bentham's second stay in Russia: the Admiralty mission of 1805–1807

Invitation to a mission

Following his return from Russia in 1791, Samuel Bentham (as we have seen) maintained an active role in the brothers' contacts with that country, but had given up the Russian service in 1796 to become Inspector-General of Naval Works in the British Admiralty. The post had been created with him in mind: one of his backers at the time, Sir Charles Middleton, noting that Samuel was 'undoubtedly a man of first-rate abilities and of great experience in practical mechanics', specifically wished that his talents might be 'converted to the benefit of his native country instead of carrying them again into Russia'.¹ Bentham retained this position until 1808, when the office was abolished and its functions incorporated into the Navy Board, of which he was made a Commissioner and Civil Architect.

The positive character of Bentham's initial dealings with the Admiralty, which controlled the fleet and naval matters, had not been matched over time by that of his relations with the Navy Board, the civilian management of the navy, responsible for the dockyards which were his prime concern. The Inspector-General's brief was to ensure efficiency and suggest improvements in the workings of the dockyards. The job description required him to concern himself with improvement of the building, arming and operating of ships, the best construction of docks and other naval infrastructure, and the economical provision of naval supplies and stores. His remit was thus very wide-ranging, and he had a large number of specialist assistants. Bentham's appointment was an indication of

widespread concern over the efficiency of the royal navy. In 1791 a Society for the Improvement of Naval Architecture had been formed; it was alarmed that the French had appointed a special inspector-general to improve their dockyards.² His new post was an Admiralty appointment, but his area of responsibility intruded into the Navy Board's jurisdiction, and so could scarcely avoid exacerbating the friction which already existed between the two. Samuel's vision of a system for the dockyards designed to maximise efficiency and to avoid waste and unnecessary expense was at odds with the existing order, in which favours were done, materials profligately used, and peculation overlooked; his ruthlessness in pursuing technical rationality alienated persons involved or affected; and he met too with personal jealousies and hostilities.³ When a mission to Russia was suddenly thrust upon him in 1805, these difficulties led Samuel to suspect ulterior motives on the part of those involved: a later letter to Earl Spencer speaks of 'an anxious desire of removing me out of the way'.⁴

The mission came in the midst of the revolutionary and controversial development at Portsmouth of Bentham's wood mills and Marc Brunel's block mills, radical industrial innovations in naval technology which attracted both hostility and public and professional interest; Nelson visited in September 1805 before rejoining HMS *Victory* on the way to Trafalgar.⁵ It coincided, too, with a turbulent period of British politics: the second premiership and death of Pitt the Younger (1806), repeated changes of government including the 'Ministry of All the Talents' (1806–7), a consequent quick succession of First Lords of the Admiralty,⁶ and the Third Coalition against France (1805–7). The mission appears to have been a direct result of the formation of the Third Coalition in early 1805. As we have seen, the Tsar had sent Novosil'tsev to London to hold negotiations with the British: they were successful, and the Russian envoy made a good diplomatic impression.⁷ In January 1805 the new Foreign Secretary, Lord Mulgrave, wrote to Granville Leveson Gower, British ambassador in St Petersburg, of

the cordial and confidential intercourse which subsists between the King and the Emperor of Russia – the Principles of sound and liberal Policy by which they are equally actuated – the enlarged and benevolent views which they jointly entertain for establishing on a permanent Basis the future Safety and Independence of Europe.⁸

On 11 April 1805 a treaty of alliance between Russia and Britain was signed in St Petersburg. The new conjuncture evidently appeared very promising for Samuel's mission. Its context in the international build-up

and the speculations accompanying it was well caught by an item in August in the *Hull Packet*, which must have taken a particular interest in Russian matters, given Hull's position in the Baltic trade:

The intelligence brought by the Hamburg and Gottenburg mails that arrived on Saturday, exhibits the affairs of the continent in nearly the same point of view they have appeared some time. The language and conduct of the Emperor of Russia seem decisive, but Austria yet temporizes.

We learn, through a respectable channel, that the Emperor of Russia has taken up as transports, for the immediate conveyance of troops, a great number of British merchant ships in Russian harbours.

It is said they will be carried to Stralsund and employed in conjunction with the Swedish forces in the protection of Pomerania, and for any future operations that may be concerted. – If a strong Russian army is landed in Swedish Pomerania, Prussia may be compelled to take a side, as she has positively declared to Sweden, that she would suffer no military preparations in Pomerania. – Such a movement is certainly likely to lead to very important consequences.

It is also reported that a Russian fleet is immediately to join the North sea squadron.

A contract has been entered into by our government and that of Russia for building at Petersburg and other Russian arsenals, 12 sail of the line and frigates, for the service of this country – they are to be begun immediately, under the inspection of General Bentham, who has received orders to proceed without delay to Russia, with several officers from different dockyards.⁹

But the new Anglo-Russian alliance against France lasted only two years, until Alexander I's agreement at Tilsit on 7 July 1807 to ally with France and join the Continental Blockade; at the same time it ushered in a new tense period of warfare, including the crushing Russian defeat of Austerlitz – not such a propitious time for Samuel's undertaking.

However, internal as well as international politics appear to have been in play: Charles Middleton, Lord Barham, Samuel's erstwhile backer, became First Sea Lord in early 1805 and had now changed his views. Admiralty support for the Inspector-General evaporated.¹⁰ But while Samuel may have suspected the naval authorities of wanting to get rid of him, his difficulties with the Navy Board and, too, the brothers' own sayings and doings also appear to call in question his own position in England and his wife Mary's categorical assertion, quoted earlier, that he

'might now be considered as exclusively in the English service and devoted to it heart and mind'. Mary's loyal and patriotic biographical account of Samuel's 1805–7 mission to St Petersburg emphasises that he always put British interests at the forefront of his activities and had no wish to stay in Russia. The correspondence, however, suggests a more ambivalent attitude on Samuel's part, of which Jeremy also appears to have been fully apprised: he was apparently prepared to contemplate at least a stay of some years in the country. In 1802, in order to advance his own interests in St Petersburg, Jeremy had wished to claim to the Russians that Samuel was still in Russian service. Samuel's own dealings with Khitrovo in 1804, his 'communications upon Plans of Mechanical Instruction' detailed above, only make sense if he thought they could be put to use in a Russian context. And Alexander's personal letter to him – sent only days before the signing of the St Petersburg treaty ushering in the Third Coalition – was a clear signal of opportunities open to him in the Empire.¹¹ Samuel's mission to St Petersburg in 1805 therefore opened a door for a return to long-term or even permanent service in Russia, and such phrases in Jeremy's letters to him in Russia as 'your determination to stay where you are' and 'your doubting for the present between here and Petersburg'¹² suggest that he was indeed contemplating a longer or indeterminate stay, although there is no positive recorded statement of a wish to re-enter Russian service permanently. Mary in her letters from Russia speaks of Samuel 'occupied in securing here the advantages that have been offered him'. She declared that 'even he himself is averse to entering into the service here, and to the idea of abandoning altogether the idea of returning home, when he shall have saved money enough to render him independent'; but Samuel himself in 1806 was clearly torn:

As to my staying in this country ..., I am on my own account much inclined to stay for a few years if by so doing I should [not?: RB] prevent my returning with credit afterwards. I feel myself since my last illness unable or at least very unwilling to contend against the opposition which I must expect to meet with in England in regard to all naval concerns. ... Here on the contrary every thing I have suggested for my own advantage has been immediately acceded to On the other hand however the degree of uncertainty ... and the great discomforts ... make the idea of giving up my return almost as intollerable. The greatest discomfort however is on my wife's account.¹³

Even Mary saw the advantages of staying longer in Russia, since (she said) Samuel's British income did not meet their living costs at home, though her clear wish (and his, so she asserted) was ultimately to return.¹⁴

The St Petersburg mission was unexpected. In June 1805 Inspector-General Bentham was suddenly recalled from an inspection in Portsmouth to London, on urgent Admiralty business. In London he was asked, in most flattering terms, to undertake a mission to the Russian Imperial capital, to arrange for the purchase of timber and the building of warships needed by the navy. During the 1790s and the war with France Britain's navy had vastly expanded, doubling the number of frigates, and increasing the number of ships of the line by half, and the number of sailors from 15,000 to some 133,000. But this was still not enough, and in the year of Nelson's triumph at Trafalgar the Admiralty was constrained to outsource urgent replacement vessels to Russia. As we have seen,¹⁵ the British authorities had talked of the matter with Novosil'tsev and the Russian embassy, and Bentham was told that permission for the project had been given: Archangel was the Admiralty's preferred location. (Bentham had inspected ship-building at Archangel some 20 years before, in 1781, during his first tour of northern Russia.¹⁶) The Admiralty Board wrote to the Navy Board on 20 July:

Gentlemen,

It being judged expedient that an additional number of Line of Battle Ships and Frigates should be built for the purpose of increasing the naval strength of this Kingdom, and that His Majesty should avail himself of the favourable disposition of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia to promote so desirable an object, by building ships of 74 guns and frigates of 36 guns within his dominions, We have thought fit to direct General Bentham, Inspector General of Naval Works to proceed without loss of time to Petersburg for the purpose of carrying into immediate execution His Majesty's views in this respect. We send to you herewith a copy of the Instructions we have given to him for his guidance and do hereby desire and direct you to Order the persons named in the Margin to accompany him and follow his Orders for their further proceedings.

For the better enabling the General to carry his Instructions into effect you are to imprest to him £500; to cause drafts to be prepared without loss of time for our consideration for a Ship of 74 guns and a Frigate of 36 guns and to authorise the General to enter into an agreement with the Russian Government for building such number of each Class as we may hereafter direct, furnishing him

with Copies of the said Drafts when approved by us, together with copies of the Printed Contract and Instructions to Overseers made use of on similar occasions.

It being intended that the whole of the Copper fastenings and Ironwork necessary for constructing the ships in question shall be provided and sent out from this country, we do hereby further desire and direct you to send to Archangel without loss of time the necessary quantities of copper fastenings and ironwork for two ships of 74 guns and two frigates of 36 guns each, acquainting General Bentham with the name of the vessel you may employ in this service and of the probable time of her sailing, and you are to make such advances to the agents of the Russian Government in this country as may be stipulated in the contracts which may be entered into by the General, on the production of the usual certificates signed by the Artificers who may be employed under him in superintending the building of the ships above mentioned.¹⁷

By this time Bentham had already been given a free hand in choosing artisans to go with him. He required 'the assistance of two Shipwright Officers, and two Foremen of Blacksmiths, who are sufficiently conversant in Ship Work in general'. As Officers he chose Joseph Helby, Foreman in Portsmouth Yard, 'employed at present under his Orders', and George Stockwell, 'Overseer for the repair of the Lion at Dudman's Dock'. He was hoping to be able to acquire ship's and mast timber and other ships' stores in Russia, and for this he needed 'a competent mast-maker in whom the Navy Board can have confidence': the Board agreed the appointment of Thomas Stuckey, employed as 'leading man in the Mast House at Woolwich Yard during nine years, but took his Discharge from thence two years ago', at three guineas per week.¹⁸ Bentham also wanted 'an artificer conversant in the execution of mechanical works in general, such as are usually committed to the management of millwrights and engineers', because success in his commission would 'depend upon the adoption of the chance expedients for the forwarding the work'; he found a suitable candidate in John Kirk, from Portsmouth, who was taken on at the same rate as Stuckey, 'namely ... half a guinea per day'. The Admiralty was proposing to establish two centres of operation, one at Archangel, the other at St Petersburg. The final list of craftsmen was: for St Petersburg, Richard Upsal (an Admiralty employee who had been with Bentham on and off ever since his time at Kherson), Joseph Helby, John Kirk, Thomas Stuckey, and shipwright Henry Heywood (Portsmouth); for Archangel, George Stockwell, who hailed from Sheerness, shipwright Thomas Main (Portsmouth), shipwright

James Helby (Portsmouth), and two blacksmiths, Thomas Biddlecomb (Portsmouth) and John Rowland (Deptford).¹⁹

The Navy Board moved expeditiously to find a ship's master prepared to go to Archangel. Captain Chartoris of the *Enterprise* was willing, they told the Admiralty Board on 26 July, to take cargo of ten tons of copper and iron in boxes to Archangel, in return for 'a freight of £50' and customs expenses of £25–£30; but in the event another ship had to be used. At Bentham's request and the Admiralty's behest they also arranged credit for him of £2,500 at both Archangel and St Petersburg, through the merchant house of Thornton and Bayley.²⁰

It was later decided that ironwork could be sourced on the spot in Russia, so that only copper should be sent out. But another concern that worried Bentham was the availability in Russia of suitable tools and skilled labour. He sought and received permission to acquire necessary 'tools and engines', to be sent out with the copper fastenings or taken with him. Where the manufacturers could not provide the items in time, the Admiralty agreed that they could be requisitioned from stock currently in use at British dockyards.²¹

The Admiralty gave Samuel clear instructions only for the initial phase of his mission; further instructions would follow on receipt of his reports of progress.

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of the Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland &c &c &c

Whereas for the better enabling His Majesty to prosecute the present war with vigour and effect by increasing the naval strength of this country, it is judged expedient that He should avail Himself of the favourable disposition of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia to promote so desirable an object by immediately constructing Ships of the Line and Frigates within his dominions, whereby a sufficient time will be allowed to season the ships now building in this Kingdom; We confide in your Zeal, Judgment and Knowledge of the Russian Empire to carry into execution the views of His Majesty's Government on this subject, and do hereby require and direct you to observe the following Instructions for your guidance.

You are to repair without loss of time with the Persons named in the Margin to Petersburg, and on your arrival in that place, to deliver to the Right Honourable Lord Granville Levison Gower the accompanying Letter, explaining the object of your mission, whereby you will be enabled, with greater facility, to carry your instructions into effect.

You are to take every opportunity in your power to cultivate and promote the good understanding which happily subsists between the two countries, and immediately to take such measures, consistently therewith, as in your opinion may be best calculated to ascertain the means which the Russian Government possess of building Ships of 74 guns and Frigates of 36 guns each, throughout it's [sic] dominions.

For the better enabling us to give you the necessary instructions for carrying the views of His Majesty's government into effect, you are, as soon after your arrival in Russia as possible, to state to our Secretary for our information, the different places in that Empire where the means of building ships of 74 guns and frigates of 36 guns exist; the nature and quality of the materials in use; the estimated cost per ton for the hull, supposing the copper fastenings and the ironwork to be sent from this country; and the number of each class of ships which it is practicable to build at each place in a given time.

It being the intention of His Majesty's government to embrace the earliest opportunity of commencing the building of 10 ships of 74 guns and 10 frigates of 36 guns each, at Archangel, where it is understood no impediment will arise to their immediate construction, you are, as soon as you have communicated to us the information before mentioned and received the authority of the Russian Government, to proceed to that place with all possible expedition, taking with you the Shipwright Officers and Artisans whom the Commissioners of the Navy have been directed to send out and place under your orders, and carry into execution the service entrusted to your care.

The Commissioners of the Navy have been directed to furnish you with copies of the Drafts already approved by us for the construction of the said ships, with the copies of the Printed Contract and the Instruction to Overseers, &c, made use of on similar occasions, and to authorise you to enter into an agreement with the Russian Government on the following Principles.

The whole of the workmanship and materials, except the copper fastenings and ironwork, are to be furnished by the Russian Government, subject to the superintendence, approval and control of the Shipwright Officers and Artificers under your orders, who are to act as overseers in their respective departments.

The same advances as are stipulated by the printed contract with which you will be furnished will be made by the Navy Board to the agents of the Russian government in this country on

production of the usual certificates signed by the Shipwright Officers in question.

In order to carry these instructions into effect, the Navy Board has been directed to forward the necessary quantities of copper fastenings and iron work for 5 ships of each class, by a vessel direct to Archangel. You are therefore to take the most effectual means to forward the views of His Majesty's government in this service, not only by hastening the fall of such timber as may be requisite to the completion of these ships, over and above what may be found in a seasoned state, but endeavour to get such parts of the ships constructed while you remain on the spot as may forward the object of your mission as much as possible.

After leaving the necessary orders with the overseers you are to return to Petersburg and carry into execution such instructions as the nature of the first reports which we shall receive from you shall enable us to give you for your further proceedings.

Given this 20 July 1805.²²

On 1 August, finally, the Admiralty Board approved Samuel's recommendation of his long-time assistant, Simon Goodrich, 'Mechanist in his Office', to look after the business and current projects of the Inspector-General's Office during his absence.

The suddenness of the proposal and the disruption to his family did not deter Samuel from accepting the commission. He took with him his wife Mary and their five children, Mary Louisa (1797–1865), Samuel Jnr (1799–1816), George (1800–84), Clara (1802–29) and Sarah (1804–64), looked after by their governess Miss Engleheart.²³ He engaged the *Isabella*, a merchantman, captained by Robson: Jeremy reported to Dumont that

My Brother has the whole ship: he pays 200 guineas for it: there are 14 beds for passengers: for that money he has liberty of taking as many people as he can cram into it. He will cram in it a good many more than 14, of different sorts, sexes and sizes, the whole of his young fry, with *Gouvernante*, *Lady's Maid*, and *Lady's Maid's* little 9-year-old niece. Besides various Shipwright men, a Surgeon who goes on speculation, and promises extremely well, and your protégé young Clayson:²⁴ also a Russian Officer, who is sent with him (my Brother) at his request by Woronzoff, that the cargo may have somebody to learn Russian of during the passage.²⁵

The party set sail from the Nore on 2 August 1805. Samuel kept up with office business until the last moment: the last letter of the Inspector-General's office signed by him before departure is dated '1 August 1805, At The Nore'.²⁶ Samuel's illegitimate daughter Elizabeth Gordon, who was raised as part of his family, stayed behind with Jeremy but caught them up shortly afterwards, taking with her a gift from Jeremy to the children of gold-cased Swiss watches.²⁷ The *Isabella* was the vessel in which Dumont, too, had sailed to Russia, and he was able to tell Jeremy that she was 'very comfortable and the cabin is excellent' [très commode et la cabine excellente]. Dumont grasped the irony attaching to the mission: 'Peter I should rise from his tomb to receive your brother – could he have foreseen that in less than a century the premier naval power would come to purchase vessels in that port of which he was laying the foundations? – if I had been at St Petersburg I think that on the way I would have penned an ode on this subject'²⁸

Samuel's mission to St Petersburg provided opportunity for others to claim his services in furthering their own hopes and business at the Russian court. On 22 August, while the party was still at sea, Jeremy sent off a letter with a somewhat wry account of his friend the Quaker educationalist Joseph Lancaster, proponent of the Bell-Lancaster 'monitorial' system of education by mutual instruction, who at this time was at the height of his fortunes in Britain:

H.K[oe] writes to you about Lancaster: his gracious reception from his Majesty [George III]: his 10,000 boys to be educated in a chain of establishments from here to Frome in Wiltshire, all for £2000 a year. I am a great man for being brother to General B. who sees those who see the Emperor of Russia. What an excellent thing, if there were *nous* enough in the proper heads to send two or three Russians here (Moujiks [peasants: RB]) to be brought up as schoolmasters under Lancaster!²⁹

Two days later Lancaster himself sent his 'kind friend' Jeremy letters to be forwarded to Samuel, together with some of his books on education,³⁰ which he hoped might win him recognition in Russia. Samuel was evidently not receptive to Lancaster's request and aspirations. A year later, in September 1806, Jeremy wrote again on the subject, referring to Samuel's own educational ideas for his new Panopticon and the obvious relevance to them of Lancaster's methods:

Lancaster's Instruction plan. Is it possible that you can think of setting up a School of Arts, crammed with Малчике and devkas³¹ and not take measures for getting the benefit of it? Poor fellow! The bigots have fallen upon him, led by Hannah More in confederacy with I know not what Bishops. The Romillys protect him, but they are not very active citizens. ... [T]he consequence of all is that he has got but few subscriptions, notwithstanding he had the K[ing] Q[ueen] and royal family at the head of the list, and the business, I fear, stagnates: I mean as far as spreading it over the *Country*. Some token of approbation from Alexander might set it a going: some ring such as was given to Dr Thornton,³² or any other bauble if accompanied by a letter. With all his Quakerism, he seems full of ambition, and to be very desirous of notice from Russia. Two modes of propagating *Lancastrianism* in Russia: a Russian to come over here, and learn the practice of his school: or he to send one of his *elevés* to Petersburg: either or both might be tried. To me from a cursory view it seems a prodigious national object.

The timing was indeed propitious for such an approach to Russia. In 1803–4 Alexander had launched a major reform of the Russian education system. Lancaster's method, designed to facilitate mass education, was very suitable to Russian conditions, and the young Tsar's benevolent persona as well as his country's prestige made him an ideal potential patron. Samuel, however, had taken no heed of the matter: referring to the previous year's correspondence, Jeremy continued:

H.K once dunned you about this, and your Good-for-nothingness took no notice. I sent you out once upon a time two or three of his books: last autumn: one or two were bound as fine as a prize, in hopes of their being presented to Alexander and some of his grandees.³³

Samuel's indifference meant that Lancaster and his ideas gained no *entrée* in Russia at this time. However, as already noted, his cause was taken up at home by Jeremy's Quaker friend William Allen, who successfully broached the issue with Alexander I during their meeting in London in 1814. Samuel during his earlier stay in Russia had been alive to the educational needs of illiterate Russians and had set up a regimental school for his soldiers in Siberia;³⁴ now, despite his own technical acumen and activist temperament, he failed to appreciate the applicability to Russia of a British innovation which Jeremy himself actively supported³⁵ and which left a mark not only on the Russian Empire, but around the world.

The sea passage to St Petersburg proved rough and somewhat troublesome for Samuel and his family. Mary sent Jeremy long accounts of their journey, posted from Helsingfors and elsewhere.³⁶ These presaged the long letters which she and Samuel sent throughout the stay in Petersburg, few of which have survived; she also kept a journal, likewise missing. Jeremy was assiduous in writing back to his brother and sister-in-law, and the surviving correspondence gives a vivid (if incomplete) impression of both high politics and domestic life at both ends. The party reached St Petersburg on 26 August 1805. Samuel at once called upon the ambassador, Lord Leveson Gower, and was able to see Admiral Chichagov.³⁷ On the Bentham's arrival at Kronshtadt, the port for the Russian capital (on Kotlin Island in the Gulf of Finland about 18 miles west of St Petersburg), Samuel had been 'received with the most flattering marks of distinction by the Commander of the Fleet and Port', and a similarly cordial reception awaited him in St Petersburg, from 'old friends, high in power'.³⁸ He could also expect to find a welcome from fellow countrymen: as already described, St Petersburg at this time was home to a considerable and well-placed British community, almost as old as the city itself, in which Samuel had found a congenial environment on his first arrival in the Russian capital 25 years before.³⁹

Samuel was also returning to a sphere of Russian life – naval service and marine technology – which was likewise densely populated by expatriate Britons. Not only were there many British officers serving in the Russian navy; in the first years of the nineteenth century much of the technical naval infrastructure was also managed by British engineers, especially around St Petersburg. Sir Charles Gascoigne, former director of Carron Company of Falkirk, Scotland, had a major role in the development of Russian metallurgy and ordnance during his 20-year reign, 1786–1806, as director of the Olonets and other foundries. His assistants Alexander Wilson, subsequently director of the great Aleksandrovskaia spinning mill in the Russian capital and the Izhora naval foundry just outside it, and Charles Baird, who went on, together with his father-in-law, expatriate instrument-maker Francis Morgan, to set up an important and successful private ironworks in St Petersburg, were only the most notable among many others of their time, including lesser figures who provided technical shop-floor skills also in short supply in Russia.⁴⁰ Wilson and Baird, along with Gascoigne's assistant and successor Adam Armstrong, as well as several lesser British expatriate figures, appear in the history of the St Petersburg Panopticon. Samuel was also known in expatriate officer circles: thus, in September 1805, Chichagov, Acting Minister of the Navy, notified his friend Rear-Admiral Alexis Greig, son of Catherine II's 'Scottish

Admiral' Samuel Greig of Inverkeithing, of the return of a familiar figure: 'General Bentham is come here for some time.'⁴¹

Domestic life in St Petersburg

An immediate concern for Samuel was the establishment of good living conditions for the family. He found accommodation for his brood at first in rented unfurnished rooms near the centre of the city, on Sergievskaja Street (now ulitsa Chaikovskogo [Tchaikovsky St.], which ends by the Tauride Palace); later they moved out to a house on the edge of the city. In July 1806 Mary Bentham wrote to John Herbert Koe:

We today expect to conclude the purchase of the house and grounds we now occupy, which is the only way of living here with tolerable economy and comfort. – We gave 3000 roubles a year in Sergeevsky Street for unfurnished lodgings; for this house we are to give 21,000 roubles. There are several articles of furniture included in the purchase, thirteen acres of ground where we shall have vegetables, & good hay intended for three cows – hay alone for our one cow cost us 40 copecs a day before we came here. ...

In my journal it is mentioned that B. intended purchasing some ground at Ochta, but afterwards some difficulties occurred in the title deeds, & at the same time we discovered this house of Kotainzoff's which is a much more desirable situation than the other.: ... here we are half way between the palace and Ochta, in winter scarcely further from the middle of the town than we were when in Sergeievsky St.; the road in summer continues good only one house further from the town than ours. And to conclude we are sure of selling this property any time. No, I cannot end-cowler [?] without telling you that the fine Convent, and the Tauride Palace are just opposite our Windows, and that we also have a view from other windows of Troshchinsky's, Bezborodko's, Bacunin's and Sabloukoff's houses, which with two or three others are all between this house and the village of Ochta. – We see also the spires of the Nevski Monastery, and of many other churches, the Latona & c.

Referring to Jeremy Bentham's proposed visit, in which she hoped Koe would join, Mary added: 'We shall have excellent apartments for Mr Bentham and you – and if you are good, like the good children, we will lend you a wood apiece.'⁴² She later set about building on a conservatory.

Mary found family life trying under Russian circumstances. Samuel suffered ill health in the first days. The children settled down, with the governess and private tutors to look after them. George, aged six, wrote to his uncle in April 1806,

A priest comes to teach Sam and I latin. We are all of us learning Music and we are doing a snow house and it began to melt the 27th of March so we could not go on with it, and the things [items sent out from England: RB] staid at Revel all the winter because the river Neva is quite frozen so that carriages can go over and we will have another bookcase ... and our house is still deranged⁴³

In September 1806 Samuel sent a request to Jeremy for children's books, reflecting on discounts which might be obtained 'as we may probably have occasion for many books', and asking, 'in addition to our other commissions of the same kind', for 'what is called a *complete set of black tin kitchen furniture* from Lloyd's it costs about 8 or 10 pounds – also *two Spice mills* either of our own or new.'⁴⁴

Shortly afterwards Jeremy reported a dispatch of a different kind: 'there's for you – virtuous plants, a virtuous gardener to look after them, and, what is of more price, because of more rarity, a virtuous maid, the object of your concupiscence'. A reliable gardener and maid were critical additions to the Bentham's domestic labour force. The 'virtuous maid' was Jeremy's valued cook or maidservant Lucy, who had agreed to go out to Russia: 'After an experience of 7 years it is not without regret that I part with her: and if the air of Petersburg does not agree with her, glad should I be to have her again.'⁴⁵ Samuel was delighted to hear that Lucy was to join them: 'Of all the persons you could have sent none could be more welcome than Lucy.' Foreign domestics, governesses or companions were in great demand in St Petersburg and could command inflated remuneration, which in turn often inflated their ideas of their own worth and station; but Samuel thought that Lucy 'has too much sense and has seen too much of the world in her situation to have her head turned by the enticements that may be held out to her to quit us. Her *elevation* will be great with us and she will have *comforts* which she cannot have elsewhere.' Lucy and the gardener arrived safely, after some delay over passports, and Lucy was at once of great assistance to Mary when young Mary Louisa fell seriously ill with something like measles: contact with Dr Crichton, court physician and their doctor, was hampered by moving ice which cut off access across the river Neva. They found good advice, however, from

another British doctor, Dr James Leighton, serendipitously a former student of Mary's father's.⁴⁶

In November Mary wrote further about her domestic staff, including a woman named Maria, who had evidently recently left their employ:

Lucy does not yet appear to be contaminated by Petersburg air, nor yet by an interview she has had with Maria, who came here as I am told for some of her goods and chattels showing away in a coach and four, desiring that the servants here might not be allowed to speak to *her* servants – that she has 500 roubles a year and an annuity for life – this last particular seems to me a little extraordinary – the rest I can readily believe, such is the infatuation in favor of English women. – I have promised to give Lucy 25 guineas for the first year, two guineas for tea, a black sattin wadded cloak new, bonnet and etc – also a common warm great coat for home wear – the second year thirty guineas – she will besides (which I have not said) have cloaths of mine nearly sufficient if she be a good manager to cloath her – and if she continues to go on as she has begun, there will be no want of presents.⁴⁷

The gardener had also made a very positive impression:

The Gardener I like much, so does B – he has had warm cloathing given him, or if its cost should not amount to ten guineas, he is to have the difference given to him– two guineas a year for tea, his linen washed for him – and should he succeed in his Gardening his perquisites may turn out very great.

Mary had great plans for her garden, and domestic fruit and vegetable production:

The plants came nearly all of them in excellent order – strawberries the worst by much – half a dozen heaths perhaps past recovery, two or three proteas, and six or eight green house plants besides may be past recovery – Mr Lee has sent large and handsome plants for the money – those from Q[ueen's] S[quare] P[lace] make a great figure and are not less esteemed – those from Salisbury's I fear will all die – Many of the plants seem in as good plight as if they had never been removed from Mr Lee's.

McCormick has been fully employed in potting – The Conservatory is not yet completed.⁴⁸

Samuel and Mary had also started building a greenhouse to house the plants, and despite the late season at which it was begun Samuel hoped that ‘there will be work in it for the winter’. In December young George reported to his uncle that ‘The greenhouse is nearly done and some of the plants are put in it and there is a stove too.’⁴⁹

Despite difficulties, Samuel and his family could live more comfortably on their revenues in St Petersburg than they could at home, though grand living was not to Mary’s taste, as she reported the following spring:

Here others might think it luxurious to have a household of fifteen servants, to us it is no enjoyment, but we must have them because it is the custom; we are now on the whole well served by them, we have besides a guard for our house and in summer an eight-oared cutter and boats crew; thanks to Lucy we have food that we can eat, we have a spacious house in the healthiest situation about Petersburg, we have masters even in this dear place for our children, and when we please as much of the best society as we wish for, and with all this out of the fixed allowance B receives, he can lay by more than the amount of what he receives from Government in England, besides that he has every reason to suppose that ere very long his receipts would be considerably augmented as the Establishments he has the direction of shall become beneficial⁵⁰

Samuel, however, largely shunned ‘the best society’, at least according to his own account: in October 1806 he had written to his brother,

I am so entirely taken up with my own business of various kinds that I have seldom any opportunity of hearing of anything else. I scarcely ever call on any body but old Tchichagoff and the weather is now so bad that I can expect nobody to come to me. Hitroff seems to take no part in any public business but shuts himself up in his own apartments sorting and arranging his vast collection of prints and antique valuables. Kotzubei I never meet and Speransky I have never seen. Tchichagoff is the greatest admirer of Dumont Principes and I dare to say has read it with more attention than any one but as he has nothing to do with jurisprudence he can only express his contempt for everything that is done in that and most other departments which he does in the strongest terms. Vitoftoff⁵¹ talks much of *reporting* to you his proceedings and flatters himself that you will approve of them: but he is at present chiefly taken up with

a Brickmanufactory on an improved plan which he has first patronized and now undertaken on his own account.⁵²

Apparently Samuel did not even bother to follow up an introduction to Dumont's relatives specially sent to him;⁵³ Jeremy wrote to him in September 1806, 'Dumont's family have never figured in your Journal or letters. Never mind, if there is nothing to be said about them, there let it drop.'⁵⁴

At home, Mary's idyll with her English servants did not last: alas for her sanguine expectations, Lucy did not continue as she had begun. After eight months she left the Benthams for their physician, Dr Crichton, and Mrs Crichton. Mary complained of her '*extraordinarily* bad conduct towards us since she left us', of how she had tried to suborn another servant, Kitty, to join her at the Crichtons, 'spiriting the girl up to insolence and ill behaviour in a variety of ways'. Mary heard that Lucy had behaved so badly at the Crichtons' that she was about to be turned away from there as well. By the time the Benthams came to leave St Petersburg, Lucy also owed them money on account of her sister Charlotte: the latter had come out to Russia at their expense on Lucy's surety, but then got engaged to her ship's mate and returned directly home again, taking service for the voyage with a Princess Golitsyn: 'Charlotte never presented herself to us at all.' Lucy was refusing to pay her sister's costs, and Mary asked John Herbert Koe to seek out Charlotte in London to obtain satisfaction.⁵⁵

'A fool's errand'

Troubles with domestic staff were paralleled by more important difficulties which had become apparent in the British Admiralty project. Samuel's official mission to build ships ultimately proved entirely abortive: as Jeremy summed it up, 'a fool's errand'.⁵⁶ In his letter of 1 September 1805 to Greig, announcing Samuel's arrival, Chichagov had added: 'They would like to build ships at Archangel, not knowing that all the wood is already destroyed there.'⁵⁷ While Britain had exhausted its own ready supplies of ship timber, accessible and usable Russian timber stands were also under increasing pressure. To S. R. Vorontsov Chichagov complained that not only had the northern forests been decimated, but the great oak forests of the middle Volga which Peter I had set aside for ship-building were also being ravaged; Chichagov thought the only alternative would be the relatively unused resources of the Black Sea littoral, but he was reluctant to give outsiders access to this now rare resource.⁵⁸

Lack of timber was only one of the difficulties which Samuel was about to face. He suffered illness, and had to endure the traditional slowness of Russian bureaucratic process. More seriously, it transpired that his mission did not in fact have the assent of the Russian authorities. The British approach had been insufficiently specific, and had been met merely with a 'civil diplomatic reply' which the Russian side had neither intended nor regarded as binding. The Russian authorities were in fact quite unprepared; Chichagov, the Minister directly concerned, had no idea about his mission.

He came to see me first and his visit gave me great pleasure; I had no idea at all that he was supposed to be coming and was greatly surprised when I learned of it. A man who has so much to do at home, and long-term works to carry out, how could he simply abandon it all I can't imagine.⁵⁹

Approaches by the British ambassador, Leveson Gower, to Czartoryski at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs produced no response, and before long Leveson Gower left St Petersburg to accompany Alexander to the Russian army.

The Russian authorities also had the war to preoccupy them. With the formation of the Third Coalition in April 1805 Russian hostilities against France resumed. Russian troops were too far away to be involved in the Austrian disaster at Ulm in October, but in December 1805 Bonaparte crushed the Russian and Austrian armies at Austerlitz. Three months after the catastrophe, in February 1806, Chichagov tried to convey to S. R. Vorontsov the mental devastation that this event produced among the elite:

Events of the greatest importance, succeeding one another with a rapidity which would be almost unnatural even in small things, left us so aghast that no-one really knew what to think and even less what to say. Initially they were unexpected, then mixed up and obscure, then confused, monstrous, inconceivable. In the middle of all this there was a moment of hope and then suddenly this edifice, the most ill-formed that had ever appeared, collapsed from top to bottom and took with it the honour and existence of empires and countries.

He added an equally devastating comment on events at home ('everything that has happened here at home' [tout ce qui s'est passé chez nous]) during this time:

all of that surpasses the imagination, however extravagant. Represent to yourself the perfection of imperfection: that will give you just a feeble idea of what it has been like, and what it is like still.⁶⁰

Bentham's initial report to the British Admiralty, of October 1805⁶¹ – apparently the only report which has survived in the archives – was sent before these difficulties became fully apparent. It gave good hope that he could realise the Admiralty's plans:

St Petersburg, 26 October 1805

After having suffered a great deal from ill health, partly the effect of the climate at this particularly unhealthy time of the year, and partly from vexation at the numberless difficulties and delays I met with in the commencement of my business in this country, and which had nearly made me despair of being able to effect the purposes for which I was sent here, I am at length able to state for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty some particulars of the progress I have made towards the execution of my Lordships' orders, and I flatter myself that by pursuing the spirit of my Lordships' instructions my mission may be attended with very considerable benefit to His Majesty's service; and particularly that various naval stores, as well as ships, may in consequence be obtained at very reduced prices.

As to the delays above alluded to, the decided part which this country has taken in the war, and the great pressure of business thereby occasioned on a sudden in several Departments, particularly to that of the Admiralty, might well be supposed to leave little leisure for the discussion of any new business; and my business notwithstanding the favourable disposition which had been shown by the government previously to my mission, seemed on my arrival to be looked on as altogether new, in so much that Admiral Tchichagoff, who had the entire direction of the Admiralty Department, was totally unprepared on the subject. During almost the whole of the first month after my arrival, the Admiral was preparing to see me often, and was very communicative on the management of his Department, but declined entering into any details respecting the means of forwarding my business until he should receive the Emperor's orders, and in the mean time he said so much of the great want of timber for shipbuilding both here and at Archangel and of the total want of larch timber at that port, that in spite of his general assurances I suspected that pretences were

framing to render my mission fruitless. This appeared the more probable as Lord Gower had not yet even at his departure to attend the Emperor, received any official answer to the repeated application, written as well as verbal, which he had made on the subject of my business to Prince Czartorinsky; but however this might have been at first, I have of late had every reason to be convinced that the Admiral is now most cordially disposed to afford every facility in his power. For the last fortnight, that is since he has had authority to treat with me, there has scarcely been a day, excepting when I have been too unwell to go out, in which I have not been occupied with him for several hours, chiefly in discussing the best means of forwarding my business.

In the course of these discussions as well as at other times I have endeavoured to make myself acquainted with the means this Government really possess of building ships in different places, and to contrive expedients for obviating any difficulties which presented themselves. I proposed to Admiral Tchichagoff (according to my instructions) that some one on the part of his government should engage to build the requisite number of ships for the English government in a certain time, and at a certain expense: but he gives me to understand that the Russian government is not disposed to contract for the building of ships, for the furnishing of any articles, or the performance of any works at any specific prices: although they are very willing to allow ships to be built for the British government under my management, and to afford me every assistance that I can reasonably expect from them, so that at length the Admiral and I have agreed to arrange the proceeding with my business on the following principles.

1 That the Admiral will lend me gratis as many slips, sheds and other accommodations in each of the Russian dock yards as he can spare; and allow of any alterations or additions to them that can be made without materially impeding his own work: it being to be understood, that for all such alterations and additions as may appear to be productive of any permanent improvement in the dock yards, he will give the requisite materials.

2dly He will furnish for the building the ships all materials he can spare, at the prices the Admiralty pays for such articles; and in regards to such materials as he has not to spare, as also in regard to such as I may find the means of purchasing at a cheaper rate, or of a more suitable quality, I may be at liberty to purchase them elsewhere.

3ly I may have liberty on application to him to send in search of timber wherever I can learn that any is likely to be found.

4ly In regard to working hands, he will supply me with a thousand, or perhaps more, recruits, such as are usually taken as many as are wanted from the peasantry, and who although they may never yet have seen a ship, are most of them used to work more or less with a hatchet. The actual expense of these men to government, that is, their pay, and the actual cost of their provision and clothing, amounting to about 100 roubles per man a year, I am to reimburse to the Admiralty. He will also on the same conditions give me a small number of officers, under officers and experienced workmen to assist in the works; and I may hire as many free men, shipwrights, carpenters and others as I may find it expedient to employ.

5ly All the works of the dock yards, as also the accounts of expense, are to be open to my inspection, so that I may satisfy myself that nothing I ask for is refused me when it could by any means be spared.

Conformably to the above-mentioned principles, the Admiral (not doubting of the Emperor's sanction) has given orders that two of the slips in the dock yards here shall be lent me, together with the use of the Mould Loft, certain workshops and sheds &c, so that I may commence the building of two 74-gun ships there immediately. He also gives me the means of building two more 74 gunships in what is called the new dock yard, about a mile from the other; but in this situation although there may be sheds and workshops to spare, there are only two slips, both of which are at present occupied, so that it is necessary to form new ones, which it is supposed may be done whilst the frames of the ships are preparing. For the making these slips he will give the requisite materials gratis, but for the workmanship I must employ some of the workmen allowed me for my works in general, and paid by me as above mentioned.

