



SAPIENZA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

Anglo-Russian Modernities: Intellectual Networks and Literary Transactions

Facoltà di Filosofia, Lettere, Scienze Umanistiche e Studi Orientali
Dottorato di Ricerca in Scienze del Testo

Curriculum di Anglistica
XXIX ciclo

Candidato
Martina Ciceri

Relatore
Riccardo Capoferro

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks go to Riccardo Capoferro, who has been an ideal supervisor, at all times helpful, encouraging and professional. I have also had the pleasure and privilege of receiving support from Caroline Patey (University of Milan), for which I am very grateful. I thank her for the care with which she read and corrected my thesis. Many academics and archivists have helped me in the course of writing this thesis. Thanks go to Rebecca Beasley (University of Oxford), for her help in outlining this thesis; Charlotte Alston (Northumbria University) for information about Tolstoyan communities and for her advice; Jason Harding (Durham University), for his support during my stay in Durham; Sara Sullam (University of Milan), for her professional advice and insights about translation, world literature theories, and narratology; Richard Davis at the Leeds Russian Archive, for his help in tracking down Chertkov's papers; Katya Rogatchevskaya for providing me with articles about the Russian collection at the British Library and for her useful leads regarding Russian émigrés' letters and manuscripts. I also wish to thank the staff of the Parliamentary Archives, of the special collections at UCL and LSE, and of the British Museum Library for granting me access to the archives.

Such a project could not have been undertaken without the kind support of good friends. Claudia and Francesca Galli, Martina Baroni, Laura Zacchello, Lisa Tomasini, have all been encouraging, as have new friends, Nicoletta Asciuto, Marco Petrelli, and the members of the Anglo-Russian Research Network. I am thankful to my wonderful parents, who have supported me through their belief in my abilities, and to my brother, Davide, who has always been a significant presence in my life. My husband, Luca Solbiati, has been lovely throughout: an exceptional cook, debater, and best friend. I thank him most dearly for his patience, encouragement, support and for teaching me to persevere.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	4
Introduction.....	7
1 Redrawing the Borders of Russian Voices in Britain 1880s-1890s.....	24
1.1 The Politics of Exile	26
1.1.1 From the terrorist to Terrorism: a modern community?	26
1.1.2 British Attitudes to Russia: from Russophobia to Russophilia	32
1.1.3 Figures	40
1.2 The Locations of Exile: Weaving Connections.....	62
1.2.1 Geography: London and Tyneside	63
1.2.2 Culture and Literature: The British Museum Reading Room	74
2 Free Russia: An Example of Anglo-Russianness	86
2.1 The Community Building Aspect of Reading	88
2.2 The Evolution of Free Russia	105
2.2.1 From Stepniak to Volkhovsky	105
2.2.2 Russian Literature in Free Russia: Translation Practices	117
2.3 Poetic Patterns.....	124
2.3.1 Exile and Conspiracy	126
2.3.2 Community Building: Practices of Reading, Education and Propaganda	133
3 Tolstoyan Togetherness and its Literary Legacy.....	141
3.1 Tolstoyan Land Experiments in England	144
3.2 Translating and Publishing Tolstoy	153
3.2.1 The Free Age Press and its Cosmopolitan Milieu	153
3.2.2 Translation as Anglo-Russian Collaboration	157
3.3 Narratives of Community: Anglo-Russian Crisscrossing Paths in Belinda The Backward (1905) and The Simple Life Limited (1911).....	162
3.3.1 Decentralised Geographies: A Dialogue with Modernity	166
3.3.2 The Chronotopes of Utopian Colonies	174
3.3.3 Cosmopolitanism and Anglo-Russian hybridization	185
3.3.4 In the Heart of Diversity	192

4 The Garnett Family: A Case Study of Anglo-Russian Literary Relations	202
4.1 The Garnett Family and the Russian Emigres	204
4.2 Translating and Circulating Russian Writings	213
4.2.1 The Russian Émigrés and Constance Garnett’s Translations	214
4.2.2 Edward Garnett, Stepniak, Turgenev and the English Novel	220
4.3 Stepniak and the Making of Olive Garnett	230
4.4 “All Souls are Mine:”Olive Garnett’s Fiction and the Anglo-Russian Discourse.....	235
4.4.1 The Wandering I/eye: Travelling and Shifting Perspectives in In Russia’s Night	239
4.4.2 Going Cosmopolitan: The Anglo-Russian Community in Florence	247
CONCLUSIONS	260
APPENDIX A.....	269
APPENDIX B.....	271
Bibliography.....	275

Abstract

This thesis explores Anglo-Russian contact zones in *fin-de-siècle* Britain. It examines how Russian émigrés impacted on British public, cultural, and literary discourses, promoting diverse forms of interactions across borders and triggering the creation of a transnational community of letters. Russian émigrés promoted a distinctive form of Anglo-Russian cosmopolitanism, which would become the touchstone of literary creation: intellectual networks and literary transactions, in fact, set the terms for artistic renewal and stand, as such, at the threshold of modernism.

Chapter one offers an insight into the politics of emigration: describing the arrival of Russian émigrés in Britain and their mixed British reception, it reflects on the importance émigrés' past experiences in Russia had in shaping their interest in communal affiliations. It introduces four leading émigré voices, Stepniak, Volkhovsky, Kropotkin and Chertkov, providing biographical details and outlining their contribution in the construction of an Anglo-Russian counter-public discourse. It then maps the émigrés' ideological affiliations, identifying London and Tyneside as the *loci* of Anglo-Russian relations, and the British Museum as the cradle, as it were, for this thriving counter culture.

Chapter two focuses on *Free Russia*, an institution of this unprecedented Anglo-Russian discourse. Having briefly introduced the importance of journalism among émigré circles, the chapter explores the genealogy of this hybrid magazine and points out its leading role in raising British interests for Russian affairs and, consequently, in triggering the construction of an Anglo-Russian space of public debate. It then pinpoints the differences between Stepniak's and Volkhovsky's editorial agendas, and focuses greater attention of the literary turn the magazine takes under Volkhovsky's editorship. Literature emphasises, in fact, the blurring of national, cultural, and ideological borders that the magazine promotes, and it is with the study of poetic patterns that the chapter ends: the opposition to institutions, the motif of exile and uprootedness,

as well as concerns for the time-space dimensions are the crux and pivot of both émigrés' propaganda and English modernism.

Tolstoyan utopianism and its literary offshoots are extensively discussed in chapter three. Once again, the role of the Russian émigré Vladimir Chertkov is fundamental in propelling forward Tolstoy's ideology, as well as in triggering the circulation of the Russian author's texts. Emphasis is given to Chertkov's Free Age Press and to the foreignizing ideal of collaborative translations. Moreover, the chapter explores alternative communities of Tolstoyan matrix in tandem with their cultural and literary implications. It reflects on the genres of utopia and romance and it reveals how Ford Madox Ford's *The Simple Life Limited* (1911) and Salome Hocking's *Belinda The Backward: A Romance of Modern Idealism* (1905) encapsulate the reformative stances that alternative orderings of modernity informed by Tolstoyan ideology promote. It illuminates, in fact, the significance narrative chronotopes, cottage life and agricultural land in particular, and the narrative technique of defamiliarization have in staging the problematic relationship between innovation and tradition, thereby propelling forward the resignification of geography and space and unravelling the texts' implicit standpoints.

Chapter four is a case study on the émigrés' impact on the intellectual and literary life of the Garnett cosmopolitan coterie, which becomes as a proper workshop of Anglo-Russian literary modernity. It starts by tracing the émigrés' reception, as well as their role as linguistic advisors and literary mentors. In particular, it shows how Stepniak's collaboration with Constance Garnett over the English translations of Turgenev and his commentary on the Russian author's works pays a unique contribution to the creation of a transnational space of letters. It then examines Olive Garnett's novel *In Russia's Night* (1918), calling attention to how it articulates cross-cultural encounters and the related concerns of travelling, shifting points of view, community building, and hyphenated identities. It pinpoints how Olive's novel challenges well-established notions of nationality and national literature: performing cross-

fertilization at different levels and balancing English and Russian discourses, the novel stands out as a unique Anglo-Russian *Künstlerroman*, resulting from actual and fictional transnational encounters and intellectual transfers.

The conclusions focus on the innovative and unprecedented nature of Anglo-Russian intellectual, cultural and literary cross-fertilizations as they take place in turn-of-the-20th-century Britain. First, it looks at the ways in which they negotiate a new transnational space, raising Anglo-Russian cosmopolitanism as the *conditio sine-qua-non* of literary creation. It then considers how Anglo-Russian collaborations and literary encounters remarkably impact on the modernist fascination for group relations, literary transfers and modes of composition. A brief sketch on how they develop and branch out in other directions is carried out with specific reference to Koteliansky and the Bloomsbury Group, which ends upon suggestions for further lines of inquiry.

Introduction

This thesis explores Anglo-Russian contact zones in *fin-de-siècle* Britain, casting light on the ways in which Russian emigration impacted on British cultural and literary life at the turn of the 20th century. More specifically, I argue that Russian political émigrés of importance, Sergey Mikhailovich Kravchinsky (Stepniak), Felix Vadimovich Volkhovsky, Prince Peter Alekseevich Kropotkin, and Vladimir Chertkov among others, galvanized the creation of an Anglo-Russian discourse hallmarked by an intriguing overlap between ideological networks and literary circles. Exploring phenomena of geographical, national, cultural and particularly literary border blurring, I wish to suggest that Russian political émigrés fostered the negotiation of a truly Anglo-Russian form of cosmopolitanism, setting Anglo-Russian intersections at the threshold of British modernism. In other words, I will contend that Anglo-Russian collaborations, exchanges and interferences challenge consolidated assumptions concerning nationality and national literary spaces, and negotiate new contexts of cultural and literary creation.

Before discussing the reasons why I decided to explore this particular period of Russian emigration and of English literary and cultural history, I wish to clarify the terminological choices I made to identify the Russian presences in England. As Edward Said has pointed out, the terms “exile”, “refugee”, “expatriate”, and “émigré” are frequently used as synonyms to identify actors of international migration in general, while they actually bear different meanings and carry different ideological implications (Said 2000). The terms “émigré” and “refugee” are of crucial importance in the context of Russian emigration to 19th-century Britain, yet their use is not devoid of ambiguities. In his helpful study entitled *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (1979), Bernard Porter defines the Russian presences in England as refugees, thus lumping them together with Italian and French political immigrants. On the contrary, Arthur Miller’s *The Russian Revolutionary Emigres 1825-1870* (1986) hints at the true

nature of the Russian emigration movement, labelling Russians abroad as *émigrés*. To untie this lexical knot, it is worth exploring the different meanings that the terms in question have. According to the OED, a “refugee” is “a person who has been forced to leave his/her country or home, because there is a war, or for political, religious or social reasons;” conversely, an “*émigré*” is “a person who has left his/her own country in order to settle in another, typically for political reasons.” In other words, while a refugee has no alternative but to leave his country for different political, social or religious reasons, an *émigré* leaves his country by choice. Both of these terms can be used when discussing Russian emigration to England, yet not as synonyms, for they highlight two different aspects of the phenomenon in analysis.

Russian immigration to Europe has always involved two major groups: Ashkenazi Jews – especially of Pole origins – and political dissenters. While Russian Jews who massively moved from Poland and Russia to England in the 19th century could be classified as “refugees”, for they suffered pogroms and religious persecutions and were in need of international help, this cannot be said for Russian anti-tsarist personalities, which have continuously moved to Europe since the 1850s. Such figures fall under the category of the “*émigrés*,” for they abandoned their country by choice and for political reasons: in fact, they no longer complied with the dominant autocratic ideology and wished to change the socio-political conditions of their country. Of course, Russian radicals suffered the persecution of the Tsar. Nonetheless, unlike their compatriots of Jewish origins who were persecuted simply on the basis of irrational racism, they were pursued because they threatened internal political stability.

Moreover, the term “refugee” carries social implications: it calls to mind senses of displacement, alienation and loss Russian political *émigrés* did not particularly suffer from. Whenever they did, however, they found alternative ways to face these issues: they created, for example, Russian communities abroad that, still in contact with their fatherland, tried to preserve a sense of national and cultural unity. Consequently, the terms “refugee” and “*émigré*” label two

different groups that partook in the Russian emigration to Europe in the 19th century. Though Porter's study is of great importance in order to understand English attitudes and reactions to foreigners on British soil, it fails to point out the diverse, and I argue unique, nature of emigration from Russia. By classifying Russian revolutionists in Britain as "émigrés", I wish to draw attention to specific issues, as well as to ideological and cultural implications, that directly derive from this categorization, which set the theoretical framework that will guide my analysis.

Nonetheless, a further distinction has to be made between Russian émigrés of the 1850s-1870s and those of the 1880-1890s, one that helps to shed light on the distinctive character of the latter. It is worth mentioning that the goal of this thesis is not to draw a detailed account of the various phases of Russian migration to Britain, but to focus on a specific phase of that phenomenon, precisely the one taking place in the 1880s-1890s. Therefore, the traditional historical periodization of Russian emigration that differentiates between three generations of Russian émigrés on the basis on the ideology they promoted will not be taken into consideration here.¹ On the contrary, I will draw a distinction between two generations of Russians in England in the light of the different attitudes they adopted towards their British hosts. Therefore, I will distinguish between a first generation of Russian émigrés (approximately between 1850s-1870s) characterised by an almost complete detachment from Victorian society, and a second one (1880s-1890s) that galvanised the creation of Anglo-Russian cross-cultural dialogues and exchanges.

Before tackling this point, it is important to explain why Britain was the privileged destination, though not necessarily the first choice, for Russian and European émigrés. As Porter observes, Britain's policy of asylum was

¹ The first generation of émigré includes utopian socialists and took place in the 1850s; the second concerns the populist intelligentsia of the 1860s-70s, while the third involves revolutionary terrorists of the 1880s-90s.

undiscriminating, not so much by law, but by an absolute absence of legislation concerning aliens. In a word, foreigners “could not be prevented from coming to Britain, or expelled for doing anything in Britain. After 1836, they did not even have to notify anyone they had come or were there” (Porter 1979:4). This free movement of people directly derived from the well-known economic liberalism that Britain highly valued, an attitude that lasted until 1905 with the proclamation of the first Alien Act.² Nonetheless, an atmosphere of suspicion and fear of the foreigner in general hallmarked Victorian society. Not only were newcomers at times regarded as possible threats to domestic security, for they were associated with crimes and cheap labour, but also as menaces to international relationships. Britain, in fact, also welcomed political dissenters, especially figures of radical ideals who were thought to plan uprisings and outrages addressed to their countries of origin in England, albeit these suspicions were never officially confirmed (Porter 1979).

Nevertheless, foreigners were indiscriminately accepted, or at least tolerated. It comes therefore as no surprise that England was one of the favourite destinations for the Russian émigrés and refugees of the 19th century. Though, as we have seen, Jewish refugees represent a significant aspect of Russian migration to Europe, and are essential in order to understand one of the distinctive aspects of Russian mass migrations to Britain, I nonetheless decided to limit the spectrum of my analysis to Russian political émigrés. The analysis of their social, cultural and literary connections with the host country is my primary concern here.

² Only when considered inevitable, Britain tried to regulate the influx of refugees and emigres, precisely in 1793, an Alien Bill that remained in force until 1826, and in 1848. The latter remained in force for two years, though it was never implemented against anyone. Therefore, from 1826 to 1848, and again from 1850 to 1905 the influx of alien was completely unrestricted and no measures were adopted to expel them. See Porter 1979. For a recent cultural history of the 1905 Alien Act, see Glover 2012.

Alexander Herzen and the “First Generation” of Russian Émigrés in London

As I have already mentioned above, a distinction should be drawn between the two waves of migrations from Russia: the first wave emigrated in the 1850s-1870s; the second one interested the time-span of 1880s-1890s. Though political commitment and a strong will to transform Russia remained a key aspect of Russian migration to Europe in the 19th century, there are two significant aspects on which these two generations of émigrés markedly diverge: the length of they stay in Britain and their contacts and literary collaborations with the host country.

A telling voice of the first wave of migration from Russia is Alexander Herzen (1812-1870), who arrived in London in the summer of 1852, and where he stayed for over twelve years. Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) later followed him in 1861: he stayed in London for fourteen months, spending the rest of his life in France, Italy, and Switzerland. In 1870, Sergey Nechayev (1847-1882) landed on the British shores for a brief stay, and so did Peter Lavrov (1823 - 1900) in 1882. Though he moved to Britain in the early 1880s, Lavrov should be considered in alliance with the émigrés of the first generation, for his ideological affiliation and alienation from British society (Scanlan 1967). What emerges from these biographical references is the fact that these figures perceived Britain only as a *temporary* refuge, not as a place where to settle permanently. This was probably due to the fact that they felt most attracted to Italy and France, where they could take active part in socialist movements and uprisings, thus practicing what they were preventing from acting in Russia.³ Switzerland was another privileged destination for most Russian refugees at that time, particularly Geneva, which became a true colony of international socialism.

Not surprisingly, therefore, Porter observes that these émigrés of the 1850s-1870s were not attracted to England by anything English: the reason why they

³ For a detailed study of the first generation of Russian emigres in Europe and their entanglement with European socialist movements, see McCellan 1979.

moved there had only to do with the British liberal policy about immigration. Therefore, they did not mature any sort of attachment to either Britain or their British hosts. Alexander Herzen is a telling example in this respect for two simple reasons: first, he spent a considerable time in England compared to his fellow émigrés; second, his journalistic work represents a great landmark in the cultural life of emigration.

Herzen records not only the climate sterility of Britain, but also the lack of moral support he found in England. “The life here,” he writes, “like the air here, is bad for the weak, for the frail, for the one who seeks a prop outside himself, for one who seeks welcome, sympathy, attention; the moral lungs here must be as strong as the physical lungs, whose task is to separate oxygen from the smoky fog” (Herzen 1968:1025). Herzen considered England as a hostile country, not only because of the dampness of the climate, but also because of the lack of British sympathy and support. In fact, as Porter observes, England “tolerated” rather than welcomed émigrés, and it is therefore plausible that Herzen could not easily merge with British society. Moreover, it should be noted that he hardly attempted to enter in touch with British intellectuals (Carr 1961). However hard Monica Partridge tries to unveil contacts between Herzen and British radicals, particularly with the young Joseph Cowen, it is evident that these interactions were limited to occasional exchanges between 1855 and 1862 (Partridge 1962). Though it is likely that Cowen published some pamphlets by Herzen, this fact does not testify any form of active editorial or literary collaboration between them.

The marginality of Herzen’s contacts with Britain, and particularly with British public spheres, is even more evident in his activities as publisher and essay writer. It is a well-known fact that Herzen was the founder of the first Free Russian Press in London (1853), and, consequently, of émigré journalism (Miller 1979). The first émigré periodical, in fact, was his *Poliarnaia Zvezda* (The Polar Star), which appeared from 1855 and lasted for seven years, followed by *Golosa iz Rossii* (Voices from Russia) issued between 1856 – 1860 and published under

the pseudonym of Iskander. Still, Herzen's most famed journalistic enterprise undoubtedly is *Kolokol* (The Bell), which started to be issued on 1 July 1857.⁴ All these publications have a distinctive Russian taste: though published in London, these journals were written in Russian. It is clear, therefore, that Herzen's publications were intended for a Russian reading public, both in Russia and abroad, rather than for a British one.

This fact notwithstanding, Herzen and his press were not unknown to the British public opinion: respectable quarterlies and journals, *The Westminster Review*, *The Saturday Review*, *The Athenaeum*, *The Fortnightly Review*, and *The Spectator* to name but a few, mentioned Herzen's enterprises and turned to them to gather information about Russia (Partridge 1958). It is clear, therefore, that Herzen's reception in Britain was necessarily mediated by English critics and journalists who mastered Russian, no matter how brief and patchy references to his works were. Interestingly, the British press also invited Herzen to contribute a few articles in English, "Russian Serfdom", which appeared in *The Leader* in 1853, the "Russia and the Old Word" published in *The English Republic* in the same year (Ibid). This form of collaboration was, yet again, a temporary one, and the articles he contributed to the English press were adaptations of pamphlets published in Russian. As a result, no original contribution directly written in English and clearly destined to the English reading public ever appeared under Herzen's name.

Although Herzen's journalistic activity in Britain became rather well-known thanks to the English press, and his book of memories was widely appreciated, it would be inaccurate to talk about Herzen's influence on the creation of British public opinion about things Russian. Of course, both his Russian Press in London and his émigré journals were touchstones in the cultural history of Russian emigration to Britain, but the absence of any substantial,

⁴ *Kolokol* was published in London from 1857 to 1865. From 1865 to 1867, it was published in Geneva. See Slatter 1995.

significant and life-long collaboration with English radicals and intellectuals cast Herzen at the margins of Victorian society, and drastically downplayed his influence on British public opinion.

Other periodicals and newspapers edited by Russian emigres followed Herzens's line. As far as those published in London are concerned, it is worth mentioning Prince Peter Dolgorukov's *Listok* (Leaflet) first issued in 1863-64,⁵ Sergey Nechayev's *Obshchina* (The Commune) that appeared in 1870, Pyotr Lavrov's *Vpered!* (Forward!), published in 1875-1877, and Tkachev's journal *Nabat* (The Alarm), first issued in 1875.⁶ None of them was as long-lived and had an enduring influence on the Russian émigré press as Herzen's *Kolokol* (Miller 1986). Furthermore, these Russian émigré periodicals published in London were written, as we can infer from their titles, in Russian, and therefore addressed to the émigrés' compatriots both in Russia and abroad, and had hardly any impact on the cultural life of England. Writing in Russian, therefore, discouraged interactions with their British hosts: however, it enabled Russian émigrés to be in touch with one another, as well as with their compatriots in Russia.

Interestingly, the Russian-language periodical publishing by radical émigrés in Europe oscillates from a maximum popularity between 1855-1862, where the number of titles in Russian raised from one to eleven in a few years, and 1875-1883, to a minimum of two new and in-progress titles in 1891 (Williams 1998). However, the loss of popularity of Russian-language newspapers and periodicals in the early 1890s is counterbalanced by a significant growth of English-language periodicals promoted by the Russian émigrés of the 1880s, *Free*

⁵ No. 1 to 22 were published in London, while the remainder in Brussels. See Slatter 1995.