The Admiral farther promises that in any other place or places in the neighbourhood, depending on the Admiralty, where I may find it convenient to build frigates and smaller vessels, or even 74 Gunships, he would allow my doing so conformably to the general principles above mentioned; that is to say, if the place be such as will suit for a permanent establishment for the Admiralty after I have done with it, he will provide the materials for the requisite buildings without pay, and I may employ in these works the workmen lent me as above stated for ship-building. – One place of this description, about four miles higher up the Neva than the principal Dock Yard,

close to a village called Ochta, inhabited principally by several thousand carpenters, appears to be a very eligible situation and I am preparing to begin the building of two vessels frigates there immediately; and if no better situation can be found, slips might be made on this spot for the building of any number of frigates or smaller which their Lordships may think proper to order.

As to building ships at Archangel, it appears from what the Admiral tells me to be impossible to build a 74 gunship according to the draft furnished to me, since there is but 13 feet of water over the bar and there are no [ship] canals at that port. Ships of the line it is true have been built there, but they were of a particularly flat construction. It appears also that the supply of larch timber there has for the present at least totally failed, so that the ships built there by Government have been entirely of fir; and private persons have not been permitted to cut any larch. Neither are there any slips unoccupied in that Dock Yard, except two which the Admiral considered as unfit for service three years ago, and which he expressly ordered not to be repaired, as he intended on account of the inconvenience of the place, to discontinue the building of ships of the line as soon as those in hand are completed. Finding therefore that the Admiralty have no timber of any kind to spare at Archangel, that there were little hopes of being able to purchase any ready cut, or fit for the construction of large ships, that the Admiral would give no assistance for repairing the old slips, or making any new ones in the dock yard there, while on the other hand the facilities afforded here at St Petersburg appeared much greater than I conceive their Lordships could have expected, it seemed to be my duty to set to work here as soon as possible, rather than to encounter at Archangel the difficulties above mentioned, together with the many unforeseen obstacles that might probably occur at so great a distance from the seat of government.

Another circumstance favorable to my business at this port is that this government have of late forbidden the exportation of timber from hence, in consequence of which I have been able to procure fir timber of very good quality in some degree seasoned, enough in quantity for the frames of two 74 gunship and two frigates. I have accordingly purchased the timber at different prices, the average of which does not exceed seven pence a foot cube, rough measure. In consequence also of the prohibition of the exportation of timber from this port, I am in hopes of being able to procure a considerable amount of timber of about twenty inches and under, which would be very proper for making masts, and as Count

Romanzoff who is at the head of the Department of Commerce has shown himself well disposed to forward my business, I am in hopes that notwithstanding the prohibition, no opposition will be made to the sending of this timber hence if worked up into masts.

Anchors also I have reason to believe may be immediately obtained from hence perfectly made for use. Admiral Tchichagoff tells me he can spare some from the Dock Yard store, though he cannot yet tell how many or at what price: but as these articles of ironwork are made in Siberia, where materials and workmanship are cheap, I should suppose the saving in price should be very considerable.

There is however one inconvenience attending the building of ships of the line, and even frigates, at this port, namely the use of camels for transporting them over the bar, where there is but 8 feet water. This difficulty has hitherto been very considerable on account of the imperfect construction of the camels in consequence of which ships have sometimes been injured by the use of them; but as it happens fortunately that new camels are to be built in readiness for next summer, I have no doubt but that they will be so much better adapted to their intended purpose than the present ones as that the ships will be conveyed by them without the least injury.

As to the probable cost of building of ships at this port, according to the best estimate I can make, it appears that including all the necessary expenses of making slips, and erecting the necessary buildings, it cannot amount to so much as twelve pounds per ton; and therefore, it will be less than one third of the last contract price in England, and I have no doubt but that in the future ships may be built in this country of fir at a much cheaper rate; and that even of oak, they may be built at less than half the English prices.

Whether good oak be or be not to be procured at this place from the interior of the country, I cannot yet ascertain. The oak used in the dock yard here at present is of very inferior quality, excepting some that has been imported from Pomerania. But the fir timber to be had here is very good, so that with proper attention to durability in the mode of construction, I am of the opinion that ships built of fir may be made to last not only longer than ships built of such oak as I see used here, but also longer than, sometimes, ships built of oak in England have lasted.

But although this Place appears on many accounts to be the most eligible situation for beginning my business, it seems very probable that when the Admiral shall have obtained the Emperor's authority to enforce by written orders the assistance which he takes

upon himself to give me for the present, when I shall have had opportunities of acquiring more perfect information relative to other parts of the country, & when the business may be in a state of progress here that will permit of my leaving it, it may be expedient to extend my operations to Archangel, or to some other port in the White Sea; perhaps also to some other situation in the Baltic where timber can be brought down the Dvina from the Polish part of Russia, as well as to some port in the Black Sea. The Admiral is perfectly convinced that the places employed for ship-building for the use of this Government are by no means the best which the country would afford; and in case I should be able to point out any spot suitable to my business, and which would be suitable to his likewise, he seems ready to give me the use of it for so long a time as I am likely to want it, and to afford so much assistance in the erection of buildings and slips as to leave me to bear no greater a part of the expense than may be considered as a fair rent.

As to the actual progress I have made in regard to work, I can only state that I have now got possession of some workshops in the principal dock yard, where some of the workmen I brought with me are preparing tools; and I shall have some sawyers next week at work siding timber on the spot where it lies, so that from this time I hope to be able to send you for their Lordships' information a regular monthly report of the works.

Since the contracting with the Russian Government for the building of the ships in question has been altogether objected to, it seems necessary conformably to the mode of proceeding agreed to by Admiral Tchichagoff, that I should be furnished with the means of paying for material and workmanship in proportion as the work advances, and that I should engage almost immediately for the supply of all the timber wanted for the ensuing year, excepting what little I may get from the Admiralty. I would therefore suggest, if their Lordships see no objection, that the Navy Board may be directed to send me sufficient extension of credit with Messrs Thornton and Bayley.

The accounts of my expenditure I propose to send with my monthly Progress, accompanied with proper vouchers.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant Samuel Bentham

However, things did not progress as Bentham hoped. Imperial permission to build the ships was not forthcoming. Bentham tried to use his connections, turning to Khitrovo in the hope of a personal audience with

the Tsar, but Khitrovo was on the point of leaving for Moscow, and unlikely to be able to speak to Alexander about the matter. Bentham was worried that his project would be referred for consideration to the State Council or the Senate and probably provoke a negative response. He considered greasing suitably placed palms which might exert positive influence 'to share the advantages of a proposal with some underling to push it forward'. Khitrovo approved this idea and even gave an example of an English firm which had behaved in exactly that way, but he offered no further help.⁶²

No audience with the Emperor was forthcoming. Chichagov told Samuel that Alexander had ordered the matter to be discussed in the Committee of Ministers; Czartoryski was in favour. Two months later, after much further discussion, Chichagov offered to permit construction on condition that for every British keel laid down, Bentham would build a Russian one too, and also incorporate into the Russian vessels all his technical improvements, something Bentham was very happy to promise in view of his instructions to make himself agreeable to the Russian authorities. Since neither larch nor oak timber was sanctioned, he proposed to use fir:

[A]lthough *Fir* wood has in general been looked upon as very inferior to Oak and Larch for Ship-building, yet I flattered myself with the hopes of being able by this experiment to show that by a mode of construction more simple and judicious than the customary modes, assisted by the use of some machines of my own invention which I had brought with me, ships might be built of this inferior material equal at least in strength to those usually built here of Oak.⁶³

However, the Emperor was personally opposed to any plans for foreign ship-building whatsoever; a plan to construct the ships in the far south, in the civilian Crimean port of Caffa (Theodosia), using timber bought in from Ottoman Anatolia, was consequently also rejected, despite considerable support for the British position among government ministers and the enthusiastic advocacy of Crimean Governor Henry Fanshawe, an old friend of Bentham's who hoped that new ship-building would expand Crimean trade with Ottoman territories.⁶⁴ Eventually in April 1806 the categorical reply was received that no British ships could be built in the Empire.⁶⁵

Bentham meanwhile had nevertheless taken steps to acquire some of the timber necessary for his proposed vessels: the British Admiralty had hoped to build ten ships of the line and ten frigates. Bentham had made initial contracts locally for enough timber to build two of each, and since

this was no longer possible he sought permission to ship the timber back to Britain. Unlike the ship-building, this was sanctioned, and moreover duty-free, a great saving to the Admiralty; the shipments also represented a notable contribution to British timber stocks. It was also agreed that customs inspection would be waived at Kronshtadt, which otherwise would have necessitated transshipment of the freight. In addition Bentham was able to purchase supplies of copper for the navy at an advantageous price.⁶⁶

As Bentham pursued his official business, he also sought, in harmony with his instructions, to please the Tsar and build on the connection established through Khitrovo by offering his services to the Russian crown. In March 1806, announcing formally in a letter addressed to the Tsar his wish to build ships on the Black Sea, he stated that

considering the circumstances in which I am particularly placed, as Your Imperial Majesty has been pleased not only by a letter which I had the honour to receive while in England, but by the verbal messages I have received through General Hitroff as well as Admiral Tchichagoff, to express Your approbation and disposition to put into execution some plans of mine, and as I should hope on the occasion of this excursion [to the Black Sea] that I may be enabled to adapt these and other plans of improvement of a part of the Empire which seems to be particularly the object of Your Imperial Majesty's immediate protection, I am induced to take the liberty of soliciting Your Imperial Majesty that You would be graciously pleased to signify to me whether there be any particular object to which it may be Your Imperial Majesty's pleasure that I should direct my attention during this excursion, and whether I may be permitted from time to time to submit to Your Imperial Majesty any plans or proposals which may appear likely to contribute to the prosperity of Your Majesty's Empire.⁶⁷

The Tsar's refusal to countenance ship-building even in the south aborted the proposed trip to the Black Sea; but Chichagov, in announcing the prohibition to Bentham in April 1806, also reported official acceptance of his offer of service:

His Majesty will at the same time take pleasure in showing to the [British] government His particular satisfaction at your arrival in his lands, and although the goal which you had set yourself could not be fully achieved, His Majesty has seen with pleasure the disposition

you have shown to occupy yourself with various objectives useful to His Service. In consequence of the advantageous idea that HIH entertains of your knowledge and your talents, His Majesty, wishing to put them to profitable use for the benefit of His Navy, has authorised me to make proposals to you if it is the case that the Britannic Government has no difficulty in according you an extension of your stay here.

I would think I had partly fulfilled His Majesty's intentions in asking if you would find it appropriate to take charge of supervising the construction of some Vessels following your new method, in one of our ports at your choice.

2nd. to take on yourself the management of a panoptical establishment.

3rd. to establish a sail-cloth factory.

4th. finally, to form the establishment of a rope factory in one of our Black Sea ports.

If the British Government would extend Samuel's leave, and he himself was disposed to accept the offer, he should state his terms to Chichagov for submission to the Emperor.⁶⁸

Bentham readily accepted the proposal: he would build 'un établissement panoptique': what would become the Okhta College of Arts, a naval technical training school. However, there was confusion between the Russian and British authorities over his official position and the permission for him to prolong his stay. The Russian side claimed to have sent an official request to London for an extension of Bentham's time in Russia, so that he could complete his Panopticon assignment;⁶⁹ the Admiralty Board denied any knowledge of such a missive.⁷⁰ Samuel became increasingly worried: in October 1806 he told Jeremy,

I have just received a letter from the Navy Board telling me where (to what Ports) they would wish to have the Timber sent, but it is now too late to send any more this season. I have been very uneasy at not having heard that the Emperor has any answer to his application for my leave of absence although he has assured me through Tchichagoff that I have no reason to expect a refusal. I have however avoided engaging in anything except Panopticon.⁷¹

Samuel had initially proposed extending the Panopticon project to include other activities, and had discussed further ideas with Chichagov: in 1807 the latter had correspondence with the Manufacturing Section of the MVD

about a proposal by Bentham to build a tannery on the English model.⁷² But Samuel's caution, and his concern about his leave to remain, were justified; in early 1807 the Board, considering Bentham's official mission abortive and closed, recalled him to Britain, setting a deadline of 24 June.

Bentham appealed urgently to Chichagov for clarification, and wrote to William Marsden, Secretary of the Admiralty Board, and to the recent First Lord of the Admiralty, Charles Grey, Viscount Howick, enclosing copies of his correspondence with Chichagov. He wrote at the same time to Thomas Grenville, the new First Lord, with whom he evidently enjoyed a good relationship, explaining the case and seeking protection. To Grenville he also confided further personal reasons for staying on in Russia which reflected his bitter experiences with the Navy Board. He wished, he wrote, to take advantage of his pecuniary situation in Russia in order to have a better basis for further service later at home, this 'seeming the more necessary from the reason I have had to despair at obtaining any advantage for myself at home beyond a scanty salary'; he was also sanguine about 'the opportunities I may have of proving here the possibility of various improvements which it would not be easy to introduce in the first instance at home'.⁷³

The Russian authorities – Chichagov and the Tsar himself – were annoyed by this failure of communication, but renewed the formal request to London. There the case was much debated, and assertions made and countered that Bentham had never intended to return to Britain,⁷⁴ but the Admiralty and Navy Board partly relented, and in May 1807 gave Bentham until 29 September 1807 to return to his post at home; Bentham notified the decision to Chichagov on 11 June, two weeks before the signature of the Russo-French Treaty of Tilsit.⁷⁵ Samuel obeyed the order: when the time came, he handed over the Panopticon half-built to his chosen successor and he and his family returned home in late 1807. The building of the Panoptical College of Arts was completed in 1809 under the directorship of Senior Mining Engineer (*Oberberggauptman*) Matvei Loginov, director of metallurgical industries in Perm' (*nachal'nik permskikh zavodov*), who had served under Samuel years before in Siberia and whom he had recommended as his replacement.⁷⁶

It has been suggested that Bentham returned home because of the Tilsit reversal of alliances. As we have seen, the recall was received and the deadline fixed before the signature of the Tilsit treaty. And in fact it would not have been impossible politically for Samuel, had he wished, to remain in Russia even when the country had become Britain's enemy, though this might have meant his staying permanently. Many settled British expatriates in Russia (including Armstrong, Baird and Wilson)

continued their Russian careers unhindered during the Continental Blockade. Alexis Greig would not fight against Britain, and like other British officers in the Russian navy did not serve in 1807–12, but such officers were then reinstated (and even given one year's salary as a gratuity).⁷⁷ Several of Bentham's workmen remained in Russia after 1807: he reported to the Navy Board in 1808 that

Thomas Stuckey, Mastmaker, formerly of Woolwich Yard, Henry Heywood and John Kirk, Shipwrights, of Portsmouth Yard, on learning that no ships were to be built in Russia for His Majesty's service, have engaged themselves to the Russian Admiralty at St. Petersburg. James Hilby, Foreman of Shipwrights, late of Portsmouth Yard, remains in Russia in charge of the timber purchased for His Majesty's service until it can be sent to England.⁷⁸

Bentham's project manager throughout the Panopticon building process, John Kirk, returned home in 1811, his assistant Heywood only in 1818. Thomas Stuckey served at Kronshtadt and in the Black Sea fleet, remaining until his death in 1818; his children, who had evidently accompanied him, founded a remarkable Russian dynasty of engineers and architects named Stok, Stokke or Stukkei which continued until the end of the twentieth century.⁷⁹

Samuel Bentham's earlier invention of a 'ship-carriage' (Figure 3.1), the amphibious conveyance capable of crossing unfordable rivers which served him extensively on his journeys through Catherinian Russia, was resurrected during his second stay. On his return to Britain in 1791, Bentham had made a model of his conveyance, which the Duke of York, an innovative Commander-in-Chief of the British army during the Napoleonic wars, saw on a visit to Queen's Square Place. His Royal Highness suggested some improvements, and an improved version was actually made and 'exhibited on the Thames above the bridge'. York seemed to want to make practical use of it, but Samuel then being engrossed in navy work, 'I neglected to draw any further attention to this invention'. During Bentham's 1805 mission, 'the Emperor Alexander caused a carriage of this kind to be constructed This carriage was several times tried on the Neva; but the Emperor wishing to see it further improved, so as to be adapted to the use of sick and wounded, and as I was at that time called home, I do not believe that the idea has been any farther pursued.'⁸⁰ In fact the ship-carriage was preserved in model form in the Admiralty's model museum.⁸¹

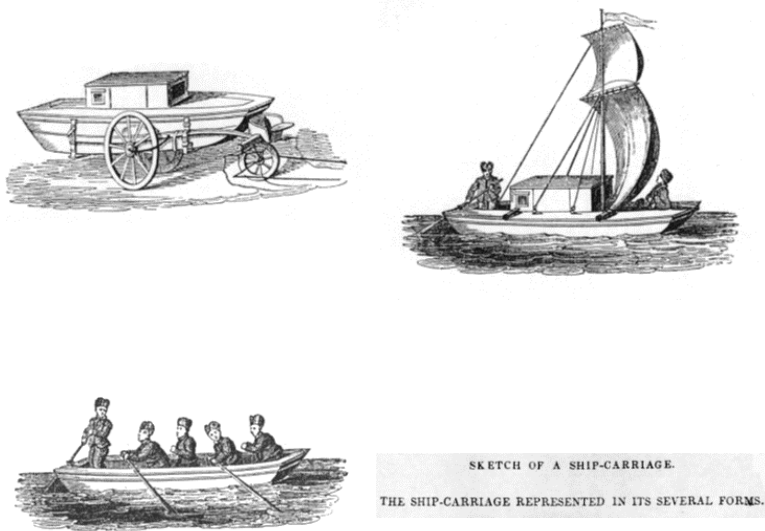


Figure 3.1 ‘Sketch of a ship-carriage, constructed and used in Siberia’, *United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine*, 1829 II, 579–98. Samuel Bentham paid considerable attention to innovative transportation. He thought of placing steam engines with wooden boilers on wheels; more realistically, he later made and used large horse-drawn conveyances capable of containing families and furniture which allegedly formed the model for commercial chars-à-banc.

The Bentham’s voyage home proved difficult. The changing political situation was reflected in new passport regulations at St Petersburg and the agent used by the British community, the Scottish keeper of the English Inn in St Petersburg, Joseph Fawell, could not discover the new procedure: Samuel tried in vain to use his connections by applying direct to Kochubei, still Minister of Internal Affairs. Mary, a very bad sailor, was seriously worried at the prospect of travelling so late in the season, to the extent that Samuel thought of leaving her and the children behind until the following year.⁸² In the event, in late September (1807), Samuel settled on a passage from Reval (Tallinn) to Stockholm as the best option, and despite the change in Anglo-Russian relations after Tilsit Chichagov supplied a sloop, the *Edinorog (Unicorn)*, to take them to Stockholm.⁸³ The family travelled overland to Reval, where Samuel was able to inspect the docks and was well impressed by the development work taking place. Samuel was wary of

the Russian sloop *Unicorn* – ‘I cannot find anyone who speaks well of the vessel we are embarking on’ – but satisfied with its accommodation.⁸⁴ However, the crew proved to be quite incompetent and when they met bad weather Samuel had finally to intervene personally: his direction was welcomed by the captain and after several stormy days they arrived safely but off course in Karlskrona, far to the south.⁸⁵

Samuel found things in Karlskrona to compensate him for this turn of events: the port’s commanding officer proved ‘very civil’, and he was able to spend several mornings ‘with great satisfaction’ in the company of the celebrated Swedish ship-builder and naval architect Fredrik Henrik ap Chapman, son of an English immigrant to Sweden.⁸⁶ The children took the opportunity to learn some Swedish. The party travelled on overland to Gothenburg, spending several pleasant days with a local landowner when their carriage broke down.⁸⁷ There they arranged to sail the final leg home in the packet *Lord Nelson*, with Captain Stuart, ‘who stands one of the first in point of character for good treatment of passengers’. But the packet, responding to a favourable night wind, left without them. Attempts to embark upon another packet were foiled by an unfavourable change of wind. They were also worried by the proximity of Denmark, bitterly hostile after the British bombardment of Copenhagen and seizure of the Danish fleet two months before: this meant that they would not be able to seek shelter in Danish Norway in the event of difficulty.⁸⁸ Finally they found another vessel returning to England, but it was soon caught in a prolonged and violent storm and took 13 sea-tossed and ill-fed days to reach Harwich, with Mary prostrate below. George Bentham later recorded that ‘the happiness of being at last comfortably seated to a good dinner by a brisk fire, in one of the warm carpeted rooms of a Harwich inn, has left a lasting impression on my mind – even my mother revived wonderfully from her protracted sufferings.’⁸⁹ The arrival was recorded in the national press:

General Bentham and Family, of the Inspector General’s Office, at the Admiralty, are arrived at Harwich from St Petersburg. The General’s Lady has suffered so much from the severity of the cold, that her life is despaired of.⁹⁰

The Star’s prognosis was excessively pessimistic, but events seem to have taken their toll. During 1808 the whole family was very ill, Mary bedridden for several months. Only in November 1808 could Jeremy report in a letter to his cousin that ‘she is about again – children pretty well, and servants mending and recovered’.⁹¹

Homecoming: demotion and Russian accounts

While Samuel was working in St Petersburg, in March 1806, his deputy Goodrich in the Inspector's office had received an official demand for information. 'The Commissioners for Revising and Digesting all Matters connected with the Civil Affairs of His Majesty's Navy and for Suggesting Improvements thereon' requested 'an Account of the Establishment of the Office of the Inspector General of Naval Works, also with a statement of the Duties performed by each Person therein, and a Copy of the Instructions with which he may have been furnished', a full exposé of the office created in 1795, its terms and remit of operation. It was the first step in the process which finally resulted in the abolition of Samuel's office. Goodrich sent the enquiry on to the Admiralty Board.⁹² A 'Corps of Civil Engineers' soon appeared to make an inspection of Portsmouth Dock. Goodrich wrote, 'What their immediate object is I cannot say, but I begin to feel, that many unfavourable observations have been made by this Committee of Engineers'; he observed further, 'The General has many enemies who take advantage of his absence and perhaps fear his return I apprehend that if the General does not come back, the Office will be done away'⁹³

Bentham in Russia received information concerning the coming changes. He wrote to Lord Spencer (First Lord of the Admiralty 1794–1801, Home Secretary 1806–7), and the letter already quoted to Thomas Grenville (First Lord 1806–7), seeking support and an assurance that he would receive some compensation if the post were to be closed down.⁹⁴ On Samuel's return to England, according to Mary Bentham 'the first letter that he opened informed him that his office had been abolished',⁹⁵ or rather, that the Admiralty Board intended to incorporate it into the Navy Board. His response was to compose a long (116 pages) three-part justification of his experience and qualifications and of the necessity and achievements of the office.⁹⁶ In vain: the Admiralty Board remained of the same opinion. Samuel's stepbrother Charles Abbott (Speaker of the Commons, Baron Colchester) urged Samuel to take the new position offered him, saying that his superior talents would soon make themselves felt.⁹⁷ Goodrich had given the same advice;⁹⁸ and on 29 August 1808, rather than face redundancy, Bentham reluctantly accepted a post of Commissioner and Civil Architect at the Navy Board. His talents, however, were not given their due as Abbott had imagined: he found himself placed insultingly low down at the Board's sittings, and soon stopped attending its sessions. In November the Admiralty Board had to remind him, in peremptory fashion, to clear his office at the Admiralty and remove his

effects to the Navy Board.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, he remained in the post of Commissioner until 1812, when his office of Civil Architect was also abolished and he himself retired on a full pension.¹⁰⁰ He published the justificatory account of his work for the Admiralty as *Services Rendered in the Civil Department of the Navy* (1813).¹⁰¹ Naval historians have given high praise to Bentham's overall role in the nineteenth-century modernisation of the dockyards.¹⁰²

Meanwhile things Russian remained a concern. The family's affairs in St Petersburg had not been finally settled by the time they left, and it took a long time to sort them out. Their house was on the market, and Samuel's official accounts were not all paid. He had given the Russian Admiralty a full statement of his finances, but records were imperfect: subsequently his statement could not be found. Not all the timber he had bought had been sent home. Some was still stored at Okhta and he wished to sell this back to the Russian Admiralty, but there were obstacles: in early 1810, for example, the Director of Shipbuilding, Brun de Ste Catherine,¹⁰³ was charged with valuing it but reported that it had become frozen over with river water and was inaccessible until the river reopened. In 1807 Bentham in London received £2732 8s. 0d. from the Imperial treasurer through the Russian embassy,¹⁰⁴ but in 1810 it was agreed that he was still owed 21,055r. 26k. for instruments, copper and 'ship machines', and this did not cover two steam engines and other items he had ordered from England and had claimed for. Nor was payment always simple: the Russian embassy itself in London had not always got the funds to pay him. The British government at this time was providing a subsidy for the Russian fleet, and in 1815 the Russian Admiralty wrote that Bentham would have to wait until the next instalment of that had been received.¹⁰⁵

Mary Bentham had been confident in 1805 that their splendid St Petersburg house could easily be sold. This turned out not to be the case. After the family's departure Loginov took up residence there, while trying at the same time to find a buyer. In his letter of October 1809 he reported:

Your house one may say is intact, except for some repairs, especially of glass. I advertised it in the *Vedomosti* [a St Petersburg newspaper], and a few people came to view it. But after I had advertised the price at 50,000 roubles, then 45,000, finally 40,000, nobody would give a decent price, some offered not more than 25,000. I pressed A. A. Sablukov to buy it, at first he offered 30,000 with delayed payment, then said he'd spent the money buying a serf village. And so the house still stands as a loss for you, because the quartering and land

taxes, and repairs, will require every year a considerable sum; and there is no profit except from the market garden and even that threatens a loss

Many orangery trees were frosted last year; in 1808 they put out new shoots after pruning, but almost all withered in the last bitter winter. The orangery is therefore largely empty, many panes have been broken in opening and closing, the pillars have started to rot and will not last long.¹⁰⁶

Two years later, in 1811, Loginov's next known letter repeated the problems of the sale – little interest, low offers, heavy outgoings – almost verbatim.¹⁰⁷ The house, however, disappears from correspondence thereafter, so it must be assumed that a buyer was finally found.

Loginov also looked after Samuel's remaining private financial affairs in the Russian capital. With the same 1809 letter he sent an account for the period 1808–9: interest, rent received from the garden and outbuildings and sale of various domestic items, set against local expenses, gave a profit of 2,075 roubles (paper assignats) and an overall balance in Samuel's favour (despite the gloomy statement about the house) of 4,048r. 68k. His next account, 1809–11, showed income of 1,303r. and expenses of 841r., balance 4,510r. 68k.¹⁰⁸ At Bentham's request in 1814 Loginov prepared to send him the balance of account due to him, but the investment holder with whom it was deposited dragged his feet so long that Loginov had to take legal action, pursuing the matter with the provincial administration and as far as the Governing Senate. Finally in 1817 he was able to remit 6,040r. through the merchant house of Anderson.¹⁰⁹

Samuel's accounts with the Admiralty and the Navy Board also gave rise to difficulties. The monies promised to him when he initially accepted the mission to Russia had not all been paid, and his attempts to receive his dues met with resistance. In 1808 Jeremy found his brother preoccupied with 'the cursed Petersburg Ship-building-mission accounts'.¹¹⁰ It took much time before the matter was finally settled.

The results of Samuel Bentham's second visit and official mission to Russia were thus very different from the officially stated designs of the British Admiralty and the Navy Board. No ships were built, and the timber and copper purchased, while a useful addition to Admiralty stocks, scarcely provided adequate compensation. And the abrupt change in Russian foreign policy after Tilsit (25 June OS/7 July NS 1807), when Russia allied with France and broke with Britain, muddled all calculations. The Admiralty was evidently not eager to publicise the fiasco, and if the

intention was in fact to ‘get Bentham out of the way’, as Samuel suspected, the project had achieved its purpose. Bentham was left to get on with his diminished career, and naval business continued on its war-time course. Twelve years later, in 1819, a curious item appeared in the London press, ‘Political Remembrance, or a Few Civil Questions Respecting Matters Which Seem to Have Escaped Notice’. The first question read, ‘What became of the ships building in Russia under General Bentham?’¹¹

Samuel Bentham himself had conscientiously followed his instructions and made the best of the circumstances in which he found himself; and he had had success at least in making himself agreeable as instructed to the Russian authorities. The monument to this would be his Panoptical Institute, the Okhta College of Arts, which graced St Petersburg from 1809 until its destruction by fire in 1818.

Notes

- 1 Quoted by Morriss, *Science, Utility and British Naval Technology, 1793–1815*, 24.
- 2 Coad, *The Portsmouth Block Mills*, 21.
- 3 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 118–235; Morriss, ‘Samuel Bentham and the management of the royal dockyards, 1796–1807’; Morriss, *The Royal Dockyards during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*; Morriss, ‘The office of the Inspector General of Naval Works and technological innovation in the royal dockyards’; Morriss, *Science, 1793–1815*.
- 4 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 253.
- 5 Coad, *The Portsmouth Block Mills*, passim (Nelson’s visit, 12).
- 6 Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville 1804–5, Charles Middleton, Baron Barham 1805–6, Charles Grey, Viscount Howick 1806, Thomas Grenville 1806–7, Henry Phipps, Baron Mulgrave 1807–10.
- 7 See p. 73 above.
- 8 TNA, FO 342/3, ff. 51–51v, 57v, Mulgrave to Leveson Gower, Downing St., 21 January 1805. In 1807 Mulgrave became First Lord of the Admiralty and Samuel’s ultimate overlord.
- 9 *Hull Packet*, Tuesday 27 August 1805.
- 10 Morriss, *Science, 1793–1815*, 33.
- 11 Cf. Jeremy’s attempted use of Samuel’s status in 1802 (‘Could you not, when your Code is out, get a copy sent from the proper quarter ... with a letter saying, *it is by a man whose brother is still in that service*, &c.’ (my italics; *BC VII*, 10) and reference to the ‘secret’ of Samuel’s business. Samuel’s reply to the Tsar in May 1805 suggests a similar attraction to Russia: BL Add. MS 33544, f. 140; see [Appendix I](#).
- 12 *BC VII*, no. 1895, 355, 356, JB to SB, 24 July 1806.
- 13 *BC VII*, no. 1896, 358, 361–2, M&SB to JB, 19 August 1806.
- 14 *BC VII*, 418–23, no. 1922, MB to JB, 3 April 1807; cf. *VII*, 424–7, JB to SB, 9–10 April 1807.
- 15 pp. 73–7.
- 16 Morriss, *Science 1779–91*, 65.
- 17 National Maritime Museum (NMM), Greenwich, ADM/Q/3323, Navy Board, In-Letters and Orders, April 1805–1808, unpaginated.
- 18 NMM, ADM/Q/3323, 5 and 12 July 1805.
- 19 NMM, ADM/Q/3323, Admiralty Board to Navy Board, 25 July, Bentham to Admiralty Board, 27 July; Mary Bentham, *Life*, 236; *BC VII*, 353 n. 7.
- 20 NMM, ADM/Q/3323, Admiralty Board to Navy Board, 27 and 31 July 1805.
- 21 NMM, ADM/Q/3323, Admiralty Board to Navy Board, 22 July 1805. Bentham’s list included: pumps; an assortment of coaking tools from 6” to 2½”; an assortment of engines for forming treenails double as well as single drift, from ¾” to 1” with proper punches for driving them;

- saws, including hand and circular, in total 4 sorts, 180 items; augurs double drift, 4 dozen, single drift of 12 different sizes from ½ to 2, total 108 items. In addition he specified particularly 'the engine for cutting screws in the ends of copper bolts'.
- 22 NMM, ADM/Q/3323, Admiralty Board to SB, copied to Navy Board, marked 'Secret', 20 July 1805. See also Mary Bentham, *Life*, 234–7.
- 23 BC VII, 314, no. 1876, MB to JB, 7–8 August 1805.
- 24 Probably a son of Patrick Clason, a London-based Scot who had visited Geneva several times and was on good terms with the Genevan expatriates in England: BC VII, 309 n. 9. Clason caused the Benthams some concern in Petersburg: against their and his father's wishes he wished to 'go home' with the apparently disreputable Grieve family, and resisted SB's exhortations. SB finally found him a very good live-in job with Khitrovo, cataloguing the library of one of the Grand Dukes (BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 193–5).
- 25 BC VII, 309, no. 1873, JB to Dumont, 16–17 July 1805.
- 26 TNA, ADM, 1/3527, unpaginated. The Nore, a sandbank at the mouth of the Thames estuary, marked by a lightship, was an assembly and sea anchorage point for the royal navy.
- 27 BC VII, 323, 330, 331, no. 1878, JB to SB, 22 August 1805. Elizabeth was treated as one of the family ('The young ones were a strong party,' wrote Jeremy, 'H.K., Tom [Coulson], Gordon and the young Romilly. ... Gordon has been very happy here') and also received a watch. Her position in the Bentham community was, however, definitely subordinate, as Jeremy's appellation, 'Gordon', indicates. See further p. 206 below, and on all Samuel Bentham's illegitimate daughters Pease-Watkin, 'Jeremy and Samuel Bentham: The private and the public'. H.K. was John Herbert Koe, Jeremy's secretary and personal assistant.
- 28 BC VII, 312:
 Pierre I devoit sortir de son tombeau pour acceuilir votre frère – auroit-il prévu qu'en moins d'un siècle la première puissance navale iroit acheter des vaisseaux dans ce port dont il jettoit les fondements – si j'avois été à Petersbourg je crois qu'en chemin j'aurois fait une ode sur ce sujet.
 The reference is to St Petersburg, not (as BC VII, 312 n. 2 suggests) to Archangel.
- 29 BC VII, no. 1878, 329 n., 331–2, JB to SB, 22 August 1805. Lancaster had set up a school in Southwark in 1801 and in 1805 had an audience with the King, who supported his work. However, he was attacked by an orthodox Anglican, Sarah Trimmer, and others, including Bell, and had to be rescued by well-wishers, including William Allen, who set up in support of his work the Royal Lancasterian Institution, which subsequently became the British and Foreign School Society; cf. above, pp. 146–7. Later on the Russian government did send four students to study Lancaster's methods.
- 30 BC VII, 332, no. 1879, Lancaster to JB, 24 August 1805.
- 31 'Boys and girls' (bad Russian): in the event the Panopticon School of Arts had only male students.
- 32 A botanist to whom Alexander I gave a ring for his work, reported in *The Times* in 1805: BC VII, 380 n. Jeremy was evidently happy for others to receive the Imperial jewelled rings which he himself so despised.
- 33 BC VII, no. 1904, JB to SB, 18–20 September 1806.
- 34 Pappmehl, 'The regimental school established in Siberia by Samuel Bentham'.
- 35 See p. 10 above.
- 36 BC VII, 313–22, 335 n. 2, nos 1876–7, 1882.
- 37 TNA, ADM 1/3527, unpaginated: 27 August 1805, SB to William Marsden (Nepean's successor as Secretary to the Admiralty Board).
- 38 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 236.
- 39 See pp. 8–10, 21 above, and Christie, *The Benthams in Russia*, 37–40. Among the British there were also some who fell foul of Russian law. At the time of Samuel's mission John Bellingham, acting as an agent in Archangel, was imprisoned on a false charge of debt; the British embassy failed to help. On Bellingham's release he returned home seeking compensation, which was not forthcoming. Outraged, in 1812 he shot dead the then prime minister, Spencer Perceval, claiming denial of redress as sufficient justification. The story is told by Hanrahan, *The Assassination of the Prime Minister: John Bellingham and the murder of Spencer Perceval*. Perceval is the only British prime minister to have been assassinated.
- 40 Bartlett, 'Charles Gascoigne in Russia: A case study in the diffusion of British technology 1786–1806', 362–3; Cross, 'By the Banks of the Neva', 219–23, 240–61; ODNB (online edn), 'Gascoigne, Charles (1738?–1806)'; Mahnke-Devlin, *Britische Migration*, passim. Francis

Morgan was a significant and successful British specialist instrument-maker who had been in Russia since 1771.

- 41 Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Voenno-Morskogo Flota (RGAVMF) [Russian State Archive of the Navy], St Petersburg, f. 8, op. 3, d. 789, letters of Chichagov to A. S. Greig 1796–1817, l. 6, letter of 1 September 1805.
- 42 BL Add. MS 33455, ff. 192–5, 5/17 July 1806. Troshchinskii, Bezborodko and Bakunin were all eminent statesmen.
- 43 BC VII, 338, no. 1884, GB to JB, St Petersburg, 1 April 1806.
- 44 BC VII, 373, no. 1901, SB to JB, St Petersburg, 7 September 1806.
- 45 BC VII, 376–7, no. 1903, JB to SB, 16 September 1806.
- 46 BC VII, 384–90, nos 1907, 1908, SB to JB, 10 October 1806, MB to JB, 27 October–16 November 1806.
- 47 BC VII, 388–9, no. 1908.
- 48 BC VII, 389, no. 1908. McCormick is not otherwise identified.
- 49 BC VII, 386, no. 1907, 10 October 1806; 391, no. 1910, 25 December 1806.
- 50 BC VII, 420, no. 1922, MB to JB, 3 April 1807.
- 51 Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Vitovtov (1770–1840) was adjutant to Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich and later one of Alexander I's secretaries of state. He also tried his hand, briefly and unsuccessfully, at literary translation. He had a cloth mill outside St Petersburg in which he installed one of the first steam engines in Russia. He took a keen interest in new things economic, and was among other things a founder member of the Moscow Society for Agriculture (1818). Most of his activities smacked of project-making, however, and gave poor results. He retired from government service in 1828 with the rank of Privy Councillor. See *Slovar' russkikh pisatelei XVIII veka*, <http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=644> (accessed 18 March 2022). My thanks to Professor A. Kamenskii for this reference. BC mistranscribes *Vitostoff*.
- 52 BC VII, 385, no. 1907, SB to JB, St Petersburg, 10 October 1806.
- 53 BC VII, 313, no. 1875, Dumont to JB, 22 July NS 1805.
- 54 BC VII, 380, no. 1904.
- 55 BC VII, 443–4, no. 1934 and n. 8, M & SB to JB, 18–19 September 1807. The Golitsyna concerned was the mother-in-law of Count P. A. Stroganov. The Bentham's were not alone in such difficulties: Cross, *'By the Banks of the Neva'*, 21.
- 56 BC X, 159–60, no. 2714.
- 57 RGAVMF, f. 8, op. 3, d. 789, l. 6, letter of 1 September 1805.
- 58 Chichagov to S. R. Vorontsov, 2 September 1805, AKV XIX, 148–9. In Catherine's reign the huge export trade in timber from Archangel run among others by the British merchant William Gomm had contributed to the decimation of the northern forest: *Stoletie Uchrezhdeniia Lesnogo Departamenta 1798–1898*, 231–2, Prilozhenie [Appendix] VIII; Clendenning, 'William Gomm: A case study of the foreign entrepreneur in eighteenth century Russia'; Cross, *'By the Banks of the Neva'*, 71–9.
- 59 AKV XIX, 148–9, no. 43:
Il est d'abord venu me voir et m'a fait un grand plaisir; je ne savais pas du tout qu'il devait venir et ma surprise, lorsque je l'ai appris, a été bien grande. Un homme qui a tant à faire chez lui, et des ouvrages de longue haleine, comment a-t-il pu abandonner tout, je ne conçois pas.
- 60 AKV XIX, 152, 14 February 1806:
Les événemens de la plus grande importance, se succédant avec une rapidité qui n'est presque pas naturelle même à des choses de rien, nous ont tellement interdit qu'on ne savait réellement que penser et encore moins que dire. Ils étaient inattendus dans le commencement, ensuite embrouillés, puis confus, monstrueux, inconcevables. Au milieu de tout ceci il y a eu un moment d'espoir, et puis tout-à-coup cet édifice, le plus informe qui ait jamais paru, croule de fond en comble et entraîne avec soi l'honneur et l'existence des empires et des pays [T]out cela passe l'imagination, quelque exaltée qu'elle puisse être. Qu'on se représente la perfection de l'imperfection: on n'aura alors qu'une faible idée de ce que c'était, et ce que c'est encore.
- Chichagov, it should be added, was a determined contrarian and critic of Russian realities.
- 61 NMM, ADM/Q/3323, unpaginated. SB to William Marsden. No further reports have been found in the naval records.
- 62 BL Add. MS 33554, ff. 196–7v, 24 January 1806.
- 63 BL Add. MS 33544, f. 161, SB to Tsar, 18 March 1806.

- 64 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 548–9v, extract from a letter of Fanshawe to SB, n.d., n.p. See also *BC* VII, 422, no. 1922. Fanshawe had been officially charged with developing coastal trade with Ottoman territories: he reported that the first commercial voyage was about to set out, under an English commander. On Fanshawe's later difficulties see note 79.
- 65 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 236–45.
- 66 BL Add. MS 33544, f. 161, SB to Tsar, 18 March 1806. RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 868 gives details of timber quantities and logistical arrangements: Bentham stated his purchases as '6,079 items in beams, 11,670 in planks' (6,079 pièces en poutres, 11,670 en planches), total 17,749. Shipping costs from Kronshtadt were 291 roubles, 70 copecks.
- 67 BL Add. MS 33544, f. 162–2v, SB to Tsar, 18 March 1806. This letter is a perfect example of the 'project-making' so widespread in Europe at this time: see Introduction, pp. 3–8, and Bartlett, 'Samuel Bentham, inventor', 288–93.
- 68 BL Add. MS 33544, f. 167–7v, Chichagov to SB, St Petersburg, 12 April 1806:
 Sa Majesté se fera en même tems un plaisir de témoigner à ce gouvernement sa satisfaction particulière de votre arrivée dans ses états, et quoique le but que vous vous étiez proposé n'aye pas pu être entièrement rempli, Sa Majesté a vu avec plaisir la disposition que vous avez montré de vous occuper de divers objets utiles à Son Service, en conséquence de l'idée avantageuse qu'Elle a de vos lumières et de vos talents Sa Majesté désirant les mettre à profit pour l'avantage de Sa Marine, m'a autorisé à vous faire des propositions dans le cas ou le gouvernement britannique n'aye pas de difficulté à vous accorder une prolongation de votre séjour ici.
 Je croirais remplir en partie les vues de Sa Majesté en vous demandant s'il vous seroit convenable de vous charger de diriger la construction de quelques Bâtimens suivant votre nouvelle méthode dans un de nos ports à votre choix.
 2e. de prendre sur vous la direction d'un établissement panoptique.
 3e. d'établir une fabrique de toiles à voiles.
 4e. enfin de former l'établissement d'une corderie dans un de nos ports de la mer noire.
- 69 *BC* VII, xxvi, states without adducing evidence that the Russian letter requesting leave for SB had never been dispatched. See further RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2867, l. 50, 23 October 1806: Chichagov informed the Minister of Internal Affairs (Kochubei) that the Interior Ministry (MVD) had been instructed to request leave for SB from the British government, but that no reply had been received; the Emperor had ordered MVD to report to him if no reply was received, but to notify any reply to Chichagov. BL Add. MS 33544, SB to Chichagov, St Petersburg, 5 March OS 1807. See also *BC* 418–22, no. 1922, MB to JB, St Petersburg, 21 March/3 April 1807.
- 70 TNA/NMM, ADM 359/34B/81, Marsden to SB, 1 February 1807: SB to return by 24 June.
- 71 *BC* VII, 386, no. 1908, SB to JB, 29 September OS 1806.
- 72 Appendix II, 1; RGIA, f. 16, op. 1, d. 121 (accessed online 5 January 2022); RGAVMF, f. 326, op. 1, d. 2460, a plan drawn by Bentham of 'tanning enterprises', 1807.
- 73 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 257–7v, SB to Howick, 21 March/3 April 1807; ff. 265–8, SB to Grenville, 22 March OS 1807.
- 74 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 278–9, J. Darck to MSB, 1 May 1807.
- 75 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 273, 275, Chichagov to SB, 1 April 1807; f. 282, 3 June 1807, copy at TNA/NMM, ADM 359/34B/81, 8 May 1807, Marsden to SB, permission until 29 September; RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2867, ll. 118–119ob., SB to Chichagov. Cf. Mary Bentham, *Life*, 245.
- 76 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2867, ll. 167–168ob., SB to Chichagov, 19 August 1807, proposing Matvei Ivanovich Loginov; l. 187, letter of appointment to Loginov; l. 215, Loginov's first report to Chichagov, 21 September 1807. Letters from Loginov to SB in Siberia in 1781 are preserved at BL Add. MS 33539, ff. 262–6, and a letter of greeting from Loginov to SB, 21 April 1806, at BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 171–2. Loginov evidently got on well with Chichagov: the latter wrote to SB in January 1809, 'while I am in office I shall do my best for the Panopticon, but Loginoff will very likely do the rest. I like him very much, he is all what you said of him': BL Add. MS 33544, f. 409. On the Siberian connection see also Morriss, *Science, 1779–1791*, 76 (Morriss wrongly calls him Loganov).
- 77 RGAVMF, f. 212, op. 1, Kantseliaria III otd., d. 96, ll. 226, 234–5, March 1812.
- 78 Caird Library, NMM, ADM B/232 (TNA, ADM 354/232/109), SB to Navy Board, 21 June 1808 (TNA, accessed online 5 January 2022).
- 79 On Kirk and Heywood see below. On Stuckey, *RBS*, vol. Smelovskii–Suvorina, 435–6; Krasko, 'Stukkei (Stoke)'. I am grateful to Professor Will Ryan for this reference. For the comparable

situation in the Crimean War some 50 years later, see Dixon, 'Allegiance and betrayal: British residents in Russia during the Crimean War'.

In 1810 Bentham received an appeal for help from his friend Henry Fanshawe, former Governor of the Crimea, lamenting that he and his sons '*are all out of the [Russian] service*' (underlining in the original). 'My fate', wrote Fanshawe, 'has been particularly hard.' Faced with serving in an area where attack from Britain was possible, he 'preferred risking everything' rather than possibly betray his native land. 'I tried to represent this, but the misrepresentations of a Minister, swayed by a former animosity, and prompted by the circumstances of the day, brought my request under the eyes of the sovereign in a *false* light, and has since been productive of every kind of vexation to me, and to my sons, who though educated abroad, have been brought up in the principles of Englishmen.' Fanshawe blamed not the legal position but hostile intrigue for his predicament: BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 470–1.

- 80 Samuel Bentham, 'Sketch of a ship-carriage', 581–6, and separate publication, 1–5 (1–2). Mary Bentham later claimed that Potëmkin had equipped an army unit with ship-carriages.
- 81 See p. 191.
- 82 BC VII, 442, no. 1934, MB & SB to JB, 6 and 18 September 1807.
- 83 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 953, ll. 84–5; *Opisanie del Arkhiva Morskogo Ministerstva za vremia s poloviny XVII do nachala XIX stoletia*, IX (hereafter *OdAMM*), 605, no. 4270.
- 84 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 316–17, SB to Chichagov, Reval, 17 September 1807.
- 85 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 247; *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 6.
- 86 BC VII, 447 and n. 2, no. 1937, SB to JB, Karlskrona, 5 October 1807. On Fredrik Henrik ap Chapman (1721–1808) see Harris, *F. H. Chapman: The first naval architect and his work*.
- 87 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 6–7.
- 88 BC VII, 454–5, no. 1942, SB to JB, Gothenburg, 14–17 November 1807.
- 89 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 7.
- 90 *The Star* (London), Friday 4 December 1807, 2.
- 91 BC VII, 564–5, no. 2013; Bowring, X, 444–6.
- 92 TNA, ADM 1/3527, unpaginated: 15 March 1806, Goodrich to Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.
- 93 Quoted by Coats, 'The block mills: New labour practices for new machines?', 79.
- 94 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 265–8.
- 95 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 249, also 250–6, 269.
- 96 TNA, ADM 1/3257, unpaginated: SB to Admiralty Board, 9 March and 6 June 1808. Cf. Morriss, 'The office of the Inspector General of Naval Works and technological innovation in the royal dockyards'.
- 97 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 400–2v.
- 98 Morriss, 'The office of the Inspector General of Naval Works'.
- 99 TNA, ADM 1/3257, 29 August 1808, 21 November 1808.
- 100 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 296–309; Morriss, *The Royal Dockyards*, 213–15.
- 101 *Services rendered in the Civil Department of the Navy, in investigating and bringing to official notice, abuses and imperfections; and in effecting improvements in relation to the system of management as particularized in a statement drawn up, and presented to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in consequence of their Lordships' requisition of statements, to serve as a ground of compensation for loss of office and of remuneration for services*. The British Library copy at 1414.d.3. has preliminary hand-written material by Mary Bentham.
- 102 Roger Morriss provided a judicious brief assessment of Samuel's claims and achievements, concluding that he was instrumental in 'shift[ing] thinking in the royal dockyards to a new level of technological performance' ('The office of the Inspector General of Naval Works', 29); this prefigured his monograph *Science, Utility and British Naval Technology, 1793–1815*. Ann Coats observed that 'Family networks and political patronage were embedded in the new structures. Samuel Bentham's pivotal place within dockyard and parliamentary networks enabled his ideas of individual responsibility, classification of labour and central financial control to become enshrined within nineteenth-century naval administration.' Coats also highlights the contribution of Simon Goodrich as Bentham's assistant, deputy, successor and continuer ('The block mills', 80).
- 103 Jacques Balthazar/Iakov Iakovlevich Brun de Sainte-Catherine (1759–1835), French naval engineer, built ships for the Ottomans before entering Russian service in 1799 with his brother François Brun de Saint-Hippolyte: 1804 Director of Naval Construction, 1807 Inspector of the School of Naval Architecture, 1826–35 Inspector-General of the Corps of Naval Engineers (RBS,

vol. Betankur–Biakster, 412; *Les Français en Russie au siècle des Lumières*, vol. 2; Zorlu and Özbay, 'Foreign shipwrights under Selim III: The case of Jacques Balthazard Le Brun', https://www.academia.edu/7240018/Foreign_Shipwrights_under_Selim_III_The_Case_of_Jacques_Balthazard_Le_Brun (accessed 10 April 2022).

Dumont had met Le Brun at his nephew's house in 1803 and remarked, 'He is one of the most skilled ship-builders' ('Dnevnik', no. 2, 152).

- 104 BL Add. MS. 33544, ff. 339–40, 16 December 1807: three bankers' letters of exchange, including payment for a steam engine.
- 105 RGAVMF, f. 212, op. Kantseliarii III otd., d. 3888, 'Re proposal of Brig. Bentham Samuel [*sic*] that [the Russian Admiralty] should buy ship's timber prepared for dispatch to England, and re settlement of accounts with Bentham for instruments and machines ordered by him from England for the Panoptical Institute', l. 16 (Brun, 7 January 1810), l. 57 (steam engines and accounts, 1814), ll. 42–55 (London payments, 1814–15), *AGM* III (1902), 490.
- 106 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 445–5v, Loginov to SB, St Petersburg, 20 October 1809. Not all Loginov's letters survive.
- 107 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 551–2v, 18 August 1811.
- 108 BL Add. MS 33544, f. 552v, 18 August 1811.
- 109 RGAVMF, f. 212, op. Kantseliarii III otd., d. 3888, ll. 7–13, SB to Chichagov; BL Add. MS 33545, f. 247v, Loginov to SB, 8 February 1817.
- 110 *BC* VII, 551, no. 2003, JB to SB, 23 September 1808.
- 111 *The Globe*, Thursday 7 January 1819; *Morning Chronicle*, Thursday 7 January; *The Statesman*, Friday 8 January.

4

The St Petersburg Panoptical Institute or Okhta College of Arts

Building the Panopticon

The new College of Arts – named in Russian sources as ‘Panoptical Institute’, ‘Panoptical institution’, or sometimes by circumlocutions such as ‘state enterprise’ or ‘social institution’ – was situated at the junction of the minor Okhta river with the Neva, the site of the former Swedish fortress of Nienshants, opposite the Smol’nyi Monastery.¹ The land belonged to the Smol’nyi, which housed the celebrated girls’ school set up in 1764 by Catherine II,² run by the Educational Society for Noble Maidens (*Vospitatel’noe Obshchestvo Blagorodnykh Devits*), whose Curator (*Glavnaia Popechitel’nitsa*) at this time was the Dowager Empress Maria Fëdorovna. The navy had already rented the site for marine purposes in 1802, and Bentham had considered it at an early stage as a possible site for ship-building; but no Admiralty use had yet been made of it except for storing timber, and Chichagov now proposed to buy the land, at a cost of 16,000 roubles. Maria Fëdorovna agreed, and the Emperor’s approval sealed the transfer on 6 July 1806.³ Bentham’s formal plan for the ‘Panoptical Institute’, presented to the Emperor by Chichagov, spoke of building Panopticons initially at Okhta but also in Russian coastal towns. It proposed teaching apprentices from 7 to 22 years of age a range of skills: the making of physical, optical and mathematical instruments and compasses, the confection of sail cloths, hats, stockings and skins in the English manner and the making of pumps from them, the sewing of footwear, the weaving of ropes, the sewing of sails and ‘various clothing’, turning and joinery skills, and

printing. Chichagov was very sanguine as to cost, claiming on Samuel's authority that the new Institute would be much cheaper to create than comparable schools: Bentham initially costed his project at 75,000r. The proposal duly received the Imperial assent.⁴ Bentham was given an assistant to help with the site handover, Helmsman (*shturman*) 8th class Kovrov, and after due legal proceedings he signed an inventory and acknowledgement of receipt of the site on 16 November.⁵

With the creation of the new Naval Ministry in 1802, considerable attention had been paid to the upgrading of education and training for those expected to work in the naval sphere. Dispatch of young volunteers to serve in the British fleet was extended. Helmsman's schools and an artillery school founded under Tsar Paul were updated and improved. Special schools were created in Baltic ports for under-age recruits, to be trained up for a naval career; they came to use the Lancaster method of mutual education.⁶ This was the immediate context in which Chichagov promoted Samuel Bentham's Panopticon proposal. It is striking that Chichagov and the Emperor approved Bentham's panoptical project only three years after issuing a new charter to another, somewhat similar, naval teaching institution also set up in the 1790s. The School of Ship Architecture (*Uchilishche korabel'noi arkhitektury*) had been established under Paul in 1798, and its new charter (*ustav*) received Imperial assent on 4 March 1803; its first graduates passed out in 1805.⁷ The Ship Architecture School taught a fairly broad curriculum and might well have been used to meet the needs which Chichagov proposed to satisfy in the College of Arts; it was merged with the Naval Cadet Corps in 1817 and has continued in existence in different forms ever since, known for most of its history as the Naval Engineering School.

Another initiative which closely preceded the Panopticon project was a proposal to create a new 'Workshop for the making of Physical and Mathematical Instruments' for the navy, which the Emperor signed off in June 1804.⁸ Two existing inadequate instrument workshops had recently been merged and brought up to scratch by the appointment of a skilled specialist, who had also taught students from the Ship Architecture School. Now, the decree said, to place instrument-making on a firm footing the new facility needed proper resourcing: more specialist staff and suitable pupils, adequate accommodation with space for 'workshops, store-rooms, shops, and other necessary arrangements', and living quarters for all the staff, 'both single and married'; and a dividing engine was to be sourced abroad without delay. The workshop should carry out Admiralty work, but also be entitled to undertake private commercial business. The young pupils envisaged should be instructed in all necessary

subjects, including English language ‘so that they can read improving English books’; to save expense, such academic teaching should be done in the Ship Architecture or another naval School. From this decree there emerged a new Sea-going Instruments Workshop (*masterskaia morekhodnykh instrumentov*), which, however, as we shall see, was only fully realised within the concept of the new College of Arts.

At Okhta Bentham lost no time in putting his project into effect: as the official record curiously coyly describes it, it was ‘the production of certain structures under the management of Brigadier Bentham proposed for social institutions’.⁹ He had been given an initial budget for the work of 100,000 roubles; this was taken from the sum assigned in the state budget to fund foreign colonists: the alien invention of the foreigner Bentham was financed from the programme which provided for the incorporation of useful foreigners into the Empire.¹⁰ The team he employed for the construction included several Britons, both those who had come out with him, and others. The principal project manager was John Kirk; it will be recalled that Bentham had hired him in 1805 as ‘an artificer conversant in the execution of mechanical works in general, such as are usually committed to the management of millwrights and engineers’, and who would be capable of responding to ‘the chance expedients for the forwarding the work’. Kirk remained in St Petersburg after the Benthams left and had ‘the immediate direction of the Panopticon Building, and of the works ... executed relative to it’. He retained this role, despite apparently having no formal contract, until he sought retirement in 1811 ‘on the occasion of needs he has found to leave Russia’.¹¹ Also involved were Master Engine-Maker Heywood, who replaced Kirk in 1811, storekeeper and clerk Timothy Fishwick, and Thomas Keeble, whose function is not stated and who was dismissed because of redundancy in 1807.¹² (Joseph Helby appears briefly in the records,¹³ but does not appear to have been employed; Heywood left Russian service after the fire in 1818.¹⁴)

Labour for the building work was provided by the assignment to Okhta of 200 Admiralty workers, who were quartered on the Okhta population: Chichagov received Imperial permission for a Cossack unit already quartered there to be moved elsewhere.¹⁵ Bentham was also able to contract locally for material supplies and other labour; but to obtain specialist or more difficult items he turned to England, and to the Russian consul in London, who at this time happened to be Samuel Greig, younger brother of Alexis. An inventory of goods imported from England in 1805–8 listed 178 items. These included: a large quantity of coal; zinc, lead (in bars and sheets); sal ammoniac, tar oil, white lead, blue vitriol (copper sulphate); patent black lacquer, white vitriol, yellow ochre; ‘ironmonger’s

wares', 77 'various saws and files', a lightning conductor and its box, 16,000 sail needles of different sizes, and 'a box with books and models'. Flag fabric (*flagduk*) had to be sourced abroad because, as the Admiralty Department told the Acting Minister, 'the flag fabric made at the Novgorod Sail Factory is not considered suitable for ships' ensigns and signal flags as it changes colour very soon'.¹⁶ The British steam engine to power the new building arrived at Kronshtadt in December 1806 aboard the merchantman *Delia*; weighing with its accessories 25 tons, it had to be stored at the port pending the availability of suitable transportation to the site. Another British purchase was 'four patent water closets to be fixed in the interior part of the Building for the use of the officers, as well as for those whose duty may require them not to go out of the Building'.¹⁷

Bentham pressed ahead with the initial works: the high elevation of the former Swedish fortress was favourable to the construction of sound buildings, but they needed extensive foundations.¹⁸ In early September 1806 he could tell Jeremy, 'Foundation of Panopticon is just peeping up above the ground and I hope the whole of the foundation will be done before the frost sets in so the remaining part being all of wood or cast iron may be completed during the winter.' He added, 'I shall probably send you in a few days a Copy of the drawing as it has been approved by the Emperor, although I have made and am still making several alterations to it.'¹⁹ Three weeks later, however, with the onset of an early winter, he was striking a more cautious and frustrated note:

I send you a Copy of the drawing of the Panopticon which was approved by the Emperor and which I have been authorized to carry into execution. The progress however has been but slow. The season was so far advanced before I could begin that all the workmen were engaged in other work, so that I could procure but fifty bricklayers. The foundation, that is to say a basement story not shown in the plan is not finished and I fear it will not be so before the frost puts an end to all such work for the winter. This is very unfortunate for if the brickwork could have been finished the whole of the superstructure might have gone on. Frost and snow began today but if there should be a fortnight of mild weather after it, it is still possible my brick work may be completed. The expense of almost all kind of workmanship is much dearer than in England insomuch that I should have been very glad to have found an English working Joiner who would do work by the piece at English prices, particularly window frames ...: but it is now too late to find such a one this Season.²⁰

Lack of good qualified workmen was not the only problem. The unexpected frost panicked the brick suppliers, threatening to crack their bricks, and supplies were disrupted. Mary Bentham lamented the impact on her own domestic building programme (conservatory and greenhouse), not far from the Panopticon site and also needing bricks. 'Okhta has the preference over everything', she complained: project manager Kirk had commandeered a load of bricks destined for Mary, so that now 'we have not a single brick provided for our conservatory flues': new supplies would have to be sledged in later at a higher price. Moreover Kirk had taken over all the Bentham's transportation resources: 'Firstly our boats, our sailors, even our coach horses were impressed to carry bricks for Panopticon.'²¹ However, Bentham's hopes of a quick completion were unrealistic: the building process was protracted and the 'Panoptical institution' was completed only in 1809.

Samuel was also worried about personnel at the higher administrative level. Good candidates were in short supply; nor was it clear who could be placed in overall charge of the new College.

I am much distressed for want of intelligent and honest Assistants even for carrying on the building, nor have I yet found anyone fit for the management of the Establishment when the building is ready, Sabloukoff's brother is the most clever, active and honest of any I met with, but he is too much engaged in his own department of *water communications* to leave it for any other.²²

After Samuel had rejected several candidates for the role of Assistant, he was very impressed by a Captain Minitskii, just back from four years with the British navy and recommended by Chichagov;²³ however, Minitskii does not reappear in the sources. Samuel was able to rely on Kirk to manage the building process, and would finally find what he wanted in a director in his former Siberian assistant Matvei Loginov.

A further problem was escalating cost. By March 1807 Samuel had exhausted his 100,000-rouble advance, and had to seek additional funds: at this point he asked for a further 49,970 roubles.²⁴ Chichagov applied to the Tsar, who approved further funding, but in June Bentham was again writing personally to Chichagov, warning that if he did not receive the money asked for he would have to suspend work on the building. Further additional requests followed in August (65,000r.) and September. After Bentham's departure still further funds had to be assigned before final completion of the building: 124,992r. in 1808, 100,000r. in 1809.²⁵ Initial costs were high in part because Bentham had specified bespoke items. The

stoves to heat the building, for example, were of a technically advanced design derived from Bentham's long-standing British engineering friends Messrs Strutt of Belper. Kirk wrote to Bentham in March 1808:

I have the pleasure of informing you that the stove exceeds the public expectation (the Minister desired and has had a drawing of it, also the architect Zaharoff). ... I have little or no apprehension of being able to heat the whole building with the six stoves proposed.²⁶

The stoves were manufactured at the nearby Izhora Foundry, an important navy enterprise which had recently been refurbished by Charles Gascoigne. It was now directed by Gascoigne's former assistant, Alexander Wilson. The same month the foundry sent an invoice for one stove: 1,008r. 22½k. Installation costs added 439r. 93¾k., totalling 1,448r. 16¼k. The six stoves required would thus cost about 8,690r., and Kirk had estimated 3,500r. for them, with 2,637r. contingency: a shortfall of 2,551r. 97½k.²⁷ The account drawn up after the fire in 1818 to summarise the costs of constructing the Panoptical Institute gave expenditure to the end of building in 1809 as 364,868r. 70¾k, and with later additional outlay a grand total of 436,117r. 75¾k.²⁸

Some items ordered from Britain Bentham had paid for himself, and on departure he sold these to Loginov. The latter found some superfluous; he was told to hand these on to the Admiralty, and to store those he considered necessary.²⁹ After his departure, as we have seen, Bentham sent a final statement to Chichagov of monies owing to him, including these expenses, and of salary payments due, but payment was not immediately forthcoming; in 1814 he was still complaining that war had prevented the settlement of accounts and that the Russian government still owed him £767 18s. 0½d.³⁰

The Okhta Panopticon was largely constructed of wood, apparently in order to save time and save cost. Bentham was very aware of fire risk. Jeremy Bentham's projected London prison had been designed to be fireproof, using only iron and brickwork. In 1791 John Rennie Snr's steam-powered London Albion Flour Mills had burned down, a competition had been published to design a fireproof building, and in 1802 Bentham's assistant Simon Goodrich had shared in the 50-guinea prize.³¹ This was in fact the exact time of the introduction of iron-frame architecture, in Britain from the 1790s and in Russia two decades later; the first Russian building to use this new technique, in 1812, was the flaxmill of the Alexander Manufactory textile mill in St Petersburg, built to the design of the Manufactory's director A. Wilson.³²

Bentham had sought to take some account of fire in his Okhta design. Combined with the use of brick and wood, cast iron was specified for supporting columns and drainage pipes. It is not clear exactly when the building reached the point at which these iron castings were required. In a letter to Bentham of March 1808 Kirk wrote, 'I mentioned in my last ... having requested the Admiral's permission to make use of wood instead of iron columns.' This request had been granted, and he hoped Bentham would also approve; 'the wooden columns are now in hand, I expect they will be ready to put in their places as soon as the weather will permit of unroofing the center.'³³ At the same time Kirk requested from his Russian superiors that iron drainage pipes should be made at the new St Petersburg Ironworks, situated on the Peterhof road, according to models to be provided. Chichagov passed the order on to the ironworks' director Adam Armstrong.³⁴ But Armstrong, who had responsibility for a number of foundries, was absent and the piping was delayed. In September Kirk reported that the chief engineer of the St Petersburg Ironworks, another Briton, Cooper, had told him that cast-iron columns could not be produced in less than three months. This would cause an unacceptable delay, and Kirk asked permission to use wood instead here too. This was also allowed. The use of wood instead of iron undoubtedly made the building less safe and resilient, and the issue of the pipes and columns was still not fully resolved. Later in the year Cooper reported that his foundry was also unable to produce other small iron items required, because it lacked iron of the correct quality, so permission was given to place an order with the large foundry of Charles Baird in St Petersburg for 'cast-iron pipes and also such cast-iron items as may be necessary for the steam engine'. Meanwhile Kirk requested additional resources in July to construct a roof of iron sheets over the 'machine wing' of the building, the engine house and forge, because of the high temperatures involved; it was indeed here that the fatal fire would eventually break out.³⁵

In his March 1808 letter to Bentham Kirk observed that the building process had 'not yet suffered any interruption from the war, except at the Foundry'; but in August his letter had still not been sent, for lack of opportunities for communication with England, and Kirk was able to add a postscript. The building process, he reported, was going on 'as well as can be expected considering the number of Obstacles'. A particular problem was the lack of caulkers due to be supplied by the Admiralty, who needed them for its own purposes, and 'not satisfied with refusing calkers they have thought proper to take upwards of 50 of our boys this is a great loss as some of them were become very usefull.' Kirk continued:

The Building has now reached the height intended, the reservoir finished and the roof over it nearly so. The Inspectors chair in its place but not quite finished, some part of the steam engine in its place. The water will be in the canal by the end of this month and the ground surrounding the Panopticon levelled in less than 2. I have proposed to plaster the radial walls instead of lining with boards there will then be an opportunity of heating one or more of the wings without heating the whole building.³⁶

It took several months more to finish the work, but by April 1809 the building was largely complete. Loginov decided that it was habitable and reported that ‘pupils and soldiers’ – the apprentices and the men assigned to staff the building – had been moved into the accommodation within it. Not all facilities were ready: the kitchens were temporary, and it turned out that the quarters intended for married men were wholly unsuitable and they had to be accommodated in Okhta, but the new building was now in operation.³⁷

The College of Arts in operation

One of the first steps taken by Chichagov was to increase the number of apprentices in the College. On 30 April 1809 he ordered 100 cadets from the Helmsman’s School in Kronshtadt to be sent to the Panoptical Institute to be trained in the skills of ship-building.³⁸ They were to be retained on the books of their unit (*komanda*, the Helmsman’s School): that is, they would not be a charge to the Institute; they arrived in August. In the same month Chichagov, since 1807 full Minister of the Navy, went on indefinite leave, and was replaced by Jean Baptiste Marquis de Traversay as Acting (and from 1811 to 1828 full) Minister.³⁹ Loginov had extensive correspondence with the Admiralty Department and his new boss about the conditions for the young newcomers.⁴⁰ Most apprentices at the Panoptical Institute received payment (*zarabochie den’gi*), and Loginov wished to do the same for the Kronshtadt cadets. But Traversay ordered them (and apparently the existing apprentices too) to be managed according to the official Rules recently promulgated (1806) for child recruits to the armed forces, a notably humane and thoughtful set of regulations, but which made no provision for wages.⁴¹ Loginov pointed out that the Rules required a specific number of adults to have charge and care of the cadets, and the Admiralty and Traversay agreed that the specified contingent should be engaged. Previously, in 1808, a local official, the supervisor of the Okhta carpenters’ settlements, Captain-Lieutenant

Solomonov, had attempted to step in to oversee the existing cadets, but Kirk had prevented him from entering the College.⁴² An invalided naval officer, Captain-Lieutenant Mistrov, was now initially approved to take overall charge of the operation; but then Traversay found difficulties with the appointment and for the time being none was made.⁴³

In February 1810, after several months' experience with the new recruits, Kirk reported that since wage payments had stopped the apprentices had got lazy, found excuses to skip lessons, and some had even started thieving, which had never happened before. There were insufficient staff to watch them closely, exhortation had little effect, and the cost of appointing further supervisors would exceed the reinstatement of wages, which was what he recommended. Previously those excelling received a few copecks extra, which encouraged industry in the rest. The Admiralty agreed with this proposal, but the Minister refused; Loginov then proposed providing piece-rates (*zadel'nye den'gi*), as were paid at both the Izhora Foundry and the Novgorod Sail Factory. But the Minister rejected that too, as there was no regulation about it.⁴⁴ The difficulty over supervision of the recalcitrant apprentices calls into question the whole rationale of the panoptical structure; in general the sources are silent on the building's effectiveness for surveillance.

In his report to the Emperor which had led to the sanctioning of the College, Chichagov had stated his wish to bring various ancillary branches of naval work into one place, and the new College of Arts provided a focus for this.⁴⁵ As the main building neared completion, he ordered the transfer to it of the recently reorganised Sea-going Instruments Workshop.⁴⁶ This was headed by Instrument-maker 8th class Shishorin, the 'skilled specialist' praised in the 1804 decree. Now it became part of the Okhta College: the staff were to be housed in the main building, a special temporary kitchen to be provided to cater for them.

Osip Ivanovich Shishorin had been trained by the Petersburg instrument-maker Francis Morgan, and had then spent five years learning his trade in London (1780–5), before becoming joint head of the mathematical instrument class at the Russian Academy of Arts, then spending some years as a successful private entrepreneur:⁴⁷ he had an impressive CV as an instrument-maker, and had apparently been successful in turning round the previous failing workshops. Nevertheless the Ministry now found fault with both his work and his behaviour at the Sea-going Instruments Workshop: there was allegedly serious cause for complaint, and he was therefore dismissed and replaced by a non-specialist manager: Samuel's assistant Helmsman Kovrov was found suitable for the role. It took some time to find a replacement for the post

of instrumental specialist, but eventually on 20 April 1809 Chichagov approved a contract agreed with the English 'mechanic' (skilled workman, engineer) Riches. It specified the production of

1) all sorts of compasses; 2) drawing instruments; 3) barometers, thermometers, hydrometers; 4) naval barometers; 5) all sorts of artillery quadrants; 6) artillery callipers (*krontsirkuly*)⁴⁸ and gunner's rules (*masshtaby*); 7) artificial horizons; 8) sand glasses; 9) various scales; 10) toothed wheels of the very smallest sizes, like clock wheels; 11) sextants and octants, when a dividing engine is available; 12) telescopes, when it is possible to obtain lenses and the tools to grind them.⁴⁹

The Workshop's personnel now consisted of the new manager, Kovrov, supervisor (*nadzirateľ*, literally 'overseer') Titular Counsellor Pavlov, specialist instrument-maker Riches supported by Compass-maker 14th class Afanas'ev, and under them the considerable total of 84 instrument-makers, assistants, craftsmen and students. Funding came direct from the Admiralty Department.⁵⁰

It turned out that there were serious practical difficulties with accommodating the Workshop in the College itself, and an alternative location was found for it outside.⁵¹ But under Riches its work evidently prospered; thus in 1813 compass-maker Afanas'ev, without a dividing engine, produced a sextant according to the best English model but at little more than a third of the price. (The crucial dividing engine appeared in 1817.⁵²) When the Panoptical Institute burned down in 1818, the Workshop was also affected; its work and staff were transferred to the Izhora works.⁵³ In 1816 or 1817 Riches had been replaced by 'mechanic' Joseph Edwards, another British engineer. Edwards, an instrument-maker among other things, had a long Russian career behind him, having sailed with the explorer Joseph Billings in 1785 and worked under Wilson in the Aleksandrovskaia spinning mill, before gaining appointment to the Okhta College in 1815 'to bring its products to greater perfection'. In May 1818, successfully seeking a salary increase, he claimed to have lost property worth 7,068r. in the fire, and in addition, 'to my great chagrin', his library and all his notes and data on metallurgy and instrument-making. He worked at the Workshop until retiring on health grounds in 1820 aged 73.⁵⁴

In October 1809 Loginov wrote to Samuel Bentham, 'Construction of the main panoptical building is finished and over 300 people are already living in it and an instrumental operation has been housed there'; but (he said) it was very inconvenient for the apprentices and so further

changes might be made. Five days earlier Loginov had sent the new Minister a full report on the Panoptical Institute, detailing both the state of the building and the activities associated with it, which gives a clear picture of the Okhta College at the point at which it began to function fully.⁵⁵ The main building was finished, but the service buildings – bakery, kvas⁵⁶ brewery, laundry, staff housing, bathing facilities – were still incomplete. The 20 h.p. steam engine was ‘20 days away from being operative’, and the machines which it was to drive, including lathes, vertical saws, planes, hammer, flattening machinery and pulleys, were still under construction: casting the required equipment from models, said Loginov, was very slow,

as in the absence of expert people, either private (*vol'nykh*) or state (*kazënnnykh*) workers, the installation is being carried out almost solely by our apprentices, who know very little. Moreover the casting of cast-iron items according to models progresses very slowly because of an absence of good iron, and things made of bad iron cannot be fit for the said machines. But every effort is being made to bring the installation of the machines to its conclusion.

There was also a horse-powered engine. In fact some machines were still in the process of being completed two years later.⁵⁷ The administrative staff consisted of: Loginov; treasurer, secretary and bookkeeper Provincial Secretary Nikonov; inspector (*smotritel'*)⁵⁸ Ivanov, who held the rank of Architectural Student 14th class and was responsible for ‘the buildings, fire precautions, cleanliness and the servitors under the Institute’s jurisdiction’; and *untervaginmeister* 14th class Lyzhin, the storekeeper (*soderzhatel'*). The chief technical specialists were Kirk and Heywood; sub-clerk Voronov dealt with the paperwork (*podkantseliarist pri pis'mennykh delakh*). There was a security detail (*kommissionernaia komanda*) of 20 soldiers under two NCOs.

As the building neared operational readiness, there had been some uncertainty as to its management and activities. In March 1808 Kirk had reported that he had had ‘several interviews with the Admiral ... with respect to the general law, and what should be done in the building when finished’, and worried that ‘neither of those are as well understood as they ought to be’. In January 1809 Chichagov himself wrote to Bentham that ‘The panopticon building is almost finished, I don’t know who will be the proper person to make the proper use of it.’⁵⁹ Nevertheless the teaching programme got successfully under way. Loginov himself did not know exactly which crafts Bentham had intended to introduce, and could find

no written record, but he reported Kirk's statement that these included smithing, metalwork, machine construction and associated instrument-making,⁶⁰ copper-casting and boiler-making, mathematical and optical instruments, joinery, turning, wheel-making, tailoring, shoe-making and saddlery. Ten cadets were being taught smithing by a government blacksmith; there was no teacher for metalwork; Heywood had 16 students for machine- and instrument-making; copper-casting, boiler- and mathematical instrument-making were taught to groups of students in the Sea-going Instruments workshop; private joiners hired for the building works were teaching 20 apprentices joinery, and Heywood had two students for turning; but the remaining crafts were not yet being taught for lack of instructors. Independent craftsmen working on the site were also teaching carpentry (six apprentices), painting (four), plastering and stove-making (two). The remaining original apprentices were engaged in various works for the building process. The teaching staff was augmented over time, especially as apprentice numbers increased: thus it was reported in 1814 that 15 instrument-makers and six blacksmiths had been assigned to the Panoptical Institute from the Izhora works as instructors.⁶¹

The canal connecting the College to the Neva provided the basis for the apprentices to learn active ship-building: Loginov added that 'the recently assigned 96 [98? RB] persons are engaged in the making of slipways (*elengov*) for the schooner and cutter to be built at the institution under the supervision of Director of Shipbuilding Brun': these were the 16-gun *Arrow* and the 12-gun *Herald*.⁶² The slipways formed part of the College's training shipyard set up at this time (1808) to the design of 'master-shipbuilder Stoke [*korabel'nyi master Stok*]', Benjamin Stuckey, son of Bentham's mastmaker Thomas Stuckey, who had entered Russian service in 1807 together with his father. Veniamin Fomich Stokke or Stukkei, as Benjamin was known in Russia, became an important ship-builder, responsible for dozens of vessels including the famous frigate *Pallada*. He remained in charge of the Okhta yard until 1822 before moving on to greater things. The training yard survived the 1818 fire and went on to become a full-scale shipyard, building many ships over the next decades.⁶³

The numbers of young people attached to the College were already considerable: in 1809 84 were listed, to whom were added the 98 *iungi* seconded from Kronshtadt. It is not clear how early the training programmes had started: as we have seen, Kirk had reported in 1808 that some of 'our boys' who had become 'very usefull' had been taken for redeployment elsewhere in the Admiralty. Other apprentices were sent to the College in small numbers from time to time. A cohort of 78 youths 'from the military-orphan sections' arrived at the Panoptical Institute in 1813.⁶⁴

Traversay took further organisational measures with the newly commissioned College. One of the innovations of the 1802 Committee for the Improvement of the Fleet was the creation (1805) of a new 'Admiralty Department' to have charge of naval scientific and building matters.⁶⁵ Loginov was a member. Hitherto the Panoptical Institute had stood directly under the Minister; now, as an educational and training institution, it was assigned to the 'scholarly section' (*uchënaia chast'*) of the new Department. Further communications with the Minister would now pass through the Admiralty Department.⁶⁶ Loginov reported this change of jurisdiction in his letter to Bentham of October 1809, adding 'And so now your instructions will scarcely have any effect'.

At the same time Loginov had sent in to the Admiralty a proposal for a Modelling Workshop (*model'naia masterskaia*) to be set up in the College. Peter the Great had brought back from his Grand Embassy the British navy's practice of making models of new ships,⁶⁷ and from Peter's time (1709) the Russian navy had maintained a special Model Chamber (*model'-kamera*), archiving and exhibiting models of Russian ships. From the 1780s, however, this practice had increasingly fallen into disuse.⁶⁸ The creation in 1805 of a new Admiralty Museum attached to the Department and incorporating the Model Chamber brought the matter to the fore once more. Loginov's purpose now was to renew systematic model-making and transfer model production to the College. Traversay asked for an opinion from the Department, which decided that this was necessary: models of all ships and other objects could be made in the Panoptical Institute for the Admiralty Museum. Responsibility for the Modelling Workshop should be given to the Director of Shipbuilding, Major-General Brun de Ste Catherine, a member of the Department; it should be set up in the College, which should also supply needful instruments and materials.⁶⁹

This proposal was confirmed by the Minister for action; but the immediate results were meagre. In 1812 the Admiralty Department's attention was drawn back to it again. In reply to its query, Brun de Ste Catherine stated that pressure of many other works at Okhta had left no time for model-making.⁷⁰ The official in charge of models in the Admiralty Museum, Assistant Director Glotov, reported that when he had taken over the Model Chamber, it held no plans of any ships built since 1800, and that since the Chamber was placed under the Admiralty Department in 1809 not a single plan had been received. In fact, he wrote complainingly, the Museum should be receiving plans and models of all relevant naval objects and buildings, something which could easily be done if existing workers and resources were brought together in one place.⁷¹

As a result, a model-making workshop finally opened at the Panoptical Institute in February 1814. It was attached to the shipyard and headed by the yard's director, Benjamin Stuckey; its nine staff comprised three *iungi* from the College, four sent from the Military Orphanage, and two carpenters who had previously worked in the Admiralty model shop. First efforts were directed to making models of ships built at the Okhta yard. In September 1818 the official in charge reported that the nine modellers had learnt a great deal, and Stuckey was awarded a bonus. But the models produced had not yet found their way to the Admiralty Department, and by this time the workshop had been put out of action by the Panoptical Institute fire. The Department decided to cut its losses and for the moment merely instructed Glotov to have existing models repaired,⁷² but in the final redistribution of Institute functions model-making was apparently reassigned to Glotov in the Museum, and the workshop subsequently became an effective production site for the models required by the Admiralty, creating 'accurate and elegant' miniatures of Russian naval craft.⁷³

This operation is of interest because the Admiralty Museum soon became one of the sights of St Petersburg for technically minded visitors to the Imperial capital, and its models were singled out for praise. Under Alexander I the Admiralty Quarter underwent major and impressive rebuilding. The British naval surgeon James Prior, who visited in 1814, noted:

The Admiralty begins at one end of Isaac's Place on the bank of the river, and extends over a considerable space of ground, the church facing the end of the Grand Perspective. Formerly this front was somewhat neglected and mean; at present, though not quite finished, it is grand and imposing in the extreme, fit for the first, instead of the fourth, maritime state in Europe, and altogether worthy of a city of palaces and splendid public works.⁷⁴

The medical doctor A. B. Granville, a somewhat later (1827) visitor and an acquaintance of Samuel Bentham, was similarly impressed by the Admiralty Museum:

Passing from this gallery into the suite of rooms which range in front of the [Admiralty] building, beginning from the centre and proceeding towards its eastern termination, I found them neatly fitted up with a variety of objects of great interest connected with tactical, political and physical navigation, forming a most appropriate and unique museum for such an establishment. ...