⁶ For a detailed account of the Russian émigré press in Britain, see Ibid. For a survey of Russian émigré press in Europe up to the 1870s, see Miller 1986. For a detailed study of the Russian-language periodicals by Russian émigrés in Europe, see Williams 1998.

Russia (1890) and *The Anglo-Russian* (1897) among others.⁷ This shift from Russian to English-language periodicals reflects the difference between the two generations of Russian émigrés in Britain, and sheds light on their different approaches to the land of their adoption.

What Europe witnessed in the 1850s-70s, therefore, was the growth of “closed communities of these émigrés, who insisted upon speaking their own language, living in their own neighbourhood, meeting at specially designated cafés and restaurants, and operating their own publications intended for use in the homeland left behind. Abroad, the émigrés refused the possibilities of assimilation” (Miller 1986:4). In other words, Russian émigrés established closely-knit communities in England in the 1850s-1870s, thus forming a sort of social and cultural Russian substructure that had rare and almost insignificant interactions with British publics, as well as a limited influence on the cultural and literary life of England. It is precisely to this form of social and cultural isolation, one embedded in the notion of emigration itself, that the following generation of émigrés from Russia strongly reacted.

The “Second Generation” as a Case Study of Trans-nationalism

The detachment from English cultural and social life and the short-lived experiences in Mid-Victorian England violently clash with the ideals of the younger generation of the 1880s-1890s. Of course, voices from Russia in turn-of-the-20th-century Britain were many and diverse.⁸ However, I decided to focus my attention on Prince Peter A. Kropotkin (1842-1921), Sergey M. Kravchinsky

⁷ This fact does not mean that Russian-language press completely vanished, but that it lost popularity: though émigré papers in Russian appeared even in the 1890s in Britain, such as *Letuchkie Listki* (1893-99), they were rather short-lived and did not survive the century.

⁸ Nikolay V. Tchaikovsky (1821-1926), V. Burtsev (1862-1942) and Jaakoff Prelooker (1860-1935) are among the most famed émigrés. As far as Prelooker is concerned, he was the founder of the *Anglo-Russian*, a periodical issued from 1897 to 1914. For a detailed analysis of Prelooker’s *The Anglo Russian*, see Slatter 1984. See also Peaker 2006a/b.

(1851-1895), best known with the literary pseudonym of "Stepniak," Felix V. Volkhovsky (1846-1914), and Vladimir V. Chertkov (1854-1936).

Abandoning the idea of a temporary settlement in England is another significant aspect that widens the gap between the two generations of Russian émigrés. Stepniak and Volkhovsky, as well as many others, made England their permanent residence, with the exception of Kropotkin.

The year [1881-1882] that I passed in London as a year of real exile. For one who held advanced socialist opinions, there was no atmosphere to breathe in. There was no sign of that animated socialist movement which I found so largely developed on my return in 1886. [...] Tchaikovsky was then in London, and as in years past, we began a socialist propaganda amongst the workers. Aided by a few English workers [...] we went to the radical clubs, speaking about Russian affairs, the movement of our youth toward the people and socialism in general. [...] My wife and I felt so lonely in London, and our efforts to awaken a socialist movement in England seemed so hopeless, that in the autumn of 1882 we decided to remove again to France (Kropotkin 1899:301-3).

During his first stay in London, Kropotkin experienced isolation and displacement, and did not feel at ease in England, particularly because of the lack of any systematic social movement. However, upon his return to England in 1886, he found a reinvigorated and responsive environment: "From Paris," Kropotkin records, "we went to London, where I found once more my two friends, Stepniak and Tchaikovsky. Life in London was no more the dull, vegetating existence that it had been for me four years before" (Ibid:333-4). Kropotkin returned to Russia at the outbreak of the Russian revolution of 1917. In his farewell letter that he wrote to the English nation, which was destined to be printed in the English press, the Russian émigré thanked Britain for the "friendly reception" and the "friendly support" he found:

I leave [in this country] here so many personal friends. Their touching friendship has contributed so much to relieve the gloominess of a long exile that I deeply regret the impossibility of expressing them my thanks personally [...]. I regret it the more as I wished to express my gratitude not only for the kindness which myself and my family found in [this country]

England, but also for the sympathy that Russia, and especially Young Russia found with a considerable portion of this country's population and its political leaders. (COLL MISC 0530, M527)⁹

Although Kropotkin's stay in Britain was a temporary one, and as such reflected the experiences of the previous generations of Russian émigrés, he inaugurated the taste for Anglo-Russian personal and professional relations, aspects that are at the core of the Russian émigrés' experiences of the second generation. For all these reasons, Kropotkin can be regarded as an in-between figure, the last representative of an older group and the first member of a new one, an émigré who marked the transition from isolation towards a creative alliance with the English intelligentsia.

In the wake of these observations, the second generation of émigrés from Russia deserves further recognition. What I will argue in this thesis, therefore, is that Kropotkin, Stepniak, Volkhovsky and Chertkov promoted Anglo-Russian cultural and literary rapprochement, galvanising the creation of hybrid trans-national networks and favouring literary transfers. To highlight the pivotal, yet highly neglected, role these interactions across borders had in re-orienting the cultural and literary life of *fin-de-siècle* Britain, and to unveil their cosmopolitan potential is the primary aim of this thesis.

Sources: The State of the Art

As we have seen, late Victorian and Edwardian Britain witnessed the arrival of massive waves of migration from Tsarist Russia, a phenomenon that was destined to have significant implications on the cultural and literary life of the country. Many scholars, historians in particular, felt irresistibly attracted to this highly modern phenomenon, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, as the presence of various books and articles on the topic demonstrate. Of significant importance is the seminal work by Professor Martin A. Miller entitled *The*

⁹ Leeds Russian Archive. Letter signed by Kropotkin, Brighton, June 5th 1917.

Russian Revolutionary Emigres, 1825-1870 (1986). Similarly, the first two chapters of *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (1979) by Bernard Porter are worth mentioning, for they throw a glance at the English reactions to Russian political refugees in mid-Victorian England. Although the time span of these studies does not encompass the Russian migration of the 1880s-90s, which on the contrary is at the core of this thesis, these detailed historical works are still worth considering. Their focus on the revolutionary émigrés of the previous decade, in fact, constitutes the essential groundwork for both detecting the origins of Russian emigration to Britain, and understanding the origins of English attitudes towards Russian émigrés.

As to the radical aspect of Russian emigration, it is explored in detail in the first chapter of F.G. Clarke's *Will-o'-the-Wisp, Peter the Painter and the anti-Tsarist Terrorists in Britain and Australia* (1983). Another helpful historical source is John Slatter's *From the Other Shore: Russian Political Emigrants in Britain 1880-1917* (1984), where biographical sketches of radical émigrés enrich a detailed census of the Russian presences in Britain. Furthermore, many articles explore the fertile field of Anglo-Russian political and cultural relations. Michael Hamburg's "The London Emigration and the Russian Liberation Movement: The Problem of Unity, 1889-1897" (1977) is a telling example of the Russian émigrés' connections with – and their influences on – English radicals and liberals. Not to forget Ron Grant's "The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom (1890-1917): A Case Study in Internationalism" (1970), and Barry Hollingsworth's "The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom: English Liberals and Russian Socialists, 1890-1917" (1970), studies that significantly contribute to the debate over Anglo-Russian political clusters for the promotion of Russian freedom.

Significant historical and biographical details about Russian political émigrés in England can also be derived from (semi-) biographical works, for example James Hulse's *Revolutionists in London: A Study of Five Unorthodox Socialists* (1970). Hulse's extensive work deeply articulates the English's political and personal sympathies for Russian émigrés, particularly Stepniak and the

anarchic Prince Peter A. Kropotkin, and as such provides a unique starting point to push the analysis of Anglo-Russian relations even further. Other helpful sources are Woodcock and Avakumovic's, *The Anarchist Prince: A Biographical Study of Peter Kropotkin* (1950), which explores Kropotkin's experience in England, resorting to the prince's own *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (1899). About Stepniak's life in England, Donald Senese's *S.M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii: The London Years* (1987) is of pivotal importance, and so is the third section of Evgenia Taratuta's study in Russian entitled *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinsky: Revolutionier I pisatel'* (1973), one of the most reliable sources of Russian scholarship. As to Felix V. Volkovsky, David Soskice, and N. Tchaikovsky, no detailed biographies in English exist.¹⁰

What is missing from almost all of these studies on Russian radical émigrés is the impact their presence in Britain had on English cultural and literary life. Reception studies, which represent the most in-vogue approach, if not the only one, in studies of English and Russian literature in the 1950s, have widely ignored the role of Russian émigrés in promoting Anglo-Russian literary contacts. This fact notwithstanding, such works are significant in the study of English reception of Russian literature, and serve as a fundamental background to track down the evolution of English interests in things Russian, thus setting the cultural conditions that lead to the émigrés' promotion of Anglo-Russian intellectual and literary alliances in the 1880s-1890s.

Gilbert Phelps's *The Russian Novel in English Literature* (1956) and Davie's collection *Russian Literature and Modernist English Fiction* (1965) argued for the centrality of the Russian novel to British modernism. By contrast, Dorothy Brewster's *East-West Passage: A Study in Literary Relationships* (1954) focuses greater attention on the political and social assumptions that favoured the

¹⁰ Though a valuable study on Tchaikovsky's experience in England exists, it is unfortunately written in the Old Russian style, and it is hardly readable by scholars of modern Russian. Titova 1929. See also Goldin 200. For biographical references about Soskice, see Hollingsworth 1976.

reception of Russian literature in England. Harold Orel's essays "English Critics and the Russian Novel: 1850-1917" (1954-5) and "The Forgotten Ambassadors: Russian Fiction in Victorian England" (1953) follow a similar line, for they celebrate the topical importance English translators and literary critics had in popularising Russian literature in England and, consequently, in stimulating English interest in Russian affairs.

This reception-based methodology underwent significant transformations in the 1990s, when monographic studies started to be published, suffice it to remember Glyn Turton's *Turgenev in the Context of English Literature 1850-1900* (1992), and three collections of essays such as *Tolstoi and Britain* (W. Gareth Jones), *Dostoevskii and Britain* (W. J. Leatherbarrow), and *Ivan Turgenev and Britain* (Peter Waddington), all published in 1995. Of not lesser importance is the fact that in the 1980 many scholars focused on the presence of Russian literature in English fiction. John Slatter's survey of the presence of Russian revolutionary emigrants in English fiction between 1880 and 1914 is landmarking in this respect (Slatter 1993). However interesting and stimulating, Slatter's article fails to account significant literary works, as Anthony Cross's useful, though by no mean exhaustive, bibliography entitled *The Russian Theme in English Literature from the Sixteenth Century to 1980* (1984) demonstrates. In both cases, however, there is no reference to the impact Russian émigrés had on English culture and letters.

Contrary to historians and scholars of literature of the last century, recent scholarship has started to turn attention towards the cultural aspects of Anglo-Russian group relations in late Victorian and Edwardian England. Robert Henderson's essay "For the Cause of Education. A History of the Free Russian Library in Whitechapel, 1898-1917" (2013) is significant in this respect, insofar as it acknowledges the crucial role Russian émigrés played not only in the foundation of the Library, but also in the promotion of Russian culture in England. Charlotte Alston's investigation of the Tolstoyan communities in England, and its focus of Chertkov's contributions, is of equal importance. Her book *Tolstoy and his Disciples. The History of a Radical International Movement*

(2014), as well as her essay "Britain and the International Tolstoyan Movement, 1890-1910" (2013) do not only highlight the impact Tolstoyan ideas had in Britain, but also the mediatory role Russian émigrés played in spreading such principles thanks also to cultural and literary activities. Michael J. De K. Holman was the principal interpreter of the Tolstoyan communities in England in the last century, driving his attention on Chertkov's unique role as a translator of Tolstoy's back-to-the-land theories in the West.

It was only thanks to Charles Moser, however, that the importance of the émigré community in the process of rejuvenation of English letters eventually started to be investigated. In his study "An English Context for Conrad's Russian Characters: Sergey Stepniak and the Diary of Olive Garnett," Moser draws a connection between the Garnetts and Stepniak, casting lights on how their professional and intellectual interactions provided the cultural backdrop for Conrad's *Under Western Eyes* (1911). This article introduces an extremely innovative approach in the critical studies of English and Russian literary interferences and transfers, offering essential tools to further investigate diverse aspects of Anglo-Russian relations. Recent scholarship, in fact, started to follow the path opened up by Moser, paying greater attention to the literary and cultural connections between émigrés and the host country. Anat Vernitsky's essay "Russian revolutionaries and English sympathisers in 1890s London: The Case of Olive Garnett and Sergey Stepniak" (2010) re-articulates concerns of Anglo-Russian collaborations, a fact that unveils how fertile the study of these cross-cultural encounters could be.

Carol Peaker's unpublished PhD thesis entitled "Reading Revolution and the Reception of Russian Literature in England" (2006), offers a fresco of the Russian presences in England in the 1880s, delineating how Anglo-Russian collaborations influenced the reception of Russian literature in *fin-de-siècle* Britain. Resorting to the tradition of reception studies, which has characterised Anglo-Russian scholarship since the 1950s, Peaker highlights the mediatory role Russian émigrés played in introducing Russian literature in the English literary

system, a phenomenon that has long been neglected. Interestingly, Peaker tackles Stepniak's collaboration with Constance Garnett over the translations of Turgenev's works, hinting, however only passingly, the role the Russian émigré played in positioning Russian literature in the literary map of England and how, in turn, Russian traditions contributed to refashioning English literary and artistic traditions. For the illuminating observations on the role of Russian émigrés in the literary life of England, Peaker's study is a rich source for my thesis.

The recent migration-focus turn in literary studies about Anglo-Russian cross-cultural relations, and the subsequent reassessment of the role Russian émigrés played in the promotion of all things Russian in England has necessarily lead to a reconfiguration of this transnational space. Reception theories and comparative strategies are still widely used to explore Anglo-Russian cultural and literary relations, as Peter Kaye's *Dostoevsky and English Modernism* (1999), Roberta Rubenstein's *Virginia Woolf and the Russian Point of View* (2009), Catherine Brown's, *The Art of Comparison: How Novels and Critics Compare* (2010), and Peaker's recent work demonstrate. Translations studies occupy a prominent position in this theoretical framework, suffice it to remember Rachel May's *The Translator in the Text: On Reading Russian Literature in English* (1994). However, what I wish to delineate in my thesis is a complementary approach to these methodologies for the study of Anglo-Russian cross-cultural collaborations in *fin-de-siècle* England. Unlike Peaker, I wish to give less of a biographical sketch of Russian émigrés and to reduce reception-based and comparative approaches, thanks to the support of archival documents, memoirs, letters and a variety of under-exploited sources.¹¹

¹¹ This thesis, in fact, is the result of visits to some British archival collections, particularly the Leeds University Special Collections, The British Museum Library Collection, and the Houses of Parliament's Special Collections.

Highlighting the importance Russian émigrés have in the promotion of certain vision of Russia in England, I wish to explore how Anglo-Russian collaborations stimulate the creation of an Anglo-Russian transnational space, moving towards a new understanding and a new semantics of community and of the related issues of belonging and assimilation. In particular, I will explore how Salome Hocking, Ford Madox Ford, and Olive Garnett offer narrative responses to the thriving Anglo-Russian transnational discourse promoted by Russian. What I contend, therefore, is that interactions across borders and the narratives of community that they inform – narratives that have long received scant attention – bridge the divide between individual-collective, public-private, national-cosmopolitan, raising transnational transfers and cross-fertilizations as quintessential aspects of early modernist literary creativity.

1 Redrawing the Borders of Russian Voices in Britain 1880s-1890s.

The presence of Russian émigrés in Western capitals dates back to the 1850s-1860s, when radicals, at odds with the Tsarist autocracy, abandoned their fatherland either by choice or by force. In this respect, the role of Alexander Herzen has been widely acknowledged:¹² finding temporary refuge in different European cities, in fact, he dictated the major traits that were to characterise future emigration of the Russian intelligentsia, particularly as far as the lure of journalistic enterprises was concerned. Alongside Russian radicals, Russian Jews were also directly involved in the mass migration from the Tsarist Empire from the reign of Alexander II (1855-1881), which is to say when they started to endure pogroms. Nonetheless, we have to wait until the 1880s to witness the phenomenon of Russian emigration to Europe gathering considerable momentum. Paris, Zurich, Geneva and London¹³ were just four of the most significant centres of Russian emigration to Europe in these decades. The British case warrants further considerations, not so much for its ideological traits, as for the cultural and literary exchanges Russian émigrés promoted with the British.

The influx of Russian émigrés into Britain accelerated during the 1880s, when pogroms, arbitrary arrests, imprisonments without trial, and censorship forced Russian Jews and the Russian radical intelligentsia to take refuge abroad. On a broader scale, in 1871 the number of natives of Russian and Polish natives on British shores amounted to 9569. In less than twenty years, the number of Russians in Britain almost doubled, reaching 21.448 Russian-Poles and 23.626 Russians, numbers that were destined to further increase, so that by the end of 1911, Russian-Poles in Britain amounted to more than 94.204 (Holmes 1984).

¹² For a detailed biography of Herzen, see Acton 1979.

¹³ For a detailed account of the different ideological traits of the Russian emigration to Europe in the 1880s, see Bachman 1971 and Miller 1976.

Russians and Russian-Poles became the largest group of foreigners on British soil. The majority of these émigrés from Russia had Jewish origins and they did not partake in British political and social life: isolated in ghetto areas, Stepney and Whitechapel (East London) in particular, they were very much subject to economic, racial and social pressures and were more of an underground foreign presence in Britain.¹⁴ By contrast, the Russian radical intelligentsia was intimately involved in social and political debates and attempted to establish in Britain an authentic Anglo-Russian counter-public sphere that would unearth Victorian Russophobia, based on ignorance and on negative racial stereotypes, and awaken British sympathies to the Russian cause for political freedom and social justice.

Fin-de-siècle Britain proved a most fertile soil for the creation of “oppositional spaces”, or “subaltern counterpublics” as Fraser puts it, that is to say of “parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social-groups [women, workers, coloured people, gays and lesbians] invent and circulate counter discourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs” (Fraser 1996:123). As the scholar claims, such counter groups emerge at times of significant historical transformations – as indeed late-19th-century Britain was from historical, social, political, economic, and cultural perspectives – in response to exclusion from the dominant public discourse. What I will try to demonstrate is the extent to which the fragmentation of the public space with mass publicity at the end of the Victorian era offered unprecedented opportunities to Russian émigrés, as it offered fertile ground for the creation of an authentic Anglo-Russian counter culture with its own distinctive institution and modes of cultural promotion.¹⁵ Such a counter-public

¹⁴ For a history of the Russian Jews in Britain, see Clarke 1983 and Gartner 1960. For an account of the British reception of the Jewish Immigration, see Garrard 1971.

¹⁵ As Fraser claims, in fact, “public spheres [...] are not spaces of zero-degree culture, equally hospitable to any possible form of cultural expression. Rather, they consist of culturally specific institutions, including, for example, various journals and various social geographies of urban

discourse resembles those described by Fraser, insofar as it functioned as a training ground from where the re-orientation of dominant public discourses and opinions on Russia and its people could originate, while serving as a space of withdrawal and intellectual affiliation. It is true, of course, that the Russian émigrés' design to reach the English public at large had a truly utopian disposition; still, their plan did prove successful to a certain extent, as I venture to unveil in the following chapters.

Interestingly, not only were the Russian émigrés in Britain weaving connections with their British hosts, but they were also in contact with their revolutionary fellows in Russia, as well as with other European centres of Russian emigration, as the many epistolary exchanges, newspaper articles on Russian migration to Europe, and biographical references demonstrate. Alongside the promotion of unique fertile interactions with the British intelligentsia, the Russian émigrés, by weaving trans-national connections, triggered the process of geographical and ideological border blurring, thus drawing Britain to the core of the international debate over the Russian cause for freedom. What warrants further scrutiny, therefore, are the politics underlying the Russian migration to 1880 Britain, as well as the English geography of this "immigrated" culture, not to mention the British attitudes towards Russian émigrés and the counter culture that sprouted up from these Anglo-Russian interactions.

1.1 The Politics of Exile

1.1.1 From the terrorist to Terrorism: a modern community?

Terrorism, as Laqueur observes, has never been a fixed and clear-cut notion: it has undergone semantic shifts and declinations throughout history.

spaces." (Fraser 1996:126). These are the aspects of this Anglo-Russian counter public that I will discuss in the following chapters.

Interestingly, the idea of terror dates back to Greek culture. Interpreted as a means to resist tyranny, terrorism probably makes its first appearance in Plato's and Aristoteles's philosophical writings. In fact, tyrannicides were celebrated in ancient Greece, an attitude to terrorism that the ancient Romans inherited. After the outbreak of the French Revolution, and particularly between March 1793 and July 1794, terrorism became a synonym for 'reign of terror'. However, it was not until the appearance of Mikhail Bakunin and Sergey Nechaev on the European scene in the 1840s-1860s that terrorism became a proper theory of destruction, a means to achieve revolution, as the two theorists of terror show in *Principles of Revolution* (1869) (Laqueur 1987). Bakunin and Nechaev, in fact, opened up the path towards a systematisation of terror, a process that largely influenced Sergey Mikhailovich Kravchinsky's imagination and led to his formulation of modern Russian terrorism. As a result, Russian years of terror are rooted in mid-nineteenth-century revolutionary theories, but it was at the end of the 1870s that this phenomenon came to the fore and gained momentum as a practice.

In the timespan of four years, from 1878 to 1881, three outrages were to mark the destiny of Russian history and politics, as well as of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia, to which the majority of the revolutionists belonged. It is true, of course, that Vera Zazulich's attempt on the life of General Trepov (January 1878)¹⁶ can be regarded as the first instance of political violence in the name of social justice. Nonetheless, it is Kravchinsky's deed that stands as a

¹⁶ For an informed account of Vera Zazulich's deed see Bergman 1980; Anemone 2010. Interestingly, Bergman observes that Zazulich's outrage was not intended as a political act, rather as a moral one, as a reaction to the government's abuse of a prisoner. In her opinion, therefore, those who drew inspiration from Zazulich's outrage to perpetrate political violence misunderstood her point. However valid these observations are, it must be noted that Stepniak does not fail to acknowledge her position, as he writes: "having accomplished her great deed from profound moral conviction, without the least shadow of ambition, Zazulich held completely aloof from every manifestation of the sentiments which that deed aroused in others." (Stepniak 1883: 111-2). However misunderstood Zazulich's outrage was, it was not so by Stepniak, who celebrated her action in the name of social injustice, and made of her moral fervour the basis of his reaction. See Bergman 1980.

watershed between Zazulich's sporadic act of terror and the creation of a proper system of political violence that culminated in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 at the hand of the Narodnaya Volya party.¹⁷ As Laqueur observes, in fact, the pamphlet that Kravchinsky wrote in order to explain his reasons for killing the general of the police, namely *A Death for a Death*, marked the dawn of a new revolutionary era in Russia, for it promoted a new form of reaction to autocratic power (Laqueur 1987). As it turned out, Kravchinsky was well aware of the pivotal role he played in changing the trends of political violence in Russia. In fact, he wrote:

On August 16, 1878 [...] the Terrorism, by putting to death General Mesentseff, the head of the police and of the entire *camarilla*, boldly throw down its glove in the face of autocracy. From that day forth it advanced with giant strides, acquiring strength and position, and culminating in the tremendous duel with the man who as the personification of despotism. [...] General Mesentzeff had been killed in broad daylight, in one of the principal streets of the capital, and those by whom he was killed had disappeared without leaving any trace behind them. This being the first act of the kind, it produces an immense impression. The first moment of bewilderment over, the police scoured the whole city. [...] It was extremely dangerous for us illegal men to show ourselves out of doors. (Stepniak 1883:39, 70)¹⁸

Hiding his direct involvement in the deed, Kravchinsky records the birth of a new distinctively Russian form of terror, the only resource available to socialists to contrast the hegemony of the Tsar, any insurrection in the European manner being "absolutely impossible" (Ibid:250) given the peculiar social, economic and political conditions of Russia. As Kravchinsky observes, in fact,

¹⁷ For a history of the Narodnaya Volya, the Russian revolutionary party, see Venturi 1960: 633-708. After the assassination of Tsar Alexander II, the central committee of the party wrote a letter addressed to Tsar Alexander III in which it claimed that terrorism was a sad necessity in order to obtain a constitution and freedom: once they have been obtained, terrorism would cease. This letter was published in Stepniak's *Nihilism as it Is* and *Underground Russia*.

¹⁸ Italics in the original.

“the terrorists have before them, not a Government in the European sense of the word – for they, owing to the disproportion of strength, the struggle would be impossible – but a *camarilla*, a small and isolated faction, which represents only its own interests, and is not supported by any class of society” (Ibid:255).¹⁹ This idea of the Russian government being different from any European one, and requiring a different kind of reaction as such, is crucial for Kravchinsky. While reasserting his critical stance on many different occasions, for instance in *Nihilism as it is*, in his lecture in New York in 1891, and even in an interview with an American journalist of the *New York Times*, he advocated the idea that no such method could be applicable in Europe, and, therefore, Russian terrorism should not be regarded as a threat to western social stability.

In Kravchinsky’s opinion, the struggle for freedom in Russia was to be fought only by means of conspiracies (Ibid:245). To enact such a strategy a new figure emerges, the so-called ‘illegal man/woman’, a person who has compromised himself/herself and has to live under a false identity. Kravchinsky himself provides an extended definition of who these ‘illegal people’ are in *Underground Russia* (1883). Though revolutionary sketches and biographical profiles of eight of his fellow revolutionists, Peter Kropotkin, Vera Zazulich and Sophia Perovskaya among others, Kravchinsky offers a unique account of the new Russian revolutionary movement. To him, the Russian terrorist is

Noble, terrible, irresistibly fascinating, for he combines in himself the two sublimities of the human grandeur: the martyr and the hero. He is a martyr. From the day when he swears in the depth of his heart to free the people and the country he knows he is consecrated to Death. He faces it at every step of his stormy life. He goes forth to meet it fearlessly, when necessary, and can die without flinching, not like a Christian of old, but like a warrior accustomed to look death in the face. [...] He is a wrestler, all bone and muscle, and has nothing in common with the dreamy idealist of the previous lustre. He is a mature man [...]. He is a Socialist fatally convinced,

¹⁹ “Stepniak as a Lecturer,” *The New York Times*, January 9 1891; “Sergey Stepniak Here,” *The New York Times*, December 31, 1890.

but he understands that a social revolution requires long preparatory labour, which cannot be given until political liberty is acquired. Modest and resolute [...] he has no other object than to overthrow this abhorrent despotism, and to give to his country, what all civilised nation possess, political liberty. [...] Such is the Terrorist. (Ibid:39-40)

Originally written in Italian and subsequently translated into other languages,²⁰ this work by Kravchinsky – henceforth referred to with the literary pseudonym he adopted to publish *Underground Russia*, namely Stepniak – can be interpreted as an instance of counter-propaganda that aimed to unveil the true nature of the Russian revolutionary movement to the Western world (Patyk 2009). Unlike official propaganda, he depicts the terrorist as a heroic character, fully committed to the cause of freedom. Far from being an egoistic figure, he/she is a defender of Russian society and aims at obtaining for his/her society the social rights and political freedom that characterises modern states. He wishes to accelerate the time of Russian history, whose cultural, social, economic and political history has always moved at a different pace compared to the western world. Interestingly, the notion of time is crucial in the assessment of the figure of the terrorist: confined to underground life, he has to attentively plan the timing of his/her outrage, and, in some cases, to be able to carry it out as soon as possible. The alternation between hyper-speed and inertia are embedded in terrorist practice. Maturing a controversial relationship with historical linear time, which is alternatively accelerated or slowed down, in fact, he/she wishes to exceed the pace on the path of Russian progress, thus manifesting what C. Verhoeven defines as “political impatience” (Verhoeven 2010). Consequently, the terrorist could be described as a modern figure, insofar as he/she is eager to do away with political institutions and social conventions and traditions, to unveil Russia’s “anti-modernity” (Patyk 2009), that is to say the official façade

²⁰ The English translation was published in 1883.

built to deceive the West, and to propel forward the creation of a modern nation state characterised by multiple public and counter-public discourses.

Most significantly, the modern terrorist that Stepniak describes does not act on his own. Russian public opinion, in fact, extensively support him/her, a support the Tsarist autocracy no longer possesses. Lending their names to the unofficial correspondence of the terrorist, collecting money, circulating prohibited literature, delivering parcels without knowing what they contain are just a few of the ways in which the Russian people manifested their support for Russian freedom. In this respect, the so-called 'ukrivateli' (or "concealers") have a significant part to play, as Stepniak observes in his sketch with the same name.

²¹ Although they did not take active part in the struggle, they shared the terrorists' revolutionary ideas and helped them in their fight against autocracy by concealing both objects and people.

Terrorists are, as it were, the spokespersons of society, a sort of "delegation of the masses" (Stepniak 1883:244). "Terrorists," Stepniak writes, "did nothing more than proclaim aloud amid the reports and flames of their explosions, what everybody either thought or whispered with a hesitating and timid voice, amid a deluge of adulations and general compulsory reticence" (Ibid:250-1). Although represented as an extraordinary individual, the terrorist is also subsumed within a collective that Patyk names "Terrorism." (Patyk 2009). In other words, the modern terrorist, standing in-between visibility and invisibility, weaves connection with different branches of society, and, in so doing, he galvanises the creation of a "body of conspirators," (Stepniak 1899:304), an 'underground' counter-public sphere, a proper group of terror. Stepniak's systematisation of terror, therefore, calls on group relations as an essential aspect of revolutionary life: the shift from the individual to the collective dimension of the ideological and political struggle that he describes, cast light on his lure for group exchanges and collaborations, a fascination that will guide his émigré experience in Britain.

²¹ From the Russian verb укрывать, 'to conceal'. See Stepniak 1883:166-184.

Writing terror, therefore, becomes a way not only to problematize at the level of letters, cultural, social and political tensions and debates, but also to foreground new forms of social construction. The community of terrorism can thus be interpreted as a first instance of modern community, a model that Kravchinsky and other revolutionary émigrés would attempt to recreate in the land of their adoption: late-nineteenth-century Britain.

1.1.2 British Attitudes to Russia: from Russophobia to Russophilia

Terrorism was a burning issue in Late Victorian and Edwardian England, given the high frequency of bombing and explosions at the hands of the Irish revolutionary party that were threatening the country. In this atmosphere, the occurrence of the motif of terrorism in Late Victorian literature comes as no surprise. R. L. Stevenson and Henry James among others offered the literary backdrop of the evolution of the motif at stake in English literature. In other words, both English social and cultural lives were pervaded by this modern form of warfare. Interestingly, alongside Fenian outrages, Russian terrorism also permeated the porous borders of England, particularly thanks to the Russian émigrés' ideological propaganda and the daily press, thereby transforming it into a matter of major concern (Melchiori 1985; Wisnicki 2008; O Donghaile 2011). In order to understand the role Russian émigrés played in England, and how they succeeded in recreating Anglo-Russian counter culture based on collaborative enterprises, it is worth briefly delineating the history of British attitudes towards Russian terrorism.

Russian Revolutionary terrorism, as Peaker (2006a) observes, has always attracted the attention of the British press. The English reading public was, therefore, familiar with the Russian theories of terror and the revolutionary personalities of the 1860s, but did not sympathise with them due to the crisis in Anglo-Russian relations the Crimean War (October 1853 – February 1856) caused. While an atmosphere of Russophobia dominated the 1860s, the 1870s witnessed the hesitant beginning of shift in British attitudes towards Russia, thanks to literary enterprises that aimed at redeeming the image of Russia as a

violent, barbarous and backward country. In this respect, Donald Mackenzie Wallace's well-informed study entitled *Russia* (1877), as well as the publication of the first English translations of Tolstoy and Turgenev, seemed to favour a cultural reconciliation between the two parts involved. William Ralston, for example, published the first English version of Turgenev's *A Nest of Gentlefolk*, entitled *Lisa* and mediated by the French version of the text. Moreover, Henry James himself wrote critical essays on Turgenev in the 1870s; suffice it to remember his 1872 review of *Spring Torrents* (1872) and his 1870 remarks on *King Lear of the Steppes* (1870) for the *North American Review*. Not to forget his 1877 review of Turgenev's *Virgin Soil* (1877) for the *Nation*.²² Literature and literary criticism were therefore pivotal in encouraging a reassessment of British attitudes to Russia in the 1870s, and were to set the basis for the feeling of Russophilia that emerged as the nineteenth century turned into modernity, when Russia became a visible presence in British culture.

However, Anglo-Russian relations in the 1880s witnessed a partial inversion of tendency, particularly as far as the British responses to Russian terrorism are concerned. The terrorist attempt of the late 1870s, reported by the *Times*, and the shock aroused by the death of Tsar Alexander II led the British public opinion to sympathise with Tsarist power, particularly because the threat of terrorism had become much more concrete in Britain since the outburst of Fenian terrorism. In this atmosphere of suspicion and anxiety caused by Irish and Russian political violence, there was a general consensus in the British press that condemned terroristic deeds.²³ The Russian revolutionary movement was,

²² This review was later published in *French Poets and Novelists* (1878) under the title "Ivan Turgenieff". James wrote other pieces of criticism on Turgenev in the 1880s, such as his 1884 essay for *The Atlantic Monthly* and his contribution to the *Library of World's Best Literature* (edited by C. D. Warner) entitled "Ivan Turgenieff" (1896). References to Turgenev frequently recur in James's other writings and essays. See Richards 2000.

²³ As Hughes observes, among these newspapers is *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*. See Hughes 2011

therefore, a major concern for British public opinion, and accounts of assassination attempts on political figures frequently appeared in the daily press.

Nonetheless, after the death of Alexander II, news about the eruption of pogroms in Russia had a considerable impression on British public opinion. The *Times* and the *Leeds Mercury* were the leading voices in this debate, and showed how Britons started to develop a critical attitude towards the tsarist regime (Hughes 2011). Most significantly, acknowledging the atrocities perpetrated by the tsars, Britons reoriented their attitude towards the Russian revolutionary movement, which started to be regarded in a moral perspective, making its methods slightly more acceptable, given the nature of the government they were opposing. In other words, the image of the Russian revolutionary movement was cast under scrutiny in the 1880s and was undergoing a significant reassessment. In this respect, not only the daily press, but also Russian 'immigrated voices' contributed to this re-evaluation of the Russian revolutionary movement. Kravchinsky (Stepniak), Volkhovsky and Kropotkin among others triggered a sort of rehabilitation of the Russian revolutionary image in Britain: they conveyed a different idea of Russia in their speeches and writings. In so doing, they fostered the creation of a new counter-public sphere, which aimed at transforming the dominant public opinion on Russian affairs. The fact that a strong feeling of Russophilia pervaded the late Victorian and Edwardian years, demonstrates to what extent the émigrés succeeded in their attempt to reorient British's attitudes to Russia from the 1880s onwards, until WWI.

Among the many reasons that led Britain to reconsider its position as regards to the Russian revolutionary movements, Stepniak's idea that England was a model to be imitated by the Russian intelligentsia could have played a considerable part. In fact, he highly appreciated the English party system: however different, liberal and socialist ideologists supported the other's right to be well represented in parliament. This model Stepniak dreamed for Russia, where he wished to create a constitutional regime that could grant social justice

and freedom to the people (Stepniak 1894).²⁴ In his book of memories entitled *A Night with a Nihilist* (1886), the tory W. Earl Hodgson recalls a conversation with Stepniak:

‘The fact is,’ [Stepniak] went on, ‘we are not Nihilists;’ and the cigarette arm languidly wended its way to the Tartar’s mouth. ‘Dear me!’ I rejoiced in astonishment. The declaration was disappointing. ‘No. Nihilist is a nickname give to us by the thick-headed Saxon. [...] But [...] we do not object to be called Nihilists. There is certainly nothing we will not blow up if it seriously stands in our way [...] in our way to the privileges the people of this country enjoy.’ [...] In short, the Nihilists are aglow with the same spirit that would send the British Tories into rebellion were our fatherland suddenly to come under the absolute rule of the soulless and self-seeking caucus that lives to do the behests of Mr Chamberlain. Let me, then, conclude with the hope that no one in these Isles will cast a slur on Victoria’s reign by denouncing Nihilism under the impression that the British Monarchy and the Russian autocracy are akin. (Hodgson 1886:7-8, 19)

While attempting to clarify the true nature of the Russian revolutionary movement, Stepniak draws a brief comparison between Russia and Britain, declaring that the Russian revolutionary movement is fighting in order to achieve the liberties that western countries and Britain in particular, already enjoy.²⁵ Stepniak’s rhetoric stirred Hodgson’s imagination and swept away his diffidence. In fact, Hodgson, who feared that Stepniak would blow him up on his arrival (Ibid:1), seems to understand the claims of the nihilists and considers their reactions natural given the despotic nature of the government they are fighting. In other words, the Russian émigrés contact with Britons marked a turning point in the history of Anglo-Russian relations. No longer regarded as a

²⁴For a well-informed piece of criticism of Kravchinsky’s model, see Senese 1975.

²⁵ Stepniak is keen on accepting the semantic shift of the notion of ‘nihilism’ that western societies in general triggered, as the title of his novel *The Career of a Nihilist* (1889) suggests. However, he draws a distinction between ‘nihilism’ and ‘terrorism’, defining the former as the philosophy inaugurated by Turgenev’s novel *Fathers and Sons*, and the latter as a more concrete and active reaction to the autocracy. See Stepniak 1883:3-12.

menace for Late-Victorian stability, or as the Fenians' eastern counterpart, the Russian revolutionary movement started to gain the support of the British, and their desire to imitate the western model probably made their British hosts keener to sympathise with their cause.

In the context of cultural rapprochement, however, the question of how Russians could support the fight in their fatherland from British shores became a compelling one. Representatives of official Tsarist propaganda in Britain, Madame Olga Novikov (1842-1925) among others, were attempting to discredit the Russian émigrés, condemning their violent methods and depicting them as a concrete menace to British stability and international relationships with Russia.²⁶ As a reaction to official propaganda and to the allegations that it formulated against Russian émigrés, Stepniak contributed the article "The Foreign Agitation" to the *New Review* in February 1894. It served as a reply to a denigrating article entitled "Anarchists: Their Methods and Organizations" by P. I. Rachovsky, head of the Russian foreign secret service, and Mme Novikov published in the *New Review* the previous month. In that article, Novikov and Rachovsky condemned Stepniak as the murderer of General Mesentsev, revealing his identity to English readers (Stepniak 1894:13-5).²⁷ Although this article by Stepniak neither confirmed nor denied his involvement in the Mesentsev affair, it is a telling example of the émigrés' eagerness to clarify their positions, roles and objects to the English reading public and to make sure that

²⁶ Mme Olga Novikov was a champion of Russian autocracy abroad and the Okhrana, the Russian official police based in France, supported her propaganda activity in Britain. On more than one occasion, she spoke against the Russian revolutionary émigrés, suffice it to remember her article "The Russification of England" published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1884 – edited by W. T. Stead – with which she protested against the granting of asylum to Russian revolutionists, particularly Kropotkin, Gartmann and Stepniak. See Stead 1909, Novikoff 1917.

²⁷ Olive Garnett records reading Novikov' article: "I must say that the article "Anarchists" II was a blow to me... Selfishly, I feared that I might lose "my Stepniak" – the artist – in the Stepniak I do not know, the nihilist, the terrorist and ---." (Garnett, 1989:19).

prejudices, unscrupulous denigrations and false information from the tsarist empire did not affect English attitude towards them.

Stepniak's articles and his book *Underground Russia* provide not only a rational and detailed analysis of how impossible it would be to direct the revolutionary movement in Russia from abroad, but also a detailed plan of what should be done in Britain.

Now in Russia the struggle is no longer carried on exclusively by mental effort, as it was five years ago. It is a struggle arms in hand, a thorough war, in which the minutest precautions have to be taken in accordance with the latest movements of the enemy. [...] What orders could be given from London, from Paris, from Switzerland? Who would be so stupidly presumptuous as to believe himself in a position to give them? [...] Foreign countries are only resting places. (Stepniak 1883:83-4)²⁸

As Stepniak claims in his article "The Dynamite Scare and Anarchy", published in *The New Review* in May 1892, in fact, Russian émigrés "are all guests [in Britain]. Now, guests may be expected not to exchange civilities, but surely they must not exchange blows. They must settle their accounts at home" (Stepniak 1892:531).²⁹ In other words, Russian émigrés, though in contact with the movement in Russia, were not taking active part in it, nor were they menacing Britain or compromising its international relationships. As Stepniak wrote in a letter to Mrs Spence Watson, "The point [about Russian freedom and

²⁸ Interestingly, Stepniak refers to refugees as "castaways [...] strangers in a strange land," ideas that could be in contrast with what I observed in the introduction, that is that Russians in London are "émigrés" rather than "refugees" and that are well integrated in their host society. However, it is worth taking into consideration that Stepniak wrote UR in 1882, when he was taking part in the Benevento upraise, concealing himself from the Tsarist police. On the contrary, when he moved to London he was well integrated in the society, he had many sympathisers and was no longer a stranger in a foreign country waiting to return to his land. In fact, he became a public figure who was struggling to attract British sympathies to the Russian cause.

²⁹ Interestingly, Olive Garnett accurately revised this article by Stepniak and she remembers that while she was "reading the beginning [of the article] Stepniak continued to write the end at his desk" (Garnett 1989: 27).

justice] is to be fought out in this country as in Russia, though on different ground and with different weapons" (Saunders 1980:86). The weapon with which to fight for Russian freedom in Britain was anti-tsarist propaganda, which would convey true information about the situation in Russia, for they strongly believed that the support of international public opinion could contribute to defeating autocracy.³⁰ As a result, Russian émigrés wanted to gain Russian freedom from the tsar, but they did not ask for British military support. All they asked the British was to "show active sympathy with the Russian aspirants to Freedom by materially and morally supporting the victims of tyranny, by educating public opinion and, if possible, by preventing the British Government from taking any step which might be a support to the Russian official system" (Saunders 2009), as Felix Volkhovsky wrote to Robert Spence Watson.

In the process of awakening international public opinion to the true nature of Russia, namely its despotic government and the oppression of the people, George Kennan's book *Siberia and the Exile System* (1891) occupies a privileged position. America and England, as Stepniak writes, "read with horror Kennan's mournful narrative, which has left an indelible trace on the mind of the whole contemporary world. Kennan's great work has, once and for all, dispelled the prejudices and misunderstandings concerning our movement, and has placed its aims, motives and significance in their true lights" (Stepniak 1894:40). Although Russian émigrés in Britain were among their "historical enemies" (Ibid.) – Russia and Britain were fighting on opposing fronts in the Crimean War and were competing in Indian territories for political and economic hegemony in the East – Stepniak and the other émigrés did not feel discriminated, marginalised or cast away. On the contrary, they were well integrated into the host community: they were among friends, "thousands of persons who have become true friends of the real Russia, the Russia of the people. They know and appreciate Russian literature; they understand the Russian race, know its troubles, fervently desire

³⁰ See *New York Times* (Dec 31, 1890); Stepniak 1884, Watson 1896.

its well-being, and believe in its future" (Ibidem). Russian émigrés, therefore, gained over the sheer sympathy of the British public opinion within a few years, an achievement that, however successful, was not an end in itself: on the contrary, it was just a starting point towards the creation of a cosmopolitan transcultural community, an authentic counter culture based on Anglo-Russian group exchanges and collaboration.