The seventh room presented one of the most complete series of models of large vessels of different constructions: and among others, that of a carriage-vessel invented by General Bentham, in which he went, while in the Russian service, and under the auspices of the great Potemkin, from St Petersburg to the Amour.

Granville was pleased to be able to express his admiration for Samuel at length, recalling particularly his innovative ship designs (which refers here to the experimental vessels he built for the British Admiralty after his first return from Russia, in 1795) and his ship-carriage:⁷⁵

He is the inventor, among other things, of those large schooners carrying 16- or 18-pound carronades, which had a moveable keel, and were calculated to navigate in shallow waters, like flat-bottomed vessels. In one of these, the Millbrook, I sailed for some time, and I can bear witness to her superiority over any other schooner in the service. The great weight of metal which she was able to carry, with a crew as small as a common ten-gun brig, and no more, enabled one of her commanders to defeat a French frigate, which had attacked the Millbrook while at anchor off Oporto. ...

General Sir Samuel Bentham is as much attached to naval tactics and construction now, though advanced in years, as he was when in the vigour of youth. I have, with great delight, conversed with him on the subject of his carriage-ship,⁷⁶ and his journey through deserts, over ridges of mountains, and across some of the largest rivers in Russia, with no other accommodation than was afforded by that identical machine, a model of which is very properly preserved in the Admiralty Museum and which either served as a boat or a carriage, as occasion required

Granville equally admired the Admiralty library, which had undergone transformation with the rest of the facilities. (An inspection in 1812 had found it in cramped quarters, littered with disordered books and thick with dust,⁷⁷ and it had been transferred to the Museum.)

After paying a visit to the map-room ... we passed into the great council-chamber, in which is a full-length portrait of the reigning monarch; and admired the *Bibliothèque*, rich in naval works, recently formed and placed in its present grand and imposing situation, we took leave of our polite and very affable conductors, ... pleased with and instructed by what we had seen. I have of necessity mentioned

but the smallest part of the collections contained in this establishment; nor would a thick volume be sufficient to enumerate one by one the thousand objects we observed; but this I may freely and most fully assert, that for order, neatness, methodical arrangement, and, above all, for the most scrupulous cleanliness observed in every part, the interior of this (and I may add here, once for all, of every other) public building which I have seen, appeared to me equal, and in many cases to be superior, to the best establishments for public service in England, and still more so when compared with similar or analogous institutions in other countries.⁷⁸

Both Prior and Granville visited the Smol'nyi *communauté des demoiselles*, but neither had anything to say about the Panoptical Institute which had stood opposite it across the river.⁷⁹

In the ten years of its working existence the Institute appears largely to have answered the Admiralty's requirements, although – perhaps because of destruction of records during the fire – information on the working of its principal teaching programmes is sparse. Its field of operation and its workforce expanded. In 1814 additional building work was required to enlarge the Institute's baking capacity, 'because of the increase of different units (*komandy*) attached to it', and to make available greater storage space for the work-teams (*arteli*).⁸⁰ In 1816 Edwards organised production of writing paper at the Institute: the Admiralty Department hoped to make considerable cost savings. Machines were ordered from Wilson and the Izhora Foundry and in January 1817 the appointment of a professional paper-maker, Stepan Lodygin from the neighbouring township of Sofiia, to teach the workmen (*masterovykh liudei*) placed the enterprise on a viable footing.⁸¹ In the same year 1816 Loginov obtained pay rises for his three senior administrative staff to reward their 'excellent zeal' in running the Institute and managing the 560 personnel (*sluzhiteli*) now attached to it.⁸²

Then on 15 March 1818 disaster struck. That morning the Admiralty received a report addressed to Traversay, 'Concerning a fire'. 'Today at 1.30 a.m.', it said, 'a fire was observed from the Admiralty spire, and on investigation it turned out that the state enterprise (*kazënnyi zavod*) on the Great Okhta was burning; of which I have the honour to inform Your Excellency.'⁸³ As the subsequent official investigation discovered, a beam had caught fire in the forge, and the 'state enterprise' had burned to the ground.

The very next day the Minister, concerned that there should be no slackening of production ('especially of compasses'), ordered the Admiralty Department to determine and take action on what work and people from

the Institute could be transferred to the Izhora Foundry and the Main Admiralty, 'even if with some overcrowding in the first instance': if possible nobody should remain idle. The Department was also to decide what temporary workshops were needed for the ship-building at Okhta: 'in a word, to seek out and take measures to replace the workshops destroyed by the fire'.⁸⁴ Loginov's report to Traversay, received the day after, was more concerned with salvage and loss and the safety of his people. The financial funds and ledgers had been saved, but all documents relating to the Institute administration (*kantseliariia*) had burned. Nobody from the Institute or the Instruments Workshop had died, and none had disappeared without trace. An exception noted was Molchanov, serviceman of the security (*kommissionernyi*) battalion who was on guard duty with the funds in the Institute office; he had thrown himself out of a fifth-floor window, survived but was injured and had been sent to the naval hospital. Loginov listed the numbers of each unit (*komanda*) housed in the Institute (total 1,908 persons) and the items saved. Along with other managers, Mechanic Edwards had reported on the fate of his instrument workshop: 85 items were listed as saved, including the dividing engine, but everything else, 'things, materials, instruments', had gone, because 'the building was suddenly engulfed in flame'. Other reports confirmed that the record files of the Institute and of other training branches were also lost.⁸⁵

The Admiralty Department responded promptly to Traversay's peremptory enquiry: all the workshops and their personnel, it determined, should be transferred lock, stock and barrel to the Izhora Works, whose director should take immediate steps to accommodate them. Temporary workshops were not required at Okhta because the ship-building processes could be housed in buildings which had escaped the fire. Traversay signed off the decision on 20 March. Wilson from the Izhora plant at Colpino sent acknowledgement on 2 April: preparations were in hand to house the transferees, and he would shortly come to meet Traversay personally.⁸⁶ There were, however, no positions available at Colpino for the four most senior College administrators. But Loginov gave them excellent references, and eventually all were found alternative places in the naval administration, at the same salary as before.⁸⁷

An unheaded note in the Admiralty file dated 25 June 1818 records the result of the investigation into the fire and the subsequent reorganisation, which marked the final demise of the building:

A strict investigation into the guilty party in the former fire at the Panoptical Institute on the Okhta did not discover anybody. The fire was the result of a beam catching fire in the forge; when the workers left it,

the fire in the furnaces had been quenched. The loss from the fire, together with that of personal possessions, amounts to the sum of 513,000r. All the workshops, and the workers, previously located in this institution were transferred soon after to the Admiralty's Izhora works, so as not to stop the production of items necessary for ship-building.⁸⁸

Description and context

Philip Steadman has made a masterly analysis of the problems inherent in Jeremy Bentham's 1791 Panopticon design.⁸⁹ He has also brilliantly reconstructed the architecture of the St Petersburg Panoptical Institute or College of Arts, and of later panoptical buildings (Figure 4.1),⁹⁰ using materials published both by Jeremy and Samuel and by Mary Bentham, as well as the plan reproduced here (Figure 4.2) which dates from 1810.⁹¹ In 1814 Loginov was required to draw up a full description of the Okhta building,

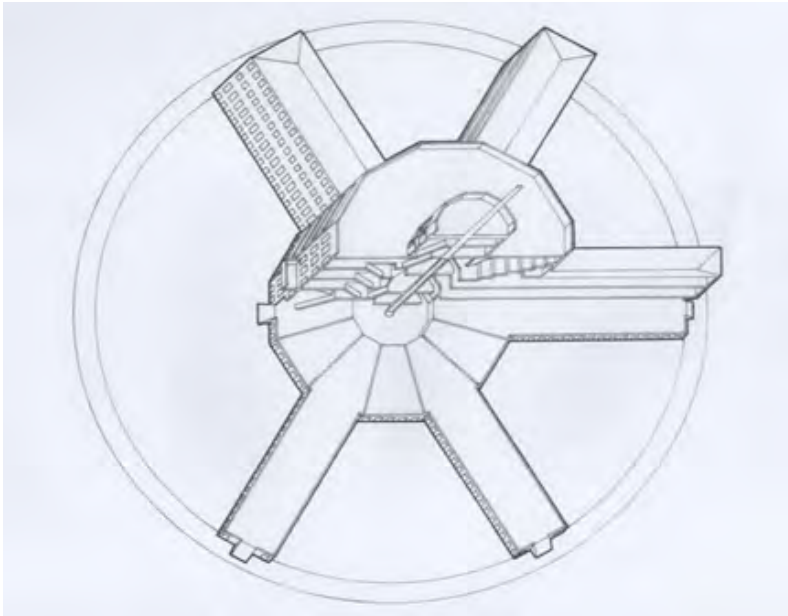


Figure 4.1 School of Arts in St Petersburg, reconstruction: cut-away bird's-eye view. Drawing by Philip Steadman, with his kind permission. For Steadman's full investigation see *Journal of Bentham Studies* 14 no. 1 (2012), 1–30.

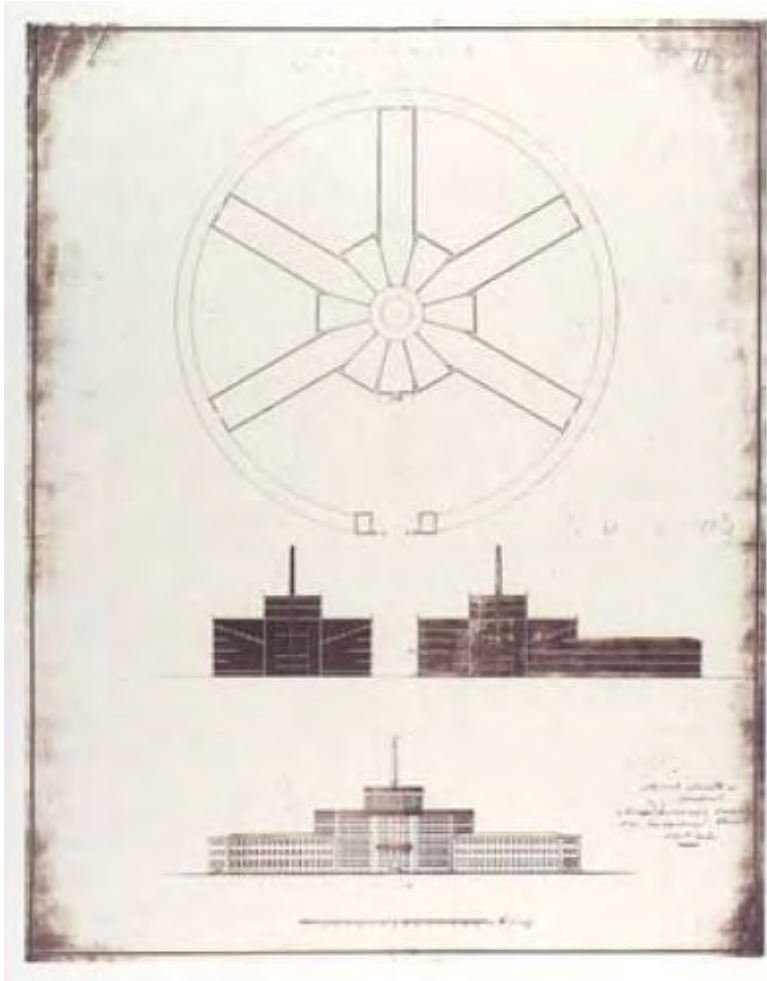


Figure 4.2 ‘Ground plan, façade and section of the Panoptical Institution on the Great Okhta’, 1810. The only known image of the St Petersburg College of Arts. No full pictorial representation has been found. Author’s collection, from RGAVMF, f. 326, op. 1, d. 10043, План, фасад и профиль Паноптического Заведения на Большой Охте, 1810ого года. Reproduced by kind permission of the Director of the Russian State Archive of the Navy.

which provides unique detail; it can be supplemented by the 'Description of the Panopticon at Okhta' published by Mary Bentham in 1849.⁹²

The main corpus of the College of Arts was a 12-cornered block, about 43 m (20 *sazhen'*) in diameter, from which radiated five wings or rays (*fligeli*), each 32 m (15 *sazhen'*) long and 8.5 m (4 *sazhen'*) wide. There were five floors in the main block, and a basement, providing subterranean exits; the wings were divided into three floors. Galleries ran round the inner wall of the central block, connecting to staircases which ran up through all floors. The first floor was stone or brick up to a height of 90 cm; above that construction was in wood, weather-proofed with pitch-laden oakum or hemp. The main entrance had a perron; on the right of the entrance was a small chamber and staircase, on the left a small chamber with a stove-bench (sleeping accommodation) for the porter. Other chambers in upper storeys gave further separate sleeping accommodation, presumably for officials. Not far from the main building (and not shown on the plan) were constructed a kitchen, with 12 stoves, a refectory, bakery, laundry, brewery for kvas, and a steam-bath and ice-house, and there was also accommodation in separate houses for both the inspector and the security staff. A canal, 190 m (88 *sazhen'*) long, connected the complex with the Neva and with other buildings supporting the College's ship-building exercises. The machine wing housed the 20-h.p. steam engine imported from England by Bentham, in its own special side-building. It drove saws and lathes on several floors of its wing, for sawing timber, cutting, grinding, polishing metal and instruments, and rolling copper sheets (*pliuschil'naia mashina*). The machine wing also housed the forge and a copper-casting shop, with suitable furnaces. There was a steam hammer, and in addition the engine powered water pumps to raise water to the Institute's water tank, through metal piping.

The central feature of the main building was a viewing 'pillar' or shaft (*zritel'nyi stolb*), according to Mary Bentham 3 feet 4 inches in diameter, the vantage point from which central supervision could be exercised. It ran from top to bottom of the building, and was constructed by walling in the space between four cast-iron columns (*stoiki ili kolony*). As Loginov's account explained, 'the cast-iron columns are in general boarded up on all floors with wood in the form of a circular pillar, with frequent round holes of a set size to allow surveillance throughout the building, which is why it is called a "viewing pillar"'.⁹³ Within the viewing pillar 'there has been made a machine for lowering and raising to whatever storey is required, and doors [for it] have been made on each floor',⁹⁴ an early form of lift. The building also had a suitably vast number of windows and glass window-panes, which were counted in a special

separate register: in all the buildings on the site there was a total of 32,338 panes of glass.

Communication from the central inspection chamber was achieved by means of speaking tubes. The building had its own heating, using the efficient stoves invented by Strutts of Belper and a hot-air circulation system which seems to be the one that Jeremy and Samuel had elaborated while working on the plans of the abortive London Panopticon. It had its own water supply and drainage arrangements: the water tank already mentioned, lead-lined and with its own overflow pipe, fed a system of lead piping running throughout the building and supplied with copper or brass taps. Waste water drained through wooden pipes into the river Okhta. The toilets (*nuzhnye mesta*), placed in twos at the end of wings and at other strategic points in the building, were supplied with the imported 'faience vessels' (*faiansovye sudna*) for the greater comfort of their users. Most parts of the central building were plastered, and internal walls were whitewashed; the bannisters of the staircases were painted black. The external colour was principally yellow, together with white and dark grey. The land belonging to the Panoptical Institute was fenced off with a high fence of small squared beams (*brushchatyi palisad*), which was also painted yellow.

In the 1818 fire the central building was destroyed completely, after which it was not renewed: evidently the cost and trouble were considered too great, and the authorities simply reassigned its various functions to other works belonging to the Admiralty, principally the Izhora Foundry. As we have seen, total construction costs were given as 436,117r. 75¼k., total fire loss 513,000r. After the fire, various adjustments were made to the surviving outbuildings. The kitchens, which had stood apart from the main building, were converted to a drawing and joinery workshop.⁹⁵ The site, however, remained open: various uses for it were mooted in the following years: sawmill, smithy, barracks, coal store; the plan shown here for wooden barracks to be built on its foundations received Imperial approval in 1822 (Figure 4.3).⁹⁶

The Okhta School of Arts or Panoptical Institute apparently worked successfully as a training institution. Our sources provide little information on how effective it was in disciplining and moulding its pupils: as noted, Kirk's complaint about the difficulty of controlling the unpaid students might seem to call into question the entire panoptical concept. However, the authorities appear to have been satisfied with its performance, and Mary Bentham insisted on its success in practice as a site for teaching and supervision.⁹⁷ The basic approach embodied in the concept and the building meshes with such diverse features of Alexander I's reign as his educational reform and his military colonies.⁹⁸

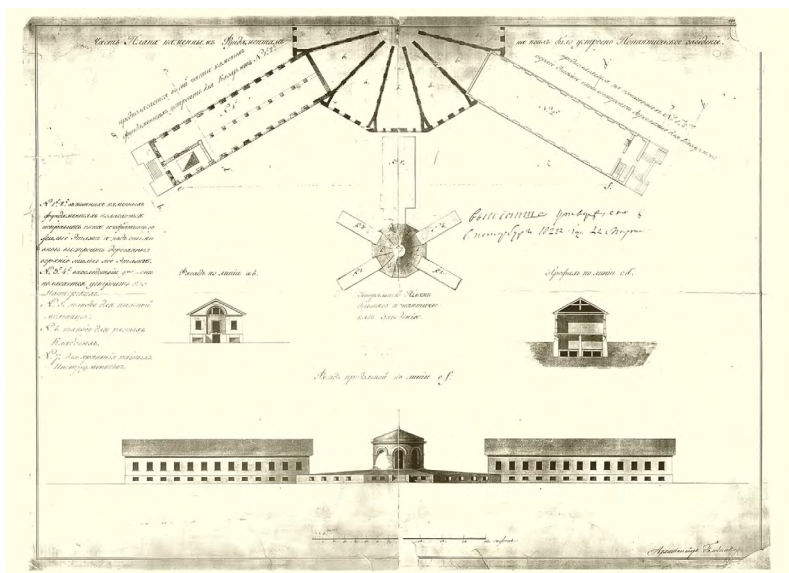


Figure 4.3 Part of the plan of the stone foundations on which was built the Panoptical Institution. After the burning down of the Panoptical Institution, various uses were made of or suggested for the site. This 1822 document proposed using the two wings shown as foundations for barracks; the proposal received official approval, but it is unclear whether the proposal was implemented. Author's collection, from RGAVMF, f. 326, op. 1, d. 10042 (1822), Часть Плана каменным фундаментам, на коих было устроено Паноптическое заведение. Reproduced by kind permission of the Director of the Russian State Archive of the Navy.

The St Petersburg Panopticon also belongs in the history of Russian education. It was a technical boarding-school, providing board, lodging and training to its inmates. It is not clear from the descriptions of the building exactly how the work and teaching was organised:⁹⁹ the building's shape, of course, suggests rational organisation of activity in separate locations all connected to a directing centre. Nor do we have any systematic reports on teaching activities and the standards and results achieved. Living quarters for the apprentices were apparently in the main building; as noted, the kitchens, laundry, bakery, brewery and so on were built separately nearby. Our sources give only glimpses of how the apprentices were treated in practice, but they were subject to the formal rules drawn up in 1806 governing the maintenance of cadets (*iungi*) in the St Petersburg port, rules which on paper at least are impressively

humane. Standard texts on education under Alexander neglect technical and military provision.

When the building burned in 1818, news of its destruction reached the English press. The April 1818 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* carried a slightly garbled 'extract of a letter from St. Petersburg', dated 28 March (NS):

The Panopticon, a large wooden building, five stories high, which lay out of the city on the other side of the Neva, has been a prey to the flames. This building was erected only a few years ago, after a very ingenious plan, and as workshops for many branches of the marine. It was also used as a barracks for sailors. It was capable of containing 3000 persons. The architect of this building was the English General Bentham. In the lowest story was the steam-engine by which all the machinery was put in motion. Unhappily, some of the workmen have perished in this dreadful fire, which broke out in the forge, in the lower story, and rapidly communicated to other parts of the building.¹⁰⁰

This report was carried by other London papers, and also picked up in the provincial press.¹⁰¹

Samuel, living in France at the time, wrote over-optimistically to Jeremy:

You will have seen from the Newspapers I suppose that poor Panopticon near Petersbourg has been burnt down, but as I hear it has excited much regret among the Russians I will flatter myself that it will be built up again with more durable materials. The Emperor from the first expressed his regret that it was built of wood.¹⁰²

News of the disaster in Russian media by contrast is more difficult to find: there seems to have been a curious silence on the building and on the fire.¹⁰³ Under Alexander I the Admiralty Quarter of St Petersburg underwent large-scale rebuilding; the Panopticon was a notable element in this renewal. Yet it is singularly absent not only from the standard histories of Russian education, but also from accounts of St Petersburg architecture and of the city itself. In fact the Panoptical Institute apparently does not appear at all in contemporary descriptions and depictions of St Petersburg. Georgii Georgievich Priamurskii, a St Petersburg local historian who studied the Panopticon,¹⁰⁴ searched for references to it in diaries and descriptive literature, and in the artistic depictions of the time. This was a new government building, sanctioned

by the Tsar himself, large-scale, striking, exceptional, innovative and expensive, but it is apparently not mentioned by any diarist or travel writer. And among the dozens of paintings and engravings of St Petersburg from the period, Priamurskii discovered no pictorial trace of it, either. The nearest representations found are two city plans. One, of 1808 – perhaps rather early for cartographers to understand the new building – shows the former Nienshants fortress and a building shape within it similar to the Panopticon: the key calls this structure ‘newly built workshops’.¹⁰⁵ The second, of 1817, also shows a panoptical shape inside the fortress, but calls this a ‘gun factory’ (*fabrique de fusils*).¹⁰⁶ Thus Samuel Bentham’s St Petersburg Panopticon apparently lived and died unrecorded by the Russian chroniclers of contemporary St Petersburg life.

Notes

- 1 See note 105 below. Chichagov sent S. R. Vorontsov in London a summary account of Samuel’s failed mission and willingness to build a Panopticon, and added that Bentham had selected the location himself: ‘The site he has chosen is outside the city, five versts distant, on a very high place, opposite the Community of young ladies. There will be only the river to cross to propagate the sciences, the arts and agreeable talents.’ [L’emplacement qu’il a choisi est hors de la ville, à cinq verstes, sur un endroit très-élevé, vis-à-vis de la Communauté des jeunes demoiselles. Il n’y aura que la rivière à traverser pour propager les sciences, les arts et les talens agréables.] AKV XIX, 163–4.
- 2 Many archival documents concerning the St Petersburg Panopticon are listed in *OdAMM*. The centenary history of the Naval Ministry includes a brief but accurate account of it: Ogorodnikov, *Istoricheskii obzor razvitiia i deiatel’nosti Morskogo Ministerstva: za sto let ego sushchestvovaniia (1802–1902 gg.)*, 43–4.
- 3 Rosslyn, ‘5 May 1764: The foundation of the Smol’nyi Institute’.
- 4 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2866, ll. 1–16; Mansurov, *Okhtenskii Admiralteiskie Seleniia*, I, 85–7.
- 4 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2867, ll. 13–19, ‘Concerning the Panoptical Institute’, assent 28 June 1806; *OdAMM*, IX, 594; copy in BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 181–91v; reproduced in translation in *Appendix II*. On the cost: Mansurov, *Okhtenskii*, I, 87–90.
- 5 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2866, ll. 16–20. Kovrov remained on the Panopticon staff, becoming manager of a new instrument workshop.
- 6 Ogorodnikov, *Istoricheskii obzor*, 64–70.
- 7 *1PSZ XXV (1798)*, 351–2, no. 18634; *XXVII (1803)*, 490–2, no. 20651; Usikh and Poliakh, *Vysshee voenno-morskoe inzhenernoe uchilishche im. F. E. Dzerzhinskogo*; RGAVMF, f. 434, ‘Morskoe inzhenernoe uchilishche (1787–1918 gg.)’, op. 1, introduction. Russian historians claim this as the first school of naval architecture in the world.
- 8 *1PSZ XXVIII*, 408–11, no. 21371, 29 June 1804.
- 9 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2867, l. 161 and *passim*: производство некоторых построений под распоряжением Бригадира Бентама предлагаемых для общественных заведений.
- 10 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2866, ll. 21–5; Mansurov, *Okhtenskii*, I, 89. The land purchase price of 16,000r. was also taken from this sum, which in addition was to cover Bentham’s salary of 2,500r. per month. It should be noted that the figures and statistics given in the various records and cited here often do not tally with each other. Source of funding: RGIA, f. 383, op. 29, d. 273, l. 15, Finance Minister Vasil’ev to Kochubei, 17 October 1806; the money was assigned to Bentham once again ‘для некоторых построений для общественных заведений’. On colonists see Bartlett, *Human Capital*.
- 11 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2867, ll. 150–3; d. 2878, ll. 3ob.–4ob.
- 12 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2878, ll. 3ob.–4ob.

- 13 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2868, ll. 1–9.
- 14 RGAVMF, f. 212, op. 8, d. 366 (1818–20).
- 15 Mansurov, *Okhtenskie*, I, 89.
- 16 RGAVMF, f. 212, op. Kants. III otd., d. 165 (flag fabric ll. 91–92ob.).
- 17 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2867, ll. 67, 174–5 and passim.
- 18 Mansurov, *Okhtenskie*, I, 90.
- 19 BC VII, 372–3, no. 1901, SB to JB, 7 September OS 1806.
- 20 BC VII, 384–5, no. 1907, SB to JB, 29 September OS 1806.
- 21 BC VII, 387–90, no. 1908, MB to JB, October–November 1806.
- 22 BC VII, 384–5, no. 1907, SB to JB, 29 September OS 1806.
- 23 BC VII, 387–90 and note, no. 1908, MB to JB, October–November 1806.
- 24 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2867, l. 97: Account to 26 March; ll. 100–1: Memorandum: how much and what has been done and is still to be done in the Panoptical Construction, with an indication of how much money is needed to complete the building, 27 April 1807.
- 25 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2867, ll. 107–16; 178–80, 181, 190–198ob.; Mansurov, *Okhtenskie*, I, 90.
- 26 BL Add. MS 33544, Kirk to SB, Ochta, 16 March 1808.
- 27 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2869, ll. 14–14ob., Loginov report, 27 March 1808. The itemised account (ll. 15–15ob.) includes notable overheads: it shows 502r. 12½k. for iron, 342r. 31½k for workers' pay, food, equipment and uniforms, and further charges for the works hospital, labour supervision and factory upkeep: 'for the hospital @ 1½% 5r. 13¼k., to the craftsman-supervisor @ 20% of workers' wage 68r. 46¼k, on upkeep of the works @ 10% 91r. 65¾k' [na gospital' po 1½% 5r.13¼k., ... za prismostr masteru po 20% na platu rabochikh 68r. 46¼k, na sodержanie zavoda po 10% 91r. 65¾k], total 1008r. 22½k.
- 28 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2900, l. 70. Salvaged items were valued at 74,092r. 58¼k., giving a final loss in the fire of 362,024r. 17½k.
- An 1809 account submitted by Loginov had given a total figure for allocated funds up to the 'completion' of 268,221r. 32½k, most of it spent; 2,867r. 1¼k remained in hand: d. 2869, ll. 22–26ob., April 1809. According to this account Bentham spent 91,419r. 43¼k. on the building to 1 September 1807, and incurred 40,396r. 52k in other expenses, which does not explain his pleas for further funds during 1807. 'Completion' of the works under Loginov is shown as taking a further 114,636r. 56½k., with other expenses adding another 6,973r. 15¼k.
- 29 RGAVMF f. 212, op. Kants. III otd., d. 165, 38–88; f. 166, op. 1, d. 2868, ll. 1–9.
- 30 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2867, ll. 243–61, letters from London, 17 and 21 December 1807; d. 2868, ll. 155–6ff.
- 31 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 99; Coats, 'The block mills', 65.
- 32 Punin, *Arkhitektura Peterburga serediny XIX veka*, 105–7.
- 33 BL Add. MS 33544, f. 369. Kirk's previous letter is apparently not preserved.
- 34 On Armstrong, another of Gascoigne's assistants, and the St Petersburg (later famous Putilov) foundry, see Cross, 'By the Banks of the Neva', 252, 255, 260.
- 35 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2868, ll. 10–11, 16–16ob., 32, 42–3, 103–5, 140.
- 36 BL Add. MS 33544, f. 369v, 1 August 1808. Mary Bentham also commented on the 50 apprentices redeployed, probably on the basis of this statement: Mary Sophia Bentham, 'On the application of the Panopticon, or central inspection principle of construction to manufactories, academies, and schools', *Mechanics' Magazine, Museum, Register, Journal and Gazette*, 50 (January–June 1849), 297, reproduced in [Appendix II](#).
- 37 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2868, l. 113, 9 April 1809; d. 2870, ll. 24–6, 28 May 1809.
- 38 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2871, 'Concerning the taking from the Helmsman's School into the Panoptical Institution of 100 cadets [*iungov*], their maintenance, et al.' The Russian terminology to describe the College's students uses *uchenik* 'pupil' and *masterovoi* 'craftsman', both of which I have usually rendered 'apprentice', and also *iung*, 'ship's boy' or 'sea cadet' in English dictionaries. *Iungi* were children (10–15 years) who were caught up in the regular recruiting levies which supplied manpower to the Russian armed forces, or orphans or sailors' children who came into the system at a young age. This term is translated here, imperfectly, as 'cadet'. Special helmsman's schools were set up for them at Kronshtadt and elsewhere.
- 39 Amburger, *Geschichte der Behördenorganisation Russlands von Peter dem Grossen bis 1917*, 354. It was about this time that Jeremy Bentham first made direct contact with Chichagov: BC VIII, 29–31, no. 2045, JB to Chichagov, 20 April/5 May 1809.

- 40 RGAVMF, f. 215, op. 1, d. 1044/12892, September–October 1809, ‘Concerning the financing of the Panoptical Institute and the review of the question about the rules for maintenance in it of cadets’; d. 1045/12898, November 1809–January 1810, ‘Concerning reception into the Panoptical Institute of officials, NCOs and sailors to supervise the cadets’; d. 1046/12894, ‘Concerning prohibition of granting leave or assigning to other units of sailors or cadets of the Panoptical Institute’.
- 41 RGAVMF, f. 215, op. 1, d. 1044, ll. 10–13: *Pravila o prieme i soderzhanii molodykh rekrut v portakh*, also printed in *1PSZ XXIX*, 432–5, no. 22207, 12 July 1806.
- 42 RGAVMF, f. 212, op. 1, Kants. II otd., f. 469/166, xi–xii. The local Okhta community included a large group of carpenters attached to the state Theatrical Directorate.
- 43 RGAVMF, f. 212, op. 1, Kants. III otd., d. 80, ll. 477, 481–91; f. 166, op. 1, d. 2871, ll. 14–24.
- 44 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2871, ll. 26–35.
- 45 Appendix II, ‘Concerning the Panoptical Institute’.
- 46 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2870, ll. 3–20, 20–3, 11 and 13 March 1809.
- 47 Cross, *‘By the Banks of the Thames’*, 188–9.
- 48 I am grateful to Professor Will Ryan for help with technical naval terms.
- 49 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2870, ll. 29–35; f. 215, op. 1, d. 1049/12897, January 1809–February 1812, ll. 129: ‘Concerning the retirement of the principal craftsman of the sea-going, physical and mathematical instrument workshops Shishorin and the appointment in his place of mechanic Riches’; Akhmatov, ‘Masterskaia morekhodnykh instrumentov pri Glavnom Hidrograficheskome Upravlenii’, 2.
- 50 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2869, l. 112. On the Admiralty Department see below.
- 51 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2870, ll. 35–53.
- 52 Akhmatov, ‘Masterskaia’, 3; RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2885, ‘Re the sextant made at the P. I. by compass-master Afanas’ev and salary increase for certain P. I. officials’, 1813; d. 2897, ‘Concerning the preparation in the Panoptical Institute of a dividing engine and concerning materials for that and for other purposes’, 1817.
- 53 Akhmatov, ‘Masterskaia’, 1–3; Gorodkov, *Admiralteiskie Izhorskii Zavody*, 48–9.
- 54 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2888, ‘Concerning the appointment to the P. I. of mechanic Edwards for the perfecting of the items produced there, and concerning his release from service’, passim; Cross, *‘By the Banks of the Neva’*, 216.
- 55 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 445–8v, Loginov to SB, 10 October OS 1809; RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2869, 107–109ob., 5 October 1809.
- 56 Kvas is a traditional fermented drink made from rye bread, then widely drunk by the Russian lower classes, as was ‘small beer’ in Britain.
- 57 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2878, l. 3ob.; Mansurov, *Okhtenskie*, I, 91.
- 58 The term translated here as inspector, *smotritel’*, literally means ‘supervisor’. No exact definition of the role is available.
- 59 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 369, 409.
- 60 ‘Инженмическое или дело машинное и для оногo принадлежацие инструменты.’
- 61 RGAVMF, f. 131, op. 1, d. 574.
- 62 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2869, ll. 109–109ob.; f. 131, op. 1, d. 1013, ‘Re construction on the Okhta at the P. institution of the 16-gun schooner “Arrow” and 12-gun cutter “Herald”, 1809–13.
- 63 Krasko, ‘Stukkei (Stoke)’; *RBS*, vol. Smelovskii–Suvorina, 435–6; ‘Okhtinskaia verf’; *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*, no. 220, 24 November 2006, 5, a review of a retrospective exhibition about the shipyard. See also Priamurskii and Trofimov, ‘Letopis’ okhtenskoi admiralteiskoi verfi’.
- 64 RGAVMF, f. 131, op. 1, d. 512, ‘Re assignment of 78 pupils of the military-orphan sections to the Panoptical Institute’, 1813.
- 65 Amburger, *Behördenorganisation*, 350; *1PSZ XXVIII*, 935–70 (959–67), no. 21699, 4 April 1805.
- 66 RGAVMF, f. 215 (Admiralty Department), op. 1, d. 1043/12891, October–December 1809, ‘Materials concerning the transfer of the Panoptical Institute to the jurisdiction of the Department and concerning the establishment of a modelling workshop at the Institute’.
- 67 The royal navy from the seventeenth century onwards insisted on scale models of all ships before construction of the real ship; the Marquis of Carmarthen, who hosted Peter in England, had a large collection of ship models. Peter was much impressed and acquired as many as he could, sending them back to Russia on the ship gifted to him, the *Royal Transport*: Ryan, ‘Peter the Great’s English yacht: Admiral Lord Carmarthen and the Russian tobacco monopoly’.

- 68 https://navalmuseum.ru/history/1730_1805 (accessed 20 March 2022); RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2508, July 1812–December 1823, Dep-t morskogo ministra, Uchënaia chast', 'Concerning a room for the Admiralty Dept. library; concerning the supply to the Admiralty Dept. museum of drawings, plans and models for all naval items worthy of attention; and concerning the modelling chamber'. The Naval Museum is a major contemporary depository; its current holdings include over 2,000 models of ships.
- 69 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2867, ll. 227, 237; http://www.navalmuseum.ru/history/1805_1827 (accessed 12 April 2022).
- 70 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2508, l. 91.
- 71 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2508, ll. 3–5ob.
- 72 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2508, ll. 90–7ob.
- 73 'Okhtinskaia verf'.
- 74 [Prior], *A Voyage to St. Petersburg in 1814, with Remarks on the Imperial Russian Navy: By a surgeon in the British Navy*.
- 75 In 1795 Bentham built two sloops of the same design, HMS *Dart* and HMS *Arrow*, two schooners, HMS *Eling* and HMS *Redbridge*, and two unique designs, HMS *Milbrook* and HMS *Netley*. *Milbrook* and *Netley* captured numerous French and Spanish privateers. Morris, *Science, 1793–1815*, chap. 4; Winfield, *British Warships in the Age of Sail 1793–1817*, 384–6. Bentham had also innovated very successfully at Kherson during Catherine II's Turkish war, when he also supported Russian privateering.
- 76 See Figure 3.1.
- 77 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2508, l. 1.
- 78 Granville, *St. Petersburg: A journal of travels to and from that capital*, II, 65.
- 79 Another British traveller of the period who visited Smol'nyi but was silent on the Panoptical Institute: James, *Journal of a Tour in Germany, Sweden, Russia, Poland, during the Years 1813 and 1814*, 263–6.
- 80 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2887, 'Concerning the carrying out of building works at the Panoptical Institute', 1814.
- 81 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2893, 'Concerning the setting up at the Panoptical Institute of a factory for making writing paper', 1816; op. 131, op. 1, d. 2122, 'Re preparation of presses, vats and rolling boxes for the paper-making institution ...', 1816–17.
- 82 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2895, 'Concerning addition of salary for the officials attached to the Panoptical Institute Nikonov, Ivanov and Voronov', 1816.
- 83 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2900, l. 1.
- 84 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2900, 'Concerning the Panoptical Institute which burned down and the transfer of the workers (*masterovykh*) attached to it to the Izhora Works', 1818, ll. 2-ob. Traversay also took energetic measures to investigate an alleged seditious remark about the fire by one of his subordinates: RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2900, ll. 4, 29–29ob.
- 85 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2900, ll. 5–9.
- 86 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2900, ll. 25–7, 53; Gorodkov, *Admiralteiskie izhorskie zavody*, 43–50.
- 87 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2901, 'Concerning distribution of officials formerly at the Panoptical Institute in various posts', 1818.
- 88 RGAVMF, f. 166, op. 1, d. 2901, l. 89. Jeremy later summed up his brother's Panopticon: *BC X*, 163, no. 2714: JB to Jose Joaquin de Mora, list of SB's deserts.
- 89 Steadman, 'The contradictions of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon penitentiary'.
- 90 Steadman, 'Samuel Bentham's Panopticon'; see further Steadman, *Building Types and Built Forms*.
- 91 RGAVMF, f. 326, op. 1, d. 10043; UCL Bentham Project, 'The St Petersburg Panopticon image': <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bentham-project/who-was-jeremy-bentham/panopticon/st-petersburg-panopticon-image> (accessed 21 March 2022).
- 92 RGAVMF, f. 171, op. 1, d. 75, ll. 18–36ob. See Appendix II, including Mary Sophia Bentham, 'On the application of the Panopticon', 295–7.
- 93 'Чугунные стойки вообще обшиту в виде круглого столба во всех этажах деревом с круглыми по размеру сделанными часто дурами для обозрения по всему зданию а потому и называется оной зрительным столбом.'
- 94 Loginov gave no measurements; Mary Bentham's figure of 3' 4" diameter seems rather narrow.
- 94 'зделана машина для спускания и поднятия в который этаж понадобится и в каждом этаже деланы двери.'

- 95 RGAVMF, f. 131, op. 1, d. 3296, 'Monthly reports of supervisor Ivanov on progress of conversion works for the burnt-out P. I.', 1818; f. 212, op. 8, d. 342, 'Re conversion after the fire of the P. I.'s kitchen to a drawing and joinery workshop'.
- 96 RGAVMF, f. 212, op. 8, d. 401; f. 409, op. 2-2, d. 6202; f. 326, op. 1, dd. 10042, 10044. Whether the barracks were actually built is unclear.
- 97 Mary Sophia Bentham, 'On the application of the Panopticon', 297.
- 98 On education see O'Meara, *The Russian Nobility*, chaps 3 and 4; on military colonies Pipes, 'The Russian military colonies, 1810–1831'; Bitis and Hartley, 'The Russian military colonies in 1826'.
- 99 See Mary Sophia Bentham, 'On the application of the Panopticon', Figure 3, which, however, is not wholly comprehensible and may not relate to the Petersburg Panopticon.
- 100 *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 88 (April 1818), 362–3.
- 101 *Baldwin's London Weekly Journal*, Saturday 2 May; *The British Press*, Saturday 25 April; *The Globe*, Friday 24 April; *Morning Post*, Saturday 25 April; *National Register*, Sunday 26 April; *Cheltenham Chronicle*, Thursday 30 April; *Nottingham Review and General Advertiser*, Friday 1 May (British Newspaper Archive).
- 102 *BC IX*, 202, no. 2482, SB to JB, 11 May 1818. Jeremy had already received regrets about the fire from J.-B. Say, the economist: *BC IX*, 193, no. 2478, 3 May 1818.
- 103 The only reference to the Panoptical Institute for the year 1818 in the prominent Russian newspaper *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*, which carried much government material, was an Admiralty advertisement in January–March 1818 for a contractor to empty the Institute toilets (repeated three times as required by regulations): <https://gpa.eastview.com/crl/irn/newspapers/stpn18180111-01.1.5>; <https://gpa.eastview.com/crl/irn/newspapers/stpn18180118-01.1.14>; <https://gpa.eastview.com/crl/irn/newspapers/stpn18180312-01.1.21> (accessed 21 March 2022).
- 104 Priamurskii, 'Peterburgskii Panoptikon'. I am grateful to Dr Priamurskii for sharing his research with me.
- In 1995 a Russian historian of St Petersburg architecture was much impressed with the plan of the Institute, which she found in the Naval Archive, likening it to constructivism; but she knew nothing of its history or of Samuel Bentham: Shtiglits, *Promyshlennaia arkhitektura Peterburga*, 62.
- 105 http://www.oldmap.org/map-peterburg_1808-a/ (accessed 21 March 2022): key no. 211: 'Бывший Ней-шанц и в оном вновь выстроенные мастерские'.
- 106 http://www.oldmap.org/map-peterburg_1817-plan/ (accessed 21 March 2022): key no. 232: 'Fabrique de fusils'.

5

Samuel Bentham: the final years

London and France

Samuel Bentham stayed in his new post of Navy Board Commissioner and Civil Architect until 1812. The office was then abolished and he was retired on a pension of £1,500 per annum.¹ Disillusioned with the naval administration and British politics, he decided to leave the country, moving his family to France, which also promised health benefits for him and educational opportunities for his sons. Chichagov, who had settled in England by choice, reacted to this in his reflective way:

We can't be together, because we agree almost in every thing, including that of disliking our countries, is it not strange that two people who so often think the same should get such a decided dislike of two diametrically opposite things, Russia and England. The one is the largest the other the smallest, the worst cultivated and the best, the most despotic and the least, the poorest in proportion the other the richest, etc etc., quite a contrast in every point and we should feel so different for them.²

So in 1814 the family moved to France, intending initially to spend 'two or three years' abroad.³ Chichagov in England had felt oppressed by the Aliens Act (1793), which restricted his movements and which had various incarnations: he added, 'I was nearly quarrelling with [England], but thank God the alien act is repealed and I was reconciled.' He asked insistently to be kept in touch while the Benthams were in France, but the Aliens Act nevertheless finally drove him out and he later followed them across the Channel.

During the unquiet and confused events surrounding Napoleon's Hundred Days Samuel and his family were peripatetic, moving about to avoid troubles, but after the final Allied victory they moved to Paris. Here they were able to renew Russian connections. George Bentham later recalled:

My father was now enjoying himself much, and especially in the society of many of his old friends. Count [Mikhail] Worontzoff, who commanded the Army of Occupation, was the son of one [Count Semën Vorontsov: RB] with whom my father had long been on the most intimate terms. The Duc de Richelieu, the Comte Langeron and the Comte de Damas had been my father's guests thirty years before on the Black Sea and, especially the Duke, were now very friendly. Count Ségur, who at the same time had been French Ambassador at the Court of the Empress Catherine, was particularly *empressé*; and though from his attachment to the fallen Emperor he was no longer of the dominant party, yet from his literary reputation, his amiable manners and easy position, his life, his house was the centre of gathering of all that was enlightened among the liberal society, with several of whom, such as Count Chaptal the chemist, Jean Baptiste Say the political economist, etc., my father was intimate. Admiral Tchichagoff, with whom my father had contracted a great intimacy during his last visit to Russia, was from this time an almost constant resident at Paris, since England had affronted him with its Alien-act arrangements.⁴

Such Russian friendships were of lasting duration and value, both to Samuel and to the children. A decade later, for instance, the Gagarin family, spending a winter in Paris, would invite the girls and George to join them in the French capital for two months; here they also found their half-sister, Samuel's natural daughter Elizabeth ('Lise') Gordon, who had been brought up as one of the Bentham family and had accompanied them to Russia in 1805 but had remained there as companion and governess to the Gagarins, and was now still part of their establishment in Paris.⁵ Letters of recommendation from Moscow brought the acquaintance of the Klustine family, come to France for their daughter's health, and with whom the Benthams remained on close terms for many years: one son was for a time engaged to Samuel's youngest daughter Sarah Jane. Another aristocratic connection which Samuel established or renewed at this time was with Mme de Calvière, the sister of Comte Armand-Emmanuel-Charles Guignard de Saint-Priest (1782–1863): Saint-Priest, a French émigré to Russia, was from 1812 to 1822 Civil

Governor of Cherson and Podolia province. Samuel reported in 1818 to Jeremy that his family were on 'most intimate terms' with the lady.⁶ The elder Vorontsov connection likewise remained very strong: George remarked after the family's return to England in 1826 that his father, rather than going out into London society, 'contented himself with quiet dinners at old Count Worontzow's and one or two other old intimates'.⁷

In the following years the family resided in various places in the south of France. In 1816 Samuel and Mary suffered a severe blow with the sudden death of their elder son.⁸ In 1819 Samuel's eldest daughter Mary Louisa was courted and married by the colonel of a regiment stationed in Toulouse, the Marquis de Chesnel (later, doubt arose as to the validity of his noble title). The suitor charmed his bride, was welcomed by her family, and satisfied the father as to his material assets. However, soon afterwards Samuel was unpleasantly surprised to receive an urgent request from his son-in-law for a large loan, raising the prospect that M. de Chesnel's position was not what he had given them to understand, and shortly afterwards Chesnel abandoned his now pregnant wife to her family and went 'off into Béarn'.⁹ In order to secure Mary Louisa's financial position by settling property on her, Samuel had already decided to invest in land in France. After wide searches, in 1820 the family finally moved to a large estate near Montpellier, the Château de Restinclières, where they lived for the next six years.¹⁰ Samuel sank his principal capital into the venture, intending to farm commercially with George. Jeremy Bentham commented to Chichagov (referring to his brother jokingly in the Russian form of first name and patronymic):¹¹

What think you of our Samuel-Ivanch? He is now completely Frenchified. He has bought and entered into possession of an Estate near Montpellier. It is called *Restinclières*: about 2,500 English acres (he says) from measurement: but about half of it is rock, fit for nothing but sheep walks. You heard, I suppose, in its day, of the marriage of his eldest daughter to a Marquis de Chesnel a young man about 29 Lieutenant Colonel then commanding the troops at Toulouse: there is already a daughter of three or four month old: but except that the fortune is secured, the marriage has not turned out as was expected: the young woman is with father and mother; and the husband I don't know where.

Samuel's turn to farming was a new departure quite outside his usual interests, although his wife was a great plantswoman and their son George would later become a most eminent botanist. He embarked upon

it with the same energy and innovative thinking that he habitually brought to his enterprises. He introduced new methods and machinery to his new property and created an irrigation system. (This, however, aroused the hostility of neighbouring farmers, who complained that he was depleting their water supply.) Farming also offered a possible solution to another problem which became actual around this time: how to deal with property in Russia which he had acquired many years before, his share in the Crimean estate of Black Valley.

The estate of Black Valley (Chërnaia Dolina)

While he was building the Panopticon in St Petersburg, in April 1807, Samuel received a letter from Mordvinov in Moscow. Mordvinov lamented the inefficiency of Russian agriculture and the inability of peasants to cope with the harvest in the all-too-short summer season (the Russian term commonly used was *stradnaia pora* ‘time of suffering’), and begged Samuel to invent mechanical means of harvesting the entire crop instead of having to leave much of it to waste in the fields. He also asked whether Samuel had duly received ‘the money from your domains’ [l’argent de vos domaines] and forwarded an additional payment of 415 roubles.¹² This is the first reference in the correspondence to Samuel’s land-holding in the Crimea. While serving at Kherson in the Russian navy during Catherine II’s second Russo-Turkish war of 1787–92, where (as we have seen) he had great success in arming a flotilla against the Turks, Samuel had joined with Mordvinov, then his base commander, and others – Major-General Fëdor Markov, Lieutenant-Colonel Balthasar Skadovskii – in funding a privateer. They clubbed together to enable a Greek sailor, Lambros Katsonis, to equip a ship at Trieste.¹³ Katsonis was extremely successful, and became the most famous or notorious of the several privateers operating on the Russian side of the conflict. His backers shared in his prize money.¹⁴ As Samuel subsequently explained to Mikhail Vorontsov, whose assistance he sought,

It was while I was occupied in equipping the flotilla that Admiral Mordvinov decided to support the enterprise of a Major Lambro, a Greek ship-owner, and got me as well as his brother-in-law to subscribe with him a sum of money designed to equip several warships which the Major was to direct on his own account against the Turks, of course with the provision that we should share with him in the resulting profits. He was so successful that he expanded the

number of his ships to 22 and with them inflicted great losses on the Turks, although by the end his fleet was so damaged that he had to put an end to his exploits. Nevertheless he had seized quite a sizeable booty, and from the profit on this [we] bought the estate of which the portion which fell [to me] is the subject of my present request.¹⁵

Mordvinov and his family were among the biggest Russian landowners, with estates in different provinces across European Russia, including the Crimea. The Mordvinov holding in the Baidar valley, in the Sudak–Yalta area of southern Crimea, became the subject of bitter complaint against its owner by former Tatar occupants of the land whom he or previous Russian proprietors had dispossessed: the land situation in the Crimea after its annexation by Russia in 1787 was complex, because covetous Russians took advantage of the fact that Tatar owners traditionally had no written documentation of their property. In this case the new landlord's ownership was upheld by the Russian administrative authorities.¹⁶

There were also complications and lawsuits with the estate of Black Valley (Chërnaia Dolina), which Mordvinov, Bentham and their syndicate acquired, on the north-west border of the Crimean peninsula. In 1818 Samuel explained to Jeremy:

I have just received a letter from Ct. Worontsoff dated Mauberg inclosing a letter from Mordvinoff giving me some little account of my *Crimean* Estate as he calls it though it appears to be situated between Cherson and Perekop. My portion of the estate is one sixth Mordvinoff having 2/3 and a Mr Scadosky the other 1/6 and to him the management is entrusted. The management of course very important: but as a separation of Scadosky's part is about to take place the separation of mine may also I suppose be effected in the process of time. The whole estate contains about 66 thousand dessiatines of which ten thousand are claimed by government as belonging to them as also 40 thousand Roubles for arrears of duty, lawsuit accordingly going on. Even supposing the contested land to be taken away there would still remain for my share upwards of twenty five thousand english acres. What this might be made worth I can form no idea but at any rate it seems worth looking after as I received two thousand roubles for my share of the last year's profits.¹⁷

The following year George Bentham sent a fuller description of the estate to his uncle:

You asked to have some account of my father's estate in the Crimea, this statement is extracted from the answers we received from Adml Mardwinoff, Mr St Priest governor of Cherson, and Count Worongoff [sic].

The land known by the name of Tchornaia Dolina consists of 64,276 dessiatines, there are on it 140 peasants according to Aml Mardwinoff, 161 according to Ct Woronzoff, it is situated in the middle of the desert of Perekop, on the great road from this town to Bereslaff, at 75 versts from Cherson, 15 from Bereslaff and 80 from Perekop. The soil is good but often dry, water is procured by wells and reservoirs for catching rain water. There are no trees, the principal productions are hay and corn of different kinds which require but little culture. There are no buildings but peasant houses built in clay. The value of ground in that country without peasants, is if it be near a town 2, 3 or 4 roubles a dessiatine if distant from any town it will not let sometimes for more than 50 copecks and farmers are not easily to be found; Peasants on a well directed land and under a good master are worth to him twice or three times as much as those of the rest of Russia. Workmen are very scarce and at an exorbitant price. The climate of the country is changeable, the summers are usually hot and dry the winters mild and damp though there are sometimes above 20° of cold (thermometer of Reaumur). The greatest accidents to be feared arise from the drought in summer, and from the snow-storms in November and March.

Tchornaia dolina is administered by M. Scadofsky under the name of Admiral Mardwinoff to whom belongs two thirds of it, a sixth belongs to my father and a sixth to Mr Scadowsky, whose portion is to be separated this year from the rest.¹⁸

Skadovskii ran the estate: evidently both Mordvinov and Bentham had been content to be *rentiers*, taking their share of profit without getting involved in its administration. In his 1807 letter Mordvinov said he was seeking a buyer for 'our co-property' [notre copropriété], because either the estate was not very productive or they were being defrauded by their stewards. Nothing came of this, and Skadovskii did not separate. Ten years later, in 1817, when the Benthams were in France, the question arose again, and Samuel tried to gather more details. He sent an enquiry to Mordvinov through Vorontsov; Mordvinov's reply reached him eight months later with essential information, but was rather pessimistic about the economic prospects of the estate:

Its name is Chornaia Dolina. We possess many desiatines, but we shall never be rich from this possession, because it is a commune, and your brother together with all experts in human affairs say flatly that a communal possession is of no great value.

Skadovskii had bought adjoining crown land and now wanted once again to separate out his share. Mordvinov wished to do likewise, so that he would be free to manage his larger portion by himself: Bentham should sell him his share, he wrote, then he (Bentham) would have no need of a steward hundreds of miles away and Mordvinov could invest in or divest himself of the property as he found best.¹⁹

Skadovskii's final decision to relinquish the management of Chërnaia Dolina meant that Bentham had to decide what to do with his holding: should he visit? Separate? Manage? Sell? He hoped that Mme de Calvière's brother Saint-Priest, on the spot, would be able to give him fuller information: he sent him a letter asking basic, detailed and wide-ranging questions about Chërnaia Dolina – its make-up, divisibility, value, financial state, products, climate – and about the costs of renting and living in Odessa. A reply came two months later: Saint-Priest wished to help, but had been unsuccessful with local enquiries. He needed more time to find information but was hopeful of doing so. The estate, he said, was in the same part of the Crimea as his own.²⁰ Bentham wanted the fullest information possible: he wrote to his brother (from Montauban, where the family were staying),

I hope by some means or other to obtain before I leave this place as good information as I can expect to acquire unless I were on the spot. Besides I shall probably send the same Queries to Ct Worontsoff who tells me that he also has thoughts of forming an Establishment in the Crimea. Since the Emperor has been to Odessa that seems to be the favorite part of his dominions, you would not be surprized if we were to be setting off next year for a visit to that part of the world.²¹

Mikhail Vorontsov was a very suitable person to call upon for assistance: he was now very highly placed in Russia. He had had an excellent war in 1812 and was commander of the Russian army of occupation in post-Napoleonic France; in 1823 he was appointed Governor-General of New Russia, the southern Black Sea littoral which included the Crimea. Later he became Commander-in-Chief of troops in the Caucasus, where Russia fought a long and brutal war against mountain peoples' insurgency; in 1845 he was made a Prince and Field Marshal. On a personal level he had a very warm

relationship with Samuel, and was most willing to help. Bentham duly sent a similar letter to Vorontsov. The latter forwarded copies to another friend, Count Louis Alexandre de Langeron, Military Governor of Kherson and New Russia, and sent back the answer of Langeron and a second, fuller one from Saint Priest, with a very cordial reply. Vorontsov wrote that all he himself knew about Chërnaia Dolina was that it was now a post station on the road to Perekop, and 'if properly looked after it must be of great profit'. He was also very taken with the idea of meeting Bentham and his family once again in southern Russia, where he hoped, he said, to form an establishment and build a house. '[T]he gigantic increase of prosperity and importance of that country' was going to make it increasingly popular, even with the Imperial family. 'The idea of meeting you in that country is the most agreeable one that could present itself to me.' He added, evidently in response to a worry expressed by Samuel about Jeremy's aggressive letter of 1815 to the Tsar, 'As for the scruples you seem to entertain about entering the Emperor's boundaries on account of your brother's correspondence, I really think they are quite unfounded': any Russian foreign envoy would at once supply a passport if asked.²²

Vorontsov did eventually build a mansion in the Crimea: the famous Vorontsov Palace, constructed in 1828–46 at Alupka on the Crimean coast, was designed by the English architect Edward Blore in a mixture of Scottish baronial and neo-Moorish styles.²³ In the nineteenth century the Crimea became the favourite watering place of the Imperial family and the aristocracy.

The alternative to managing and developing Chërnaia Dolina would be to sell up, as Mordvinov suggested, and realise the value of Bentham's land in Russia. But Mordvinov changed his mind about buying Samuel's share; Samuel would have to find another buyer. Here there was a problem. Only Russian noble subjects or non-subjects of equivalent state service rank were legally entitled to own populated land. Samuel's share stood under the name of Mordvinov; he had never taken out Russian citizenship ('subjecthood', *poddanstvo*) and had resigned from Russian state service in 1796. As George Bentham put it, 'No one may possess lands in Russia unless he be a Russian subject or unless he has an authorisation from the Emperor which happens seldom.'²⁴

Meanwhile Mordvinov fought a successful legal battle against the (unnamed) government minister who had been leading the lawsuit and claims on Black Valley to which Samuel had referred; in 1822 he reported:

I have succeeded in tearing our communal property from the hands of the cruel Minister who had held it confiscated for several years.

We are not entirely satisfied with the matter because the money which has been raised from our lands has not yet been returned to us. He employed every ill faith to make us wait for repayment until next year, and I'm afraid that even then his personal hatred of me may suggest to him some black idea of vengeance. We are owed more than forty thousand roubles. This hateful being had thought up a territorial levy, which had never existed in the Crimea and on which he was demanding payment for the last 40 years. This sum was demanded and I refused; and because of my refusal they confiscated the property. It was an act of violence, and we are now re-established in our rights; but our property has suffered much as a result. I have succeeded to the extent that the levy was not recognised and he is not permitted to demand it in future: because he intrigued a great deal to get it established on the lands of the Crimea. We have another court case, which involves a dispute over some ten thousand desiatines, and this dispute is equally unjust. The Minister attacks my properties because I find myself in a position in which I frequently attack his administration.²⁵

Now that the status of the land was more secure, Samuel finally decided to sell his holding, but the question of how to achieve the sale ran on over several years. Samuel sought Vorontsov's further assistance in smoothing the way to a good outcome. He had offered the land through his St Petersburg banker to Mordvinov or any other interested buyer for 100,000 or even 80,000 roubles, but had received no offers: he thought the reason was recent harvest failures in southern Russia, which made the time unpropitious for a sale. He asked Vorontsov to advertise the sale and find a buyer, and to advise if his asking price was inappropriate. If selling was the wrong option, could Vorontsov use his undoubted influence with the Emperor to get dispensation for the foreigner Bentham to become the legal owner, so that Samuel or his son George could actually run the estate and make it viable? To gain the Emperor's favour he recalled his many services under Catherine, for which he had received only a sword of honour and the Order of St George: further promises had come to nothing on the death of Potëmkin and then that of Catherine herself, a death which, he claimed, 'led me to leave the Russian service for the time being and so deprived me of the promised recompenses'.²⁶

The problem nevertheless remained unresolved. Four years later, in November 1826, having now removed back to England with his family, Samuel returned to the charge with Mordvinov.²⁷ He also aired the issues with other Russian friends, and in March 1827 approached Vorontsov again. He told Mikhail that he had just received a letter

from my old friend Princess Gagarin née Poushkin, a former intimate at Tobolsk,²⁸ I am induced to copy out an extract from it, and to venture without further delay to request of you a very extraordinary favour – you will observe that Prin^s Gagarin recommends my requesting Adml Mordwinoff to give up my portion to some one in whom I can confide for taking possession of it as his own to be disposed of afterwards as circumstances may render advisable. Such an idea being tasted [from French *goûté*, appreciated: RB] as the easiest mode of getting rid of the difficulties of my being a foreigner, you must be sensible that there is no one [better for this purpose than yourself].

He asked Vorontsov to take over legal possession from Mordvinov or else recommend someone suitable and trustworthy ‘for the acquiring it in the first instance from the Admiral & for the disposing of it afterwards for my benefit’. He thought that ‘a simple Letter’ from Mordvinov would be adequate for this purpose, and that ‘he can cede my portion by a pretended sale’.²⁹ Vorontsov was happy to oblige, and a power of attorney was duly drawn up, in English and in Russian.³⁰ Vorontsov and his wife were in England visiting family in August 1827. Vorontsov spent time in Brighton with his now aged and infirm father Semën (Samuel’s friend, d.1832), and was also troubled by an eye complaint, the treatment of which caused more trouble than the problem itself: ‘An immense quantity of blue pills and other mercurial and arsenic preparations without doing any good to my eye have weakened my general health.’ A fortnight taking ‘the artificial Carlsbad waters at Brighton’ had proved beneficial, but he was not yet fully recovered, and consequently refused Samuel’s invitation to accompany him to Derby to see things ‘most interesting and instructive’ (possibly at the works of Samuel’s long-standing friends the brothers Strutt, in Belper near Derby). However, he was delighted to be able to meet Samuel in London: ‘Adieu, dear General, I am quite rejoiced at the prospect of seeing you again before I leave England.’ He also wanted to present to Samuel a friend, Lieutenant-Colonel Count Serristori, who was interested in cutting-edge British technology and wished to visit the Derby works: ‘I should particularly wish him to see the Gas apparatus as we wish very much to introduce lightes by Gas in Odessa.’³¹

Another matter in which Vorontsov was eager to be of help was Samuel’s right to a pension attaching to the award of the Russian Order of St George, which he had received for services against the Turks and which formed the basis of the title he adopted (with official permission) in Britain of *Sir* Samuel Bentham, *KSG* (Knight of St George).³² Samuel

had never received the pension payments due to him, and felt aggrieved; this was another matter he had taken up with his friend. Vorontsov discovered from St Petersburg that Samuel had not applied correctly to receive the money, and advised him to write a formal request to the Russian ambassador in London, Prince Lieven. 'I will give him the letter myself and take his official notification myself to St Petersburg to deliver in its proper place.' Samuel complied.³³ In January 1828 Vorontsov reported from St Petersburg that the matter had now been arranged – he understood that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nesselrode, had already written about it to Prince Lieven – and shortly Samuel was able to express his gratitude on receiving the arrears due: not a very considerable sum, but gratifying as an acknowledgement of his service.³⁴

In the same January letter Vorontsov also reported progress with Chërnaia Dolina. The legal niceties of the division of the estate had been properly arranged with Mordvinov and the Civil Governor of the Crimea, the papers were duly signed, he had found 'an excellent person' to act for Samuel, and hoped to complete the business as soon as he himself was back in the south.³⁵ However, things did not go quite as smoothly as Vorontsov expected: even after the division, problems about Samuel's legal status remained. Two years later, in spring 1831, Mordvinov wrote from St Petersburg lamenting the dilatoriness of his own lawyer, so that he was thinking of asking Samuel's advocate, Kulikovskii, to accept and act on his power of attorney as well for the sale. Vorontsov, Mordvinov said, was considering asking the Emperor for a special decree legitimating Samuel's ownership.³⁶

Whether this letter reached Samuel before his death on 30 April 1831 is unclear. In Samuel's last years the Crimean estate was important to him because he came to see it as a dowry for his youngest daughter Sarah Jane. His eldest daughter, despite her marital problems, could be provided for at Restinclières. The second daughter, Clara, died of a brain tumour in 1829. Only Sarah Jane was unprovided for, and she had become engaged to be married to Simon de Klustine. In the end, things turned out as Samuel had wished: George Bentham recounted the final outcome.

Simon de Klustine remained in London, spending a great deal of time with us till my father's death; his engagement with my sister had given pleasure to my father, who, in his will,³⁷ left her the estate in South Russia, near Cherson, of which he had one sixth – three-sixths being the property of Admiral Mordvinoff, who directed the management and occasionally remitted small sums on account of income; but of late the Russian Government had made great claims

for arrears of dues, and even my father's title to the share was becoming problematical, but Count Michel Woronzoff (afterwards Prince Woronzoff) who was in London at the time of my father's illness and death, and showed himself exceedingly kind and friendly towards us, undertook the management of the business, and on his return to Russia succeeded in securing and selling my father's title to it, and remitted to my sister between £3000 and £4000 as the price. The marriage with Klustine, however, never took place.³⁸

Last Russian plans and connections 1826–31

In 1826 Samuel and his family decided to leave Restinclières for a visit to England. Samuel, George and Sarah Jane Bentham returned to London, arriving in August; George fetched his mother Mary and sister Clara from Paris a month later. Mary de Chesnel had been induced meanwhile to reconcile with her husband. Back in Britain, having weighed up their situation in their native and adopted countries, the family took the radical decision not to return to France. This involved George breaking off his engagement with a French fiancée, and Restinclières, in which so much effort and money had been invested, was initially 'left to take care of itself'. Part of the estate was sold, and subsequently Mary de Chesnel and her husband took over management of the rest; on Samuel's death in 1831 the land was made over to her in a legal settlement.³⁹

Back in London, Samuel Bentham continued to propose improvements to naval administration, and also to pursue experimental work.⁴⁰ He had plans to build metal ships, and explored the further possibilities of steam propulsion. He was able to test out some of these ideas with his long-standing friends the Strutt brothers of Belper in Derbyshire, whose cotton and silk mills formed a good base for technical experiment. George Bentham recalled:

They were then three brothers, partners in the great cotton mills of Belper, and some silk mills in Derby. Mr William Strutt, my father's old friend, the father of the present Lord Belper, was the inventing, contriving, and as it were scientific partner. ... [H]is brother, Mr Joseph Strutt ... was the financial partner, and lived in the town of Derby, where he had a very good gallery of pictures His brother George, residing with his family at Bridge Hill ... close to Belper, and being the practically superintending partner in the daily business of the mills.⁴¹

In 1827 William Strutt had to dampen Samuel's enthusiasm for one particular project, wooden steam engine boilers:

I am fully aware of the ingenuity and the boldness of your construction of Boilers of Wood for Steam Engines – of the advantages from their non-conducting of heat and their lightness for some purposes – notwithstanding these advantages, having employed an Engine for more than 30 years I am aware of such practical disadvantages as must preclude their general adoption for common purposes and perhaps for naval purposes.

He also had to report 'no beneficial progress' with another project, 'burning water'; an experienced local chemist had likewise declared it a hopeless enterprise.⁴²

Bentham also returned to a subject which had engaged him previously and had been a factor in the construction of his experimental vessels in 1795: the different elements which influence a ship's speed, in particular the shape of the hull. From experiments with models he felt able to progress to tests with small ships, for which he needed official support. He approached the Navy Board, which now was more kindly disposed towards him and gave its formal authority to his plans. However, while he worked further on instruments for measuring the factors involved, implementation of his project became bogged down in navy bureaucracy. He was passed from pillar to post, and a committee was proposed to oversee the experiments, a collective enterprise in which Samuel had no confidence.⁴³ A recommendation to the Duke of Wellington seemed to promise effective action, but although in May 1828 the Duke promised to see Bentham 'as soon as he has a moment's leisure',⁴⁴ it produced no immediate result.

In his search for practical backing Samuel thought once again of going abroad, and his thoughts turned particularly to Russia, where Mikhail Vorontsov was in an influential position as Governor-General of New Russia, and was also at the time his benefactor over Black Valley. Samuel sent a letter to Vorontsov, putting out feelers for Russian support. In August 1828 he wrote a second time, emphasising 'the hopes I am entertaining of being still of some use in contributing to the prosperity of your country in general as well as to the particular part of it which is confided to your management'. He was anxious to hear from Vorontsov

on the subject of the offer I made to be useful here in the procuring [of any] article of machinery particularly for naval purposes. Since my last letter I have been very much occupied in preparing the plan

of a course of experiments by which I am confident of being able to determine with certainty and near absolutely the fittest form for the hull of a vessel for any purpose, whether for War or Peace and the fittest rig or mode of applying the [best] force whether of the wind, steam or manual labour for the navigating it with the greatest velocity. In this pursuit means have suggested themselves of forming a Navy particularly well suited to your Country far more efficient and at a far less expense than by the means hitherto employed in any country. And so assured am I of success after consultation with those persons who are best called to judge on such subjects, that old as I am I should not now hesitate to undertake so long a journey for the purposes of communicating my ideas on the subject to you and to Admiral Greig at a time when there would be an opportunity of submitting my ideas to your Emperor. But as my competency cannot be expected to last long, I must abandon all such hopes of being usefull unless my offer is accepted in the course of a few months.

The time was propitious as he had dealt with his French affairs, but, not knowing exactly what Vorontsov's wishes and needs were, he was uncertain as to how he could best be of assistance. He would wish to spend 'only a few months' with Vorontsov, but hoped that his new discoveries could be of permanent value. In return he asked only for the new emperor's attention to his proposals, and the covering of his costs. He added that as yet he had told nobody of this project except Mikhail Vorontsov's father Semën, 'who from the flattering opinion [he has of my ideas] urges me to write to you immediately on the subject'. He had not even mentioned it to his wife, since something which would undoubtedly be so disagreeable to Mary should only be proposed when the necessary time came.⁴⁵

In October the matter was still open. Bentham wrote to Vorontsov that he had renewed hope of support from the Duke of Wellington, in which case he would not be able to pursue plans to come to Russia. Vorontsov on this occasion wrote back promptly to discourage any further such project:

if you have good propositions from the Duke of Wellington, I advise you by all means to accept them. God knows how much I would wish to see you here; but with our present Ministers of the Marine & Finances, there will be so much difficulty in making any arrangement worthy of You & beneficial to the service, that I think all chances are against such an arrangement.⁴⁶

Another letter from Samuel to Vorontsov, preserved in an undated and poorly legible draft or copy, expounded his new ideas on ship construction and armament: small vessels with fewer guns should throw greater weight and distance; steam power must be used for ship propulsion (at present, he complained, 'steam engineers know no ships, and ship-wrights know nothing of steam'). He was now no longer prepared to come to Russia but wished to offer services which would not require him to make the journey. 'I now feel quite confident of being able to constitute a very superior Naval force at a very reduced expense.' He had a man in view, an excellent engineer and engine-maker as well as ship-builder, who had managed 'a great establishment' at Bordeaux which had now been broken up and who might possibly be prepared to emigrate: Samuel had written to enquire if he was interested.⁴⁷

No further correspondence with Vorontsov or other evidence of Samuel's Russian plans is preserved. He persevered at home, and while the Navy Board prevaricated, and Wellington did not step in, he gained the collaboration of the engineer, inventor and machine-tool manufacturer Henry Maudslay, who put his works at Samuel's disposal and became involved in making necessary models. In May 1829, writing to Mordvinov to recommend his son George's proposals to Sablukov on Russian judicial reform, Bentham promised a further letter on his naval concerns, showing his continued interest in the Russian connection.⁴⁸ But things moved slowly, and official British support was still not forthcoming. Samuel evidently took steps to secure his position vis-à-vis the authorities, if we can judge by a letter of 1830 from Jeremy Bentham, who became indignant on his brother's behalf at their behaviour, and also thought that Samuel might indeed find better conditions abroad. He wrote to Samuel:

Received your declination letter. Good: the provision you are making for your eventual exculpation may be very proper.

But – fix a certain day, at the end of which non-promise will be taken for, and acted on as, a negative: this course I have more than once taken with success, in dealing with Peel etc.

If not, you may linger on till you are either dead, or too indolent, to undertake the thing, and too little master of your faculties, to go through with it successfully.

What worthies Admiralty and Navy Board are composed of is no secret to you. How can you like that your Proposal will not [*sic?* *RB*] be referred to one or both? In which case it will of course be extinguished. Say, that if you have not full authority to proceed, with assurance of the money necessary, you will consider this silence as expressive of

their consent to make application to the governments of any other country: as your plan applies to Navigable Vessels in general and to war vessels not more than others.

Meantime I shall do what depends upon me towards paving the way for you without committing you.

For my part I had rather see the thing done in France than England. You would be received there with open arms: and might very likely have the faculty and pleasure of carrying your other improvements *there* into practice to an indefinite extent.

If you let slip this opportunity, all that belong to you will have reason to reproach you.

Not to speak of mankind in general, for whom I care much, and you little or nothing.⁴⁹

Whether Jeremy's and Samuel's *démarches* had any effect is unclear. Samuel evidently continued to pursue his plans over the following months; his latest publications had also been concerned with this topic: George Bentham noted that his father 'continued to entertain great expectations from his writings on Naval affairs'.⁵⁰ But it was in fact too late, and Samuel's project never fully materialised. Maudslay became ill and died in 1831, and old age and weakness caught up with Samuel as well. George recorded the final months of his father's life:

In the early part of the year [1831] my father was much engaged in organising experiments, for which he obtained the authority of the Naval Board, on the influence of the shape of the hull of navigable vessels on their progression and direction. I had to assist him in some papers he wrote on the subject, and his friend Maudslay, the Engineer, was preparing some models – but Maudslay was taken ill and died, and my father's own appetite and strength failed him, so as to give us serious cause of alarm. Early in April he had ceased to go out and had shut up his desk, and during the whole of that month he was evidently sinking [O]n the night of 30 April ... he breathed his last, from pure exhaustion, without suffering or positive disease.⁵¹

Notes

- 1 On the background and the obstructionism involved in obtaining due compensation see Mary Bentham, *Life*, 296–308.
- 2 BL Add. MS 33545, ff. 191–2, Chichagov to SB, London, 18 August 1814.
- 3 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 308.
- 4 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 26–7; cf. Mary Bentham, *Life*, 311.
- 5 Pease-Watkin, 'Jeremy and Samuel Bentham: The private and the public', 18–21.
- 6 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 73; BC IX, 269–73 (270–1), no. 2517, SB & MB to JB, Montauban (France), 30 September 1818. In 1822 Saint-Priest returned to his native country, where his father had been made a Pair de France.
- 7 Pease-Watkin, 'Jeremy and Samuel Bentham: The private and the public', 18–21; *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 94–5, 210–12, 249.
- 8 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 311–12.
- 9 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 54–5, 60, 63, 68–9: Louis Pierre François Adolphe Chesnel de la Charbonnaye (1791–1862).
- 10 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 71–7.
- 11 BC X, 19, no. 2721, JB to Chichagov, 28 November 1820. Further on Mary Louisa and her unfortunate marriage and separation, see *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 234, 243, 366, 370–1, 386, 414, 422, and 'Last Russian plans and connections 1826–31', below, from p. 216
- 12 BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 276–7v, Mordvinov to SB, Moscow, 15 April 1807. Mordvinov also asked for copies of all published books by JB, and sent two for him, one translated from Spanish.
- 13 On Katsonis, also Kotsonis, and the wider background see Leikin, "'The prostitution of the Russian flag": Privateers in Russian admiralty courts, 1787–98'; Leikin, 'Greeks into privateers: Law and language of commerce raiding under the imperial Russian flag, 1760s–1790s'. Mordvinov had to take legal action against Katsonis, who tried to keep all his prize money for himself (RGIA, f. 994, op. 2, d. 26, ll. 56, 65, 72ob.), but the outcome was evidently successful, since the syndicate was able to buy the land to which Bentham refers. Correspondence of Katsonis with Mordvinov is published in *AGM* and F. F. Veselago, *Materialy dlia istorii russkogo flota* (17 vols, St Petersburg, 1865–1904). I am grateful to Dr Leikin for sharing her research with me.
- 14 Mary Bentham, who must have had some knowledge of Black Valley, curiously and wrongly states that 'the subscribers reaped no profit from their venture' (*Life*, 89–90).
- 15 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 575–8: SB to M. S. Vorontsov, n.d.:

Ce fut pendant le tems que j'étais occupé à équiper la flotille, que l'Amiral Mordvinov se décida à aider l'entreprise d'un Major Lambro, armateur Grec, et m'engagea ainsi que son beau-frere à souscrire avec lui une somme destinée à équiper quelques vaisseaux de guerre que le Major devait diriger contre les Turcs pour son propre compte, bien entendu que nous devions partager avec lui les profits qui en resulteraient. Il reussit si bien qu'il porta le nombre de ses vaisseaux à 22 au moyen desquels il fit beaucoup de tort aux Turcs, quoiqu'à la fin sa flotte se trouva tellement endommagée qu'il fut obligé de mettre fin à ses exploits. Cependant il s'était emparé d'un butin assez considerable du produit duquel achetèrent [sic] la terre dont la portion qui [me] revenait est l'objet de ma demande actuelle.
- 16 Ikonnikov, *Graf N. S. Mordvinov*, 55; Shil'der, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi*, IV, 103. There may be some confusion in these accounts between the Benthams' friend Nikolai Mordvinov and his brother Aleksandr, also an admiral.
- 17 BC IX, 269–73 (270–1), no. 2517, SB & MB to JB, Montauban, 30 September 1818.
- 18 BC VII, 343–4, no. 2555, George Bentham to JB, 6 August 1819; based on a letter to SB from Mordvinov, St Petersburg 12/27 May 1818, BL Add. MS 33545, ff. 292–3v. Mordvinov had sent SB 2,000r. as his share of income for 1817.
- 19 BL Add. MS 33545, ff. 292–3v, Mordvinov to SB, St Petersburg, 12/27 May 1818; f. 316, M. S. Vorontsov to SB, Maubeuge?, 26 August 1818:

Son nom est Chornaia Dolina. Nous possedons beaucoup de Dessiatines, mais nous ne serons jamais riches par cette possession, car c'est une commune, et votre frere avec tous les savants en choses humaines disent hardiment qu'une possession en commun n'est d'aucune bonne valeur.