In his landmark study on the public sphere, Habermas laments that the disintegration of a "culture debating" society, ideally identified in the 18th century bourgeois culture, into a "culture consuming" society depended on the expansion of education and, most importantly, on the commercialization of the press which he considered as the major institution of bourgeois culture and publicity (Habermas 1989). In other words, the disintegration of social cohesion and public reason was the resultant effect of the working classes' entrance into the public sphere. Habermas's theory, however, has been cast under scrutiny and revised by recent historians, economists and political theories, who detected that 18th century public reason was based on exclusion itself, particularly of women and the working classes and, therefore, the "disinterested" use of public reason was actually expressing a certain interest of liberal society. Alternative public spheres, therefore, already existed in the 18th century and where founded by those groups excluded from the dominant public sphere, for example women, as Mary Ryan suggests (Ryan 1992).

It is true, of course, that the rise of mass culture in the 19th and 20th centuries and the expansion of literacy broke the borders of the traditional public sphere, leading to a progressive inclusion of diverse social groups into the public sphere and to a fragmentation of the sphere itself according to the reciprocal interests of these groups (Fraser 1996, Mah 2013). However, I argue that it is precisely this transformation of the public sphere that made its multiplicity, which had existed since its very inception, visible and what Habermas terms a "mass consuming" society proves to be an extremely fertile space for public debate. Mass debate is a resultant effect of the evolution of society in a mass consuming direction, which

offered spaces for oppositional debate. In other words, this transformation of the public sphere, the remarkable success of the press and the expansion of literacy, favoured the Russian émigrés' success in Britain and the opportunities the new mass market offered were crucial in these terms. In fact, not only did Russian émigrés contribute to English newspapers, journals and magazines, obtaining sympathies from all social classes, but they also founded a distinctive Anglo-Russian counter public sphere, with its own institutions. Such institutions of counter culture offered them a means to enter the dominant public sphere and to reorient British public opinion (Morrisson 2001), thereby favouring the creation of Anglo-Russian ideological and cultural circles.

1.1.3 Figures

As Haupt observes, the term “intelligentsia” had been assimilated into the concept of revolution and socialism in Russia since the 1870s, when it acquired an ideological connotation, for it became a synonym for populism. Most significantly, the term underwent a semantic shift in the 1880s, when it ceased to be associated with radical, leftist and people-oriented ideologies to express opposition to the Russian government (Haupt 1978). Revolutionaries, in other words, engaged in intellectuals struggles to gain freedom from the autocracy and human rights for their people. For this reason, when discussing Russian radical emigration to Europe it is possible to talk about an authentic intelligentsia in exile, a fact that is of no lesser importance when discussing the cultural and literary implications emigration from Russia had in Britain. In this respect, the most significant members of the Russian intelligentsia in Britain were Sergey Mikhailovich Kravchinsky (Stepniak, 1851-1895), Pyotr Alexeyevich Kropotkin (1842-1921), Felix Vadimovich Volkhovsky (1846-1914) and Vladimir Chertkov (1854-1936) among many others.³¹

³¹ Not to forget David Soskice (1866-1941) and Nikolay V. Tchaikovsky (1821-1926), though they enter this study only marginally. For more information about many other Russian émigrés in the Britain, see Kendall 1963; Holmes 1984; Peaker 2006a; Service 2010.

Historical documentation has always been the major concern of the various studies on Russian emigration to Britain, where detailed biographical sketches of the émigrés play a significant role. However, this pattern is not common to historians only, to whom it could prove most suitable, but also to scholars of literature and literary criticism. Although such an approach could help to cast light on the socio-historical dimension of the phenomenon, it fails for the most part to highlight the literary and cultural implications that this emigration fostered, an aspect that should be a major concern for literary critics. Therefore, dismissing this consolidated approach to the topic, I wish to show to what extent Stepniak, Volkhovsky, Kropotkin and Chertkov contributed to making the Russian emigration to England a rather unique phenomenon, and I will therefore draw attention to those remarkable biographical resonances that could help to expand my object.

1.1.3.1 Encounters

When exploring the similarities between Stepniak, Volkhovsky, Kropotkin and Chertkov, one of the most striking aspects is that they share similar biographical backgrounds. Most significantly, they were all educated in Russia in the 1860s and 1870s, which is to say that they were bred in an intellectual climate profoundly influenced by Nikolay Alexandrovich Dobrolyubov's (1836-1861), Dmitry Ivanovich Pisarev's (1840-1868) and Nikolay Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky's (1828-1889) radical criticism. Celebrating the social function of literature, namely its potential to help society to shrug off the blanket of passivity and to awaken the reading public to Russia's unbearable condition, these materialist critics encouraged the Russian intelligentsia to emulate literary heroes' great deeds and to engage in a social revolution (Berlin 1978). Such ideals the émigrés of the 1880s inherited and cherished in both their life experiences and literary productions, suffice it to call to mind their direct engagement in forcing social reforms. Stepniak, Kropotkin and Volkhovsky, in fact, were directly involved in the socialist propaganda among the workers in the Russian provinces to gain their sympathy to the cause of freedom, and so was Nikolay V.

Tchaikovsky (1821-1926). He was the founder of what probably is the most famed organised group of propaganda among the Russian peasants known as the Tchaikovsky circle, to which Stepniak and Kropotkin belonged.³² It is precisely for their faith in revolution and social change, as well as their connection with radical politics, that they suffered imprisonment and emigration to Europe.³³ Although Chertkov did not circulate socialist ideals and did not suffer from imprisonment and confinement, he deserves to be studied together with these émigré voices, for he shared with them a strong revolutionary spirit. In fact, in years when Tolstoy was having troubles with secular and temporal authorities Chertkov engaged in the dissemination of Tolstoyan radical principles in Russia, an activity that determined his exile to Britain.³⁴

Once on British shores, revolutionary émigrés from Russia engaged in the publication of pamphlets, articles, prefaces to pieces of Russian literature in translation. Apart from Chertkov, who contributed to radical Tolstoyan propaganda only through essays or articles published either by his Free Age Press or on Tolstoyan journals, the Russian émigrés considered the English journals and magazines appropriate means to establish a contact with the British public. For example, Volkhovsky contributed the story of his escape from Siberia to *The Times*.³⁵ Similarly, Stepniak contributed articles on education and

³² Though Volkhovsky did not belong to this group, he was nonetheless engaged in similar activities of propaganda among the peasants. For a well-informed account of the birth and activities of the Tchaikovsky's Circle, see Venturi 1960.

³³ Stepniak moved to Switzerland and Italy before setting in Britain. Kropotkin escaped to Britain, subsequently moved to France, to return to England in 1886. Volkhovsky escaped to Canada and then settled in Britain. See Senese 1987; Woodcock and Avakumovic 1950; Saunders 2009. About Kropotkin's arrest and escape, see also Kropotkin 1899 and Stepniak 1883.

³⁴ Contrary to the other émigrés, who were exiled to Siberia and, after escaping, peregrinated from one European country to another before setting in England, Chertkov was directly exiled to Britain, probably thanks to his mother's intervention.

³⁵ Volkhovsky also wrote for *The Toronto Globe* and other Canadian newspapers.

censorship to *The Times*,³⁶*The Contemporary Review*, *The New Review*, *Cornhill Magazine*, *Cornhill Magazine* and *The Fortnightly Review*, as well as to William Morris's *Commonweal* and Hubert Eland's *To-Day*.

Of no lesser importance is Kropotkin's journalistic zeal. Described by Stepniak as "an excellent journalist, ardent, spirited, eager" (Stepniak 1883:91), Kropotkin wrote for a large numbers of British publications. Not only did he contribute scientific articles to *Nature* and *The Geographical Journals*, but he also wrote articles on Russian socio-political issues for *The Times*, *The Fortnightly Review*, *Daily News*, *The Daily Chronicle*, and *The Nineteenth Century*. Moreover, he also collaborated with the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, as well as to other monthly publications.³⁷ By contributing to the British press, the Russian émigrés crossed the borders of the British public sphere and became, therefore, visible presences that could influence British public opinion on Russian affairs. In other words, contemporary mass-market institutions, journals and magazines in particular, favoured the dissemination of authentic information on all things Russian and offered the émigrés the instruments to negotiate an Anglo-Russian counter public sphere. The permeability of British social borders to mass publication and information galvanized the creation of a counter-culture to which all social classes could take active part.

Alongside mass publications, public speeches and lectures about all things Russian also were on the émigrés' agenda and offered a different form of mass publicity. Russian émigrés thus became public figures in need of public recognition: it is precisely for this reason that propaganda was delivered in the English language, of which Russian émigrés were struggling to gain substantial

³⁶ See Hulse 1970.

³⁷ See Hulse 1970; Slatter 1994; Shpayer-Makov 1987; Woodcock and Avakumovic 1950. As Woodcock and Avakumovic observe, Kropotkin contributed to the British press even during the years of his imprisonment in France. Not to forget that Soskice himself briefly contributed to the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Observer*.

command. In this respect, an anonymous journalist of the *New York Times* provides a telling account of Stepniak's cursory command of the language: "Mr Stepniak speaks English with a studied effort. His foreign accent is very pronounced and his delivery is jerky and laboured. His pronunciation was puzzling to his hearers in many instances. Most of his sentences were bitten off abruptly, with a falling inflection of the voice" (NYT 1891). Stepniak himself was aware of how difficult it was to overcome linguistic barriers: in a letter to a Russian comrade in 1886 he wrote, "this language [English] is catastrophic. Imagine – for more than a year I have been writing in the local language (and, so they say, not badly), but I cannot speak it, or rather, I speak the everyday language. I tried some public speaking this winter, but gave it up. They don't understand what I'm saying" (Taratuta 1973:339). Despite the initial linguistic obstacles, Russian émigrés successfully engaged in an on-going dialogue with the British intelligentsia, a dialogue that stimulated the creation of an Anglo-Russian counter culture based on group exchanges and collaborations.

As it turned out, Russian émigrés had always been in more or less direct contact with one another, suffice it to remember Stepniak and Kropotkin's affiliation with the Chaikovsky circle in their Russian years. Not to forget that they were very much concerned about the destinies of their fellow revolutionists, as Stepniak's example demonstrates. Despite his abortive attempt to rescue Volkhovsky from solitary confinement in 1876, Stepniak, in alliance with Mme Lavrov, planned. Kropotkin's successful escape from the Fortress of St Peter and Paul a few years later, a fact that bears witness to the close collaboration that existed among the members of the revolutionary intelligentsia.³⁸ Interestingly, this alliance became even stronger in the years of their British emigration, when

³⁸ Mme Lavrov was the wife of Peter Lavrov Lavrovich Lavrov (1823-1900), one of the theorists of the so-called movement "to-the-people," and largely inspired Stepniak's early activity as a member of the "narodniki". For a biography of Lavrov, see Scanlan 1918. A detailed first-hand account of the plan to rescue Kropotkin and of his escape can be respectively found in Stepniak 1883 and in Kropotkin 1899.

Russian émigrés were trying to negotiate their position in the British public sphere.

It is true, of course, that Russian émigrés on British soil were in touch with one another but their successful joint enterprises in Britain took place in the wake of the British support they achieved. Kropotkin and Stepniak's collaboration with Robert Spence Watson, Thomas Burt (M.P.) and W. P. Byles (M.P.) is ground-breaking in this respect. In fact, it led to the creation of the first institution of Anglo-Russian counter culture, namely the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom in April 1890. By promoting public speeches and debates over all things Russian, and engaging in publishing enterprises, this all-party organization wanted to win public sympathy for the Russian cause for freedom. Although the initial support was very poor, and it counted only twenty-eight Englishmen and women among its members, success was not long in coming and its activity lasted for more than twenty-five years (Hollingsworth 1970). The statement of the society was officially published by Robert Spence Watson, the secretary of its London branch in the first issue of *Free Russia*, the journal of the society, in June 1890. In his article "The Movement in England," Watson observes:

[...] Our own freedom places upon us in a very peculiar way the duty of aiding others to obtain the same blessing, that some of us have, after long and careful consideration, determined to take up the Russian question. We do not wish to form a great organization. The time for that has not yet come. Our view is to form a small but representative committee (composite, if possible, from all political parties) to whom subscriptions in aid of the work we contemplate may be forwarded, and whose names will be guarantee for the character of that work. The actual task we contemplate is the wide dissemination from time to time of accurate information upon the political position of Russia in domestic affairs, the condition of the people, the treatment of political exiles, and all the action of authorities in suppressing all aspirations for freedom. What we shall actually be able to do will depend upon the support which we receive. (Watson June 1890)

As we have seen, émigrés were greatly interested in periodical publications and in exploiting mass-market publication strategies to reach out to the British reading public. However, not only did they contribute to British periodicals, but

they also founded the monthly journal of the SFRF, *Free Russia*, edited by the joint efforts of Stepniak and Volkhovsky until Stepniak's death in 1895. His place was then taken over by Frederick J. Green. *Free Russia*, as we shall see, proved another remarkable institution of a thriving Anglo-Russian counter culture, for it not only disseminated information about Russian affairs, but also literature and the arts. For these reasons, it had a pivotal part to play in the creation of an Anglo-Russian community, a cosmopolitan 'culture debate' group.³⁹

In the debate over the importance of collaborations among the Russian intelligentsia in exile, Tchaikovsky and Stepniak's alliance should not pass without scrutiny. The founder of the Russian revolutionary movement among the people, in fact, has a pivotal part to play in Stepniak's career as a writer in England. Not only did he negotiate the publication of *Underground Russia* in England, which was eventually published in May 1883 by Smith and Elder, but he also encouraged Stepniak to publish *The Career of a Nihilist*, his only novel in the English language (Senese 1975). This collaboration hints at Stepniak's idea that literature could be propaganda's staunch ally, for it could develop a better understanding of the Russian society, a process that was vital to ensure the success of the émigrés' campaign (Senese 1987: 37). As a result, collaborations within the émigré group and with British publishers had both social and cultural implications: in fact, they favoured the dissemination of Russian ideology, literature and culture, stimulated British sympathies for the Russians and their cause, and cooperated in the building up of an Anglo-Russian community based on cultural exchanges, as well as literary and ideological debates.

Once the national frontier had been crossed, ideological borders became even more porous and permeable, a fact that galvanised the creation of new kinds of collaborations and exchanges. It is quite surprising, in fact, to find

³⁹ Stepniak and Volkhovsky were also directly involved in the activities of the Russian Free Press Fund, another institution of Anglo-Russian counter culture, yet specifically addressed to Russian audiences. It will be discussed in the next section.

instances of collaborations not only among the members of the so-called political émigrés, but also between this very group and the Tolstoyans, who, although revolutionaries, preached peace and communitarian living as the highway of social (and political) change. Kropotkin, for example, who occupied a high standing position in the Russian community in Britain, sympathised with the British Tolstoyan movement, and he became acquainted with Vladimir Chertkov. Chertkov himself records his alliance with Kropotkin in his article entitled “Мое знакомство с П.А. Кропоткиным” (1921, “My Acquaintance with P. A. Kropotkin”).⁴⁰ Moreover, Kropotkin visited the colonies in Essex and Hampshire delivering lectures at Croydon in 1896 and at Purleigh in 1899.⁴¹ John Kenworthy, the first British spokesperson of Tolstoysm in Britain, expressed his appreciation of Kropotkin’s lectures in his correspondence with Tolstoy, making some concluding remarks on ideological rapprochement of Kropotkin’s anarchism and Tolstoyan principles (Alston 2014). Therefore, emigration to Britain reinforced already-existing contacts among Russian political émigrés and galvanised the creation of new ties with other dissident groups, in particular with Tolstoyan clusters. In other words, moving to Britain stimulated the

⁴⁰ LSE, COLL MISC 0530: Kropotkin’s Letters. Chertkov also wrote an article about Kropotkin’s anarchist ideology entitled “Кропоткин и Анархизм” (1921, “Kropotkin and Anarchism”) contained in the same folder.

⁴¹ In turn, Kropotkin invited John Kenworthy, a leading British Tolstoyan, to contribute to the anarchic journal *Freedom*, edited by Mrs Wilson and himself. Not only did they share platforms and speakers, but also ideas of communal life. In fact, British Tolstoyans had close links with the Starthwaite cooperative colony in Cumbria (1892-1901) and the anarcho-communist colony at Clousden Hill outside Newcastle (1895-1902), social experiments inspired by Peter Kropotkin’s anarchism. Therefore, the Tolstoyan Christian-communist-anarchic ideology was largely informed not only by Tolstoy, but also by Kropotkin’s ideology and social experiments. In defence of Kropotkin’s ideology, which was largely criticised for its objects and means, the Tolstoyan Eliza Pickard contributed an article entitled “What is Anarchism?” to *The New Order*, the organ of these Tolstoyan communities, where she aimed at unveiling the Russian prince’s philosophy of communist anarchism, based on the principle of mutual aid, contrary to the stereotypical interpretation of anarchism as violent terrorism. See Pickard 1897.

creation of an ideologically composite community of Russians out of Russia, which, far from being content in its cultural isolation, sought to weave further connections with the host country. In so doing, it broke the borders of cultural isolation and moved towards the creation of hybrid Anglo-Russian groups that opened up to a new phase of British social, cultural and literary history.

In the wake of the close relationships among the Russian émigrés, the presence of mutual English friends, for example William Morris and George Bernard Shaw, with whom Stepniak and Kropotkin corresponded, comes as no surprise.⁴² Not to mention their affiliation with the Garnett family, and particularly with Constance and Olive Garnett, who also sympathised with Fabianism and anarchism respectively. Volkhovsky himself was acquainted with the Garnetts. The literary collaborations between Russian émigrés and the Garnetts is of great significance and will be extensively discussed in the following chapter. Interestingly, the Garnetts' Rossetti cousins were also familiar with the Russian émigrés activities in Britain. In fact, the young Rossetti sisters – Olive and Helen – were raising funds for the publication of the Russian cause, as Volkhovsky mentions in a letter to Mrs Rossetti:

Please, give my compliments to your children & tell “comrade-secretary” [Helen Rossetti] that part of the money she is collecting for the Russian cause should be collected for the special purpose of maintaining and pushing forward of the German periodical “Frei Russland” (the Germ. Edition of Free Russia) [...] Propaganda in Germany is of the greatest importance & the German periodical is in great need of money. Money for this purpose is wanted only temporarily, as the periodical will become very soon self-supporting. (COLL MISC 0493)⁴³

⁴² Some of these letters are property of the British Library: Add MS 45345 f. 141, f. 147; Add MS 50511 f 343; Add 50512 f 183.

⁴³ Letter from Feliks Volkhovsky to Mrs Rossetti, Leeds Russian Archive. Underlines sentence in the original

Thanks to his Rossetti cousins and the Garnetts, Ford Madox Ford encountered Stepniak, Volkhovsky, Kropotkin and David Soskice, who married Ford's sister and got involved in the *English Review*.⁴⁴ This was at the time when they were all living near the Garnett's cottage at Limpsfield.⁴⁵ In *Return to Yesterday* (1932), Ford records his connections with the Russians:

I remember between 1893 and 1894 going home for longish periods almost every night from London University to a western suburb with Stepniak, Volkhovsky or Prince Kropotkin who were then the most prominent members of the Russian extreme Left and who were lecturing at the university on political economy, Russian literature, and I think biology respectively. And behind us always lurked or dodged Russian spies allotted to each of those distinguished lectures. (Ford 1972: 135)

Along with standing out as a first-hand account of their acquaintance, Ford's recollection calls attention to a pivotal issue that was affecting the Russian community of émigrés abroad, namely spy surveillance, which, although never crucial for any of them, was still a burden that could not be removed.

In the wider panorama of Anglo-Russian connections and collaborations, British radicals occupy a prominent position. Members of the Fabian Society, namely Sidney Webb, Sydney Olivier, Huber Bland, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Annie Besant are among the leading lights of the movement who supported the émigrés activity in Britain. Interestingly, Annie Besant offered her house as the venue for the first meeting of a "Society of the Friends of Russia" in 1885, which would later become the SFRE, but this early attempt to found such a group was aborted (Hollingsworth 1970). Not to forget Mrs Charlotte Wilson, Edward Pease, William Morris, George Barnard Shaw and Karl Pearson, with whom

⁴⁴ For more information about the controversial Ford-Soskice collaboration, see Saunders 1996: 252. For a detailed study on Ford and the Russians in England, see Vernitski 2007.

⁴⁵ See Garnett 1991; Ford 1972. About the possible impact of Kropotkin's ideology on Ford's writings of the 1930, see Van Puymbroeck 2013.

Stepniak corresponded and collaborated on different occasions.⁴⁶ Kropotkin himself was in contact with British socialists and anarchists, such as Max Nettlau, Emma Goldman and in particular Charlotte Wilson, co-founder of the anarchic journal *Freedom*, and H. M. Hyndman, leader of the Marxist SDF.⁴⁷

British sympathisers to the Russian cause were not simply limited to leftist radicals, but also to liberals. Robert Spence Watson, president of the National Liberal Association, is a key figure in these terms, particularly for the active part he played not only in the foundation of the SFRF, but also in the publication of *Free Russia*.⁴⁸ Among the subscribers of this Anglo-Russian journals were also MPs of Gladstone cabinet of 1893 and the publisher T. Fisher Unwin (FR 1891: 3).⁴⁹ Some member of socialist groups also joined in this collaborative experiment, suffice it to remember Charlotte Wilson, who, in a letter to Karl Pearson informs his of the project the society wishes to carry out:

As I am writing to you, perhaps, I may make use of the appointment to mention, that some of those who are interested in the struggle for freedom in Russia are forming a sort of association to spread knowledge of what is the real condition of things there, in England. English public opinion is a very favourable aid to the parts of progress in its influence upon the educated classes. [...] Our aim at present is to interest as far as possible literary and newspaper men and get reviews and articles written for the magazine, to newspapers [...]. Later [...] we hope to arrange for some lectures. If you are able or inclined to help us in any way – or [...] care to

⁴⁶ See Slatter 1893; Senese 1975, 1978; Peaker 2006a; Bachman 1971.

⁴⁷ Service 2010, Shpayer-Makov 1987; Miller 1976; Woodcock and Avakumovic 1950.

⁴⁸ Stepniak was also acquainted with the Tory Earl William Hodgson, who records his encounter with Stepniak in *A Night with a Nihilist*, as well as with Charles Bradlaugh, the first atheist MP in England. For more information about the Russian émigrés' connection with British liberals, see Hamburg 1977; Peaker 2006a.

⁴⁹ A complete list of the members of the SFRF's committee is to be found in appendix A.

discuss the matters with M. Stepniak, will you let me know? (PEARSON 11/1/22/91)⁵⁰

Similarly, Tolstoyan groups attracted radicals and liberals alike, provided that they sympathised with Tolstoy's social, moral and religious teaching, were they socialists, liberals or cranks of any sort (Alston 2014). Fabians, Nellie Shaw among others, joined Tolstoyan colonies, a fact that bears witness to the permeable borders of these ideologies. Interestingly, Chertkov's most intense, although controversial, connection was the one with Aylmer Maude, a British Tolstoyan best known for his translations of Tolstoy's works. Not to forget A. Fifield, Chertkov's greatest collaborator, who worked for Chertkov's *Free Age Press*, a printing house of Tolstoyan matrix, as "publisher, manager, joint editor, joint translator, publicity agent, advertising expert, warehouseman, porter, packer, clerk, book-keeper, office boy and stamp licker" (MS 1381/1238a). Fifield records his acquaintance with Chertkov in an article entitled "The Free Age Press: A brief statement of its work" dated 1933:

My acquaintance with T[hertkoff] goes back to 1897, soon after his exile to England. I was engaged on the editorial staff of a large publishing house in London, and learning also something of the production and distribution of books. T[hertkoff] was busy with seeking newspapers avenues for Tolstoy's new writings. We met at Tamworth Hall, Croydon, at Paul Boulanger's house in Forest Hill, at my own house in Beckenham, and at Castle's Vegetarian Restaurant, Shoe Lane, London; and he became immediate friends. (Ibid.)

The attention of the foreign press was pivotal for the Russian émigrés, as I have already pointed out in this chapter, for it proved the platform from where to enter in direct contact with the British reading public, and so were meetings at liberal and radical clubs and societies, as well as public lectures delivered in public of hotel halls.

⁵⁰ Letter from C. M. Wilson to Karl Pearson dated 28/07/1885. UCL Archive Collection.

Considering the phenomenon more in detail, we notice that Russian émigrés did not only encourage public meetings, but also “drawing-room” encounters. Moreover, if we take for granted that journals, books, and pamphlets were read in the intimacy of domesticity, we can understand the pervasive nature of the émigrés encounters with Britain. In fact, Russian émigrés were galvanising the creation of Anglo-Russian groups with a specific political and cultural object, thereby triggering the creation of an Anglo-Russian counter public sphere that could reorient the dominant public opinion. At the same time, however, they were infiltrating into the very origin of this public dimension, namely the private sphere. Exploiting the late Victorian cultural flair and mass-market strategies, Russian émigrés established an Anglo-Russian counter culture, encouraging the creation of hybrid Anglo-Russian groups at the expense of national and political factions, and negotiating a new cosmopolitan and trans-cultural public voice that would extirpate all sorts of “Russophobic” residue in British society.

1.1.3.2 Literature and the Émigré Press

As we have seen, the Russian intelligentsia in emigration was widely concerned with ideological propaganda. Nonetheless, its literary aspirations should not pass unnoticed. Literature, in fact, did not only play an influential part in the Russian émigrés education and, consequently, in the creation of a revolutionary ideology, but it also became a means of propaganda, as well as a trustworthy instrument to forge an Anglo-Russian counter culture.

Russian émigrés matured a fascination for literature and culture from their early youth, suffice it to remember Stepniak, Volkhovsky and Kropotkin’s enthusiastic readings of Russian and French literature, as well as their juvenilia, which consisted of either poems or short stories written in the Russian language.

⁵¹ Gogol’s journalistic prose, for example, encouraged Kropotkin to edit a short-

⁵¹ See Woodcock and Avakumovic 1950, Kropotkin 1899, Saunders 2009. A slight difference has to be pointed out, however, to be more precise. As a member of the aristocracy, Kropotkin was educated at home, had a private tutor and was later encouraged to start a career in the imperial

lived daily journal – containing news about family life – and later a monthly review containing his brother's verses and his "novelettes, and some sort of varieties" (Kropotkin 1899: 53). Moreover, as he writes in his memoirs,

Of so innocent a book as Gogol's "Dead Souls" the second part was not allowed to appear, nor the first part to be reprinted, although it had long been out of print. Numerous verses of Pushkin and Lermontoff, A. K. Tolstoi, Ryleeff, and other poets were not permitted to see the light; to say nothing of such verses as had any political meaning and contained a criticism of the prevailing conditions. All these circulated in manuscripts, and Smirnoff [his private tutor] used to copy whole books of Gogol and Pushkin for himself and his friends, a task in which I occasionally helped him. (Ibid:52)

Kropotkin's copying and circulating of prohibited literature bear witness not only to the draconian Russian censorship, but also to his familiarity with underground activities since his youth. Similarly, Stepniak took his readings of Russian and French literature very seriously, as he did with his writing: during his activity as a member of the narodniki, in 1873-74, in fact, he wrote propagandistic fairy tales (*Propagandistskie skazki*). Ivan Turgenev (1818-1883), the famed Russian novelist, commented on one of these tales in a letter to Peter Lavrov, where he wrote,

The author is a man of talent, he commands the language, and his entire work is warmed though by the fire of youth and conviction, the tone is not sustained. The author hasn't managed to figure out for whom he's writing – for exactly which segment of the reading public? The consequence of this is an inconsistency and unevenness of exposition. First it's written for the people, the for – if not exactly a more educated – a more 'literary' segment. But I repeat, your acquaintance does have talent and may he continue to labour in this field. (Turgenev 1966:118)

army, while Volkhovsky attended the gymnasias in St Petersburg and Odessa and entered the law faculty of Moscow in 1863.

Thanks to his linguistic ability, which were not simply restricted to the Russian language, Stepniak was able to contribute to the St Petersburg journal *Delo* translations from the Italian and the Spanish, as well as to write *Underground Russia*, his first successful literary attempt, in the Italian language during his stay in Italy to the early 1880s.⁵² The lack of a clear target that Turgenev detects in Stepniak's writing is a telling instance of Stepniak's wish to reach the wider possible audience. Although this might be a flaw in Stepniak's literary achievements, for all forms of consistency contribute to making the value of a piece of literature, here, nonetheless, the uncertainty about the status of Stepniak's implied reader is functional given his primary scope.

Stepniak's ideas about literature are expressed in a letter to Robert Spence Watson dated 14 April 1890. It consists of a commentary by Stepniak on the draft of the "Bibliography of the Russian Question" section by Watson to be published in the first number of *Free Russia* (June 1890).

I like very much your Bibliographic art[icle] as a whole, but two books must be added: Edmund Noble The Russian Revolt which is a first class book on Russia and also Fulke Slavs and/or Saxons also a very good one. ... But there are two notices which I think have better be left out. The one is about a book upon Russian agrarian question *before the Emancipation* which can not have any great interest now and the other is Dr Landsdale's. [...] Kennan and Kropotkine for exa[mple] [...] have proved him [Dr Landsdale] to be a humbug. Kennan with regard to political prisons, Krop. with regard to common offenders. I do not say that he is a liar, but what does it matter to the reader if he has not taken the trouble – or was not able to which is the same for the reader – to defend himself from the grossest imposition of

⁵² Chaikovsky promoted the English translation of *La Russia Sotterranea* (*Underground Russia*). It was translated by Henry Hyndman and eventually published in England in May 1883. It immediately was a success and it was reprinted three times within a year. See Senese 1978. Interestingly, before his novel be published in Italian, Stepniak was already negotiation the English and French edition of his work. It first appeared in English in Hyndman's translation (1883) by the Russian Free Press Fund and in Swedish in the same year and subsequently in German, French, Dutch and Hungarian. For the first Russian edition of the text, we have to wait until 1893. As a result, Stepniak was already a well-known personality when he arrived in England in 1884, thanks to the incredible success of his *Underground Russia*. See Scotto 2010: 105.

Russian officials so much that in one occasion for example he has described military officers undergoing disciplinary arrests as *political* prisoners and so forth. His books are false to the truth. [...] If we speak of his work we must at the same time show our readers what he is worth – [...] Then I wanted to intercede in favour of my novel ... I think... that with all its shortcoming the novel can do more to win adherents to our cause than serious and more scientific works and we therefore will be right in bring it more forward... (Stepniak 1890)⁵³

Stepniak's letter, as Saunders observes, gives evidence of his knowledge of the English language material about the current Russian condition, as well as of his political orientation, which lead him to praise Kropotkin and Kennan's works at the expense of others that conveyed a counter-revolutionary image of Russia. In the letter, in fact, he also refers to Olga Novikov's articles, declaring that they do not deserve mentioning in *Free Russia*, for they convey a distorted picture of Russia. However, what the scholar does not mention is Stepniak's almost obsessive concern with the reader and of the centrality of literature in building up a counter public sphere. Stepniak's novel, in fact, differed from the European novelistic tradition, in that it was designed to have a public impact. It was precisely on the reader's favourable opinion that the success of the Russian émigrés' campaign in Britain largely depended. In the process of awakening of British sensibilities to the prevailing conditions of Russia, in fact, literature becomes the leading means of propaganda in Stepniak's opinion. For this reason, he massively advertised literary works dealing with Russian themes in *Free Russia*, including his English novel, *The Career of a Nihilist*.

The idea that literature could serve the cause for freedom and contribute to further disseminate the truth about prevailing Russian conditions was widespread among the revolutionary émigrés and did not only take the form of novel writing. Translations from the Russian language and literary criticism were, in fact, pivotal in the dissemination of Russian culture and literary

⁵³ Letter from Stepniak to Watson [14 April 1890] quoted in Saunders 1980:91-2. Italics in the original.

traditions. Stepniak, for example, was extremely active in this field. Taratuta observes his multifaceted nature, as she writes that he “would occupy himself mainly with reading in all branches of knowledge, and not be satisfied with any one branch; he loved the poets, would declaim poetry, excelled in languages, and kept himself busy with translations” (Taratuta 1973:38).⁵⁴ Stepniak, in fact, along with delivering lectures on Russian literature combining art and ideology, collaborated with Constance Garnett over the translation of Turgenev’s novels. Moreover, he also wrote the critical-historical introduction to Garnett’s 1894 translations of *Rudin* (1856), and of *A House of Gentlefolk* (1859). In a similar way, he supervised Ethel Lyllian Boole’s (later, Voynich) career as a translator from the Russian language and strongly supported her translations of short stories by Korolenko, Garshin and Saltykov-Schedrin, authors known for their social comments and satires.⁵⁵ One of Voynich’s most famous translations is the book *The Humour of Russia* (1891), containing a collection of sketches and short stories by Russian authors, and it also includes “The Story of a Kopek” by Stepniak, originally written in the Russian language.

Volkhovsky and Kropotkin were also involved in cultural and literary criticism, highlighting the connection between ideology and literary production. Volkhovsky, for example, followed the path opened up by Stepniak: in fact, he published *A China Cup and Other Stories for Children* (1892), a collection of short stories that aimed at instilling revolutionary ideas in the very young. Moreover, during the years of his editorship of *Free Russia*, namely between 1899 and 1914, Volkhovsky also wrote detailed commentaries over the translations from the Russian that were published in the journal, alongside occasional articles and prefaces on Russian authors. For instance, he contributed a biographical article on Ivan Turgenev to the April 1893 issue of the Anglo-Russian journal.

⁵⁴ I quoted the passage in Peter Scotto’s translation. Scotto 2010.

⁵⁵ These authors, and many others, will be also translated in *Free Russia*, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Volkhovsky's introduction to Perris's *Leo Tolstoy: The Grand Mujik* (1898) does not only elucidate the connection between Russian revolutionary émigrés and Tolstoyan principles, but it also further exemplifies the émigrés' great concern for the "education" of the reader to things Russian. In this respect, Kropotkin's most famed work on literature, *Ideals and Realities in Russian Literature* (1905), a collection of lectures he delivered in Boston four years before, is pivotal. This book by Kropotkin is a combination of literary history, political ideology and utopian instances, where the Russian émigré pinpoints social realism as the only true and beautiful form of art. In other words, art should incorporate social inquiries, anarcho-communist ideology and populist form, the latter directly deriving from his reading of populist thinkers such as Chernyshevsky and Pisarev.

Of a more controversial nature is the literary interest of the Tolstoyans. Translations of Tolstoy's works were, in fact, the most effective means to disseminate the author's ideology in Britain.⁵⁶ When discussing the dissemination of Russian literature and culture at the hand of the Russian émigrés, the figure of Chertkov deserves to be taken into consideration. As Peaker observes, contrary to his fellow émigrés, Chertkov's translations are not to be interpreted as a means of propaganda, but rather as a form of cultural dissemination.⁵⁷ At the same time, Chertkov's work as an anti-tsarist propagandist sent a message throughout England about the situation in Russia,

⁵⁶ It is worth remembering that Constance Garnett herself translated works by Tolstoy, not only fictional writings, but also *The Kingdom of God is within You*, one of the founding texts of international Tolstoism.

⁵⁷ In this respect, Carol Peaker (2006a) refers to the "covered propaganda" through literature that Russian émigrés triggered. I would argue, however, that propaganda through literature was not in the least covered. On the contrary, it took a different form from pamphlets and public speeches, but it aimed at influencing public opinion on the Russian affairs as other more traditional forms of propaganda. Therefore, I argue that literature is only another platform where Russian émigrés discussed their theories, a means that could enable them to reach a broader audience and to mould a new public sphere.

and particularly about the persecutions of religious minorities, of which his pamphlet *Christian Martyrdom in Russia* (1897) is a telling example.⁵⁸ As a result, though he did not share the Russian political émigrés claim for an instrumental use of literature to achieve social and political objects, Chertkov joined in their activity of propaganda in Britain, circulating trustworthy information about those aspects of social and political oppression in Russia that were dear to Tolstoy himself, religious persecutions among others. It is nonetheless worth noticing that, although Chertkov did not intend to use literature as a means to celebrate Russia's intellectual and cultural grandeur, yet to disseminate Tolstoyan stances, all translations were for the most part works of social criticism by Tolstoy, and were remarkably charged with ideological principles. As a result, Chertkov's Tolstoyan activity in Britain was in the line of the political émigrés enterprises, which considered literature as an influential platform from where to penetrate and reshuffle the British public sphere and opinion as regards to Russian matters.

David Soskice's literary aspirations were far from uninfluential in the English modern literary market. Involved in the SFRE, in fact, he inaugurated his activity as a public figure taking over the editorship of *Free Russia* during the years of Volkhovsky's stay abroad. It is a well known fact that Soskice offered to save Ford Madox Ford's *English Review* from ending publication in 1909, an offer to which Ford preferred selling the journal. Probably less known is the fact that Soskice was among the founders of the Russian Institute and Library in London in 1916, a trans-cultural institution for the education of Russians in Britain who wished to study English and English affairs, as well as of Englishmen who wished to learn about Russia (Hollingsworth 1976). These attempts of Soskice's confirm the Russian émigrés interest in literature and culture, as well as their

⁵⁸ Chertkov also contributed to Tolstoyan literature by writing a pamphlet discrediting the practice of hunting, *An Evil Pastime: Thoughts on Hunting* (1890). See Alston 2014.

wish to create an Anglo-Russian counter culture thanks to the support of the British intelligentsia.

The Russian émigrés concern for literature, considered as production of original literary works and translation of Russian fiction, as well as their deep interest for more traditional forms of propaganda, namely journalism and pamphleteering, goes along with the foundation of émigré presses in Britain, yet another of their resources to disseminate their revolutionary ideology. Probably the two most important presses in this period were Chertkov's *Free Age Press*, and the *Russian Free Press Fund* founded by Stepniak, Volkhovsky, Tchaikovsky, Leonid Shiksho and T. Kelchevsky.

Originally founded in Purleigh in 1900 and later moved to Tuckton House in Bournemouth, Chertkov's *Free Age Press* was devoted to the production, publication and circulation of cheap editions of Tolstoyan literature for both English and international readers. The publication of the FAP, in fact, had a remarkable international reach: copies were distributed in European cities, such as Paris, Nice, Cannes, Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Geneva, Lausanne, Berne, Zurich, Rome, Copenhagen, and Belgrave, but also in Shanghai, Singapore, Yokohama, Port Said, New York. South Africa and New Zealand were not excluded from this network.⁵⁹ Chertkov's *Free Age Press* was, as Peaker observes, "a powerful revolutionary tool, a centre for raising anti-tsarist sentiments in the west whose principal leader was Leo Tolstoy" (Peaker 2006a:78). Its international reach, in fact, lead international sympathisers to join in this enterprise: J. Van der Veer, for instance, contributed by answering translation queries while in England, while Florence and Jane Holah, as well as Isabella F. Mayo edited these translations for English readers. Interestingly, Chertkov's press had a separate Russian branch, the *Izadatel'stvo Svobodnago Slova* (the Free Word Press),

⁵⁹ "By September 1900, [Chertkov and Fifield] had published 3,000 copies each of six titles and had sold 17,000 of these 18,000 volumes. They had produced and distributed 40,000 propaganda leaflets and 25,000 circulars" (Alston 2014: 146).

launched a few years earlier (in 1899) for the publication and smuggling of Tolstoyan prohibited literature in Russia, which became a significant interlocutor in the international Tolstoyan debate (Alston 2014). Fifield records his early activity at the FAP and the great expenses the Russian branch had to face, yet without collapsing:

The Russian FAP incurred heavy expenses: it had Russian type, and Russian compositors; printing machines, and machinists; imposing tables and stereotyping plants; wire-stitching machines and guillotines for cutting; and all the other necessary plant of a printing and paper-binding small factory. It needed extensive accommodation; at times as many as thirty people were employed in its various activities, and its products had to be smuggles into Russia for circulation there. The English branch had no such expenses. [...] The office and warehouse, provided free, was a back bedroom in my own cottage abodes, first at Catford is S.E. London, and then at Wick Cottage, Southbourne, Hants. (MS 1381/1238a)

Interestingly, the Russian Free Press Fund, a Cyrillic press founded by Stepniak's group in June 1891, widely supported the smuggling of Tolstoyan literature,⁶⁰ and one of its first publications was the 1896 edition of Chertkov's *The Persecutions of the Doukhobory*, a detailed account of the persecution of a religious minority in Russia. It contained conclusions by Tolstoy and an introduction by Stepniak, facts that confirm the collaboration between Tolstoyans and political émigrés on shared concerns, as well as their cooperation in the building up of an Anglo-Russian counter culture by addressing both the English and the Russians alike.

⁶⁰ Stepniak refused to take over the editorship of the journal, for he feared that his compromised position as a social agitator in Russia would compromise and discredit the work of the RFPF. For this reason, Volkhovsky, who was popular for his moderation and open-mindedness, became the editor of the journal and closely collaborated with Chaikovsky and Leonid Shiksho, another Russian émigré of radical ideals. The first publication of the press was Stepniak's pamphlet *Chego nam nuzhno* (*What we need*), and 29 books and pamphlets were published between 1892 and 1901. See Senese 1975. For a detailed account of the creation of the RFPF, see Hamburg 1977.

Originally advertised in *Free Russia* in the October 1893 issue, the activities of the Fund were extensively discussed in the December issue of the same year. Although founded in 1891, as the original advertiser reported,⁶¹ the activities of the group were actually launched in 1892.

At midsummer, 1892, five Russian refugees, of whom four were residing in London and the fifth in Paris, established in the English capital a little Russian printing office, and a book store for circulating publications prohibited in Russia. The institution was founded in the most modest way possible, by means of a few pounds entrusted for the purpose to the before-mentioned five refugees, by some lovers of freedom residing in Russia, and this fund was called "The Fund of the Russian Free Press." The 1st of July 1892, must be considered its official birthday. There is no need to explain to the English or American reader the power of and necessity for a free press, but a word must be said about the means by which its production have to reach the Russian reader, hungry and thirsty for truth and enlightenment, notwithstanding the official Arguses and the draconian laws that try to keep him as far from this things as possible. There are two different ways of getting at that reader. One, which we will call the natural and, is by working independently of any organization or designed plan; the other is by working through special channel, which have to be elaborately arranged at great risk to those who nobly take upon themselves to smuggle the literature in, for the sake of propaganda. (FR December 1893)

Contrary to the SFRF this all-party coalition encouraged the publication of prohibited literature in Russia in the Russian language. *Letuchie Listki*, the journal of the RFPF was also published in Russian and was edited by Volkhovsky and Chaikovsky. It is true that British sympathisers provided material and economic support to the RFPF and its publishing activities, but the publications of the RFPF aimed at reaching a different audience. In fact, both literature and the journal were destined to be smuggled into Russia or to educate Russian citizens travelling abroad (Senese 1984). One of the first enterprises of the RFPF was the establishment of bookstores, where they could officially sell literature that was prohibited in Russia. The first of these bookstores was launched in London,

⁶¹ See *Free Russia*, Oct 1893 and "The Russian Free Press in London." *Free Russia*, December 1893.

Hammersmith, and was managed by Volkhovsky himself. In other words, Russian émigrés' wished to attract English and Russian sympathies alike, but they understood that in order to build up an authentic Anglo-Russian counter public sphere that could influence the dominant public opinion and trigger a transformation of the Russian condition the linguistic barrier had to be overcome. For this reason, they addressed the two different branches of this thriving cosmopolitan counter public sphere in their own languages, founding institutions that could prove suitable given their general aim.