[None of those involved questioned the continuing ownership or sale of servile peasants in this case, though by this time the problem of slavery/serfdom was a very actual issue in both

- Russia and Britain and Vorontsov and Mordvinov were both strong advocates of peasant emancipation.]
- 20 BL Add. MS 33545, ff. 331–3, SB to Saint-Priest, October 1818, reply 11/23 December 1818.
- 21 BC IX, 269–73 (270–1), no. 2517, SB & MB to JB, Montauban, 30 September 1818.
- 22 BL Add. MS, 33545, ff. 344–7v, 351–5, M. S. Vorontsov to SB, Paris, 30 January 1819, March 1819; see also ff. 582r–582v. Samuel’s questions and Saint-Priest’s and Langeron’s replies are at Add. MS 33554, ff. 199–203v.
- 23 In 1834 M. S. Vorontsov established an entail on some of his estates, a typically British institution quite rare in Russia. See 2PSZ IX/I, 263–5, no. 6954, Imperial ukase to the Senate, 4 April 1834; Anfimov, ‘Maioratnoe zemlevladienie v tsarskoi Rossii’.
- 24 BC VII, 344, no. 2555. Dual citizenship was possible in Russia, but not at this time in Britain.
- 25 BL Add. MS 33545, ff. 578–80, Mordvinov to SB, 22 August 1822. The Minister at the head of the Russian government at this time was Count A. A. Arakcheev; Mordvinov’s opponent remains unidentified, and may have been in charge of a separate ministry.
- [J]’ai réussi d’arracher des mains du cruel Ministre nôtre bien commun, qu’il avoit tenu confisqué pendant quelques années, et dont nous ne sommes pas encore pleinement satisfait; car l’argent perçu de notre propriété ne nous est pas encore rendu. Il a employé toute la mauvaise foi de nous renvoyer pour le payement jusqu’à l’année prochaine, et je crains qu’alors même sa haine personnelle contre moi ne lui suggere quelque noire idée de vengeance. On nous doit plus de quarante mille roubles. Cet être haineux avoit imaginé un impôt territorial, qui n’avoit jamais existé en Crimée, et dont il réclamait le payement pour les 40 années passées. On exigea cette somme et je l’avois refusé; et parce que je l’ai refusé, on confisqua le bien. C’étoit un acte violent, et nous sommes rétablis dans nos droits; mais notre bien en a souffert beaucoup. J’ai réussi aussi loin, que l’impôt n’étoit pas reconnu, et qu’il ne lui est pas permis de l’exiger à l’avenir; car il a beaucoup intrigué de l’établir sur les terres de la Crimée. Nous avons encore un autre procès, qui est celui qu’on nous dispute une dizaine de mille de Dessiatines, et cette dispute est également injuste. Le Ministre attaque mes propriétés, car je me trouve dans la position d’attaquer souvent son administration.
- 26 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 575–9v: SB to M. S. Vorontsov, n.d. He claimed inter alia that his Dnieper flotilla had saved Cherson from destruction by the Turks. Bentham left Russia in 1791 and the Russian service in 1796; Catherine died in 1796, ‘[ce qui] m’engagea à quitter pour lors le service de la Russie et me priva des recompenses promises’.
- 27 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 79–80v, SB to Mordvinov, 15 November 1826.
- 28 Tobol’sk in Siberia, during his first stay in Russia; as we have seen, the connection with the Gagarins was renewed in Russia in 1806 and again later in Paris.
- 29 BL Add. MS 33546, f. 130–v, SB to M. S. Vorontsov, 22 March 1827. Underlining in original.
- 30 BL Add. MS 33546, f. 149, M. S. Vorontsov to SB, 16 June 1827. Powers of attorney, copies in English and Russian, June 1827, f. 152, 153–v. The Russian version is published in Mikeschin, ‘A small family negotiation’, with incorrect attribution to Add. MS 33545.
- 31 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 159–60v, M. S. Vorontsov to SB, London, 16 August 1827, also published by Mikeschin, 186; ff. 161–2v, M. S. Vorontsov to SB, London, August 1827. Gas lighting was a matter of interest in Russia at this time: in 1822 Matthew Clark (Senior Foundry Manager [*Ober-Gitten-Verwalter*] 8th class), in association with the Englishman William Griffith and his company, was granted a privilege for a ‘cartridge’ for external and internal lighting of buildings by gas: 1PSZ XXXVIII, 65–7, no. 28925, 11 February, published 22 April 1822.
- 32 See Mary Bentham, *Life*, 257.
- 33 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 570–1v, SB to Lieven, n.d., n.p.
- 34 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 195–6, M. S. Vorontsov to SB, St Petersburg, 25 January 1828; ff. 580r–581v, SB to M. S. Vorontsov, n.d. While in St Petersburg in 1807, Samuel had had to make similar representations to the Imperial treasurer for payment of arrears to the pension that had been awarded to him when he took service under Potëmkin: Add. MS 33544, ff. 283, 305–v.
- 35 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 195–6.
- 36 BL Add. MS, ff. 496–7, Mordvinov to SB, St Petersburg, March/April 1831. Mordvinov sent 727 roubles, Samuel’s ½ share of the latest payment from Black Valley.
- 37 According to information received, a copy of this will is held in RGADA, Moscow.
- 38 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 365; see also 325, 370, 386. Sarah Jane later married a French engineer officer, Captain Leblanc, holder of the Légion d’honneur (*St. James’ Chronicle*, Saturday 28 March 1835).

- 39 *BC XII*, 229 n. 8; *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 235–43, 323, 365–71. In 1832 Chesnel again abandoned Mary Louisa, this time taking away with him their second child, a son, and leaving Mary Louisa ‘desstitute and in the greatest distress’. Her mother, despite her age, moved to France to support her daughter. Mary Louisa took legal action against Chesnel, and was completely successful, but he succeeded (at least initially) in foiling efforts to make him return their son (*Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 414, 421–3). The Restinclières estate was sold in 1835: <http://sylvieblog.blogspot.com/search?updated-max=2014-04-27T12:51:00%2B02:00&max-results=7&reverse-paginate=true>, 25 April 2014 (accessed 21 March 2022). Chesnel later became a prolific writer of popular works and held the Légion d’honneur.
- The son, Théodore or Thomas, married an Englishwoman and himself had children including a son, Georges Bentham Chesnel. He appears to be T. G. Chesnel, author of ‘The steam dredging machine – narrative of the claims of Sir Samuel Bentham to its invention’: evidently Samuel’s grandson joined his grandmother in publishing vindications of Samuel’s work. Both Thomas and his elder sister Adélaïde or Adèle predeceased their mother: <https://gw.geneanet.org/pierfit?lang=fr&p=louis+ pierre + francois + adolphe&n=de + chesnel>, (accessed 21 March 2022).
- 40 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 315–21.
- 41 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 142–4.
- 42 BL Add. MS 33546, f. 169, W. Strutt to SB, Derby, 4 October 1827. Mary Bentham, *Life*, 266 refers to ‘the great cotton manufactory of Messrs Strutt at Belper’, which had ‘an apparatus constructed purposely for seasoning timber by artificial heat’, another of Samuel’s interests.
- 43 Mary Bentham, *Life*, 321.
- 44 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 219–21, May 1828.
- 45 BL Add. MS 33546, f. 231, SB to M. S. Vorontsov, 26 August 1828, a draft or copy very badly written, illegible in places.
- 46 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 244–v SB to M. S. Vorontsov, 9 October; ff. 249–50, M. S. Vorontsov to SB, Odessa, 18 October 1828.
- 47 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 580–1v, SB to M. S. Vorontsov, n.d., n.p., semi-legible draft or copy.
- 48 AGM VII, 303–5, SB to Mordvinov, 26 May 1829.
- 49 BL Add. MS 33546, ff. 454–5, JB to SB, 15 August 1830.
- 50 Samuel Bentham, *Naval Essays ... Essay I*; Samuel Bentham, *Naval Papers and Documents Referred to in Naval Essays; Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 285.
- 51 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 364–5. Cf. Mary Bentham, *Life*, 321. George Bentham points out that his mother’s *Life* gives an incorrect date of death.

6

Epilogue

Russia was an important and constantly recurring presence in the lives of both Bentham brothers right up to their deaths; and the activities of both had a significant if short-lived impact upon affairs in St Petersburg in the reign of Alexander I. With the enthusiasm of Speranskii and the outstanding reception of Dumont's recension in educated St Petersburg society, Jeremy Bentham in 1803–5 could reasonably hope that his wish to take part in the Russian codification process might be fulfilled. But unlike Samuel in his relationship with the all-powerful Potëmkin at Krichëv, Jeremy had no secure patron in a system in which patronage was crucial. With the fall of Speranskii in 1812 even such support as he enjoyed within the Russian system was diminished; and the subsequent apparently golden opportunity of 1813–15 proved to be a mirage, as court politics were shifting and Czartoryski's position at that juncture was becoming weaker too, though Jeremy of course was not to know that. The censorship incident of July 1815, when the reprinting of a Bentham article on freedom of trade provoked a warning from the Minister of Education, was a clear straw in the wind. It came just after Alexander's tepid reception of Jeremy's offer of service; the following year, on 31 March 1816, a new trade tariff was published which must have been in preparation at the time. Jeremy's explosive letter to the Tsar closed off any further possibility of input into the Russian situation. It seems questionable whether he would have been allowed to contribute to a Polish constitution even if the post of viceroy had been given to Czartoryski; his political philosophy was not compatible with the realities of Imperial Russian society and its law-making, even if the 'splendid beginning of Alexander's days' initially fostered hopes (and fears) of radical change.¹ Bentham himself was evidently confident at the time that he could produce a document suited to Russian (and Polish) needs, though he was also prepared for his draft code not to be used, thinking that in that case the

publicity which it would nevertheless engender would still make the effort worthwhile and was still sufficient justification for the attempt.²

The changing mood at the Imperial court and in 'society' meant that the intellectual vogue for Jeremy Bentham in high society did not last long. As early as 1822 Pushkin referred to Bentham together with Voltaire and Rousseau as an intellectual idol of the past;³ in 1823, it is true, when he wrote the first chapter of his great 'novel in verse', *Eugene Onegin*, the hero suffers 'spleen' from the 'innocent but intolerabl[y boring]' conversation of Russian high-society ladies, but can occasionally still find an intelligent female who 'talks of Say and Bentham'.⁴ Then came the catastrophic Decembrist insurrection of 1825 against the autocratic regime, when proponents of liberal French and English ideas disastrously overreached themselves. Some of them were admirers of Bentham. The new government of Tsar Nicholas I had its own conservative ideology of Russian exceptionalism, 'Official Nationality', articulated by Minister of Education Sergei Uvarov in 1833. This reflected both political change in Russia and the growth of Romantic nationalism in Europe: the unique greatness of Russia, Uvarov propounded, consisted in 'Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality' (the national spirit).

In the 1830s and 1840s German Romantic philosophy became firmly established as the dominant mode in Russian intellectual life. The Romantic and Schellingian thinker and writer V. F. Odoevskii composed a variety of tales influenced by such ideas, which have been linked to E. T. A. Hoffmann and Novalis. Two of his stories take aim specifically at Bentham's theories. *The Black Glove* (1839) is a didactic society tale, echoing Walter Scott's *Redgauntlet* and directed against English ideas and upbringing, including Benthamism and English methods of estate management, long controversial in Russia. *The City Without a Name*, first published in 1839 and included in Odoevskii's important story cycle *Russian Nights* (1844), describes a Benthamite colony which flourishes initially but descends into sectional strife leading to self-destruction, a cautionary tale against following Benthamism to its logical conclusion which was also very critical of the ideas of Adam Smith.⁵ Odoevskii's grasp of Bentham's ideas was, however, very imperfect, and, according to Tat'iana Artem'eva, 'voluntarily or involuntarily he expressed a basic tendency of Russian culture – selective reception and arbitrary interpretation'.⁶

Nevertheless, among more radical circles Jeremy Bentham's ideas and his humanitarian approach continued to attract admirers. His younger contemporaries the brothers Aleksandr and Nikolai Turgenev, who had both been members of the Compilation Commission, held views which made them *personae non gratae* with Tsar Alexander's government

in its later years. Aleksandr had had a successful service career until 1824, when the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education in which he held a senior post was reorganised and he himself was sacked. He spent the next two years in France, and references in his diary suggest a high regard for Bentham when he found traces of the great man's presence in Paris.⁷ He later moved to London, where Simon de Klustine introduced him to George Bentham in 1831. George noted that Aleksandr was 'in some sort of disgrace'; he also recorded the presence in London of Nikolai Turgenev.⁸ Nikolai, an economist and tax expert, had been closely involved with the Decembrists, but was abroad when the 1825 uprising took place. He was tried *in absentia* and condemned to death, later commuted to hard Siberian labour for life: he never returned to Russia. In London, where he spent the years 1826–33, he was close to Benthamite circles, *The Westminster Review* and J. S. Mill. In his famous book *La Russie et les Russes* (1847) Nikolai Turgenev wrote an enthusiastic encomium of 'le célèbre Bentham' and his labours for the good of humanity, even though he thought that some concepts of 'l'illustre jurisconsulte anglais' did not stand up to criticism.⁹

Later Russian radicals were sometimes less engaged: the revolutionary Aleksandr Herzen in his autobiographical *My Past and Thoughts* (composed 1850s onwards) dismissed Bentham in passing as a mere bourgeois moralist. In the next generation, however, Nikolai Chernyshevskii, the still more radical leader of the Russian 'men of the sixties', had a high regard for Bentham, and was much influenced by John Stuart Mill. (The heroine of Chernyshevskii's hugely influential novel *What Is To Be Done?* (1863), Vera Pavlovna, has dreams of a utopian future living in a house of glass and iron, reminiscent for some commentators of the Panopticon's aim of all-round vision, but more probably inspired by the 1851 Crystal Palace.) The wide-ranging 'Great Reforms' of the 1860s in Russia, set in train by Tsar Alexander II in the aftermath of the Crimean War, made Bentham's ideas once more relevant in liberal circles; the judicial reform of 1864 finally gave Russia a reasonably functional legal system (which, however, owed much to French models). Pypin's 1869 article in *Vestnik Evropy* on Jeremy Bentham and Russia, frequently quoted here, was a reflection of this; popular expositions of Bentham's writings on usury and court procedure had already appeared in 1860 and 1865.¹⁰ Pypin was also co-editor of a new Russian translation of *Dumont Principes* published in 1867. William Butler notes that every major law reform in Russia thereafter until the end of the Imperial period in 1917 was attended, in one fashion or another, by a translation and publication of one of Bentham's works.¹¹

Marx's scornful dismissal of Bentham – 'an insipid, pedantic, leather-tongued oracle of the ordinary bourgeois intelligentsia' – ensured that he was largely despised by Soviet commentators;¹² post-Soviet interest in Bentham revived and has increased.¹³

The Panopticon concept was less long-lasting in Russia than Jeremy's intellectual presence. After his return to England in 1807, Samuel Bentham continued to champion the Panopticon principle. Besides supporting Jeremy's attempt to build a panoptical prison, he drew up panoptical plans (unrealised) with his departmental architect Samuel Bunce for a college for 'gentlemen cadets' at Woolwich, and for a pauper House of Industry.¹⁴ He also published proposals for the reorganisation of dockyards which embodied the Panopticon concept. His book *Desiderata in a Naval Arsenal* (1814), one of several works in which Samuel attempted to justify and explain his years as Inspector General of the Navy, is a theoretical composition drawn from his experience in the various British yards and discusses issues concerning dockyards in general; but it ends with a plan which relates specifically to the dockyard at Sheerness, a proposal which Samuel had presented to the Admiralty in 1812.¹⁵ On the subject of the layout of dockyard buildings in general, Samuel wrote:

That the Arrangement of the whole of the Accommodations in point of relative Situation one to the other, should be such as that the Office of the superior Officer, to whom general superintendance shall be entrusted, being in a Situation as central as possible, the buildings and other accommodations provided for the carrying on every branch of business, should be brought so near to the central office, or at any rate be placed on such a line of direction in respect to it, as that while the superior officer, from his central situation, may take a more or less distinct view of the whole of the business subject to his controul, the several subordinate officers in their respective offices, should inspect each the particular business intrusted to him, and so that the communication between the site of all the works and the offices in which they are regulated and taken account of, be as short and direct as possible.¹⁶

Thus while each department of the dockyard – storehouses, docks, offices and so on – has its own supervisor, the dockyard as a whole should be subject to the principle of central inspection. When Samuel came to discuss the particular requirements of Sheerness dockyard, he described how the several offices of the dockyard should be arranged in such a way as to ensure efficient oversight; Samuel remarked that 'of the great

advantage resulting from this arrangement, experience has been already obtained in the instance of a building constructed not many years ago upon a similar principle under my direction in a foreign Country'.¹⁷

Samuel's St Petersburg College of Arts was apparently the only building of its kind in Russia; it was also the only panoptical building constructed anywhere in the world by the brothers themselves. Jeremy Bentham claimed, probably on the authority of Kirk, the project manager, that it was not unique, that other panoptical buildings had been constructed elsewhere in the Russian Empire.¹⁸ But Jeremy gave no details, and there is no corroboration: no evidence of any other such building has been found.¹⁹ A recent Russian commentator has remarked on the similarity of the Bentham's Panopticon concept to various common forms of Imperial and Soviet Russian building. It was reminiscent of the layout of some noble estates. The fictional model estate of the landowner Kostanzhoglo in Nikolai Gogol's classic novel *Dead Souls* (1842) – 'a parade of barns and workshops ran right up to the great house, so that everything was visible to the master, whatever was going on around him; and to complete things, atop the house there was a lantern skylight surveying the whole neighbourhood for fifteen versts all around' – is compared to the real-life estate of Catherine II's illegitimate son Count Aleksei Bobrinskoi at Bogoroditsk in Tula province: 'Five radial streets converged on the reception hall of the Count's palace, which lay on the far side of the little river Upërta You had only to go up to the window and there was your own little town, as if in the palm of your hand.' In Soviet times the camp buildings of Young Pioneers, the Soviet youth movement, could also be erected in a similar way: the children's rooms looked out onto external galleries and the large square building could be overseen by just two Pioneer Leaders.²⁰

There is no suggestion that Bentham's conception had any part in these constructions: they are all merely incidental similarities, arising from the self-evident usefulness of all-round visibility for supervisory purposes. Nevertheless, Samuel's building requires a place in the academic discussions of recent years about religious and social disciplining as an early modern European technique of government and social management. Mark Raeff and Lars Behrisch have written about Russia from the point of view of early modern social disciplining, both concluding that Russian religious and social institutions were less successful in this regard than those of other countries.²¹

Outside Russia, the striking rationality, utility, simplicity and originality of the Panopticon concept as the Bentham brothers propounded it made it an iconic symbol of the potentialities – for good or for ill – of

social organisation. Jeremy Bentham saw it as a benevolent part of his utilitarian universe, a means of making workers, social deviants or failures useful to society: the symmetrical pattern of the building offers elegant harmony, aesthetic rationality and human productivity as well as total social control, and he was very happy with the idea of social disciplining as a principle of social development. His attempt to build a Panopticon prison in London was unsuccessful, and he abandoned his panoptical plan for poor relief, but he never doubted the validity of the principle. He elaborated the concept in subsequent writings – Anne Brunon-Ernst identifies ‘four different versions of Bentham’s surveillance machine’²² – and the Panopticon concept has since had a long career as a controversial template for prison architecture. A number of prisons in different parts of the world have had features inspired by the Panopticon;²³ one of the most faithful incarnations appears to be the Presidio Modelo, built in Cuba in 1926–8, where among others Fidel and Raoul Castro were held in captivity (Figure 6.1). It was closed in 1967 and is now a museum and National Monument of Cuba.²⁴



Figure 6.1 Inside one of the prison buildings at Presidio Modelo, Isla de la Juventud, Cuba. The prison consisted of five six-storey structures. The Castro brothers were held here between October 1953 and May 1955. Now a museum and national monument. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Presidio-modelo2.JPG> (accessed 31 March 2022). © Friman. CC BY-SA 3.0.

It is, however, the ideological charge of the Panopticon, its power as a symbol of unbounded social control, which has generated most interest in recent years. It remains closely associated with Foucault's name, even as Foucault scholarship has moved beyond the strictures of *Discipline and Punish*. Surveillance studies, of which Foucault was 'the grandfather',²⁵ flourish in the digital age, and spread their terms of reference ever wider. Thus Simone Browne

takes up blackness, as metaphor and as lived materiality, and applies it to an understanding of surveillance. I work across multiple spaces (the airport, the plan of the Brooks slave ship, the plan for Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, Internet art) and different segments of time ... to think through the multiplicities of blackness.²⁶

Meanwhile the Panopticon continues to draw the attention of a wider constituency – within it those fascinated by architectural ambition,²⁷ the ways of penal servitude,²⁸ the imaginative flight of the human spirit²⁹ – and it will doubtless continue to do so in the future. The historical Russian dimensions of the phenomenon have been delineated here.

Notes

- 1 M. A. Liubavin claims that a fourth volume of the Russian translation of Bentham's works was stopped in 1815, and that the reason for this was 'the glimmer on the horizon of a real inculcation of Bentham's theses into Russian legislation, something which neither the Russian government nor the overwhelming majority of Russian society could organically accept. Bentham's ideas fundamentally contradicted the structure of Russian life at that time and could only serve as a topic of abstruse deliberations in fairly narrow circles' (Liubavin, 'O publikatsii Bentama v "Dukh Zhurnalov" v 1815 godu', 157). No other evidence for an aborted fourth volume – which would have exceeded Dumont's French original – has been found.
- 2 See Appendix I, no. 2.
- 3 Pushkin, 'Poslanie tnsensoru' (Epistle to the censor), 1822. See chapter 1, note 92.
- 4 *Evgenii Onegin*, I, verse 42.
- 5 Artem'eva, 'Steklianni dom', *Filosofskii Vek* 9; Cornwell, *The Life, Times and Milieu of V. F. Odoevsky*, 54, 64–9, 84.
- 6 Artem'eva, 'Steklianni dom', 138.
- 7 Turgenev, *Khronika russkogo. Dnevnik 1825–1826 gg.*, 144, 350, 386.
- 8 *Autobiography, 1800–1834*, 363. See further Miliukov, 'Nikolai Turgenev v Londone'.
- 9 [Turgenev], *La Russie et les Russes*, I, 560–3; II, 4–5. See also I, 543–4 (a paean to England similar to that of Semën Vorontsov in 1801); II, 21–2, 330; III, 502–8 (an excerpt from Rosenkamppf's denunciation of Speranskii).
- 10 References can be found in the major work of Pokrovskii, *Bentam i ego vremia*, 669–70; also [M. M.], *Dolzno li presledovat' likhvu zakonami? Populiarnoe izlozhenie ucheniia Bentama i Tiurgo o likhve*.
- 11 Yale Law School exhibition, 'Monuments of Imperial Russian Law', curated by W. Butler and M. Widener, 2012: <https://library.law.yale.edu/blogs/rare-books/2012-03?page=2> (accessed 12 April 2022); this features among other figures the facsimile title page of *Izbrannye sochineniia Ieremiia Bentama*. Volume 1, St Petersburg: Russkaia knizhnaia trgovlia, 1867.

- 12 Ritschel, *Jeremy Bentham und Karl Marx. Zwei Perspektiven der Demokratie*; Ritschel, 'Germans don't strive for happiness? Bentham's reception in German political thought'.
- 13 The later reception of Bentham in Russia is well charted by Artem'eva, 'Steklianni dom', and the thorough article of Asya Ostroukh, 'Bentham and Bentham studies in Russia'.
- 14 Steadman, 'Samuel Bentham's Panopticon', 9–10; [Appendix II/2](#).
- 15 Pease-Watkin, 'Jeremy and Samuel Bentham: The private and the public', 24–6; Steadman, 'Samuel Bentham's Panopticon', 13–14; Samuel Bentham, *Desiderata in a Naval Arsenal, or an Indication, as officially presented, of the several particulars proper to be attended to in the Formation or Improvement of Naval Arsenals*.
- 16 *Desiderata in a Naval Arsenal*, 13, cited by Pease-Watkin in 'Jeremy and Samuel Bentham: The private and the public', 26.
- 17 *Desiderata in a Naval Arsenal*, 39; Pease-Watkin in 'Jeremy and Samuel Bentham: The private and the public', 26.
- 18 BC VIII, 224, no. 2152, 24 January 1812. This claim was made three weeks after Samuel had sent Kirk to see Jeremy, following Kirk's return from Russia in 1811 (BC VIII, 217, no. 2149, 4 January 1812). Samuel was eager to make use once again of Kirk's services. Perhaps Jeremy was reflecting Samuel's original intentions (see Chichagov's report, [Appendix II/1](#)) rather than any reality on the ground. The only other reference to a panoptical building in Russia known to me is the house built at Okhta for Master Ship-builder Stuckey, part of the Okhta College complex, though evidently without the central inspection pillar: see [Appendix II/3](#).
- 19 Simon Werrett in his doctoral thesis, 'Odd sort of exhibition: The St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in enlightened Russia', 183, and in his article 'Potemkin and the Panopticon', claimed that 'within a few years' the Okhta Panopticon 'was being copied across the Empire': but the only evidence he offers, allegedly of a Panopticon at Reval, in fact refers to the rebuilding works carried out to the Reval docks and harbour, with no indication of anything panoptical: BL Add. MS 33544, f. 316. Werrett's unsupported claim is cited in evidence by Steadman, 'Samuel Bentham's Panopticon', 13.
- 20 Dragunskii, 'Panoptikon. Otnimat' i podgliadyvat', http://www.chaskor.ru/article/panoptikon_10400 (accessed 12 April 2022). Dragunskii begins by portraying the Panopticon as the inverse of Louis XIV's Versailles: the Sun King's palace could be seen from everywhere. But Louis ensured control over his principal nobles by compelling them all to live at Versailles directly under his eye. Gogol's description:
- шёл проспект амбаров и рабочих домов вплоть до самого [барского] дому, чтобы всё было видно барину, что ни делается вокруг его; и в довершение -- поверх дома фонарь обозревал на пятнадцать вёрст кругом всю окольность.
- Вот районный город Богородицк Тульской области. Он построен вокруг дворца графа Бобринского, незаконного сына Екатерины II и Григория Орлова. Пять радиальных улиц ориентированы на парадный зал графского дворца, расположенного на другой стороне речки Упёрты ... подойдёшь к окну, и твой собственный городок как на ладони.
- The use of a centralised layout on some Russian noble estates was something also mentioned by Werrett ('An odd sort of exhibition', 'Potemkin and the Panopticon'); Artem'eva recounts her unpleasant childhood panoptical Pioneer experiences in 'Steklianni dom', 143.
- 21 Raeff, 'Transfiguration and modernization: The paradoxes of social disciplining, paedagogical leadership, and the Enlightenment in 18th-century Russia'; Behrisch, 'Social discipline in early modern Russia'. See also Schmidt, *Sozialkontrolle in Moskau*. These discussions of social disciplining ran on somewhat different lines from those of Foucault.
- 22 Brunon-Ernst, *Beyond Foucault*, 8.
- 23 UCL Bentham Project, 'The Panopticon', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bentham-project/who-was-jeremy-bentham/panopticon> (accessed 21 March 2022).
- 24 Djajkovski, 'Presidio Modelo, Cuba: Where Fidel Castro himself was a prisoner', <https://www.abandonedspaces.com/conflict/presidio-modelo-cuba.html>, accessed 21 March 2022. See in general Evans, *The Fabrication of Virtue: English prison architecture, 1750–1840*; Johnston, *Forms of Constraint: A history of prison architecture*; *The Dictionary of Architecture*, VI, 31, 178.
- 25 Marx, 'Surveillance studies', *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 734, https://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/surv_studies.pdf, accessed 21 March 2022.
- 26 Browne, *Dark Matters: On the surveillance of blackness*, 7.
- 27 Crawford, 'Little Brother's Big Brother House'.

- 28 *The Digital Panopticon: Tracing London convicts in Australia, 1780–1925*, <https://blog.digitalpanopticon.org/building-benthams-panopticon/> (accessed 21 March 2022).
- 29 Cottell and Mueller, 'From pain to pleasure: Panopticon dreams and Pentagon Petal'.

Appendix I: Letters

1 Letter from Alexander I to Samuel Bentham and Samuel's reply, 1805

BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 128–128v. Three copies, ff. 129–31. Reply, ff. 139–40. In French.

Major-General Chitrow did not fail to inform me on his return of all the obligations which he had to you, General, and at the same time he presented to me the memoranda you had communicated to him. I have read the latter with the greatest interest and it gives me particular satisfaction to convey to you my sincere gratitude, finding in this communication a clear proof of the attachment you feel for Russia. I think I shall not offend your modesty when I tell you also that I was completely satisfied with the views and dispositions expressed in these memoranda. I pray you, General, to continue in this good disposition towards my country and to believe in the particular respect I have for your talents and the perfect esteem in which I hold you.

Alexander

St Petersburg, 11 April

1805

Le Général Major Chitrow n'a pas manqué de me rendre compte à son retour, de toutes les obligations qu'il Vous avoit, Monsieur le Général, et il m'a présenté en meme tems les memoires que Vous lui avez communiqués. J'ai lu ces derniers avec le plus grand intérêt et je me fais une satisfaction particulière de Vous en temoigner ma sincère reconnoissance, trouvant dans cette communication une preuve de l'attachement que Vous portez à

la Russie. Je ne crois pas blesser Votre modestie en Vous disant aussi que j'ai été parfaitement content des vues et des dispositions de ces memoires. Je Vous prie, Monsieur le Général, de continuer dans ces bonnes dispositions pour mon pays et de croire au cas particulier que je fais de vos talents et à la parfaite estime que je Vous porte.

Alexandre

St Pétersbourg, le 11 d'avril

1805

Portsmouth, 28 May

1805

Sire,

I cannot find words to express how sensible I am of the kindness with which Your Majesty has just honoured me, in your own hand. I know how much I owe it to Major-General Chitroff. He will have told Your Majesty of the great interest with which I listened when he spoke to me of the great designs with which Your Majesty is occupied and of the disposition which I felt to assist in them.

It is not at all surprising, Sire, that I should be strongly attached to a country which summons me back with the most interesting memories of my youth, and in which I received from my superiors the most flattering tokens of their confidence; and if the confidence shown me in my own country imposes duties on me, it has not weakened my early sentiments, which are in addition revived by the reception Your Majesty has given to some sketches capable of much improvement in practice, and by the desire which Your Majesty deigns to show me for their continuation.

I am with the most profound respect Your Majesty's most humble and devoted servant

To His Imperial Majesty of All the Russias

A Portsmouth ce 28 de Mai

1805

Sire,

Je ne saurois exprimer à quel point je suis pénétré du temoignage de bonté dont Votre Majesté Impériale vient de m'honorer de sa propre main. Je sais combien j'en suis redevable au Général Major Chitroff. Il aura dit à Votre

Majesté avec quel vif intérêt je l'écoutois lorsqu'il me parlait des grands desseins dont Elle s'occupe et quelle disposition je me sentais d'y concourir.

Il n'est pas étonnant, Sire, que je sois fortement attaché à un pays où je suis rappelé par les souvenirs les plus intéressants de ma jeunesse, & où j'ai reçu de mes supérieurs les marques les plus flatteuses de leur confiance; et si celle qu'on m'a témoignée dans mon pays m'impose des devoirs elle n'a pas affaibli mes premiers sentiments, qui sont encore ranimés par l'accueil qu'a fait Votre Majesté à des ébauches que je crois susceptibles de bien de perfectionnement dans la pratique, et par le désir qu'Elle daigne me témoigner pour la suite.

Je suis avec le respect le plus profond de Votre Majesté Impériale le plus humble et tout dévoué serviteur

A Sa Majesté Impériale de toutes les Russies

2 Letter from JB to an unknown St Petersburg correspondent, January 1814: his covering letter for the draft letter to Alexander I

Reproduced, partly paraphrased, by Pypin.¹ The documents he used had been deposited in the St Petersburg Imperial Library by Baron M. A. Korff, the biographer of Speranskii and later the Imperial Library's Librarian; the Library also held Dumont papers deposited by Dumont's grandson. It seems likely that Pypin had at his disposal most of the original documents which Jeremy had sent to St Petersburg in January 1814, some of which are now located in RGADA; none remain in the Library, now the Russian National Library. The letter lacks heading and addressee. On internal evidence the addressee was almost certainly Mordvinov (another possible but less likely candidate is Chichagov).

Since I have thus presented you with the best proof of which my feeble energies were capable – proof of that attachment which your friendship for my brother could not but demand from me, allow me to remind you of one matter in which he is urging me on (although even without that it is very much upon my mind) and which (I flatter myself with the thought) will not be completely indifferent to a Russian man of state who has so clearly expressed his approval of my principles and my works, as I have had the pleasure to see.

I take the liberty to entrust to your care the enclosed two copies of a letter which I have written to your emperor. In one of

them is *inserted* a paragraph which is *omitted* from the other: that is the sole difference. The one of these letters which you find best suited to its purpose, I would ask of your good will to send to him by any means which may prove most suitable.² Various persons have unanimously assured me, that in *English* it will be just as comprehensible to him as in *French*: and in English (as some say) it may attract more favourable attention and act with greater weight, than in a less friendly and more ordinary language.

I considered it essential to ask the opinions of various people who possess more or less that knowledge of persons and circumstances (in Russia) which I altogether lack. Now, this letter has an appearance quite different from that with which it first issued from my hands. Then I tried as much as possible to avoid that self-aggrandisement of which you will see such profusion now. But from various sides I was assured that – on pain of remaining incomprehensible – I absolutely must speak as clearly and directly as at all possible, giving comprehensibility complete priority over modesty.

In that form which the letter now has I myself find nothing in particular which might run the risk of provoking dissatisfaction or of hindering its purpose in any way. But if you should discover in it any such thing, then it would be an act of philanthropy to have it recopied, omitting the condemned passage, and give it to someone to sign my name. Both time and distance forbid the sending of the letter back and forth between London and Petersburg for such a purpose. You are my plenipotentiary:– you have *carte blanche*.

Bentham goes on to question whether he has the right to burden his addressee with the transmission of the letter, but presumes upon his sympathy for the project, sympathy which should (Bentham hopes) allow Bentham to count on such collaboration. He next considers what support or opposition the project might meet: Rosenkamppf is named. To make his point, Bentham quotes from a letter of Sir Francis d'Ivernois to Dumont:

I will quote a passage from a letter to Dumont from one of his friends, *whose identity you will guess*. At my wish this letter was left with me by him, shortly after it arrived here. Neither the one nor the other knows that *this* use is being made of the letter, but if they did know both would forgive me.

D'Ivernois had written to Dumont:

I do not dare to vouch that your work will be understood by a certain *state councillor*, whom you know and who returned to me your two volumes [*Peines et Récompenses*] in 24 hours, assuring me that he had read them through and meditated on them for a whole night. He is called R., whom His Imperial Majesty gave me as a mentor and concerning whom I may boast that I came to a true estimate of both his head and his heart much more quickly than you did.³

Bentham continues:

There can of course be no question of the acceptance of such a proposal [as his to the Emperor: RB] – as you doubtless well know – if this R. with all his were strong enough to stop it. All the time that Dumont was in St Petersburg, soon after the appearance of *Traité de législation*, R. was as if on pins and needles: the tricks and pretences to which he resorted, and the agitation which he evinced, were then a real comedy:– some features of it I have somewhere in my notes. That same declaration that he had spent the night or two nights reading and reflecting on the whole book; that same definite disinclination to hear or say even a word about any one particular *part* of it.

All this is quite natural. It is not in the nature of things, that on the matter of legislation *his* ideas and *mine* could find approval in one and the same mind. Immediately after the appearance of mine (I think in 1807), his ideas – if my information is correct – were judged at their true worth. The ‘head’ and the ‘heart’ referred to here were, as I suppose, among those with whom *you* had to deal. As regards the *present* state of the laws in the Empire (judicial arrangements and the form of judicial procedure), I should not be surprised to hear that his *head* possesses more information than all the rest (including also the *means of obtaining* this information from the various sources whence they may be drawn).

But, if we are to speak of his cooperation in such a matter as I am proposing, is there any chance of finding some inducement to incline him to it? If he could be satisfied with such conditions – that *he* for *his* part would have all the *rewards* for what is done (always supposing his ability to supply the fullest and most accurate information which it is possible to obtain), and *I* would have for my part simply the *labour*, he and I would be the best friends it is possible to imagine.

Another matter of which it is essential to remind any person who might be inclined to give his support to my proposal (although for you this remark may be entirely superfluous after what you have probably heard from my brother), is this, that if the *administration here* heard of this affair and it was in its power to hinder it, hinder it it certainly would. Although I have been the object of publicly declared respect expressed in documentary form, the object of manifold praises never contradicted and uttered on various occasions and from different sides of Parliament, in the House of Commons, yet for [the administration] I serve nevertheless, or even the more so, as an object of *revulsion* and equally of *apprehension*, as much as a solitary figure can be who belongs to no party and entertains no political plans.

Bentham names these enemies as English *lawmen*, who hate him for having laid bare the deficiencies and abuses on which depends and to which is proportionate their personal prosperity. He gives examples and cases, as when HM George III did him the honour of writing him down in his black book, when Parliament, abjectly dependent upon the administration, to the detriment of the Exchequer broke its promise to build penal institutions on the plan of the Panopticon, and so on.

In such circumstances, just suppose, that (for example at the urging of your R...), the question were posed to *our* ambassador at *your* court, as to what *he* knows of me. The answer, probably just, will probably be that he never heard of such a person. Suppose, that such a question were asked by *your* ambassador *here* of Lord Liverpool, Lord Bathhurst or Lord Castlereagh: then the answer will be that they have never clapped eyes on me but that I am, although well-intentioned, too much given to speculation, a fantasist, a utopian, full of impossible plans of reform, and in my actions an unpracticable man who has caused them much trouble.

If you were *now* to ask Lord St Helens (our ambassador to your court, as you may or may not remember), *his* answer would be such that I, while remaining modest, cannot give you any conception of. What would be the answer of Lord Sidmouth, I am some what at a loss to say — — —

If it were not for the goal I have in mind, even one tenth of these ruminations about myself would be intolerable.

Bentham expressed his conviction that he could benefit humanity with his works in a way that no-one had done before, 'because in not one of the codes recently published have the *foundations* – the reasons – of the laws been expounded'. He hoped that no-one would condemn his way of proceeding and his concern for the interest of his project. He considered the possibility that his work, his draft code, once it reached St Petersburg, might be left without consideration or use. This he thought not improbable, but if the draft code were published in England, then the very story of its completion would gain him attention, not from *the few* elite persons who constituted the government, but from *the many* over whom they ruled: and that would be sufficient. Of the ruling elite he had already said that he was an object of revulsion for them, as was any thought of reform. In his lifetime, Bentham continued, they had nothing to fear from him; but after his death they would have much to fear.

This assurance and my anticipation of respect from a few people known from their talents and public virtue to be of worth – this it is which constitutes my reward.

If I do not flatter myself excessively, I have already laid the foundation at least of a small school, consisting of persons gifted and active who, fully penetrated with my principles, will not lack either the desire or the ability to move forward and complete that which I leave unfinished: so that after my death, – if meanwhile some use or other is made of my proposal – it will be possible to know where it would be possible to find support for the continuation of the matter.⁴

Turning to his own personal labours, Bentham remarked that his central absorbing creative activity, while it had not yet ceased, was drawing to a close.

In any case, the work of which we speak would be child's play for me in comparison with my real occupation: it would be a sort of relaxation for me. Works of this sort comprise the sole, the absolutely sole pleasure left to me in recent years. I go nowhere at all. I receive nobody, except a few persons from whom in my works I can obtain or expect to obtain help and encouragement. I declined an interview with your N. [Novosil'tsev], who, although (as I hear) he is a respectable and well-intentioned man, showed too much weakness in his trust in his R. [Rosenkampff] I likewise did not wish to see *Khitrovo*, and addressed him to my brother. 'Mme de Stael (Dumont said to me) wishes to see no one here until she has seen you.' 'In that

case (I said) she will see no one here.' When Miss Edgeworth was here, I also did not wish to receive her. Mme de Stael both in print and in conversation attacks the *principle of utility*; Miss Edgeworth praises it highly – – *Miranda* I did receive: if he were successful I would compose a code for Venezuela, and then, perhaps also for other parts of Spanish America. Colonel Burr (an American) I even took into my house for a while: I had proofs of his respect for my works at the time when he was at the height of his fame and could have no thought that he would see me. In you I see an enlightened friend of your fatherland, and a tried friend of my brother. I await not without impatience the time when I shall be able to shake your hand here in my seclusion.

In a postscript Bentham asks whether it would be possible to obtain an autograph letter from the Emperor in response to his proposal, and whether such a letter would produce a greater impression than one merely signed by him. Then, speaking of Dumont, he recalled his hopes of working for Russia:

When [Dumont] was in Petersburg and was so well received by some members of the administration on account of the publication of my work, he said that it seemed to him very probable that an invitation could be received; but having no plenipotentiary authority from me, he could make no proposals in my name. Kochubei, it seems, was inclined to it but did not have the opportunity; his office was suitable for the purpose, but he left it. Speranskii, who at that time (I presume) served under Kochubei, apparently understood the problem, and his letter to Dumont, which I saw at that time, apparently expressed this. He specifically spoke with Dumont of the Russian translation which (I suppose) you possess.

At the end of the letter is an addition in Bentham's own hand. He had found Speranskii's letter to which reference had been made (and which is quoted above), and sends his correspondent a copy: 'from this copy you may see on what ground the matter of legislation stood at that time, as far as it concerned me.' Finally, he added some further thoughts on the same subject:

Lord Castlereagh has set off on his embassy. From what was said above you will see how important it is that my letter should *not* be presented until Lord Castlereagh removes himself from the presence of the person to whom it is addressed. Pozzo di Borgo (with whom

I have never had any connection) is considered by Dumont to be among the friends of this matter. Dumont so assured me, and was going to write to him on the subject, in order to inform him that such a proposal was to be made, and that he in communicating his opinion should say what in his view would most ensure his support. Of the importance of this support you, I assume, know everything, whereas I of course know nothing.

Various circumstances have several times brought various changes to this tedious letter. Its final date is placed here.

28 January 1814.

At the end there is a note that Samuel Bentham is in good health.