1.2 The Locations of Exile: Weaving Connections

As we have seen, Russian émigrés were influential presences in the cultural panorama of the English *fin de siècle*, insofar as they fostered cross-cultural encounters and triggered the creation of a distinctively Anglo-Russian space of public debate. Interpersonal and professional relationship with the British intelligentsia, were both the pivot and the hallmark of these trans-national encounters, which were to have an indelible imprint on the social, cultural and literary life of the country in the 1880s-1890s. Given the émigrés desire to disseminate all things Russian in Britain, their presence in all areas of the country comes as no surprise. Unlike any traditional emigrated group or culture, Russian émigrés were not confined, or did not confine themselves, to a restricted area of the country, but instead they were scattered presences in its composite geography. The London metropolitan area and Tyneside were most significant in this respect, for they offered the émigrés platforms from where to address an extremely receptive public, with which the émigrés directly came into contact. We should not forget that these Russian voices, however scattered on British soil, were still connected to their fellow émigrés, as well as to the cultural centres of their life abroad, as evidence gathered from private correspondence, journal articles and memorials demonstrate. As a result, not only were the Russian émigrés fostering the creation of a composite Anglo-Russian cosmopolitan community, thereby seeking to reorient British public opinion, but they were also

drawing their own map of emigration. In other words, by constantly moving on the British geography in order to disseminate all things Russian, Russian émigrés galvanised the creation of a network of intellectual exchanges and collaborations with the British. The following paragraphs outline this new Russian map of England and explore the most significant sites of culture for the Russians, and, as a result, for the development of the Anglo-Russian coterie.

1.2.1 Geography: London and Tyneside

In the 1880s, London hosted tens of thousands of Russian émigrés from the Tsarist Empire. Most of them were poor Jews in search of work who had been dropped off at the London docks despite having been promised a trip to New York. Once in Britain, Russian Jews crammed into the East End, and particularly in Stepney, where they filled the workforce in various trades, such as tailoring, backing and carpentry (Service 2010:360). This phenomenon raised, of course, the British working class's discontent and resentment, for the Jews from the east provided workforce at lower wages, thus causing social tensions.

Conversely, evidence gathered from the British Museum archive, and particularly from the Book of Signatures of Readers, as well as from epistolary exchanges, demonstrates that Russian political émigrés settled in residential areas of the city, and avoided the poorest areas of London, as well as any affiliation with the industrial world, for their major concerns led them elsewhere. Peter Kropotkin, for example, lived in Finsbury, to be precise at 14 River Street, when he registered for a reader pass at the BM in November 30th 1881.⁶² Similarly, Stepniak temporarily settled in 119 Prince of Wales Road in 1884,⁶³ before moving to St John's Woods from 1886 to 1891 and later to 45 Woodstock Road in Bedford Park, Chiswick, where he lived with his wife until his death in 1895 (Garnett 1993:122). Olive Garnett remembers receiving a telegram from Stepniak

⁶² British Museum Signatures of Readers 1880-1882.

⁶³ [July 25th 1884] British Museum Signatures of Readers April 1883 – August 1884.

inviting her to go to visit him at Bedford Park (Ibid:174). As far as Volkhovsky is concerned, we know for sure that he settled permanently in London as soon as he landed on British shores, but his address remains undocumented, or it is likely to be found in his private correspondence included in the Hoover Institution Archive, at Harvard University.⁶⁴

As a result, Russian political émigrés did not reside in a precise area of London for their whole stay in Britain, but they were wandering figures in the cityscape, contrary to the Russian Jews in the London East End. In fact, though they were traditionally associated with the motif of the “wandering Jew,” and therefore imagined as solitary travellers constantly migrating from one country, or one city to another, here they were more stable characters, creating an autonomous social group trying to face the economic difficulties and social issues that migration implied.⁶⁵

London was also one of the most important centres of Russian émigrés’ activities. In fact, it was precisely at the Criterion Restaurant in Piccadilly that Stepniak, Kropotkin, Spence Watson and John Falk – owner of a salt factory – agreed to found the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom in 1890 and to publish *Free Russia*, the English-language newspaper of the society, published in Church Street.⁶⁶ Not to forget that London was also the cradle of the Russian Free Press Fund, whose office was on Augustus Road, Hammersmith. As a result, London

⁶⁴ Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to go through Volkhovsky’s papers, but I am planning further research expeditions in the next few years to fill in these gaps.

⁶⁵ It is worth recalling, however, that there were Russian Jews who were active radicals and even founded a paper in Yiddish entitled “Arbeter Frint” (Workers Friends). Originally published in England, and later smuggled into Russia, this paper bears witness not only to the presence of political radicals of Jewish origins on the British soil, but also to their sheer interest in the press, an interest they had in common with the Russian intelligentsia and reflect the late Victorian transition to mass culture. Among the Russian Jews, Theodore Rothstein (1871-1953) probably is one of the most famed political figures in 1890 Britain. See Kendall 1963; Holmes 1984.

⁶⁶ See Hamburg, 1977:323; Taratuta 1978.

suddenly became the centre of Russian émigrés propaganda, as Volkhovsky, Kropotkin and Stepniak in particular found an extremely receptive audience in London circles.

In less than five years, in fact, Stepniak extensively lectured on the situation in Russia and on Russian literature, the latter being his favourite topic, in various contexts. Stepniak's first talk took place in the drawing room of a certain Mrs Cash and it was attended by socialists, clergymen, religious women, agnostics, anarchists, vegetarians, teachers, doctors and an English Buddhist. Conversely, his first public lecture took place at a meeting of the Fabian Society in 1890, where he inaugurated the "Socialism in Contemporary literature" series, speaking about Tolstoy, Chernichevsky and the Russian Soul. Stepniak's most famed speech was entitled "Tolstoy as a Novelist and Social Reformer" and he delivered it at Portman Rooms in Baker Street. Moreover, the so-called "Cemented Bricks," a bohemian coterie of poets, journalist and men of letters, who used to gather at the Anderson Hotel in London's Fleet Street, were among Stepniak's audiences. Interestingly, in 1894 he opened Jacob Thomas Grey's Sunday Popular Debated at the Opera Comique with a talk on the Russian drama and readings from Ostrovsky's *The Storm*, an event that Olive Garnett records:

Saturday, Jan. 13th [1894]. [...] Stepniak read to me some scenes from Ostrovsky's "Thunderstorm" which he was going to read next day [at the Opéra Comique]. Very impressive scenes they were between Kabanova, Tikhon, Catherine & Barbara. [...] Kropotkin asked me how my good father was? He said that Stepniak was no actor. Volkhovsky & I ought to read the scenes in the *Thunderstorm*. I said "But Stepniak reads well, he has such a sympathetic voice" & he smiled. [...]

Sunday, Jan. 14th [1894]. ... Lucy and I arrived at the Opéra Comique [in the Strand] after the doors had opened [at 7.45 p.m.] We sat in the dress circle. Stepniak appeared in a box on the first tier & surveyed the audience. In a box above were Fanny, M. Mdme Bervi, Miss Roche & Voynich. The Cleggs, the Pole & Mr Rapaport [*sic*] sat near us. There was quite a crowded auditorium. Stepniak, Wm Archer [the dramatic critic] (chairman), Grein & a young man appeared upon the stage, on which were a table, a few chairs & a reading stand. Stepniak spoke for considerably over an hour, & delivered a deeply interesting & moving lecture on Russian Drama as illustrated by the works of Ostrovsky. He read scenes from the

Thunderstorm beautifully, so that I wept ... when he finished the audience was invited to speak. (Garnett 1993:27-8, 30)

The Russian émigré's great ability to adapt his speech according to both the audience and the context made him an extremely popular figure in different circles, and a vital presence in both public and private debates. A certain Miss Chadwick, in fact, invited Stepniak to deliver a "Course in Four Lectures on Russian Literature" in a more intimate London setting, namely her drawing room at 11 Arlie Gardens in Campden Hill (Kensington) (Peaker 2006a).

Of no lesser importance is the fact that London also became a dynamic centre of British Tolstoism. Given the great success of Tolstoyan principles in Britain thanks to the literary and ideological propaganda that first J. C. Kenworthy and subsequently Chertkov promoted, London witnessed the upsurge of Kenworthy's Tolstoyan Brotherhood Church in Southgate Road in North London in 1891 and of other smaller Tolstoyan groups in Purge and Sydenham. Moreover, Charles Daniels and Florence Worland founded a Tolstoyan Society in London in 1898: in the attempt to disseminate Tolstoyan literature and principles, they gave a remarkable boost to Tolstoyan periodical publishing in the 1900s. *The Tolstoyan* (1903-04), *The Crank* (until 1907) and *The Open Road* (until 1913) are just three of the many journals of Tolstoyan concerns that sprouted up in early 20th-century London, periodicals that contributed to transforming the city into a vibrating centre of Tolstoyan culture (Alston 2014).

Though London undoubtedly was a dynamic centre for the promotion of all things Russian, the Russian intelligentsia in exile expanded their range of action, reaching various areas of the country. As Kropotkin writes in his autobiographical book, "the amount of interest in socialism and all sorts of reform and reconstruction of society was very great among all classes of people. Beginning with the autumn and throughout the winter I was asked to lecture all over the country, partly on prisons but mainly on anarchist socialism, and I visited in this way nearly every large town in England and Scotland" (Kropotkin 1899:336-7). In other words, the British lure for socialist ideology, and

particularly for social reforms and alternative societies, that characterised the late Victorian years favoured Anglo-Russian encounters and made the British mind extremely receptive to the émigrés claims for social change.

Kropotkin's meetings on the contemporary condition in Russia as well as debates on anarchist ideology were most successful in the northern regions of the country, particularly in Durham, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Newcastle. His anarchic ideology combined with Tolstoyan principles that were being disseminated at that time, inspired the Clousden Hill Colony, an anarcho-communist group founded in 1895 near Newcastle (Woodcock and Avakumovich 1950). Moreover, Edward Pease arranged for Kropotkin to speak at a meeting of the Socialist League on December 1885 in Newcastle, where he met his friend Joseph Cowen and Robert Spence Watson. Interestingly, Kropotkin also extensively lectured in London, and at the Lowell Institute of Boston in 1901, where he delivered a series of lectures on Russian literature, a cycle of meeting that set the basis of *Ideals and Realities in Russian Literature* (1905).

Stepniak himself lectured in the northern regions of the country, to be precise at the Tyneside Sunday Lecture Society in Newcastle, as well as in Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh. Despite Stepniak's achievements, Felix Volkhovsky was probably the most successful propagandist in the northern regions of the country. His "successful lecturing tour in the north" (FR April 1891) in order to promote the activities of the SFRF is land marking in this respect. In fact, thanks to his persuasive propaganda, new branches of the society sprouted up in Edinburgh, Leicester, Perth, Burnley, Leeds, Manchester and Newcastle among others.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ New branches of the society were also founded in Birmingham, Debry, Cardiff, Oxford and Plymouth in the same years. See "Meetings," *Free Russia* 4.5 (1893); *Free Russia* (December 1892); Peaker 2006a. The new branches of the society that the émigrés' lecturing tour stimulated are mentioned in the cover page of *Free Russia* since 1893, as well as in other sections of the paper. See, for example, "A Scottish Branch of the Society," *Free Russia* 2.10 (1891). It is interesting to point out the honorary secretary of the Leeds branch, namely Theodore Rothstein. The meetings of each branch were advertised in the journal, suffice it consider the "Public Meeting of the Edinburgh

Not only Russian political émigrés, but also Tolstoyans did not limit their activities to the London area and the southern regions of the country. After Chertkov's arrival in Britain in 1897, in fact, the status of the Tolstoyan movement in England was given a significant boost and, though Purleigh, Tuckton (near Bournemouth) and Wickford were, alongside London, significant centres of British Tolstoysm, the lure for Tolstoyan principles also invaded the north of the country. Thanks to Chertkov's intensified Tolstoyan propaganda, and to the British receptive mind, new colonies sprouted up in Leeds, Blackburn and Whiteway, and smaller groups settled in Thornton Heath, Addiscombe, and Norwood. Not to mention the Manchester Tolstoy Society founded by Percy Redfern in 1900, widely known for the creation of a Tolstoyan library (Alston 2014).

As we have seen, the Russian émigrés' ideology fell on fertile ground not only in London, but also in northern England. In this respect, Tyneside, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne in particular, has a pivotal part to play. Since the 1840s, in fact, Newcastle has been the vibrating core of Anglo-Russian mercantile relations. To exploit the commercial opportunities the Russian market offered, English merchants had to be familiar not only with the economic, but also with the social and political situation in Russia (Kendall 1963; Saunders 1985). Given this half-a-century long history in Anglo-Russian economic relation, as well as the northerners' familiarity with the contemporary Russian conditions, the

Branch" section in *Free Russia* (Feb. 1894) and "Leeds and the Society of Friends for the Russian Freedom," "Good Work in Cardiff," *Free Russia* (November 1893). Most significantly, Volkhovsky lectured in other areas of the country at different social institutions, for example, at the Barras Bridge Assembly Room in London, at the Tyneside Sunday Lectures Society in the Tyne Theatre, at Gateshead (near Newcastle) and at Haddington (near Edinburgh) in 1891-2, at the Women's Liberal Association in Oxford, at the Men's Literary Committee in Blackburn, in Hawick and Burnley in 1892-3, and at Sidcup (south London), and Wolverhampton (near Birmingham) in 1896. See, Saunders, p. 279, "Meetings." *Free Russia* 4.3 (1893); "Meetings and Lectures." *Free Russia* 7.5 (1896); "Meetings", *Free Russia* (March 1894); "Meetings," *Free Russia* (November 1894). See also *Free Russia*, February 1896 and April 1896, "Meetings for February," *Free Russia* (February 1893).

ensuing interest of Tyneside in Russian cultural and literary traditions comes as no surprise. The reasons why Newcastle occupied a privileged position in the Russians' map of Britain is twofold: on the one hand Newcastle liberals supported the émigrés claims for freedom and provided platforms from where they could address English public opinion, while on the other Newcastle publishers engaged in the dissemination of Russian literature in translation.

The northern interest for the Russian émigrés and their ideology dates back to 1880, when the English liberal Joseph Cowen met Peter Kropotkin for the first time (Miller 1976). This encounter had far-reaching consequences, for it marked the beginning of Russian émigrés' collaboration with the British daily press, and, as a result, of the mass circulation of Russian revolutionary ideology. Between October 1881 and February 1882, in fact, Cowen published five articles by Kropotkin reporting anti-tsarist positions in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, for he understood that "[Kropotkin wanted] to be able to put his case before and English audience, and [he] promised to secure him one at Newcastle. [He] understood [Kropotkin] to say distinctly that he does not approve the actions that the nihilists have followed. All he says is that the people in Russia are so tyrannised over, that they are driven, in desperation, to unjustifiable courses."⁶⁸ Kropotkin himself gives a brief account of his collaboration with Cowen:

The decree of expulsion was delivered to me immediately after I had returned from London, where I was present at an anarchist congress in July, 1881. After that congress I had stayed for a few weeks in England, writing the first articles on Russian affairs from our standpoint for the "Newcastle Daily Chronicle." The English press, at that time, was an echo of the opinion of Madame Novikoff, - that is, of Katkoff and the Russian state police, - and

⁶⁸ Unpublished letter of J. Cowen to Bernard Cracroft, undated (1881), Newcastle upon Tyne City Library. Quoted in Miller 1976:155. On Cowen (1831-1900), see Partridge 1962; Brock 1953. On Cowen and Kropotkin, see also Saunders 1985.

I was most happy when Mr Joseph Cowen agreed to give me the hospitality of his paper in order to state our own point of view. (Kropotkin 1899:300)⁶⁹

By accepting to publish Kropotkin's articles, Cowen marked a momentous turning point in the British perception of prevailing Russian conditions. In fact, his newspaper, which was previously overwhelmed by tsarist counter-revolutionary information and criticism as Kropotkin records, started to be a platform from where Russian émigrés could disclose the truth about Russia to the English reading public, triggering a re-orientation of British public opinion in favour of their ideology. Although a national movement in favour of the Russians did not immediately ensue, probably because of Cowen's short-lived, however fervent, interest in anti-tsarist positions, Kropotkin's contributions to the Newcastle daily press are symptomatic of the north-eastern receptivity to and interest in Russian affairs (Saunders 1985). Kropotkin himself stresses the importance of the Newcastle area in the dissemination of Russian affairs, when he writes that "it is in Newcastle that a Russian revolutionary has, for the first time, found the means of disclosing in an English daily paper the true state of Russia; and it is, again, in Newcastle that I have for the first time the honour of addressing a large English audience to relate in plain words the true state of Russia" (Ibid:267-8). As Saunders observes, though Cowen and Kropotkin failed to attract widespread sympathy for the Russians, they nonetheless initiated a new trend that was to shape Anglo-Russian relations for at least two decades.

The Newcastle liberal Robert Spence Watson inherited the tradition of Anglo-Russian collaboration inaugurated by Cowen and Kropotkin, yet his activity had more far-reaching effects. As president of the Tyneside Sunday Lecturing Society since 1883, Watson was in constant need of distinguished speakers, and it probably was thanks to Cowen himself that he could secure the

⁶⁹ Interestingly, the Darlington *Northern Echo* was among the northern newspapers who published pro-tsarist propaganda, in particular Olga Novikoff's articles, for the publisher, W. T. Stead, probably was one of the most fervent supporter of tsarism. See Saunders 1980.

service of Kropotkin. Watson's acquaintanceship with Kropotkin stands out as a clear instance of Watson's interest in Russian affairs in his early career in the north. Nonetheless, Russia became a major concern for Watson only in the wake of his alliance with Stepniak. Already a well-known personality in 1886, in particular thanks to his publications in English,⁷⁰ Stepniak was officially invited to deliver a lecture at Watson's Tyneside Sunday Lecturing Society, an association that became the springboard as it were for Russian émigrés' propaganda in Britain. In a memorial article for Stepniak, Watson remembers his "intimate friendship" with the Russian émigré and his first lecture in Britain:

The first time that he ever lectured to a large public audience was at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on Sunday evening, 24th February, 1888. His subject was "The Russian Democracy," and his lecture was given in the Tyne Theatre, to the Tyneside Sunday Lecture Society. I suppose that he had an audience of some fifteen hundred persons. As he was a novice in the art of lecturing, and spoke English indifferently well, I carefully explained to him that he must not lecture for more than an hour and a quarter, and that if, in the excitement of the moment, he exceeded that time, I (being his chairman) would pull him coat tails. The lecture was rather too thoughtful even for one of the best audiences a man need wish to speak to. Then, at times, the words flowed slowly and deliberately as the point before Stepniak's mind was being carefully worked out into language; but suddenly the thought began to gather and bubble, and then boil over in a torrent of words, so rapidly uttered and so strangely pronounced, that no man living, but the speaker, could tell what it was all about. Still, there was the striking figure of the man who had dared greatly and suffered much for his country's freedom; his earnestness and eloquence spake, though "in a tongue no man might understand." [...] But the hour and quarter went on. In a quarter of an hour more I put my threats into executions, but without any result. In half an hour, when I pulled more firmly, Stepniak took his big loose watch out of his pocket, held it to his eyes, replaced it, and turned to me and said "pray be reasonable," and went on. Many of the audience went out. After two hours there were but a few left, and in thirteen minutes' more I held on until he could not help stopping. Then when he found out what he had

⁷⁰ By 1886, in fact, Stepniak had already published three books in English: *Underground Russia*, originally published in Italian by the Trevers Brothers (Milan) in 1882, *Russia under the Tsars* and *The Russian Storm-Cloud*. See Saunders 1985; Saunders 1980.

really done he was full of contrition. He had mistaken his time altogether.
(Watson February 1896)

Stepniak's lectures in the north also attracted the attention of the British official press, though this did not occur until 1889. *The Newcastle Daily Leader* and *The Newcastle Chronicle*, in fact, reported the large attendance at the lecture, as well as Stepniak's speech itself. The mere fact that Stepniak's lectures were referred to in the northern press implies that the émigré's desire to reach out to British public opinion was progressively materializing, also thanks to the support and encouragement of British sympathisers.

Invitations to hold public lectures and the attention of the northern national press are not the only elements that contributed to transforming Newcastle into a centre of Russian activities abroad. The most remarkable aspect undoubtedly was the British collaboration in the dissemination of Russian affairs. In this respect, Watson has a pivotal part to play, for it was thanks to his sheer interest in Russia and his friendship with Stepniak and Kropotkin among others that the SFRF was eventually founded in 1890 (Saunders 1980). Watson was not only a co-founder of the society, but he also became its president and treasurer, while Edward Pease, a Newcastle socialist, acted as secretary. Though the first branch of the society was based in London, as we have seen, it is important to acknowledge the key role the Newcastle liberal played in its foundation, and, as a result, the importance of the northern regions in the promotion of Anglo-Russian encounters.

As we have seen, Russian émigrés did not only find in the northern regions of the country British allies and sympathisers, but also a platform from where to address a very receptive audience about Russian affairs. These interactions with British audiences, however, were not simply limited to public meetings and lectures, but it also involved the press. Not only the British daily press, but also the book market is pivotal in the assessment of Russian cultural and literary influences in Britain. Alongside a receptive audience and a small number of sympathisers and collaborators, Stepniak also found a publisher in Newcastle.

Interestingly, Edward Pease contributed to the making of Stepniak as a novelist in the English language. Not only did he take upon himself the role of Stepniak's editor, proofreading chapters, commenting the style and suggesting ameliorations, but he also negotiated the publication of Stepniak's *The Career of A Nihilist* with the Newcastle Walter Scott Publishing Company, who eventually published the novel in 1889.⁷¹ Moreover, the Walter Scott Publishing Company had announced the publication of a Tolstoy series in Aylmer Maude's translations in the previous year, a fact that illustrates the deep interest northern regions had for Russian literature and culture.⁷²

Stepniak's novel, however, had mixed success. While James Mavor believed that "[Stepniak's] real destiny [...] was to have taken his place alongside of Turgenev as an interpreter, through works of the imagination, of the spirit of the Russian youth of his time" (Mavor 1923:252), a feeling Pearson shared with Mavor (Taratuta 1973:240), reviews in the *Scots Observer* and in the *Cambridge Review* claimed otherwise (Peaker 2006a). Despite the unfavourable criticism, Stepniak's novel went into a second edition before the year was out. This fact

⁷¹ Pease had long been interested in Russian affairs. Not only did he respond to an article by Stepniak in the *Contemporary Review* encouraging western readers to support revolutionaries in Russia, but he also financially supported the Red Cross for the People's Will, an organization founded by Tchaikovsky aiming at raising funds in support of the Russian revolution. As it happened to Watson, however, it was not until his first encounter with Stepniak in 1884 that Pease made Russian affairs his major concerns, when he contributed articles on the Russian social movement to the *Newcastle Chronicle*. See Bachman 1971.

⁷² Aylmer Maude had a significant part to play in the dissemination of Tolstoy's literature. Not only did he translate the Russian master's fiction for Water Scott, but he also delivered a lecture on Tolstoy to the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society in 1828. This lecture was to coincide with the performance of Tolstoy's *The Fruits of Enlightenment* at the Newcastle People Theatre, a performance that resulted from Maude's campaign to have Tolstoy's plays performed in British theatres. Interestingly, Maude collaborated with Chertkov for a time; however, the latter's ideas about how to translate Tolstoy's works lead them apart. As a result, Maude undoubtedly is a key figure in the dissemination of the Russian master's works in Britain. Because of the limited intercourse he had with Russian émigrés, as well as the period of his activity, which stretches towards the 20th century, he has not been included in this study.

further exemplifies the British reading public's interest in Russian matters. Its limited success notwithstanding, *The Career of a Nihilist* was a success in itself: not only was it the first novel written in English by a Russian intellectual, but it also illustrates the key role British sympathisers played in the dissemination of Russian émigrés' ideology. In other words, the publication of Stepniak's *The Career of a Nihilist* stands out as an unprecedented example of Anglo-Russian collaboration for the dissemination of Russian literature, a collaboration that was to reach its apotheosis over the next half-decade in the Stepniak-Garnett circle. Newcastle, therefore, proved a rehearsal ground in the creation of an Anglo-Russian counter culture. The Newcastle-based Walter Scott Publishing Company, in fact, inaugurated a passionate interest for Russian literature, which culminated in the mid-1890 publications of Russian fiction in translation by Heinemann, T. Fisher Unwin and Ward and Downey.

1.2.2 Culture and Literature: The British Museum Reading Room

And so it turned out that London and Newcastle became the headquarters, as it were, of the Russian émigrés activities in Britain. It is there, in fact, that thanks to the support of British sympathisers, the émigrés were able to organise their ideological and literary propaganda and to establish Anglo-Russian groups and societies. Resorting to mass-market periodicals to obtain further visibility, organising their own distributing apparatuses and founding their own printing and publishing company, Russian émigrés galvanised the creation of a thriving Anglo-Russian counter culture that crossed ideological and national borders.

Although Newcastle offered the émigrés a receptive audience and a publisher for their fictional works, and as such had a significant part to play in the dissemination of Russian literature and ideology, it is to London that we need to turn to if we wish to closely explore Anglo-Russian group relations. Of course, Russian émigrés established connections with other areas of the country, connections that are documented in private correspondence, memoirs and advertising, as we have seen. However, in the light of the fact that Russian

émigrés London-based, their closer and direct connections with the London intelligentsia and institutions of culture comes as no surprise.

As we have seen, London was the hub of Anglo-Russian counter culture and its own institutions, the SFRF and *Free Russia* among others. Along with these cross-cultural experiments for the dissemination of Russian ideology and literature in Britain, other enterprises with a distinctive cultural matrix has sprouted up since the last decade of the 19th century. The Free Russian Library in Whitechapel and the later Russian Institute and Library are significant in these terms, for they promoted the dissemination of Russian culture in late Victorian and Edwardian England. In particular, “the Russian institute and Library was founded at the beginning of 1916 with the project of providing an educational centre, on the one hand to Russians residing in London desirous of learning the English language, literature, history and constitution, and on the other for Englishmen working in the City to learn the Russian language, literature, history and political institutions.”⁷³ This institution counted a library, a reading room and a club, but it also offered lectures and classes on both Russian and English affairs. Of no lesser importance is the so called “Bomb Shop” founded by the Tolstoyan Riddell Henderson, an anarchist library where he sold Kropotkin and Tolstoy’s work (Peaker 2006a).

Though these enterprises were not all directly founded by Russian émigrés alliance with the English, they were at least largely inspired by the émigrés ideology and can thereby be counted among the institution of an evolving Anglo-Russian counter public sphere. In the émigrés’ attempt to draw a “culture debating” community, composed of both English and Russians alike, they came into contact with what Service defines as the British “bourgeois institution[s]” (Service 2010:363), platforms from where they could address the dominant public sphere and reorient its ideology. In this respect, the British Museum Reading Room is of topical significance. An examination of the British Museum

⁷³ Leaflet of the Russian Institute and Library, Soskice Papers, STH/DS/1MISC2/8

Reader's Pass files demonstrates that Russian émigrés frequently accessed the British Museum Library. Moreover, the correspondence between Russian émigrés and the keeper of printed books at the Museum Library, namely Richard Garnett, bears witness to the émigrés interest in disseminating Russian ideological, cultural and literary traditions.

Archival material looms large on the Russian émigrés' interest in the British Museum Library. An examination of the British Museum Book of Signatures, in fact, reveals that Russian émigrés were a constant presence in the Museum Library. Among the notable Russian holders of British Museum Reading Room Tickets, Russian revolutionists occupy a prominent position, suffice it to remember Vera Ivanova Zazulich (1849-1919, alias Vera Beldinsky), the first Russian woman to gain access to the library (Henderson 1991:61-2), Georgi Valentinovich Plekhanov (1856-1918) and Vladimir Lvovich Burtsev (1862-1942).⁷⁴ Fanny Stepniak, Stepniak's wife, described him as "un homme de lettres since he could hold a pen in his hand. His very existence meant spending his days in the British Museum, where, every morning of his London life, he was the first to arrive and the last to leave. He hated Sundays because the Reading Room was closed" (Saunders 1983).⁷⁵ Vladimir Burtsev, a revolutionary émigré, deserves to be praised for his 30-page article "The British Museum", the first well-informed account of the British Museum Library written by a Russian. Published under the pseudonym of "N. Viktorov" in 1895, this article bears

⁷⁴ Zazulich obtained her first reading room ticket on 23th August 1894, and her second ticket on 18th August 1902. Plekhanov's ticket was issued on 19th September 1894, which was renewed on 8th October 1910. Not to forget the presence of eminent revolutionary figures, who were to have a main part to play in the shortcoming Russian revolution, namely Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin (1870-1924, alias Richter or Oulianoff), who was admitted to the British Museum Reading Room on 29th April 1902, and Leon Trotsky (1879-1940). It is highly plausible that Trotsky used a pseudonym to get his reading room ticket, but it has been impossible to discover the exact date of issue, which was probably between 1902-3. See the British Museum Signatures of Readers.

⁷⁵ Public Record Office, London, HO 144/272/A59222b/13. On Burtsev see *Free Russia*, February 1898. On Burtsev in prison, see *Free Russia*, February 1899.

witness to the Russians' sheer interest in the Russian Museum collection. The Museum was, therefore, not only a meeting place for the Russian intelligentsia abroad, but also a site of culture.

In the British Museum Signatures of Readers, one comes across with the name of Kropotkin, who was admitted to the library on 30th November 1881 – and not on the 20th as Robert Henderson claims in his article. Not only was he a prolific user of the collections, but probably the Russian émigré who used it for the longest period: in fact, he returned his ticket only in 1907 (Henderson 1991:61-2). Kropotkin remembers “the admirable collection of the British Museum [where he] studied the beginnings of the French revolution, - how revolutions come to break out.” (Kropotkin 1899:279). Not only Kropotkin's, but also Stepniak's name occurs in the Books of Signatures: his ticket was issued on 25th July 1884. Constance Garnett recalls a curiosity about Stepniak's use of the British Museum Library: “To my horror I found that he habitually carried books out of the British Museum Reading Room at the lunch-hour, and I could not make him feel it was a crime, since, as he said, he always took them back” (Garnett 1991:81-2).

Olive Garnett's diary also includes occasional references to the Russian émigrés' presence in the British Museum Reading Room. In an entry dated “Saturday Feb. 9th [1895]”, Olive recalls a conversation with Volkhovsky about the possible presence of spies in the reading room:

F[elix]V[olkhovsky] told me a long story about a supposed spy in the B[ritish] M[useum] reading room who supplied the Russian refugees' names and addresses to people in Paris who sent circulars to them. This was discovered because two Russians had taken names for the B. M. only & they were addressed by these. I assured him that the B.M. existed only 'to assist' the public, not to deliver them up to the police. (Garnett 1989:151)

On November 11th 1894, Olive remembers witnessing a Russian at Stepniak's house describing, “the emotions occasioned by a scrutiny of readers' ticket at the B.M. & the arrest of a Russian, & his belief that it was occasioned by an order from Scotland Yard” (Garnett 1993:129). The reading room of the British

Museum, therefore, did not shelter the Russian émigrés from counter-revolutionary authorities.

The Russian émigrés' interests in the British Museums was twofold: on the one hand, it offered an unparalleled collection and studying opportunities for the Russian intelligentsia in Britain, while on the other hand it proved an institution that could indirectly help them to disseminate Russian revolutionary ideology and make revolutionary literature available in Britain. Kropotkin's name, for example, appears in the Donators' Register of the British Museum, also known as the Book of Presents, almost every year, a fact that suggests that Kropotkin contributed a great deal to the Russian collection (Henderson 1991).

Evidence gathered from the British Library Corporate Archive demonstrates that Kropotkin's donations were all accompanied by a cover letter, which document the actual works he contributed to the British Museum Russian Collection. On April 27th 1882, he wrote a letter to the British Museum Authorities:

Dear Sir,

I forward you with this letter a copy of the *Révolté* anarchist paper, published in Geneva, - the last nearly complete copy (the 1st number is missing) which is to be find [*sic*] at the publishing office of the paper, - as well as a few Socialist pamphlets.

I am, Sir

Yours Truly

P. Kropotkin (DH 4, vol. 29, 1882: 462)⁷⁶

Socialist pamphlets and newspapers, however, were not the only contributions Kropotkin made to the British Museum. Alongside the nearly full set of *Le Révolté: organe socialiste*, which Kropotkin founded in Geneva in 1897, he also contributed other Russian newspapers he had collected over the years and, most importantly, his book *La Conquete du pain* as a letter dated December 6th

⁷⁶ British Library Corporate Archive

1892 demonstrates.⁷⁷ Interestingly, the edition of his book that he donated to the British Museum is in the British Library Collection today (shelfmark 08276.f.74). We can be sure about the nature and origin of the book, for Kropotkin signed it on the first blank page. The émigrés' donations to the British Museum Collection reflected their eagerness to disseminate their scholarly results in their host country (Rogatchevskaya 2013).

Kropotkin's letter to the British Museum authorities dated August 7 1888 is probably the most interesting document about Russians and the British Museum in the British Library Archive. In this letter, Kropotkin complained on the inadequate state of the Russian Collection, presenting a plan for developing it further. At the time, the selector of Russian books was Richard Garnett, and it was precisely to him that Kropotkin addressed his claim:

17 Roxborough Road
Harrow on the Hill
August 7, 1888
PB

My dear Sir,

I take the liberty of enclosing a list of desiderata for the Russian Department of the British Museum.

Some of the works named I the enclosed list are necessary to complete the collections of the Museum. Some others – are new and are most necessary for every student of Russia.

In the first place permit me to mention the necessity of some Russian newspaper [sic] for the years 1862-81. The Museum has a file of Russian newspapers until 1862, and another file beginning in 1881 (the *Golos*, and later on, the *Novosti*). But there is a gap of 20 years, and as I saw it some time ago there is no means of finding in London any information upon Russian events of that period. To fill the gap I should propose to get two newspapers of the years 1862-81. The difference in the tendencies and even of the information given by the Moscow Press and the St Petersburg Press is so

⁷⁷ DH 4, Vol. 85, 1910, pp. 345-6; DH 4, vol. 54, 1892, Dec.-Mar., p. 469. British Library Corporate Archive. The British Library holds issues of two Russian newspapers, namely *Rus'* ("Russia") and *Novaya Rus'* ("New Russia"), the titles that occur in Kropotkin's 1910 letter to the British Museum. This fact suggests that these are the copies donated by Kropotkin. See Rogatchevskaya 2013.

wide that one St Petersburg and one Moscow paper are absolutely necessary. I should propose therefore to get either the Golos since its foundation in 1864 till 1881, or the St Petersburg Vyedomosti since 1862 till 1881 – as representation of St Petersburg Press, – and Katkoff 's Moskovskiya Vyedomosti (NB with the Sovremennaya Lyetopis!) since the foundation of the paper until now. 18 A mass of information being published in the St Petersburg Press which never appears in the Moscow Gazette, one of the two just named St Petersburg papers is necessary, together with the Moscow Gazette.– At present the Novosti and the Novoya Vremya 20 would fairly represent the newspaper Press.

2. As to reviews. The Otechestvennyia Zapiski (of which the B.M. has a most valuable full collection) 21 having been suppressed, there are two reviews which took their place: the Russkaya Mysl (neo-Slavophile to some extent) and the Syevernyi Vvestnik. Both contain most valuable contributions, and ought to be kept regularly.

3. There is a great want of official publications. Most of these which the B.M. has, terminate with the years 1862-67. I mention some of them in the enclosed list; the titles of others will be found in the Bibliography which I give every year when reviewing Russia in the 'Statesman's Yearbook'. But the whole of them is very costly, so that, will you permit me to suggest the following:

If letters (in French) be written to:

a) the Director of the Statistical Committee, P. P. Semenoff;

b) the Director of the Statistical Department of
the Ministry of Finance

— " — of Justice

— " — of Ways of Communication

— " — Public Institutions

they surely will all send their publications with the utmost courtesy: P. P. Semenoff will be delighted in doing so, and the Statistical Committee is the most important of all. Once it is made, the B.M. will continue to receive them every year especially if it designates an agency at St Petersburg.

4. As to Scientific Serials I hardly could try to illustrate the importance of Scientific work done in Russia now. But it is almost impossible to have these works in London. A letter written also to P. P. Semenoff, the President of the Geogr. Society, or Baron Osten-Sachen (the Vice-president) would permit the B.M. to complete its collections of the publications of the Russian Geographical Society – and this is the more necessary as they cannot be found in any public geographical library of the United Kingdom.

As to the publications of the branches of the Russ. Geogr. Soc. (the West. Siberian Branch at Omsk; the East. Siberian at Irkutsk; the Orenburg Branch at Orenburg; and the Caucasian at Tiflis), only the Caucasian branch regularly sends its publications to the B.M. And these publications are the

more important for the Library, as after a few years the publications of the branches, printed in a few copies, can be had nowhere. The stock of the East Siberian Branch has all burned during the Irkutsk conflagration and the earlier volumes of the Zapiski (Memoirs) of the East Siberian branch can be had for no amount of money, even at St Petersburg, or Irkutsk.

All these would be gladly sent, if the B.M. applies by letters (in French) and especially so if it proposes in exchange its most valuable classified catalogue of modern acquisitions.

As to the nearly twenty other scientific societies, they surely will send their publications on a new demand of the B.M. If the step is decided to be done, I shall gladly send the addresses of nearly all the Russian Scientific Societies. Let me mention now, at last, one of them, the Memoirs of which I missed myself very much, as I do not receive them myself. Probably, they could be found at [sic] London only at the Geol. Soc. and the Roy. Soc. The British Museum's collection is discontinued long time. I mean the Mineralogical Society of St Petersburg.

In ten or twenty years the publications of all these societies esp. of the remote ones, like Ural, Orenburg, etc., will be bibliographical rarities even in Russia. And they contain such an amount of most valuable matter!

5. As to separate works, I mention those which I came across, without pretending to be full in my list.

Excuse me kindly, dear Sir, for those unrequited hints, but I thought they would be welcome as I know that the B.M. spares no trouble in keeping its collections at the usually high standard. And I need not add that anyone who has worked in the B.M. Library cannot but conceive a kind of attachment for that exemplary institution and feel the deepest gratefulness to all those who manage it.

Believe me, dear Sir.

Yours very truly,

P. Kropotkin (DH 2/41, 1888, Vol. 2)⁷⁸

The list of desiderata that Kropotkin enclosed in his letter to Richard Garnett consists of two sections, one listing eleven Russian journals and newspapers, the other including a list of forty separate works on Russia. Among the great amount of socio-political and historical studies a few literary works emerge, to be precise Vladimir Galaktionovich Korolenko (1853-1921) and

⁷⁸ Trustees' Minutes and Reports of the Keepers of Printed Books.

Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin's (1855-1888) novels, two Russian novelists dear to the émigrés, for their works frequently occur in the English translations in *Free Russia*.⁷⁹ It is highly plausible that one of the reasons that lead Kropotkin to suggest the British Museum to expand the Russian collection depended on his scientific and scholarly interests. All books included in Kropotkin's list of desiderata were purchased (Rogatchevskaya 2013), a fact that entails the émigré's successful attempt to promote British interest for Russian cultural and literary traditions.

Vladimir Burtsev himself sent a list of "the most important books which, not being found in the Museum, [he] strongly recommend[ed] to acquire" to the British Museum (DH 4, Vol. 66, 1896: 228-32). "All these books are of absolute necessity to every Russian for frequent references [...]" Burtsev writes, "and in giving them a little room among the 2000 volumes that adorn the Reading Room you will confer a real boon on every one of us: when I say this, I'm speaking not only in my own name, but also in that of my friends working in the Museum: Mr Volkhovsky, Rothstein, Litvinoff and others" (Ibidem). In another letter dated December 2nd 1896, Burtsev writes that "for [him], as well as for other Russians – Kropotkin, Volkhovsky + others it would be very important if Golos' ["The Voice"] + Nedelya ["The Week"] be acquired as quickly as possible" (DH 4, Vol. 66, 1896: 237-9). Although the study of Burtsev's English relations falls out of the scope of this research, it is interesting to acknowledge that the Russian émigré's correspondence with the British Museum documents Volkhovsky's affiliation with the Museum, which would have been difficult to detect otherwise. Moreover, alongside Kropotkin's letters, Burtsev's correspondence with the British Museum sheds light on the émigrés eagerness to collaborate with the British institution to improve the Russian collection, sharing their knowledge of Russian culture and of the book market.

⁷⁹ A complete list of Kropotkin's desiderata can be found in appendix B.

Although their choices were largely informed by their research interests, as Burtsev's letters clearly point out, Russian émigrés' greater concern was to share their knowledge of all things Russian with England, and so they did by increasing Russian entries in the British Museum Library Catalogue. In other words, it is as if the Russian émigrés "appropriated" the Russian collection, modelling it according to their research and scholarly interest and making it a space of Russian culture abroad, as well as a site of revolutionary ideology. The British Museum became, therefore, a networking hub (Bernstein 2013:31) where Russian émigrés and the British came into contact and collaborated over the dissemination of Russian literature, culture and ideology in Britain. This public space of culture became a trustworthy institution of Anglo-Russianness, a site of culture, but also of Anglo-Russian counter-culture.

As we have seen, there is much to be gleaned by taking Russian emigration out of the shadow and into the arena of social, ideological, cultural and literary debate. As recent scholarship demonstrated, Habermas's theory of a uniform public sphere based on rational debate was an authentic utopian vision, for it claimed for a unity that has never existed, neither in the 18th century nor in the modern years. Emigration, in fact, calls attention to issues of foreignness, integration and exclusion, as well as resettlement and national identity, questions that undermine the idea of a uniform public sphere, which in turn has to stretch further in order to include diversity. In other words, emigration triggers a process of geographical and cultural border blurring, which entails the disruption of the well-established notion of national identity.

In this context, the public sphere can no longer be identified as the expression of nationality: it rather becomes a space with "open" boundaries (Fraser 1992) as post-modern theories of the public sphere point out. It is precisely because of the permeability of the public sphere that new voices enter this space and reshuffle the structure of this public sphere itself. This new form of public space is neither an epistemologically driven, consensus-based public realm, nor an ontologically driven public sphere (Roberts and Crossley 2004): it

stretches to include alternative public spheres, what Fraser terms “subaltern counterpublics” (Fraser 1992), whose common interests and concerns are progressively identified through dialogue. As Roberts and Crossley observe, “subaltern dialogue suggests that fixed boundaries on topics do not exist. These can only be established through discourse itself whereby minority voices have the opportunity to convince others of the just nature of their argument” (Roberts and Crossley 2004:15). In other words, the public sphere represents

Open-ended flows of communication that enable socially distant interlocutors to bridge social-network positions, formulate collective orientations, and generate psychical ‘working alliances’, in pursuit of influence over issues of common concern. Publics are not simply ‘spaces’ or ‘words’ where politics is discussed ...but, rather, interstitial networks of individuals and groups. (Emirbayer and Sheller 1998:738)

It is precisely in the light of these postmodern theories of the public sphere, as composed of epistemological relativism dependent on social interests (Mah 2013:19) established through discourse, that the Russian émigrés’ activity on the British soil acquires a new meaning. Not only did they favour geographical border blurring, but their eagerness to disseminate all things Russian abroad also made cultural boundaries more permeable, dismissing the notion of national identity in favour of a cosmopolitan and fluid one, as I venture to unveil in the following chapters. Through public meetings and debates, lectures, periodical and book publications, Russian émigrés influenced British public opinion, leading to the construction of an Anglo-Russian counter public sphere with its own institutions and modes of cultural promotion. In other words, Russian émigrés forged an Anglo-Russian network based on ideological debate as well as on cultural and literary collaborations, a fluid cosmopolitan community.