Notes

- 1 Pypin, 'Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 4, 736–43: my translation. Pypin's article has been translated in its entirety by N. Renaud, *Sudebnik*, 7 (2002), 581–623.
- 2 Pypin noted that the one version of the letter to Alexander preserved in the Public Library was identical with that later published in *Papers*. The May version printed in *Papers* has a paragraph which is absent from *BC*.
- 3 Pypin, 'Russkie otnosheniia Bentama', kn. 4, 738, Sir Francis d'Ivernois to Dumont, 6 February 1813. Next to 'R.' the name Rosenkampff was pencilled in the margin. After 'mentor' Bentham had noted 'Alas! Poor Russia'. Sir Francis d'Ivernois (1757–1842), Swiss writer on politics and economics: *BC* VII, 8 n. 1; Bowring, X, 473.
- 4 Among Bentham's papers is an undated fragment: 'Dumont and Russia having failed me so that in my quality of author as of man I seem destined to go out of the world without posterity.' Quoted in Roland-Brown, 'English letters to Etienne Dumont', 423. While Jeremy Bentham quotes Dumont in the present letter to make his own case, his relationship with Dumont was evidently a complicated one, Bentham showing remarkable ingratitude to Dumont and at the end of his life becoming openly hostile towards him.

Appendix II: Descriptions of the St Petersburg Panopticon

1 Copy of Chichagov's official report to the Emperor, 15 June 1806: the approved proposal for the new building

BL Add. MS 33544, ff. 180–191v. Russian.

On the original written thus in HIM own hand: Carry into execution in accordance with this.

Concerning the Panoptical Institute.

In consequence of Your Imperial Majesty's order to me to consult with Brigadier Bentham, who has come from England and agreed to introduce into Russia various innovations, he presented to me in the first place his project to construct Panoptical institutions in port cities, and initially an Institute of this type near St Petersburg at the mouth of the river Okhta. This proposal is already known to YIM, and a sum of one hundred thousand roubles has been assigned to it by Your order. In presenting attached here for High-Monarchical consideration the plan which I have received from Bentham for his Panoptical building, I have the happiness to explain the essence of Bentham's views on the advantages and complete superiority of this institution, which comprise the following:

He considers

- 1) that as the apprentices, in order to acquire practical knowledge in various crafts and skills, will be employed in works and in the

- making of various objects which will be distributed with undoubted advantage partly to the fleet and other Departments, partly into private hands through free sale, their training will be attended by incomparably lower costs than in other places.
- 2) The disposition of the building itself should contribute most greatly to the success of the apprentices, since from its centre all the inner parts round about can easily be observed, and so the management of the Institute will have the means to see at any time the talents and labours of each student and of all the tutors, and at the same time to notice always whether its rules and regulations are being exactly carried out, something which was impossible to achieve hitherto by any known means.
 - 3) All the tutors and all those in general participating in the work of the Institute, motivated both by care not to attract disapproving attention, which may come from the constantly watchful eyes of the management directed at each one, and sometimes even from the gaze of the Sovereign power itself, will be compelled to endeavour to bring the Institute to the most perfect state possible, and motivated also by participating as described below in the profit arising from the Institute's products will be encouraged to be zealous in taking all necessary care.

As far as concerns the arts and crafts in which the students of the Institute will be trained, from among the vast choice of possible specialisms available, the selection of those which require the greatest skill and knowledge, and are also valuable in terms of sale price, should be left to the discretion of the Director and the other participants with him in the running of the Institute.

Since several years will have to pass before the students of the Institute will demonstrate their value, and as Brigadier Bentham is concerned about means to prove this institution's worth to the Government by various products soon after its opening: I consider it both possible and advantageous to relocate within its area – while observing all the abovementioned considerations – some of the establishments already attached to the Admiralty here, for instance the making of physical, optical and mathematical instruments and compasses, a printing shop, the making of sail cloth, hats and stockings. These establishments are in absolute need of removal from their present location to another place, which would only be possible at great difficulty and expense were it not for the present so very happy conjuncture.

In addition to all this, Brigadier Bentham is of opinion that at the very start of the Institute the tanning of leather in the English manner should be introduced, and the making from it of pumps and sewing of various footwear: but because of the evil smell the tannery must be separated from the interior of the Panoptical Building. Equally there will be located here the beating of ropes, sewing of sails and various clothing items, turning and joinery skills, and in general all works of primary necessity required to supply the fleet and private sea-going ships with their principal needs, and also the building of ships themselves.

In order that the practical instruction of the students in arts and crafts, with which the Institute will keep them occupied, should be sufficiently theory-based, in addition to reading, writing, arithmetic and technical drawing, the teaching will include physics and mathematics, in which the students' success will be the less questionable because at all times during their work various examples must arise, physical movements and mathematical calculations; and consequently theory will find application at every turn. Of course not all students in general can learn these higher sciences, or similarly the free arts such as drawing, sculpture, music etc which combine pleasure with profit: but the most capable among them can do so, and especially noble and officers' children, to whom for its own honour and advantage the Institute will strive to give as good an education as can be obtained anywhere else.

To avoid boring and tiring the students with monotonous exercises, their work will be divided into lessons requiring greater or lesser movement. And encouragement to work and study will be stimulated in them more by moral incentives and rewards than by the use of threats or punishment, endeavouring earnestly not only to preserve their health but to ensure that they are always merry and satisfied with their position, because capabilities and talents only have their full power when a person is not spirited by anything and is not in need of daily necessities.

Children, of whatever origin or calling they may be, will be accepted into the Institute not younger than at 7 years, and must stay there until they are 22 years of age; and then their parents or the Institute management will have the choice to leave them at the Institute to continue their work and gain greater perfection in various arts, or at their discretion to take them back for assignment to other stations.

Throughout their time at the Institute, noble and officers' children shall receive clothing and all other maintenance with payment at the cheapest prices, which will be made by their parents or by government. The other students will receive this provision from the treasury, or

according to agreed conditions, only until the age of 14, and after that age the Institute itself shall provide for them in every way.

From the start, until sufficient private people are found who are disposed to send their children to the Institute, it would be useful to fill up the institution with orphans from among officers', soldiers' and sailors' children, adding to their number a portion of the under-age recruits who enter the Naval Department. For these latter throughout the time while they are at the Institute their original department shall provide them with food and uniform; they shall receive other requirements from the Institute.

As this enterprise is so new, permission is requested from the Highest Power for the following good considerations: firstly, that [the appointment of] all persons needed to carry out the various offices and arrangements in the Institute shall depend on selection by the Director, with confirmation by the principal managing authority. Secondly, that promotion in rank of all those who may occupy the various offices in the Institute shall take place according to law, in the same way as in other state offices and institutions. Finally, that from the income or profits which should arise from the activity and successes of the Institute's work, half should be retained to form a special capital or for other use at Your Majesty's pleasure, one quarter should be placed at the disposal [*obrashchat' v pol'zu*] of the Director, and the other quarter be used for distribution at his discretion as rewards to Institute office-holders and students, in order always to encourage them to work hard.

The most advantageous site for the Institute has been selected on the river Okhta, called Nienshants, uninhabited and belonging to the Society of Noble Maidens, and which from 1802 until the present has been leased as a store for timbers belonging to the Admiralty College. I approached the Council of the said Society concerning the sale of this ground; after receiving the permission of HIM the Empress Maria Fëdorovna, the Council named in its reply to me the sum of 16,000 roubles. As expenditure on the Panoptical Building compared with any other buildings will be incomparably lower, especially with careful saving in its economy, it is to be hoped that the 100,000r. already assigned by Highest order for the construction of the Institute will also be sufficient for this payment of 16,000r. if YIM is pleased to order purchase of the site. I hope too that Brigadier Bentham's salary can also be covered by the present building sum.

In such a new undertaking it is impossible to foresee all expenses which may be necessary for construction of various machines for artificial power at the Institute – in places where falling water can be used, water power, and where it cannot, steam or wind – equally, what salary rates

will have to be set for teachers and the various ranks capable of facilitating the work of the Institute, although in fact their number compared to other places ought to be very restricted by reason of the ease of supervision (explained above) of all parts of the institution, and in addition a large part of their maintenance should be covered by sums expected to be derived from the Admiralty typography, instrument and sail manufactory. For these reasons, and without stating an exact figure, Brigadier Bentham assures me that annual expenditure will not finally exceed that in other teaching establishments, for example that currently incurred in the military orphans' school here, with a comparable number of staff.

In conclusion, regarding the capital necessary for equipping the Institute with instruments and materials required for its work: this Institute more than other places and persons is qualified to take advantage of the loan established by YIM for the encouragement of industriousness, the more so because half of all the profit made from this capital will be returned to the treasury, instead of private lenders receiving all the benefit of the interest. And in addition the managements of various Government Departments, especially the naval department, when assigning the making of various items to the Institute, will of course provide it with the funds and materials necessary for their creation. Moreover much less capital will be needed in the Panopticon than in other separate institutions for the preparation of the various materials required to bring its work into operation, because the same machines, the same hands and the same type of material can be used in turn for many different purposes.

And so that the construction of the Institute and savings in its economy can be achieved with greater convenience and success, will it not please YIM to allow use of possible assistance from the Admiralty, such as the making of various items in Admiralty workshops, [supply of] timbers, iron and other materials which the Admiralty can do without, with payment at cost in suitable time.

The original memorandum was signed thus: P. Chichagov

Correctness of the copy to the original witnessed by Court Councillor Dmitrii Belostotskii.

June 15, 1806.

2 Mary Bentham's description of the Okhta Panopticon (1849)

Mary Bentham wrote a number of pieces after Samuel's death, including Life, in advocacy of his work and ideas. Passionately loyal to her dead

husband, and writing many years after the event, she is not always reliable in all details; and she left St Petersburg while the Panopticon building was in the early stages of construction. On the Panopticon, see also her 'The Panopticon or inspection principle in dockyards and manufactories', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, 16 (1853), 453–5.

This appendix reproduces the middle part of Mary Bentham's article 'On the application of the Panopticon, or central inspection principle of construction to manufactories, academies, and schools', published in *The Mechanics' Magazine, Museum, Register, Journal, and Gazette*, 50 (January–June 1849), 294–9.[†] This middle part (pp. 295–7) describes the Okhta Panopticon and then in the later part (not reproduced) also discusses plans for a panoptical school in Woolwich and possible panoptical design for farm schools projected by the Philanthropic Society.

The introduction of the article sketches the history of the invention, in Krichëv and in London, where

the vacillations of Government finally prevented its erection. The plans were, however, not altogether lost; for in the year 1807, a Panopticon was, by command of the Emperor Alexander, erected according to these plans, so far as regards general arrangement, at Ohta, near St. Petersburg, for the scientific education of youth as officers in the army and navy, and for the industrial rearmment [*sic*] of young recruits for the navy. The greater part of these young people were to be employed in manufactories, more particularly of the several articles required for the service of the army and navy; as, for instance, amongst the smaller objects, compasses, and various mathematical, physical, and optical instruments, clothing for the army and navy, as stockings, shoes, boots, tailors' work, &c., and of more bulky articles, wood-work in general, sail-cloth weaving, and other items of the first necessity for the naval service.

A short description of that Panopticon, together with the accompanying plans and sections found amongst drawings made in 1793, would greatly facilitate the formation of designs on that principle at the present day. The description that follows of the Panopticon at Ohta, was drawn up at the time of its erection; but the paper is not complete, as the part of it describing the wings, and several details of construction, has not been found.

[†] This volume of *Mechanics' Magazine* contains other short items concerning Samuel Bentham's ideas, contributed by Mary Bentham, including the non-recoil principle and the 'amphibious baggage waggon': pp. 38–41; 101–4; 130–5; 273; 319–22; 377; 438–9; 580; 604–6.

Orders were conveyed from the inspection room to the farthest ends of the wings, and to intermediate parts, by means of speaking tubes.

Description of the Panopticon at Ocha.

The building consists of a dodecagonal part, 140 feet in diameter, and of five radial buildings, each of them 105 feet long, 30 feet broad.

At the centre of the building, a circle of 3 feet 4 inches in diameter, is appropriated as a chamber from the top to the bottom of the building, through which the inspector, in his chair, passes to view the highest and the lowest floors of the structure.

Around this chamber are annular apartments forming a ring, six stories in height, basement and attic stories included. The outer diameter of this ring is 28 feet. The basement of this part is appropriated to heating stoves, conveyance of water, &c.; the next floor above, as a clerks' office. Above this office is the principal inspection room; over the inspection room, the upper floors are appropriated to uses which, at the same time, allow of occasional inspection from them.

Surrounding these annular apartments is a ring 10 feet in diameter, in this are constructed staircases and connecting galleries up to within two stories of the top. The two upper stories are appropriated as infirmaries, and therefore not communicating with the interior of the building.

Within this space is another ring of building divided into twelve radial parts, in which are three floors extending from the interior to the exterior part of this ring; also one half floor between each floor, that half floor at the outer side of the ring.* Each radial part is 42 feet from the inside to the outside of the ring.

These radial apartments terminate the dodecagonal part of the building, the total diameter of which is 140 feet.

The five buildings, wings, or rays, are connected with five of the sides of the dodecagonal part, leaving a side of it between each wing; the sixth part is appropriated as a general entrance to the establishment.

His imperial majesty had caused his ministers to request from the British Government a leave of absence for Sir Samuel sufficient for him to set this establishment fairly at work; but on the breaking out of war between the two countries,¹ he returned home, in September, 1807. The building was, however, at that time already so far advanced, that he witnessed before his departure from St. Petersburg the perfect inspection obtained over the whole structure from the inspection room. This was effected by a very nice adjustment of the relative height of floors – one of the two principal floors being *below*, the other *above* the floor of the

Fig. 1

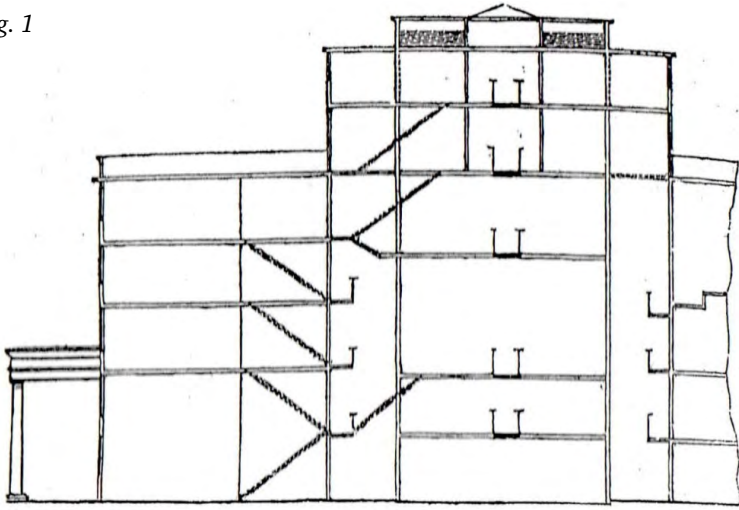
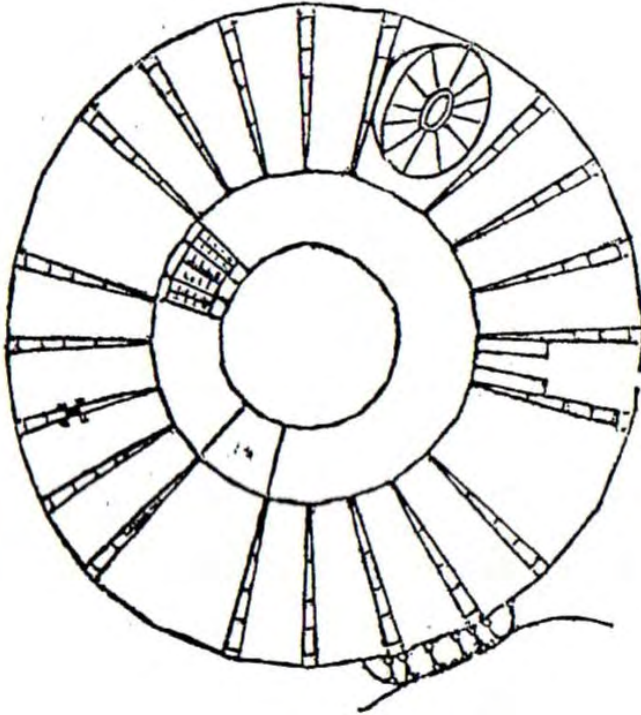


Fig. 2



* These radial floors were destined for tailors for army and navy clothing, shoe and boot-makers, and other analogous trades; the wings, for workers in wood and metals. [MSB's note: RB]

inspection room. The upper and the basement floors were inspected from a central chair, suspended by a counterpoise, and regulated in its movements up and down by a simple and safe apparatus, easily managed by the inspector himself.

It had been considered impossible to heat and ventilate at the same time a building so immense, and of such a form; but Sir Samuel had witnessed at the manufactory of the Messrs. Strutt, at Belper, the efficacy of a stove invented by one of those gentlemen, and by their favour obtained a model of it. A stove on that principle, erected the year following in one of the wings of the Panopticon, had far exceeded, as he learnt, the expectations formed of it; for with an average cold of above 27 degrees below the freezing point of Fahrenheit, the whole of one of those immense wings was kept, day and night, heated, for 96 hours, to 60 degrees of Fahrenheit, that is, a difference of heat from the external air of 55 degrees, by the consumption of no more than 'one cubic fathom of very indifferent fire-wood'. The heat was conveyed from end to end, and from story to story, by heated air passing through trunks, and regulated by means of valves in them, so that perfect ventilation, as well as warmth, was ensured throughout. The greatest difference in the degree of heat at the stove and at the distance from it of 100 feet, was $4\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of Fahrenheit.

Unfortunately, this Panopticon was in a few years consumed by fire. It had been built of wood, for expedition sake, in order that Sir Samuel might be enabled to institute, before his return to England, the general management of the establishment. After his departure, some pillars intended to be made of cast iron, were made of wood, and probably contributed to the destruction of the fabric. But pupils reared in it were, during the war, found so useful, that the best of these youth were taken for service elsewhere by fifty at a time, even so early as 1808.

Figs. 1 and 2 are copied from sketches found among General Bentham's papers. They are conjectured to be – the one an elevation (in part), and the other a plan of the Ohta Panopticon, but on different scales.

3 Loginov's official description of the St Petersburg Panopticon, 1814

The Russian original is held at RGAVME, f. 131, op. 1, d. 75, ll. 18–36ob. The document is a comprehensive report on the structure of the Panoptical Institute and its buildings as at 1 January 1814. Register D is lacking. Register E is reproduced separately (Figure 4.2).

Although Loginov inspected and signed off the report, the language is imperfect. Some or all of the lack of punctuation, random use of capitals and grammatical non-agreements may be attributable to the copyist who wrote the fair copy, but they significantly cloud the meaning in places. I am greatly indebted to Professor Will Ryan for help with the translation: any errors remain my responsibility. The translation is as literal as good English will allow. The translated text is followed by the Cyrillic original (modern orthography); capitalisation and punctuation have been altered to follow the sense of the text; variant spellings have been retained. Numeration – numbers spelt out or given as Arabic numerals – follows the original.

REPORT to the Executive Expedition of the State Admiralty College from the Director of the Panoptical Institute, Senior Mining Engineer 5th Class and Cavalier² Loginov.

Forwarding a Plan and descriptions concerning the Panoptical Institute.
16 June 1814, no. 810.

On receipt on 27 November of last year 1813 of decree no. 2202 from that Expedition, master-craftsman Kondrat'ev was ordered to make a plan of the location and all buildings with the façade of the principal building, also a description or denomination of the steam engine. Inspector (*smotritel'*) Ivanov [was ordered to make] a description of the Institute and a register of how many windows and window panes there are in all the buildings, Treasurer Nikonov a reporting register of the monies and materials used for the Institute from the beginning of construction up to 1 January of the present year 1814, also showing the current balances. On completion these were presented to me and I inspected them and in fulfilment of the Executive Expedition's decree I have the honour to forward two plans, 1. Concerning the position of the land belonging to the Institute, and 2. Concerning the buildings with the façade of the principal building, a description of the Institute, a register under letter A of the windows and glass panes, a determination under B of the steam engine, and under C a reporting register of monies and materials received and disbursed in expenditure from the start of building to 1 January of this year.

Description of the Panoptical Institute

The said Institute took its beginning from a plan proposed by Brigadier and Cavalier Bentham, which was presented for Imperial approval by Minister of Naval Forces Chichagov and confirmed on 15 July 1806. For the location for the construction of the building selection was made of the

former fortress called Neishantsy [Nienshants], lying on a point at the mouth of the river Okhta, which falls into the Neva on the right-hand side, and belonging to the Smol'nyi Monastery. Construction of the main building of the said Institute was begun according to the approved plan, under the overall disposition of the said Brigadier Bentham, by the English architect or master-craftsman Kirk; its foundations were laid out in the very middle of the said fort and the following works carried out:

- 1 Earth was removed down to the subsoil for the main corpus in a regular twelve-cornered figure, 20 sazhen [42.67 m] in diameter and 2 sazhen [4.27 m] deep; for the five wings, of quadrilateral shape, each 15 sazhen [32 m] long, 4 sazhen 14 vershoks [8.7 m] wide, 2 sazhen [4.27 m] deep; for the steam-engine shed 9 sazhen [19.21 m] in length, 3 sazhen 2 arshins 10 vershoks [8.27 m] wide and 2 sazhen [4.27 m] deep; for the forge 9 sazhen [19.20 m] in length, 3 sazhen 3½ vershoks [6.56 m] wide and 2 sazhen [4.27 m] deep. In addition, for the steam-engine store (*magazin*) 9½ sazhen [20.27 m] in length, 3 sazhen 3½ vershoks [6.60 m] wide, and 1 sazhen 1 arshin 4¾ vershoks [3.05 m] deep; for the foundry (*liteinaia*) 9½ sazhen [20.27 m] long, 3 sazhen 2 arshins 9½ vershok [8.44 m] wide and 1 sazhen 1 arshin 4¾ vershoks [3.05 m] deep. For the sluice (*sliuz*) 9½ sazhen [20.27 m] long, 4 sazhen 2 arshins 9¾ vershoks [10.37 m] wide and 1 sazhen 1 arshin 4¾ vershoks [3.05 m] deep. For the subterranean exits of the four wings, for the first, 14½ sazhen [30.94 m] in length, 2 sazhen [4.27 m] wide, 1 sazhen 1 arshin 4¾ vershoks [3.05 m] deep, for the second 13½ sazhen [28.80 m] long, 2 sazhen [4.27 m] wide and 1 sazhen 1 arshin 4¾ vershoks [3.05 m] deep, for the third 16 sazhen [33.14 m] long, 2 sazhen [4.27 m] wide, 1 sazhen 1 arshin 4¾ vershoks [3.05 m] deep, and for the fourth 22 sazhen [46.94 m] long, 2 sazhen [4.27 m] broad, 1 sazhen 1 arshin 5 vershoks [3.05 m] deep; for which and for the machine wing for the harbour each 10 sazhen [21.34 m] long, 5 sazhen [10.67 m] wide, depth to the usual water level.
- 2 For the walls of the main block which go out from the centre 2 sazhen and 4 vershoks and form semi-diameters (*polupopereshniki*) of twelve corners and occupy a space like the aforementioned diameter (*popereshnik*) of 20 sazhen, and equally for the wing- and abutting walls bounding these semi-diameters earth was removed or trenches dug for the laying of foundations of rubble slabs 1.5 arshins wide and 0.5 arshins deep, depending on

- the nature of the soil, and more for the viewing pillar and the 12 columns likewise earth was removed to a depth of 2 arshins and in width to a diameter of 1 sazhen, and 1 arshin piles were driven.
- 3 A foundation of rubble slabs was laid for all walls and also for the viewing pillar and the twelve columns, for the pillar and columns square undressed stones were added on top whose surface is uniformly horizontal, then on top were built according to gauges or templates the twelve internal transverse (*polupereshnykh*) walls to a thickness at the bottom of three bricks thinning to one brick at the top, breadth 2 sazhen, and the other walls, viz. of the corpus, the wings and the attached outbuildings (*pristroechnye*) from within 1½ bricks and at ground level 1-arshin rubble slabs, then from ground-level up walls were placed over them made of plinth (*tsokolia*) or dressed slabs to a height of 1¼ arshins except for the machine wing, for which half the length and the back wall are of plinth, and the other half of brick.
 - 4 Inside the twelve-cornered corpus and the wings except for the machine wing are placed wooden supports or columns, in the corpus and two wings in two rows down the middle and in two others in one row down the middle, on which squared beams (*brus'ia*) are placed lengthwise and on these with their ends in the walls are laid rectangular planed wooden girders (*strogannye balki*), on which are fastened planed planks attached to laths which also serve as ceilings for the cellars and as flooring for the first storey which is of stone. Also on this flooring inside the twelve-cornered corpus and the wings except for the machine wing are placed wooden supports or columns, in the corpus and two wings in two rows down the middle and in two others in one row down the middle, on which squared beams are placed lengthwise, but in the machine wing beneath the first storey there have been installed strengthening (*podveznyye*) squared beams in two rows in the middle, 7 vershoks thick, and placed beneath them are cast-iron columns on piles and planking laid cruciform.
 - 5 On the aforementioned built-out stone walls are placed 7-vershok squared beams and on them and on the previously-mentioned squared beams laid lengthways on the supports in the stone floor are placed rectangular planed wooden girders which are distributed according to size; between those girders are chiselled out housings for supports, into which are placed supports consisting of squared beams. In the corpus these are of varying width and between 2½ and 7 vershoks thick, in the wings they are about 7 v. thick and

wide, and in length twelve 10-sazhen squared beams for the middle, and for the interior and periphery one hundred and eight 7-sazhen, for the wings three hundred and seventy-two 4-sazhen, for the attached outbuildings sixty $\frac{1}{2}$ -sazhen squared beams. Of the previously-mentioned rectangular undressed stones in the foundation, on the middle one there are placed four cast-iron constituent supports for the viewing tower each of five pieces twelve sazhen high, and on the other twelve undressed stones are also placed twelve wooden supports or columns 6–8 vershoks wide and 12 sazhen high. Both on those supports or columns and on the corpus, wing and outbuilding supports are fixed attachments also of squared beams of the same thickness as the supports, and wooden girders of planed squared beams are placed on the attachments over the corpus with an incline from the centre to the periphery of $2\frac{1}{2}$ vershoks and over the wings are placed rafters which in four wings are braced with cross-stay wall supports and in the machine wing with head-frames under all girders. Both in the corpus and in all wings lengthwise in the centre are installed long underpinning trusses which are reinforced into the walls of the corpus by cross-stays and in the wings through the rafters in the centre by iron bolts (*boutami*) with nuts and with cast-iron overlay over the rafters and shields (*bliatkami*) under the screws.

- 6 The middle of the Main Corpus, between the four cast-iron and twelve wooden pillars or columns, is divided into five floors by wooden girders made of beams and planks fixed to the cast-iron and wooden columns by cast-iron collars or bands and with iron bolts. The main building itself is divided into five storeys, but of different sizes with stepped floors, so that from a single central point in the viewing column one can see at the same time what is happening on all five floors of the main building. The five wings are divided into three floors and these are based or fixed onto a horizontal beam along the wall fixed with pins into each vertical support, and the corpus walls are fixed with cross-beams and the previously mentioned horizontal wall beams with dowels into each vertical support and with iron bolts, and the walls of the wings [are fixed] with the same bolts and linking bands of cladding. On the horizontal-wall beams or internal planking are placed beams which are fixed to the middle-wall vertical pillars with bolts and these beams serve the floor below as support for the ceiling, and for the floor above as flooring. In the main corpus beneath five storeys and in four wings under two are affixed lengthwise supporting beams [which run] through the middle in two

rows; in the corpus between the crossbeams, and in the wings between the rafters and on two floors, there are inserted into the said support beams bolts with nuts and cotter pins and with cast-iron plates beneath them, but in the machine wing the bolts inserted through the rafters are only on one floor and support-beams 7 vershoks thick are run down the middle in two rows, and beneath them are placed wooden pillars. Throughout the whole main building, that is, the corpus and the belvedere and in the wings, floors of planed planks are close-laid on the said beams on a batten. These floors, on the third floor and opposite³ the fourth, on the inside of the corridor which runs around the twelve columns, project by one arshin. At the ends of these floors is placed a balustrade of wooden handrails on thin iron balusters, and both these so-called galleries are suspended on iron links with cast-iron fixings which run round the whole of the twelve-angled building, and at each of the angles there are bolts with nuts from these links which fasten into the ceiling. Beginning at the lowest floor and right up to the top floor there are stairways with banisters also painted in black. Four cast-iron pillars with wooden cladding form a round pillar on all floors, with frequent round openings for overseeing the whole building and it is therefore called the inspection pillar; within it is constructed a mechanism for going up and down to whichever storey is required, and doors are constructed on each floor.

- 7 The outside of the main corpus and the wings and annexes are clad with 3-inch planks, fixed in the centre of the planks to the vertical pillar with a wooden dowel, and with iron nails at the joints. At the corners of both the corpus and the wings there are corner pieces made from beams like columns for supporting the cladding. The belvedere and the main corpus are covered with planks 5 inches thick, like a ship's deck, fastened to the girders with wooden pegs, with nails at the [plank end] joints. In the wings the rafters are cross-braced with planks 2½ vershoks thick and the roofs are covered with planks 1 inch thick in two rows. In the annexes the roofs are also cross-braced with laths 2½ vershoks thick. They are covered with planks 3 inches thick, tongued-and-grooved, fixed on battens. At the back end of the machine wing on the ground floor a sluice is constructed for dragging timber into the sawmill; both this sluice and equally the previously mentioned outbuildings [or annexes] which run alongside it are covered with 3-inch planks end-to-end horizontally or level with the ground; they are also fixed with wooden pegs and with nails at the joints.

- 8 The cladding of the main corpus, wings, and outbuildings is caulked with tarred oakum or hemp and the roof of the main corpus, the belvedere, and the annexes for the steam engine, the smithy, the copper/brass foundry and magazine are caulked with the same oakum or hemp boiled in thick pitch and coated with tar or liquid pitch, and these annexes for the steam engine and smithy are covered with iron sheeting.
- 9 Exits from the cellars of four of the wings have been made. First were placed in the ground suitable pillars made from old ship's rib timbers and on them cross beams of the same timbers. These are clad to the ground with old barge planks, and these exits are covered with 2½-inch sawn planks with caulking in the seams of these slabs, then all these exits are spread with earth so that round the whole building there appears to be a level area.
- 10 From the front side of the façade, for the main entrance there is a stone porch with a wooden canopy enclosed on both sides, and along the ends of the four [wings] and on both sides of the machine wing are constructed wooden sluices. In the four wings there are steps and wooden annexes in each of which are located two toilets which are also clad with planks and caulked with pitched hemp, but by the machine wing there are just the sluices without steps.
- 11 The windows are made to the proportionate size in the main corpus, the belvedere, the wings, and the annexes. How many window frames have what kind of sashes, and how many panes of glass there are overall is shown in [Appendix A](#), and there are in the whole building: thirteen external double doors, twelve single doors, and four lattice doors, and internally fifty-three plain doors, thirty-three panelled doors, eleven lattice doors; the glass doors are shown together with the window frames.
- 12 In the wings, ceilings of planks are laid on the rafters, and on them is spread earth, both on these ceilings as well as at the stone level, and in the second wooden level of the four wings and in the corpus in the front there are five ceilings. The ceilings in the belvedere as well as in the main corpus, the belvedere, four wings, the smithy, and the copper foundry are plastered, and in all of them, including the stone level of the corpus, the wings and the annexes are plastered and whitewashed, but the wooden walls of the machine wing and the ceilings in the others are [just] whitewashed.
- 13 In the front part of the main corpus at the stone level there are rooms with a dividing wall in which are installed a tiled sleeping bench, a Russian stove, and a fireplace with a cast-iron [back]plate, and

- beneath this room in the basement is a storeroom to which there is special passage on the first and second wooden floors. A main entrance has been made and on either side of it is, on the right, a small room with a staircase, and on the left a small room with a tiled sleeping bench for a concierge. On the third floor the room is divided into three parts, in one part is a tiled Russian stove, a fireplace with a cast-iron [back]plate, and in the other two parts are two living areas. And at the entrance to these living areas set against the wall is a faience vessel for toilet use and two cupboards. There is a stairway to the fourth floor and under it is a storeroom. On the fourth floor there are two rooms; in one of them there is a tiled Dutch stove, and in the other, also in the wall, there is a faience vessel for toilet purposes. A small corridor for a staircase to the fifth floor. On the 5th floor there are also two living areas in which there are two tiled Dutch stoves. A small corridor in which there is a cupboard.
- 14 Above the belvedere there is a twelve-angled box or basin lined internally with rolled or thin lead. From this basin lead pipes are laid to seven angles of the corpus down to the very bottom. Brass taps are soldered to them on every floor in the living areas, kitchens, and toilets for delivering water, and beneath the taps are a sort of cast-iron vessel with gratings for draining dirty water through wooden pipes which are also installed in the seven corners of the corpus, and in the basement of the first wing below ground all these wooden pipes are brought together into one pipe which leads out into the river Okhta. Into the same pipe a wooden pipe is laid from the basin for flushing away superfluous water, that is, so that water from the basin cannot overflow the edge and so that it should not fill to a depth of more than 14 inches.
- 15 There are stoves, one each in four wings and two in the machine room. Under them are foundations of rubble blocks and from ground level a 3½-arshin square brick under-stove, one arshin high from ground level. From one side of the under-stove is the outlet of the stove, and in the middle of the fire-box there are cast-iron grids or firebars and beneath it an ash-box. On the other three sides of the under-stove is a smoke duct or pipe. On this under-stove and duct are placed, along the sides [*poliami*], a square boiler or dome of thick sheet iron, in the base 2½ arshins square and 3 arshins high, with side pieces 7 vershoks from the base. On these side pieces, in a circle 1½ inches below the iron dome and 3 vershoks high, are brick walls of one brick thickness, with holes like a grid, and from these walls, beneath the iron dome is a grid-like vault. One arshin from

this is another enclosed vault behind the stove, and on a similar base there is a brick pillar, $2\frac{1}{2}$ arshins square and 5 arshins in height. In this pillar are housed the smoke and heating ducts. This pillar ends on the fifth floor of the wing and the smoke duct projects above the roof. During heating, when there is a fire in the cast-iron fire grid, the heat strikes upwards into the top of the iron dome and then descends through the dome from the aforesaid furnace through a channel made on three sides of the under-stove; the smoke exits through the said smoke duct while from outside fresh air passes around the dome and is heated by it, and then passes through the grid-like vault, under the enclosed vault, and from under that into the heat duct, and from that to the whole of the floor through vents controlled by a thermometer. When the heat is adequate the opening in the vents gradually closes, and when the stove is fully heated it closes completely.

- 16 In the annexe on the left side of the machine wing is installed a twenty-horse power steam engine brought from England. For this machine a brick stove is built in which are placed two boilers and a duct 1 sazhen square and 8 sazhen high, and on this there is an iron hood, and the various parts of the engine that make it work can be seen in the appended [Appendix B](#). On the right side of the machine wing there is a great furnace from which there is a duct 1 sazhen in width and 8 sazhen high, and on it there is also an iron hood. From the smithy with eight furnaces lead two brick ducts 6 sazhen high. Behind this smithy a brass foundry is installed in which there is a drying stove, two smelting furnaces and two soldering furnaces, from which leads a duct 3 sazhen high. On this, as with the smithy chimneys there are iron hoods .
- 17 The walls of the corpus, belvedere, annexes are painted with yellow paint while the corner pieces and balustrades of the corpus are in white paint. The roofs of the wings, toilets, and annexes are painted dark grey.
- 18 Last year, 1813, at the wish of the Minister of Naval Forces and Cavalier, and by order of the Executive Committee an instruction was given to build for the Tools/Instruments Department a smithy on the site of the magazine near the steam engine and between the smithy and the foundry where the old planking and beams of the sluice were broken, and both sides were raised with brick and wood in line with the annexes of the smithy and the steam engine. Within the sluice one brick wall and two piers were broken through, and in their place was built another wall and two piers, and four more

walls made of brick on which were laid beams with chiselled mortices in which were placed smaller beams, and on these [were placed] fitments and over them joists, and across these [were placed] planks 2½ vershoks in thickness, and covered with a roof of planks 3 inches thick, and over these sheet iron painted black. Inside are installed twenty-six furnaces from which there are three flues 4 sazhen higher than the roof and four more 2 sazhen higher than the roof, with iron hoods. Next to the smithy are eight underground brick magazines for storing coal, and one for iron. There are window openings in which have been installed frames and glass panes, and exactly how many of each is listed in the register attached at [Appendix A](#).

- 19 The kitchen, bread store, laundry and brewery are situated at a distance of twenty-two sazhen from the Main Corpus. The kitchen and bread store are 13½ sazhen long and 7 sazhen wide, leaving a passage of 3 sazhen for traffic in the line of the laundry and brewery, which are of the same length and breadth. Earth was removed for making the foundation 1 arshin wide and 1½ arshins deep, and, depending on the location, even deeper. The foundation is of rubble blocks, brick and plinth. For the kitchen and bread store this projects 8 vershoks above ground level, and for the laundry and brewery 2 sazhen because they are in a depression where there are also two arches 3 sazhen wide and 6 sazhen long. Under the last arch there is a bathhouse with four windows, with a normal ante-bathroom of stone, full of benches and tubs for water, and under the other is an icehouse. On the surface of these arches earth is spread to the level of the kitchen. On the said raised foundations are placed beams 7 vershoks in thickness, and in these mortices have been chiselled out according to size and in them placed posts 2 sazhen high, which serve to support the ceilings and rafters. On these are placed crosspieces and on those are set rafters fastened with iron bolts and fixed to the walls with cast-iron plates and bolts. On the outside is cladding of 3-inch planks, and the rafters overlaid crosswise with lengths of wood 2½ vershoks in thickness and the roof is covered with planks 1 inch thick in two rows; a ceiling of old recycled ship's planks has been hung from inside, and the sub-ceiling and walls clad to look like plaster, and they are all plastered and whitewashed. Forty-five windows have been made, with window frames, and how many exactly is given in the register at [Appendix A](#). Three doors have been hung in the kitchen, two in the laundry, one in the cellar, two in the bathhouse. In the kitchen there

are eight ovens with two flues for breadmaking, and four stoves for boilers, with one flue. In the laundry and brewery there are also four stoves for boilers, with two flues. In the kitchen and brewery there are wooden hoods over the stoves with outlets for extracting vapours. In the kitchen the floor is entirely covered with arshin-sized tiles; in the laundry half the floor has arshin-sized flagstones, that is over the cellar and bathhouse, and the other half is floored with 3-inch planks. On the outside the kitchen and laundry are caulked with tarred hemp or oakum, and the walls are painted yellow and the roofs dark grey. At a distance of 22 sazhen from the main building is a covered way two sazhen wide for walking to the dining room, in the same style as the kitchen but clad in 1-inch planks and roofed in the same in two rows, and the wall is painted yellow and the roof dark grey.

- 20 The inspection and guard houses are 7 sazhen long and 4 wide. The ground was excavated so that foundations could be laid to a width and depth of 1 arshin. Foundations were laid of rubble blocks, and above ground of plinth. On these foundations were erected walls of hewed beams with two split beams crosswise inside and one more between them 4 arshin high. On the walls are placed beams or joists, rafters are laid crosswise, and the roofs are covered with 1-inch planks in two rows. They are painted dark grey. The floors and ceilings are planked, the storerooms built on, and under them ice-rooms. Each has fourteen windows – the number of frames and panes of glass is listed in the same register at [Appendix A](#). There are 5 doors to each house and each house has two Russian stoves and plastered ceilings.
- 21 All the land is planned to slope away from the main building and a canal is excavated of 10 sazhen width by the machine wing, and from it to the river Neva it is 5 sazhen wide. The whole length of the canal is 88 sazhen. All the land belonging to the Institute is surrounded by a palisade which is also painted yellow.

NOTE How much money and material was expended overall on the construction of the Panoptical Institute from the commencement of building on the 15th of June 1806 to the 1st of January of this year 1814, both in the building process and on the maintenance of it, is indicated in the accounting statement under letter C, and what area of land is occupied by the Panoptical Institute and how its buildings are situated can be seen in the general plan under letter D, and the plan of the Main Building with its façade is under letter E.

In addition there are the following buildings on the land owned by the Institute:

- 1 Five slipways for building ships which are constructed in the way slipways are usually built. Piles are driven the whole length and breadth of a ship with blocks and supports on which are laid cross-braces or short timbers [*balansy*] and on them are already laid longitudinal planks. On either side of the slipways are erected posts for scaffolding to which are attached ribbands⁴ and towards the Neva on either side of the ship and frigate slipways wharves have been made.
- 2 A house in the style of the Panoptical Institute has been built for the Master Shipbuilder. It is 7 sazhen long and 5 sazhen wide; piles were driven, joists were laid for the internal and external walls, in these mortices were cut, posts were erected and on these cross beams were laid, and on these beams above the centre of this house a belvedere has been built; it is clad externally with 2½-inch planks and internally with 1½-inch planks and is caulked on both sides and plastered on the inside. The roof is covered in the English manner with one-inch planks in one row cross-wise to the edge, and at the edge is tarred; floors and ceilings have been made and stoves and a fireplace installed.
- 3 A smithy on the Okhta, 13½ arshins long and 5 sazhen wide, in which 14 furnaces have been installed.
- 4 A shed 6 sazhen long and 5½ wide with a furnace for making steel.

All these structures are at the special disposal of Master Shipbuilder Stuckey.

[*signed*]

Matvei Loginov

Appendix A. Register showing how many windows with how many window sashes and panes of glass there are in the building of the Panoptical Institute, on each floor, and in the buildings which belong to it.

External	Windows		Total panes
	number	window sashes with how many panes	
In the first floor	1	4	4
	276	6	1656
	123	12	1476
	4	18	72
	10	24	240
	3	30	90
Total			3538
In the second floor	310	12	3720
	84	16	1344
Total			5064
In the third floor	216	9	1944
	120	12	1440
	84	16	1344
Total			4728
In the fourth floor	326	9	2934
	10	12	120
	84	16	1344
Total			4398
In the fifth floor	10	12	120
	154	16	2464
Total			2584

	Windows		Total panes
	number	window sashes with how many panes	
In the sixth floor	10	12	120
	154	16	2464
Total			2584
In the seventh floor	72 [including door-panes: RB]	12	864
doors 2		12	
In the eighth floor	72	12	864
Total external windows			24624

Internal	Windows		Total panes
	number	window sashes with how many panes	
In the second floor	35	12	420
	1	15	15
	33	36	1188
	2	24	48
Total			1671
On the first gallery	33	20	660
	2	16	32
	1	24	24
	1	10	10
Total			726
On the second gallery	33	20	660
	69	24	1656
	2	30	60
Total			2376

		Windows		Total panes
		number	window sashes with how many panes	
On the staircases	2	3	6	18
	2	9	18	
	1	4	4	
In the entrance				6
In the workshops:	ship-building	2	16	32
	engineering	5	12	60
	mathematical	6	9	54
Total internal				4965
Total panes in the Main Building				29589

In the outbuildings	Windows		Total panes
	number	window sashes with how many panes	
In the kitchen	44	20	880
	2	36	72
In the wash-house	46	20	920
	2	36	72
In the galleries	9	9	81
In the two houses	56	12	672
	2	2	4
Total			2701
In the bath-house	8	6	48
Grand total			32338

[signed]

Matvei Loginov

Appendix B: Explanation of the steam engine installed in the Panoptical Institute.

This machine has an effective power equal to twenty horses.

The installation comprises two linked furnaces in which are installed two iron boilers which are used alternately for the functioning of the machine.

A cast-iron steam cylinder with various transverse tubes, curved and with cast-iron boxes, with brass valves, a steam air cylinder, pumps, a flywheel and other parts.

The machine thus installed operates by means of horizontal and vertical cast-iron shafts with various wheels and cog-wheels attached to them. Machines [driven by it] now installed and in operation are:

On the 1st, bottom floor

A grinding machine/whetstone made of grindstone for sharpening various tools. One.

A cast-iron turning lathe for turning various heavy large objects.

On the 2nd floor

A saw room with standing saws which are used for sawing up timber. Up to 6.

A saw room, circular vertical saw for sawing various planks and battens.

On the 3rd floor

Cast-iron turning lathes for turning cast iron, iron, brass, and wooden objects. Up to 17.

A cast-iron machine for polishing things. One.

Cast-iron machines for making blocks and sheaves. Two.

Grinding machines made of grindstone for sharpening tools. Two.

On the 4th floor [blank]

In addition, also being installed, or to be installed, are various machines which are to be brought into operation by the same steam engine, viz.:

Oaken turning lathes for turning various items, three

For the polishing of iron and brass things, four

On the lower floor, grinders made of grindstone, up to three more to be installed

A cast-iron hammer for heavy smithing works

There will also be a rolling mill for flatting copper sheets

On the middle floor, a cast-iron horizontal circular plane is to be installed for the planing of planks.

In addition, on occasion and as needed the steam engine raises water through cast-iron pipes to the tank placed above the belvedere.

Appendix C. Accounting Register, Concerning monies and materials received for the Panoptical Institute from the beginning of construction on 15 July 1806 until 1 January 1814, also showing how much was expended and on what.

received	Roubles	Copecks
During the presence of Brigadier Bentham from start of construction until 1 September 1807 money received:	124,000	
From 1 September 1807 to 1 January 1814 during the presence of Senior Mining Engineer 5th Class and Cavalier Loginov money received:	279,438	58
From start of construction until September 1807 received from the Admiralty materials, instruments and other items approximately to the value of	6,704	32½
In 1812 and 1813 various materials, instruments and other items received to value of	23,289	72¾
Cost of coal remaining to be paid after Brigadier Bentham	25	
For various cast-iron and brass items received in late 1812 and in 1813 payment due to foundry master Baird	864	87¾
Total receipts	434,322	51

expenditure	Roubles	Copecks	
For the construction of the Main Building from start of construction to 1 September 1807 during the presence of Brigadier Bentham, amount of payment of the debt on the Institute remaining after him (Bentham) turned out to be	86,306	44	
From said September 1807 up to final completion of the Main Building	90,754	81¾	total expended on construction of Main Building 177,061 r. 25¾ co.
On salary with accommodation allowance to Messrs directors, officials, master craftsmen and others paid by the Institute was paid out			
in the presence of Brigadier Bentham:	41,467	99¼	total on wages and salaries 99,374 r. 75¼
in the presence of Senior Mining Engineer 5th Class and Cavalier Loginov:	57,906	76	
For ground planning and building of the canal and the palisade	20,980	13¾	
For construction of kitchen, wash-house, 2 dwellings and gallery	33,100	9¼	
For building of the instrument forge by the machine extension	10,728	67¾	
For the deployment of machines and their functioning in 1813	31,100	47½	

expenditure	Roubles	Copecks
Besides the above sums, expenditure on hire of houses for the craftsmen, payment for purchased houses and shed, instruction of the cadets, for making of temporary kitchens, bedsteads, firewood, lighting, office supplies and other items relating to maintenance and repair and also arrangement of the workshops, and for materials allowed as loans for the construction of ships and for the compass workshop:		
during the presence of Brigadier Bentham	4,041	52
ditto of Senior Mining Engineer 5th Class and Cavalier Loginov	31,302	23¾
Total expenditure	407,689	14½
After that up to 1 January 1814 there remained in the Institute money, materials, instruments and other items to the value of	26,633	36½

Note: In addition to the above there was used in the construction of the Main Building and the machines a certain quantity of materials and other

items imported by Brigadier Bentham from England, which were held at the Institute without an exact price, and a significant quantity of such items is still present, which remain without valuation and are recorded in a special book.

[signed]

Matvei Loginov

Russian text:

[18]

Государственной Адмиралтейства Коллегии в Исполнительную Экспедицию, от Директора Поноптического Института Оберберггауптмана 5-го Класа и Кавалера Логинова
Рапорт

Препровождаются Планы с описаниями о Поноптическом Институте
Июня 16. дня 1814 г. № 810

По получении из оной Экспедиции Указа от 27-го ноября прошлого 1813 г. за № 2202 велено было Мастеру Кондратьеву сделать планы местоположению и всем строениям с фасадом главного здания, равно описание или означение паровой машины, Смотрителю Иванову описание Института и ведомость сколько во всех строениях находится окон и стекол, Казначею Никонову отчетную ведомость о принятых для Института с начала строения по 1-е генваря сего 1814 г. деньгах и материалов [sic] с показанием, сколько на что вышло; которые по сделании ко мне представили и мной рассмотрены и во исполнение указа Исполнительной Экспедиции при сем имею честь препроводить два плана 1. о местоположении земли принадлежащей институту и 2. о строениях с фасадом главного здания, оипсание Институту, ведомость под буквою А о окнах и стеклах, означение под буквою Б о паровой машины, и отчетную ведомость под буквою В о принятых и вышедших в расход с начала строения по 1-е генваря сего года деньгах и материалах.

[подпись] Оберберггауптман 5. класса Логинов

Как по решению Экспедиции таковые описания [sic] представленные от Главного порта Гребного Флота предоставлено 2. Отделению рассмотреть сходственно ли учинены оние (?) противу требования адмиралтейского департамента и потом представить Экспедиции, то и сие описание обще с планами для таковогоже рассмотрения и потом представления Экспедиции отдать в оноеже Отделение.
Июня 18. Дня 1814 г.

[подпись] И. Пущин

Описание
Поноптического Институту

Означенный Институт начало свое восприял по представленному Господином Бригадиром и Ковалером Бентамом плану, которой Г-м Министром Морских Военных Сил Чичаговым на Высочайшую апробацию был поднесен и утвержден июля 15. дня 1806-ого года. Место для устройства здания писанного Института избрано, бывшая крепость называемая Нейшанцы, находившаяся на стрелке при устье реки Охты, впадающей в Неву с правой стороны и принадлежащей к Смольному Монастырю.

Главное здание писанного Института по утвержденному плану начато устроиваться под главным распоряжением упомянутого г-на Бригадира Бентама, англичкой нации архитектуром или мастером Кирком и назначено основание оногo здания на самой середине писанной крепость и произведено

1-е. Вынута земля до материка для главного корпуса правильною двенадцати-угольною фигурую, которая в поперечнике 20 сажень а глубиную 2 сажени; для пяти флигелей, которые фигурую четвероугольны, длиною каждой 15 сажень, шириною 4 сажени 14 вершков, глубиную 2 сажени; для пристройков под паровую машину длиною 9 сажен, шириною 3 сажени 2 аршина 10 вершков и глубиную 2 сажени; под кузницу длиною 9 сажень, шириною 3 сажени 3½ вершка и глубиную 2 сажени. К оным еще для паровой машины подмагазин длиною 9½ сажень, шириною 3 сажени 3½ вершка и глубиную 1 сажень 1 аршин 4 ¼ вершка; под (?) литейную длиною 9½ сажень, шириною 3 сажени 2 аршина 9½ вершка и глубиную 1 сажень 1 аршин 4 ¼ вершка. К слюзу длиною 9½ сажень, шириною 4 сажени 2 аршина 9 ¼ вершка и глубиную 1 сажень 1 аршин 4 ¼ вершка; для подземельных выходов у четырёх флигелей, у первого длиною 14½ сажень, шириною 2 сажени, и глубиную 1 сажень 1 аршин 4 ¼ вершка, у второго длиною 13½ сажень, шириною 2 сажени и глубиную 1 сажень 1 аршин 4 ¼ вершка, [20] у третьего длиною 16 сажень, шириною 2 сажени и глубиную 1 сажень 1 арш. 4 ¼ вер., у четвертого длиною 22 сажени, шириною 2 сажени, глубиную 1 сажень 1 аршин 5 вершков, которому и машинному флигелю для гавани каждая длиною 10. сажень а шириною 5 сажень, глубиную до обыкновенной воды.

2-е. Для корпуса под стены которые выходят от центра чрез 2. сажени 4. вершка и составляют полупоперешники в двенадцать

углов и занимают пространство как вышепоказанной поперешник 20 сажень, а равно под стены ограничивающие сии полупоперешники под флигельные и под пристроечные вынута земля или выкопаны рвы для положения фундамента из бутовой плиты шириною $1\frac{1}{2}$ аршина, глубиною $\frac{1}{2}$ аршина, смотря по грунту земли и более для зрительного столба и двенадцати колон так же вынута земля глубиною в 2 ар(шина?) а шириною в поперешник 1 сажень и 1 аршин побиты сваи.

3-е. Для всех стен а равно для зрительного столба и двенадцати колон положен фундамент из бутовой плиты, на оной под зрительной столб и двенадцати колон положены четырехугольные дикие камни коих поверхности между собою горизонтальны, потом обложены по шаблонам или лекалам внутренние полупоперечных двенадцать стен толщиной в низу в три кирпича с утонением кверху в один кирпич, вышиною 2 сажени, а прочие стены как то корпусные, флигельные и пристроечные изнутри в $1\frac{1}{2}$ кирпича а к земле бутовою плитою в 1 аршин выведены потом от поверхности земли над оными складены стены из цоколя или тесаной плиты вышиною в $1\frac{1}{4}$ аршин кроме машинного флигеля, у которого половина длины и задняя стена из цоколя, а другая половина из кирпича.

4-е. Внутри двенадцатиугольного корпуса и в флигелях кроме машинного поставлены в корпусе и в двух флигелях вдоль посредине в два ряда а в двух посредине вдоль же в один ряд деревянные стойки или колонны на кои положены продольные брусья а на сии и в стены концами закладенные четвероугольные строганные балки на которые насланы строганные и сплоченные на рейках доски кои и служат для подвалов потолком а для первого и притом каменного этажа полом. На сей пол также внутри двенадцати- [21]

угольного корпуса и в флигелях кроме машинного поставлены в корпусе и двух флигелях вдоль посредине в два ряда, а в двух посредине деревянные стойки или колонны на кои положены продольные брусья, в машинном же флигеле под первой этаж подведены подвзные брусья посредине в два ряда толщиной в 7 вершков а под оные поставлены чугунные колонны на сваи и настилку, крестообразно из досок.

5-е. На означенные выведенные каменные стены положены брусья толщиной в 7 вершков а на оные и на вышеписанные продольные в каменном этаже на стойках брусья положены четвероугольные строганные балки которые размещены поразмеру, между оными балками выдолблены для стоек гнезды во оные поставлены стойки

из брусьев в корпусе разномерной ширины а толщиного от 2½ вершков до 7 ве-в а во флигелях толщиною и шириною около 7 вершков а длиною для самой середины 10и-саженных двенацать а для внутренности и окружности 7-саженных сто восемь, для флигелей 4-саженных триста семдесят две, для пристройков в ½ сажени шестдесят, на преждеже показанные на фундаменте положенные четверугольные дикие камни поставлены на средней для зрительного столба четыре чугунные стойки составные каждая из пяти штук вышиною двенадцать сажень а на прочие двенадцать диких камней также поставлены двенадцать стоек или колок [sic – колон] деревянных толщиною от 6-и до 8-и вершков а вышиною 12 саж. Как на оные стойки или колоны равно на корпусные флигельные и пристроечные насажены насадки тож из брусьев толщиною противу стоек на оные насадки положены балки из строганных брусьев над корпусом с уклоном от центра к окружности на 2½ вершка а над флигелями поставлены стропила которые в четырех флигелях скреплены со стенными стойками раскосинами а в машинном флигеле копорами под все балки. Как в корпусе так и во флигелях посредине в доль подведены продольные подвязные брусья которые укреплены в корпусе в стены раскосинами а во флигелях сквось стропила в средину железными боутами с гайками и с чугунными на стропила накладками а под гайки блятками.

[22] 6-е. Средина Главного Корпуса между четырьмя чугунными и двенадцати деревянными стойками или колонами разделена на пять этажей балками из брусьев и досок которые скреплены с чугунными и деревянными колонами, чугунными ободами или бугилями и железными боутами, самой корпус разделен также на пять этажей, но другим размером с уступами, так что с одной средней точки зрительного столба можно видеть в одно время во всех пяти этажах корпуса, что происходит. пять флигелей разделены на три этажа и оные разделения основаны или утверждены на привальные к стенам брусьев с шипами в каждую стойку и скреплены корпусные стены раскосинами и помянутыми привальными брусьями с шипами в каждую стойку и железными боутами а флигельные такимиже боутами с связными поясами обшивки, на оные привальные брусья или клямсы положены строганные балки и скреплены со средними стеновыми стойками боутами и служат оные балки, смежным этажом нижнему для поддерживания потолка а верхнему для пола. В главном корпусе

под пять а в четырех флигелях под два этажа приделаны подвязные продольные брусья по середине в два ряда; в корпусе сквось раскосины а во флигелях сквось стропила и в два этажа пропущены в показанные подвязные брусья боуты с гайками и чеками, с подложенными под оные чугунными бляхами а в машинном флигеле болты сквось стропила пропущены только в один этаж, подведены подвязные брусья посредине в два ряда толщиною в 7 вершков а под оные поставлены деревянные колоны. Во всем главном здании то есть в корпусе в бельведере и во флигелях на показанные балки насланы полы из строганных досок сплочённых на рейку; оные полы в третьем и против четвертого этажей во внутренности колидора проходящего около двенадцати колон выпущены на один аршин; при концах оных полов поставлены перила из деревянных поручней и из тонких железных прутьев и подвешены обе сии так называемые галлиреи на железных и с чугунными закрепами связях которые обходят вокруг всего двенадцати-угольника а из двенадцати углов от оных связей боуты с гайками укрепляются в потолок.

[23] Начиная от нижнего этажа и до верхнего зделаны лесницы с перилами которые и выкрашены черною краскою. Четыре чугунные стойки во обще общиты в виде круглого столба во всех этажах деревом с круглыми по размеру зделанными часто дырами для обозрения по всему зданию а потому и называется оной Зрительным Столбом, во внутренности онога зделана машина для спускания и поднимания в которой этаж понадобится и в каждом этаже зделаны двери.

7-е. С внешней стороны как главной корпус а равно флигели и пристройки обшиты досками толщиною в 3 дюй[ма] с креплением в средину доски в каждую стойку по деревянному нагелю а встыки железными гвоздями по углам как корпуса так и флигелей приделаны наугольники из брёвен в роде колонов для крепления обшивки. Бельведер и глазной [главной] корпус покрыты досками толщиною в 5 дю[йм] на подобие карабельной палубы закреплена в балки деревянными нагелями, а стыки гвоздями; на флигелях стропила обрешечены брусками в 2½ вершка и кровли покрыты досками толщиною в 1 дюй[м] в два ряда. А на пристройках кровли обрешечены тож брусками в 2½ вершка.

Покрыты досками толщиною в 3 дю[йма] шпун[к?]тованные и сплочены нарейки. К заднему концу машинного флигеля в первой этаж зделан шлюз для таски в пильную лесов, как оной шлюз равно

по сторонам оного продолжавшиеся помянутые пристройки покрыты досками в 3 дюй[ма] в приплотку горизонтально или равно с землею прикреплены также деревянными нагелями а в стыках гвоздями.

8-е. Обшивка главного корпуса флигелей пристройков выконопачены смоленою паклею или пенькою а кровли над главным корпусом и над бельведером на пристройках для паровые машины кузницы медно-литейной и могазина выконопачены таковоюже паклею или пенькою заварены густою смолою и вытированы тиром или житкой смолою а сверх оной пристройки паровые машины и кузницы покрыты листовым железом.

9-е. Выходы из подвалов у четырех флигелей зделаны. Вначале поставлены в землю належки стойки из корор а на оные насадки из таковыхже корор.

[24] К земле обшиты оные стойки барочными досками и покрыты оные выходы досками пильными в 2½ дю[йма] с накладкою напазы оных горбылей потом все оные выходы засыпано землею так что вокруг всего здания представляется ровная площадь.

10-е. С передней стороны фасады для главного входа зделано каменное крыльцо с деревянным с двух сторон закрытым навесом а по концам четырех и с обеих сторон машинного флигелей зделаны деревянные шлюзы у четырех флигелей со ступенями и деревянными пристройками в которых помещены по два нужных мест кои обшиты так же досками и выконопачены смоленою пенькою а у машинного флигеля зделаны просто шлюзы без ступенек.

11-е. Окны зделаны по сарозмерности как в главном корпусе так в бельведере в флигелях и пристройках, а сколько каких имянно вставлено в оные оконницы с какими переплетами а сколько во всех стекол то при сем прилагается ведомость под буквою А. а дверей во всем здании внешних створчетых тринадцать, одинаких двенадцать, решетчетых четыре, внутренних щитовых пятьдесят три, филянчетых тридцать три, решетчетых одиннадцать, а стеклянне показаны с оконницами.

12-е. Во флигилях на стропильные балки насланы потолки из горбылей а на оные насыпана земля как под оные потолки равно и в каменном этаже и во втором деревянном этаже четырех флигиелей и в корпусе в передней части пять потолков в бельведере потолок а равно во всем главном корпусе бельведере четырех флигелях кузнице и медно-литейной стены обшиты под щекотурку и все оные а равно и каменной этаж в корпусе флигилях и пристройках

выщекотурены и выбелены а деревянные в машинном флигиле стены а в прочих потолки выбелены.

13-е. В передней части главного корпуса в каменном этаже зделаны покой с перегородкою в котором складены изроцатая лежанка руская печь и очаг с чугуною плитою а под оным покоем в подвале кладовая, куды и зделан особенный ход в первом и втором деревянных этажах.

[25] Зделан главной вход а по сторонам онога направо маленький покой и лесница а по левой маленькая комната с израцатою лежанкою для придверника. В третьем этаже покой разделен на три части в одной зделана израцатая руская печь и очаг с чугуною плитою а в других двух частях два покоя. У входуж(е) оных покоев поставлено в стене фаянцовое судно для нужного места и зделаны два шкафа. Лесница в четвертой этаж, а под оною чулан. В четвертом этаже зделаны два покоя в одном из оных израцатая галанская печь а в другом также в стене поставлено фаянцовое судно для нужного места. Маленькой колидор [sic] для лесницы в пятой этаж. В пятом этаже также устроены два покоя в которых зделаны две израцатые галанские печи. Маленькой колидор в котором зделан шкаф.

14-е. Над бельведером зделан двенатцати же угольной ящик или бассейн которой изнутри обшит рольным или тонким свинцом из онога бассейна в семи углах корпуса в самой низ проведены свинцовые трубы.

Ко оным в каждом этаже в покоях в кухнях и в нужных местах припаены медные краны для спуску воды а под краны подделаны чугунные как бы блюдыя с решетками для спуску нечистой воды чрез деревянные трубы зделанные так же в показанных в семи углах корпуса а в подвале первого флигеля под землю все выщепоказанное в семи углах деревянные трубы сведены в одну трубу которая и выведена в реку Охту. Во оную же трубу из бассейна поставлена деревянная труба для спуску лишней воды то есть чтоб из бассейна не могла вода выливаться чрез край и чтоб оной не мог более наливаться как до 14 дюймов в вышину.

15-е. Печей в четырех флигелях по одной а в машинном две. Устроены под оные фундаменты из бутовой плиты а от поверхности земли кирпичем. Квадратной в 3½ аршина подпечек вышиную от земли один аршин, с одной стороны онога подпечка зделано устье печи а в середине топка из чугунных решетин или колосников а под онога пепельник. В других трех сторонах подпечка зделан дымовой канал или труба. На оной подпечек и канал поставлен [26] полями зделанной

из толстого листового железа четверо-угольной котел или купол в основании квадратно 2½ аршина а вышиною 3 аршина с полями от основания на 7-и вершках. На оные поля кругом расстоянием от железного купола внизу на 1½ верш(ка) а вверху на 3 вершка сделаны стены с дырами наподобие решетки из кирпича толщиной в один кирпич а с оных стен под железным куполом сделан решедчетой [sic] свод. От одного на один аршин сделан еще глухой свод позади печи, на таком же фундаменте сделан кирпичной столб квадратно в 2½ аршина вышиною 5-и сажень. Во оном столбе помещены трубы дымовые и тепловая. Столб сей оканчивается в верхнем этаже флигеля а дымовая труба выведена сверх кровли и во время топления когда на чугунной решетке горит огонь, то пыл ударяется в верх железного купола и опускается по оному куполу из показанной печи чрез проведенной в трех сторонах подпечка канал, выходит дым в означенную дымовую трубу а с наружной стороны в решетчатые стены проходит около купола и на оной свежий воздух нагревается от купола и проходит сквозь решедчетой свод под глухой а из под одного в тепловую трубу а из оной во все этажи чрез отдухи по пропорций термометра, когда теплоты довольно то отверстие оных отдух закрывается постепенно а по истоплению печи и совсем.

16-е. В пристройке по левую сторону машинного флигеля поставлена привезенная из Англии паровая машина силою противу дватцати лошадей, для оной машины сделана кирпичная печь в которой закладены два паровые котла и выведена труба квадратно в 1 сажень и вышиною 8 сажень и на оной поставлен железной колпак а какие оная машина имеет части и что производит в действие, то видеть можно из приложенного при сем означения под буквою Б. А на правой стороне машинного флигеля сделан большой горн от которого выведена труба толщиной в 1 сажень а вышиною 8 сажень, и на оной также поставлен железной колпак, и кузница о восьми горнах от которых проведены две кирпичные трубы вышиною 6 сажень.

[27] За оною кузницею устроена меднолитейная в которой сделана сушильная печь, два плавельных и два попельных горна от которых выведена труба вышиною 3 сажени; как на кузнечных трубах так и на оной сделаны железные колпаки.

17-е. Стены корпуса бельведера флигелей и пристройков выкрашены желтою краскою а наугольники и перила на корпусе и бельведере белую, кровлю на флигелях нужных местах и пристройках выкрашены темносерою краскою.

18-е. Прошлого 1813 г. по воле Г-на Министра Военных Морских Сил и Ковалера и по указу Исполнительной Экспедиции велено устроить для Инструментального Заведения кузницу на месте могазина у паровые машины и между кузницею и литейною, где бывшая по сторонам шлюза настилка и балки сломаны и подняты обе стороны кирпичем и деревом в линию пристройков кузницы и паровые машины. Во внутренности выломана кирпичная стена одна и два простенка а вместо оных зделана другая стена и два простенка и еще четыре стены и адстроены из кирпича, на оные положены брусья в которых выдолблены гнезды а в оные поставлены стойки а на сии насадки а сверх оных балки, оные обрешечены брусками в 2½ вершка и покрыта кровля досками в 3 дюйма а сверх оных листовым железом и выкрашена черною краскою. Во внутренности устроены двадцать шесть горнов от которых выведено три трубы вышиною сверх крыши 4 сажени и четыре трубы вышиною 2 сажени с железными колпаками. Зделаны при оной кузнице для хранения угля под землю восемь кирпичных могазинов и один для железа; зделаны окна и вставлены во оные переплеты со стеклами а сколько каких имянно то значится в прилагаемой у сего ведомости под буквою А.

19-е. Кухня, хлебная, прачешная и пивоварня построены отступя от главного здания на двадцать две сажени. Кухня с хлебною длиною на 13½ сажень а шириною на 7 саженьях, а отступя для проезду 3 сажени в линию прачешная с пивоварнею таковоиже длины и ширины. Вынута земля для положения [28] фундамента шириною в 1 аршин а глубиною в 1½ аршина смотря по местоположению, в иных местах и глубже; положен фундамент из бутовой плиты, кирпича и цокола; выведен оной сверх земли у кухни и хлебной в 8 вер(шков) а у прачешной и пивоварни 2ве сажени, ибо оная пришлась в рове где и зделаны два свода шириною 3 сажени а длиною 6 сажень. Под крайним из оных сводов зделана баня о четырех окнах, с передбанником обыкновенною, каменною, полном лавками и ларями для воды, а под другим леденик. На поверхности показанных сводов насыпана земля и выровняна оная вравен с кухней; на означенные выведенные фундаменты положены брусья толщиною в 7 вершков а во оных выдолблены по размеру гнездья и поставлены стойки вышиною в 2 сажени, на оные насажены насадки а на сии положены балки которые служат для поддерживания потолка и стропил. Во оные балки поставлены стропила и скреплены железными боутами а со стенами чугунными планками и боутами, с наружной

стороны обшита досками толщиной в 3 дюйма) а стропила обрешечены брусками толщиной в 2½ вершка и покрыта кровля досками в 1 дюйм в два ряда, наслан потолок из барочных досок изнутри как под потолок равно и стены подшиты под щекотурку и все оные выщекотурены и выбелены. Зделаны сорок пять окон в которые вставлены рамки а какие имянно о том значится в приложенной при сем ведомости под буквою А. Дверей навешено в кухне три, в прачешной две, в погреб одна и в бане две, во внутренности кухни для печения хлебов зделаны восемь печей с двумя трубами и четыре печи для котлов с одною трубою; в прачешной и пивоварне зделаны для котлов также четыре печи с двумя трубами, в кухне и прачешной над котлами зделаны деревянные колпаки с отдухами для вытягивания паров. В кухне пол весь наслан из аршинной лещади, в прачешной половина из лещади, то есть над погребом и баней, а другая половина из досок в 3 дюйма). С наружной стороны кухня и прачешная выконопачены смоленою пенькою или паклею и выкрашены стены желтою а кровли темносерою краскою. На ростоянии от главного здания (в) 22-х саженьх зделана [29] галлирея для проходу в столовую шириною в 2 сажени на такойже манере как и кухня но только обшита досками толщиной в 1 дюйм) и покрыта оными же в два ряда и выкрашена стены желтою а кровля темносерою краскою.

20-е. Смотрительской и караульной дома длиною каждой на 7 а шириною на 4 саженьх. Вынута земля для положения под оные дома фундаментов шириною и глубиною в 1 аршин, положены фундаменты из бутовой плиты а сверх земли цоколем. На оных фундаментах выведены стены рубкою из бревен с двумя внутри поперег перерубами и ещё однем между оными вышиною 4 аршина. На оные стены положены балки или матицы, поставлены стропила, обрешечены и покрыты кровли досками в 1 дюйм) в два ряда. Выкрашены оные темносерою краскою. Насланы полы и потолки, пристроены чуланы а под оными зделаны ледники. Зделаны в каждом по четырнадцати окон: с какими переплетами и сколько стекол значится в тойже ведомости под буквою А. (и?) по 5-ти дверей ————. Зделаны в каждом доме по две русские печи и выщекотурены потолки.

21-е. Выплонирована скатом от Главного Здания вся земля и вырыт канал шириною противу машинного флигеля 10 сажень а от оногo к реке Неве 5 сажень. Длиною весь канал 88 сажень. Вся земля

принадлежащая Институту обнесена брусчатým полисадом которой и выкрашен жёлтою краскою.

Примечание. Сколько на все вышеписанное устройства Поноптического Института с начала строения 1806 года июня 15 дня по 1. генваря сего 1814-го года, как на строение так и на содержание оногo вышло денег и припасов, то значит в приложенной при сем в отчётной ведомости под буквою В, а какое Поноптической Институт имеет местоположение, и как на оном расположены строения [sic], то видеть можно при сем приложенной общей план под буквою Д, равно прилагается Главного Здания Института план с фасадом под буквою Е. [30] Сверх сего имеются строения на земле принадлежащей Институту. 1-е. Пять еленгов для строения судов которые устроены так как обыкновенно строятся еленги. Побиты во всю длину и ширину судна где должно быть блокам и подставам сваи, на которые насажены насадки или балансы а на оные уже насланы продольные настилки. По сторонам еленгов поставлены столбы для подмоск [т]ов и обвязаны рыбинами а к реке Неве по сторонам еленгов карабельного и фрегатского зделаны пристани.— 2-е. Состроен для карабельного мастера дом, на манер Поноптического здания длиною на 7-и а шириною на 5-и саженьях, побиты сваи, на оные насажены насадки для внешних и внутренних стен, во оных выдолблены гнезды, поставлены стойки а на оные насадки а на сии бакли. Над серединой оногo дому зделан бельведер, с наружной стороны обшит досками в 2½ дюйма а изнутри досками в 1½ дюйма и с обеих сторон выконопачен и изнутри выщекотурен. Кровля покрыта на аглинской манер досками в 1 дюй(м) в один ряд поперег кромки а на кромку и высмолена; насланы полы и потолки, зделаны печи и камин. 3-е. Кузница на реке Охте длиною на 13½ а шириною на 5-и саженьях, в которой устроены 14 горнов. — 4-е. Сарай с печью для делания стали длиною на 6-и а шириною на 5½ саженьях. Все оные строения находятся в особом распоряжении карабельного мастера Сто(ка).

[signed]

Матвей Логинов

[31] Ведомость А, Которая означает, сколько в здании Поноптического Института в каждом этаже равно и принадлежащих ко оному зданию строениях находится окон о скольких переплетов и сколько всех стекол.

Внешних	Окошек		во всех стекол
	число	оконниц во сколько стекол	
В 1-м этаже	1	4	4
	276	6	1656
	123	12	1476
	4	18	72
	10	24	240
	3	30	90
Итого			3538
Во 2-м этаже	310	12	3720
	84	16	1344
Итого			5064
в 3-м этаже	216	9	1944
	120	12	1440
	84	16	1344
Итого			4728
в 4-м этаже	326	9	2934
	10	12	120
	84	16	1344
Итого			4398
в 5-м этаже	10	12	120
	154	16	2464
Итого			2584

	окошек		во всех стекол
	число	оконниц во сколько стекол	
В 6-м этаже	10	12	120
	154	16	2464
Итого			2584
в 7-м этаже	72 [including door panes]	12	864
дверей 2		12	
в 8-м этаже	72	12	864
Итого внешних стекол			24624

внутренних	окошек		во всех стекол
	число	оконниц во сколько стекол	
во 2-м этаже	35	12	420
	1	15	15
	33	36	1188
	2	24	48
Итого			1671
По 1-й галереи	33	20	660
	2	16	32
	1	24	24
	1	10	10
Итого			726
По 2-й галереи	33	20	660
	69	24	1656
	2	30	60
Итого			2376

[32]

		Окошек		во всех стекол
		число	оконниц во сколько стекол	
На лестницах		3	6	18
2		9	18	
1		4	4	
в подъезде				6
в конторках	карабельных	2	16	32
	инженмической	5	12	60
	математической	6	9	54
Итого внутренних				4965
всего в Главном Здании стекол				29589

в строениях	Окошек		во всех стекол
	число	оконниц во сколько стекол	
в кухне	44	20	880
	2	36	72
в прачешной	46	20	920
	2	36	72
в галлиреи	9	9	81
в 2-х домах	56	12	672
	2	2	4
Итого			2701
в бане	8	6	48
А всего всех			32338

[signed]

Матвей Логинов

[33]

Б. Означение Паровой Машины Устроенной в Поноптическом Институте.

Оная машина имеет действующей силы противу двадцати лошадей. Устройство составляет соединенно две печи, в коих вделаны два железные котла которые попеременно для действия употребляются. Паровой чугунной цилиндр, с присовокуплением разных проходных кривых с ящиками чугунных труб с медными клапанами, паровым воздушным цилиндром, с помпами маховым колесом и прочими частями.

Таковую устроенную машиною производится посредством чугунных лежащих и стоячих валов с укрепленными оных разных колес и шестерен; в действие устроенные ныне машины а именно

В 1-м ниж(н)ем этаже

- Точило из точильного камня для точки разных инструментов, одно.
- Чугунной токарной станок для точки тяжелых больших разных штук

Во 2-м этаже

- Пильная со стоячими пилами коих употребляется для распиловки лесов до 6-и.
- Пильная круглая вертикальная пила, для распиловки разных брусков и реек.

В 3-м этаже

- Чугунных токарных станков для точки чугунных железных медных и деревянных вещей, до 17-и.

- Чугунной станок для полировки вещей, один
 - Чугунных станков для точки блоков и шкивов, два
 - Точил из точильного камня для точки инструментов, два
- В 4-м этаже

[blank]

Сверх того еще устраивается и имеет быть устроено разные машины которые тоуже п(а)равую машиною имеют быть в действие произведены,

[34] А имянно:

Дубовых токарных станков для точки разных штук, три

Для полировки железных и медных вещей, четыре

В нижнем этаже:

Точил из точильного камня еще будет устраиваться до 3-х

Молот чугунной устроивается для тяжелых кузнечных работ

Тож Плющильная будет для тяжки медных листов

В среднем этаже:

Струг чугунной горизонтальной круглой устроивается для строгания досок

Сверх того:

Паровой машиною по временам и по надобности над бельведером в зделанной басенг поднимает воду чрез чугунные трубы.

[35] В: Отчетная ведомость,

О принятых для Поноптического Института с начала строения июля с 15. 1806 года по 1. генваря 1814 года деньгах и материалах с показанием сколько на что вышло.

в приход	рубли	копейки
В бытность Бригадира Бентама с начала строения сентября по 1. 1807-го года принято денег	124,000	
Сентября с 1. 1807 по 1. генваря 1814 года в бытность г-на Оберберггауптмана 5-го класса и Ковалера Логинова принято денег	279,438	58
С начала строения по сентябрь 1807 года принято из адмиралтейства разных материалов инструментов и прочего примерно по цене на	6,704	32½
В 1812 и 1813 годах принято разных материалов инструментов и прочего по цене на	23,289	72¾
Остается заплатить после Бригадира Бентама за уголье	25	
За принятые в исходе 1812 и 1813 годах разные чугунные и медные вещи следует заплатить заводчику Берду	864	87¾
итого в приход	434,322	51

[36]

в расход	рубли	копейки	
На построение Главного Здания с начала строения оного сентября по 1. 1807 года в бытность Бригадира Бентама оказалось вышедшим по уплате оставшегося после его Бентама на Институте долгу	86,306	44	
Со означенногоже сентября 1807 года по окончательную отделку Главного Здания	90,754	81¼	итого на построение Главного Здания вышло 177,061 руб. 25¼ ко.
На жалованье с квартирным г-нам начальникам, чиновника(м), мастерам и прочим получающим от Института вышло:			
в бытность г-на Бригадира Бентама	41,467	99¼	
В бытность г-на Оберберггауптмана 5-го класса и Ковалера Логинова	57,906	76	итого на жалованье 99,374 руб. 75¼
На планировку земли и устройство канала и полисада	20,980	13¼	
На построение кухни прачешной 2-х домов и галлерей	33,100	9¼	
На устройство инструментальной кузницы у машинной приделки	10,728	67¼	
На устройство машин и на действие оными в 1813 году	31,100	47½	

в расход	рубли	копейки
Сверх вышепоказанного вышло на наем для мастерских дома, на заплату за купленные дома и сарай, на обучение юнгов, на сделание временных кухон, кроватей, дрова, освящение, канцелярийские припасы и прочее относящееся к содержанию и починке равно на устройство мастерских и отпущенных заимообразно к построению судов и в компасную материалов:		
в бытность г-на Бригадира Бентама	4,041	52
тож г-на Оберберггауптмана 5-го класса и Ковалера Логинова	31,302	23¼
а всего в расходе	407,689	14½
Затем генваря к 1. числу 1814 года оставалось при Институте денег материалов инструментов и прочего состоящего с ценами на	26,633	36½

Замечание. Сверх вышепоказанного употреблено на устройство Главного Здания и машин некоторое количество материалов и прочего выписанных Бригадиром Бентамом из Англии кои по Институту состояли без цен и значущее количество таковых находится и ныне налицо которые состоят без цен и записаны в особой книге.

Notes

- 1 As we have seen, Samuel's departure had been decreed by the Navy Board before the signature of the Treaty of Tilsit.
- 2 Recipient of a chivalric order.
- 3 'protiv chetvertogo': opposite the fourth floor?
- 4 In ship-building a ribband is a piece of timber extending the length of the square body of a vessel, used to secure the frames in position until the outside planking is put on.

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The jurist and philosopher, Jeremy Bentham, and his lesser-known brother, Samuel, equally talented but as a naval architect, engineer and inventor, had a long love affair with Russia. Jeremy hoped to assist Empress Catherine II with her legislative projects. Samuel went to St Petersburg to seek his fortune in 1780 and came back with the rank of Brigadier-General and the idea, famously publicised by Jeremy, of the Inspection-House or Panopticon. *The Bentham Brothers and Russia* chronicles the brothers' later involvement with the Russian Empire, when Jeremy focused his legislative hopes on Catherine's grandson Emperor Alexander I (ruled 1801-25) and Samuel found a unique opportunity in 1806 to build a Panopticon in St Petersburg – the only panoptical building ever built by the Benthams themselves.

Setting the Benthams' projects within an in-depth portrayal of the Russian context, Roger Bartlett illuminates an important facet of their later careers and offers insight into their world view and way of thought. He also contributes towards the history of legal codification in Russia, which reached a significant peak in 1830, and towards the demythologising of the Panopticon, made notorious by Michel Foucault: the St Petersburg building, still relatively unknown, is described here in detail on the basis of archival sources. The Benthams' interactions with Russia under Alexander I constituted a remarkable episode in Anglo-Russian relations; this book fills a significant gap in their history.

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