Nonetheless, cosmopolitan communities are rooted in what Homi Bhabha generally defined as the “locations of culture,” in this case late 19th-century Britain and its own cultural and literary institutions, which serve as a springboard for the activity of the émigrés. As a result, rather than suggesting detachment, cosmopolitanism implies “re-attachment, multiple attachment, or

attachment at a distance,” as Bruce Robins observe (Robins 1998:3). However, this attachment is far from being a synonym for “provincial”: it rather implies the creation of networks beyond the national frontier, of cosmopolitan spaces of cultural, literary and ideological debate, where a distinctive counter culture could be negotiated. This theoretical framework raises questions of how British writers – particularly Ford Madox Ford and Olive Garnett – “emplot” the construction of this Anglo-Russian cosmopolitan community in literature, an analysis I will conduct in the light of issues of language, identity, and communal and group relations, questions that have already popped up, however in a subterranean way, in this first chapter. Before that, however, *Free Russia*, the key institution of Anglo-Russian counter culture warrants further scrutiny, for it would help to better delineate the cultural background on which these authors worked.

2 *Free Russia: An Example of Anglo-Russianness*

The unprecedented proliferation of mass market magazines and newspapers that characterised Late-Victorian England, as well as the expansion of the publication of mass market fiction, contributed, as we all know, to the process of democratisation of culture. Mass-market papers like the *Daily Mail* and magazines like the *Strand* and *Tit-Bits* are just a few examples of the many periodicals – daily papers, weeklies, quarterlies and monthlies – that gained momentum in the Victorian years, particularly thanks to advances in technologies and cheap paper, as well as to the increase of mass literacy. In this new craze for the periodical press, the upsurge in émigré publications, particularly in those informed by the Russian émigrés' revolutionary ideology comes as no surprise.

As Williams (1998) observes, between 1882 and 1890, the publication of Russian language periodicals decreased to resume sway in 1893 with the publication of *Letuchie listki* (1893-1899) and in 1897 with *Sovremennik* (*The Contemporary*). It is true, of course, that the 1880s and 1890s witnessed a decline in Russian-language émigré periodicals, but this fact does not mean that the Russian émigré press completely disappeared from Late-Victorian England. On the contrary, this decline in Russian-language periodicals was counterbalanced by an unparalleled upsurge in English-language journals and magazines on Russian affairs, a process that was largely informed by the Russian émigrés themselves. These experiments with the periodical press, some of which stemming out of Anglo-Russian collaborations, were the clearest expression of the émigrés' desire to reorient British public opinion at large over Russia and its people. But do the new tools of publicity offered by the mass market represent a mass-turn in publicity (in the *Öffentlichkeit*, to use Habermas's famed expression), or an opportunity to rejuvenate the public sphere itself by inscribing foreign voices, perspectives, cultural as well as literary traditions in its scene, that is to say a highway to cosmopolitanism? Raymond Williams seems to take the second

option, when he writes that “immigration [forces] certain productive kinds of strangeness and distance: a new consciousness of conventions and thus of changeable, because now open, conventions” (Williams 1989:47). In the wake of Williams’s claim, therefore, I venture to unveil the on-going negotiation between proximity and distance that shaped the cosmopolitan mood of the Russian émigré press in the English language since the Late-Victorian years.

Among the English-language periodicals informed by the Russian émigrés’ ideology, for example Jaakoff Prelooker’s *Anglo-Russian* and the Tolstoyan monthly *The New Order*, it is *Free Russia* that occupies a prominent position. Not only is it the first journalistic attempt of its kind (it was published for the first time in June 1890, while *The Anglo-Russian* and *The New Order* started publication in 1897 and 1895 respectively), but also the longest-lived one: its publication, in fact, last for about twenty-four years, and it eventually ends in 1914 at the death of its latest editor, Felix Volkhovsky. Moreover, *Free Russia* stands out as an unprecedented institution of Anglo-Russian collaboration in the periodical press, and its interest in literature and culture, alongside social and political matters, is significant given the scope of this study.

It is true, of course that the support of the English was crucial for Prelooker’s journal, for it was thanks to the Reid sister’s financial aid that he could start publishing the *Anglo-Russian*. This fact, however, does not testify to the Englishwomen’s direct involvement in the editorial process. Moreover, his collaboration with Annabel Gray, a famed Victorian novelist of popular literature, in the writing of a short story entitled “From the Stage to the Cross” (published in instalments) was more of an isolated phenomenon, than a systematic attempt to establish an Anglo-Russian intellectual network for the promotion of cross-cultural exchanges.

By contrast, collaborations and exchanges with the English had always been pivotal for *Free Russia*. Interest in literature and culture was common to émigrés’ journalistic attempts: however, while the *New Order* published Tolstoy’s works in translation or literary attempts by the members of Tolstoyan circles, and

the *Anglo-Russian* was a venue for Prelooker's self-promotion (Peaker 2006b), *Free Russia* offered a more composite picture of Russian cultural and literary life to its English and international readers, thus triggering processes of cross-cultural and literary fertilizations. This chapter tackles *Free Russia* from both a cultural and a literary perspective, shedding light on the practices of Anglo-Russian cross-cultural dialogue as well as on the "imported" poetics that the journal promoted.

2.1 The Community Building Aspect of Reading

Founded in June 1890 by the joint efforts of the Russian intelligentsia in exile and British sympathisers, *Free Russia* was the organ of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, as well as one of the most influential institutions of a thriving Anglo-Russian counter public. As the editorial article of the first issue of the journal suggests, *Free Russia* was a rather unprecedented phenomenon: "the publication in English, in the Capital of the English speaking race of a paper intended to forwards the cause of freedom in Russia is a new departure in journalism" ("Our Plan of Action" June 1890).⁸⁰ It was even more so, not so much for the fact that *Free Russia* was published abroad, Alexander Herzen's paper *Kolokol'* (*The Bell*) was founded in Britain in the 1850s for example, as for its being written in the English language. As a result, contrary to other previous or contemporary periodicals on the Russian question, which were all written in the Russian language and thereby addressed to Russian readers only, *Free Russia* aimed at reaching a different kind of audience. "The public we have in view," the first editorial goes, "are those wide-minded and earnest people who have taken the Russian cause to heart and wish to do something to forward it" (ibid.), regardless of their nationality. Although the English have always proved sensible to the condition of Russia,

⁸⁰ Henceforth: FR. For the importance of FR to modern reform movements, see Lyons 2016.

it must be confessed that, their reputation notwithstanding, the English have remained in this matter quite insensible to the voice of abstract duty, as well as to considerations of their national interests. [...] But what can foreigners do for Russia? [...] What indeed can foreigners do? They cannot join those who fight the autocracy upon the Russian soil. [...] The only help we shall ever ask them – and which we have a right to ask in the common interest of humanity and civilization – is that of bringing the public opinion of free countries to bear upon Russian affairs. Foreign public opinion has a great influence in Russia. [...] With the vast means, the freedom of speech and of the press, put into the hands of individuals, every man and woman can render great services in that work, which will redound only the honour of the free institutions which rendered it possible, and will tend to strengthen the bonds of true brotherhood between the nations. (Ibid.)

By addressing the English reading public in its own language, the Russian editors wanted to awaken British public opinion to Russian affairs, to provide a trustworthy alternative to Tsarist counter-revolutionary propaganda, whose champion in England was Mme Olga Novikov, and to unearth Victorian Russophobia, based on ignorance and on negative racial stereotypes. In other words, *Free Russia* challenged settled assumptions, disseminated new ideas about Russia thereby engendering public debate, all aspects that, as Brooker and Thacker (2009) observe, are the key features of the modern periodical press oriented towards the negotiation of counter-publics.

Although it was written in the English language, Robert Spence Watson observes that “this paper [that] claims to be the organ of the English Society [of Friends of the Russian Freedom] – [...] it is evidently written to a great extent by Russians addressing both the English and their own countrymen” (“Editorial” September 1890). Moreover, the treasurer of the SFRF declares that

The General Committee of the “Friends of Russian Freedom” (which is entirely composed of Englishmen) entrusted the charge of the paper, which was to be called “Free Russia”, to a small Committee of Management. The gentlemen forming the Committee undertake the general direction and superintendence of the publication but, - in order that the work may be thorough and practical, and that the facts given may be accurate, and that the opinion expressed may be founded upon experience, and not merely the results of speculation, - the men upon whom the immediate duties of

editorship devolve, are themselves Russians, men who have shared in the struggle for the right, who have suffered in the cause of freedom, who are close and actual contact with Russian feeling and Russian thought. The Paper is therefore really a co-operative work, and this it will, we trust and believe, attain to a higher point of usefulness than could otherwise be the case. (ibid.)

As Thacker and Brooker argue, in fact, “periodicals functioned as points of reference, debate, and transmission at the heart of an internally variegated and often internationally connected counter-cultural sphere, or [...] a network of cultural formations” (Thacker and Brooker 2009:2). Being it composed by the joint efforts of Russians émigrés and English sympathisers, as well as addressed to Russians and English alike, *Free Russia* can be truly defined as a hybrid magazine, thereby standing out as an institution of Anglo-Russianness: bringing Russian national affairs on the international scale, the newspaper blurred the borders between east and west, stimulated trans-national and cross-cultural encounters and moved towards the moulding of an international community, of a trans-national public space of debate.

Eager to become an incomparable source of trustworthy information about all things Russian, this Anglo-Russian journal exploited the Late Victorian taste for sensationalism and indignation (Cross 1984; Peaker 2006b), which the so-called “New Journalism” initiated.⁸¹ Although its pages were filled with tales of massacres, persecutions of religious minorities and starvation, as well as with

⁸¹ The era of the so-called New-Journalism that I mention here is the one between 1880 and 1914. It concurred in triggering what Habermas terms as the “Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (Habermas [1989] 2005), for it promoted a journalism that privileges facts over opinions, constantly emphasising the primary importance of news gathering at the expense of opinion. This practice was facilitated, as Hampton observes, by the commercialization of the press, the emergence of working class readers, as well as by the speed of production. Such a new journalistic practice produced a new epistemology of speed and sensationalism, at the expense of the mid-Victorian one founded upon deliberation and discussion. In other words, the New Journalism embraced the representative ideal of the press, a vision that contrasted with the educational idea of traditional journalism. See Hampton 2004.

accounts of escapes from Siberia and Nihilist plots, it is also true that much of this news was discussed in a sober and authoritative tone, avoiding hyperboles and all rhetorical strategies that would otherwise undermine the editors' claim for authenticity.

In order to better understand to what extent *Free Russia* served as an institution of Anglo-Russian counter culture, and how it struggled to establish its own niche, that is to say a distinctive Anglo-Russian discursive space, it is worth considering the "bibliographic codes" (McGann 1991) of the periodical genre, what Morrisson calls the "material markers of genre" (Morrisson 2001), for they concur with the linguistic code to generate the overall meaning of a given text. Moreover, I argue, they also contribute to furthering our understanding of a journals' role in multiple public discourses, as well as bringing to light its relationship to well-established periodical press traditions. Brooker and Thacker make McGann's definition even more precise, identifying a particular subset, that is to say the "periodical codes" that are at play in any journal or magazine (Brooker and Thacker 2009). Among the periodical codes, the scholars list page layout, typeface, price, size of volume, periodicity of publication, use of illustrations, use and placement of advertisements, quality of paper and binding, networks of distribution and sales, modes of financial support, payment methods, editorial arrangements, and type of material published.

Interestingly, Brooker and Thacker draw a further distinction between internal and external codes, the former dealing with the design of the magazine itself, namely page size, layout, typeface, etc., the latter with the network of relationship the journal establishes, for example modes of distribution and financial support. Both internal and external codes concur to the making of the *materiality* of a text, category that has long passed without criticism.⁸² In the wake of these theories, I will try to delineate the periodical codes of *Free Russia*. While some codes are discussed below, some others will be tackled in the following

⁸² See Brooker and Thacker 2009.

pages, as they are intimately connected to the evolution of the newspaper and therefore to the editorial phases that marked its evolution and subsequent decline.

As far the frequency of publication is concerned, *Free Russia* was issued twice only in 1890, in June and September respectively. However, Robert Spence Watson, the treasurer of *Free Russia*, declared the editorial board's intention to increase the number of publications per year: "We do, at present, purpose to publish monthly. We must have sufficient assured resources before we do this. I think we shall certainly publish quarterly at the least. I hope that your subscription was duly acknowledged from Newcastle" (MS 1381/364). From 1891 to 1905, *Free Russia* was published monthly and, to be precise, it was issued on the first of every month, as an announcement in the January 1891 issue demonstrates (FR January 1891). Conversely, from 1905 to 1907 five issues only were published (February 1905, March 1905, April 1905, April 1906, June 1907). From 1908 to 1910 *Free Russia* was published quarterly (March, June, September and, probably December 1908;⁸³ in 1909 and 1910 it was published in January, April, July and October). The publication became even more intermittent in 1911, when three issues were published (January, July and October). In 1912 and 1913 four issues were published (January, April, July and October). Although we do not know the exact number of issues for 1914, the publication of *Free Russia* eventually ended in January 1915.

There might be many reasons that could justify the progressive decline of the journal since 1905: among the most plausible ones are the alternation of Soskice and Volkhovsky as editors of the paper, and the subsequent change in the layout and scope of the journal, as we shall see in the next paragraph. Not to

⁸³ The microfilm reel containing the 1908 volume of *Free Russia* reports missing issue(s) between the September 1908 and the January 1909 issues. It is likely that, given the frequency of the 1909 and 1910 volumes, that there is one missing issue only, dated October-December 1908. The collection of *Free Russia* I consulted was the one owned by the University of Durham. I then went through the one owned by the British Library, and it reports the same missing issue.

mention the historical events that Russia had to face between 1905 and 1917, events that were reported in the mainstream press as well: *Free Russia*, at that time, was, therefore, progressively losing its leading role as a source of information about Russia. Nevertheless, it undoubtedly was the death of Volkhovsky, the last émigré editor, that caused the termination of the journal.

At this stage of the analysis, a comparison between *Free Russia* and the British periodical press becomes compelling, for it would not only shed further light on the Anglo-Russian journal's indebtedness to Late-Victorian and Edwardian periodical cultures, but it would also serve to track down its own peculiarities, as well as its role within the English periodical market. First, the very structure of *Free Russia* owes much to the British monthly genre, for it combined the monthly miscellany magazine, debating a variety of topics of socio-political, economic and historical interest, to the traditional review that discussed literature and related topics (Morrison 2001:41). This was part of Stepniak's design for revolutionary propaganda abroad: in fact, he strongly believed that literature and art, combined with traditional political and social propaganda, could attract more sympathies, that is to say financial and ideological support, to the cause of Russian democracy.

Free Russia derives its format, that is the use of double column and of illustration, from the Victorian tradition of the miscellany monthly magazine. However, price was different, for while some monthly magazines like *Strand* costed 6d. (Morrison 2001), the price of *Free Russia* amounted to one penny. Given the fact that the Anglo-Russian magazine published on a great variety of topics, from socio-political to cultural and literary questions, as the monthly miscellany magazine did, the fact that it adopted some periodical codes proper of the Victorian genre comes, therefore, as no surprise. This, however, cannot be said in relation to *Free Russia*'s affiliation with great monthly reviews such as the *Fortnightly* (1865), which were "the mainstay of 'serious' [...] intellectual, political and literary culture" (Morrison 2001:40). Nonetheless, *Free Russia* shared with the leading Victorian and Edwardian reviews the eagerness to create

a space for public debate *within* its very pages (Morrisson 2001), demanding the reader's critical and active engagement in the public conversation as staged in the periodical press (Ardis 2008:39).

Alongside essays and articles promoting anti-tsarist and revolutionary ideology, there also occurred references to pro-tsarist propaganda. A telling example in these terms is the presence of the name of Mme Novikov, the champion of Russian autocracy in Britain, alongside the names of Stepniak and Kropotkin in the column entitled "Bibliography of the Russian Cause" in the first issue of the journal:

Many persons have asked that the first number of our periodical should contain some account of the works in the English language from which they can learn something of the history and details of the Russian Question. In endeavouring to satisfy this demand I find it impossible to deal with the great number of articles contained in Magazines and Reviews. Many of these are of much importance and should be carefully studied, for they are often written by men who speak with authority. There is the advantage too of having very different sides presented to you in these article, for the writers are persons whose knowledge and whose stand-point differ widely. We find amongst them the names of Prince Kropotkine, Stepniak, Karl Blind, Madame Novikoff, E. P. G. Law, the Rev. Malcom McColl, the Rev. Mr Lansdell, Jesse Collings M. P. and last, but perhaps most important, George Kennan. ("Bibliography" June 1890)

In April 1892, *Free Russia* also published a review of Mr Henry De Windt's book *Siberia as It Is* (1892), a work in defence of the tsar which was introduced by Mme Novikov herself. As both Hollingsworth and Peaker observe, keeping a balanced voice was fundamental in order to unveil the truth about Russia and to undermine the lies of the apologists of the tsarist empire (Hollingsworth 1970; Peaker 2006b). However valuable, this interpretation does not take into account the implications this editorial choice had in moulding a distinctive Anglo-Russian counter public. In the attempt to establish its own niche within Late-Victorian public discourses, *Free Russia* also forged a discursive space of debate on Russian affairs within the journal itself, a space that crossed ideological boundaries, demanding the active and direct involvement of the reader in the

public debate. This idea is also evoked by the practice of publishing readers' responses to articles of major concern, as well as readers' letters to the editor. Such a practice, in fact, furthered the readers' engagement in the public debate and propelled forward the creation of a new Anglo-Russian discourse. In the light of these observations, it is possible to claim that *Free Russia* sustained the educational ideal of the Victorian Press, the view according to which the press should improve individuals, creating an arena of public debate and discussion (Morrison 2001; Hampton 2004, Ardis 2008).

However, as Hampton (2004) observes, the late 1880s were hallmarked by a transition from the educational to the representative ideal of the press, a view according to which the press should represent the people, not involve them in public debate.⁸⁴ The fact that *Free Russia* did not comply with this view, even in years when it was gathering momentum, makes this Anglo-Russian journal a phenomenon of even greater scholarly interest. Exploiting the great consumption of periodicals in Victorian England and the "established institutions of periodical publications" (Morrison 2001:53), Russian émigrés took a departure from late Victorian mass consuming society. *Free Russia*, in fact, brought a new genre of magazine to the English reading public, a hybrid one resulting from the miscegenation of two different Victorian periodical genres, as well as from cross-cultural contacts and collaborations, a genre that fostered the negotiation of a new mixed public discourse. In other words, *Free Russia* was the public institution of an emerging Anglo-Russian counter culture, which, while borrowing some conventions from the Victorian periodical press and sharing its educational ideal, developed its own distinctive layout, printing company and distributing apparatus.

⁸⁴ More broadly, it is precisely this shift that contributed to the structural transformation of the public sphere that Habermas describes (Habermas 1989) as well as to the bifurcation of culture into mass and élite ones: this is what Andreas Huyssen terms "the great divide" (Huyssen 1986).

Success and visibility were not long in coming: within a few months of its inception, in fact, *Free Russia* claimed a readership of 5,000 as Stepniak's balance after a year of activities demonstrates.⁸⁵ We should nonetheless call attention to the fact that the readership of a journal is never easily established. Copies, in fact, can be sold to private individuals, but also to public institution, libraries and societies for example, a fact that implies the presence of a broader readership (Hampton 2004). Though the task is slightly easier for papers who asked for subscriptions, for they held lists of subscribers, as in the case of *Free Russia*, there are other factors that complicate this computation, illegal circulation abroad for example. As a result, when Stepniak declares that he readership of *Free Russia* amounted to 5,000, he may have drawn this evidence from the list of subscriptions: it is, therefore, highly plausible that the actual readership exceeded that number.

Stepniak, however, claimed that the greatest success of *Free Russia* would depend on the influence it will have "on the great newspapers which are read not by thousands but by millions" (Stepniak 1891), that is to say on the resonance this Anglo-Russian enterprise would have in both the British and the international press. The success of the editorial plan is clearly announced in the December issue of 1892:

For about three years a body of devoted men and women assembled at the call of the eminent Newcastle leader [Robert Spence Watson], have carried on the arduous task of fixing upon the Russian question as much of the attention of English-speaking people as is possible in our feverish time. Through all difficulties the work has been carried on uninterruptedly, and this alone gives us now a stronger position than we had a year ago. [...] The Russian cause has unquestionably struck deeper into the English soil within the last year. More people know of the existence of our society and understand its aims. [...] For the last two years the main practical object of our society has been the carrying on of *Free Russia*. With the experience of these two years before us, we can conscientiously affirm that the publication has done a good work for the Russian cause. Though very young, as papers

⁸⁵ Statistics occur in *Free Russia* (December 1891) and in Stepniak 1895.

go, it has acquired a certain place among the thousands of periodicals trumpeting to the world in various tongues their various messages. Some of the largest English, American and Continental Papers (the French excepted) numbering their readers by hundreds of thousands, frequently quote from our leaflet. Some of the articles of Free Russia have been reprinted in full up to seventeen times on the Continent, widening our circle of readers enormously. We have thus succeeded in realising, to some extent, our original plan of making our special paper a source of information which other larger papers should utilise and spread. (Stepniak December 1892)

In fact, in the January 1893 issue, *The Daily News*, *The Morning Advertiser*, *The Morning Post*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Daily Chronicle*, *The Daily Graphic*, *The Globe* and *The Echo* appear in the list of English periodicals that have taken notice of Free Russia, a list to which will expand to include other periodicals within a few years. An example of the English press's appreciation of Free Russia dates back to 1891, when *The Labour World*, in its April issue, acknowledged that "in this journal articles from well-known writers on every phase of the Russian question appear month by month. We hope that Free Russia will have a wide circulation throughout Great Britain and Ireland" ("Opinion of the Press" June 1891).⁸⁶ Not to forget that, as early as 1891, Free Russia had already been noticed by American newspapers, probably thanks to Stepniak's lecturing tour in the United States. *The New York Morning Journal*, for example reported that "Free Russia is a periodical that deserves success, for its literary merit as well as

⁸⁶ Interestingly, *Free Russia* is also mentioned in *The New-Order*, the first Tolstoyan journal written in England in the English language. In fact, in the March issue of 1898, it quotes an article that first appeared in the January issue of *Free Russia* entitled "Another Humanitarian expelled from Russia", dealing with the expulsion of Pavel Boulanger, a champion of the Doukhobortsy (MS 1380/2873 NO March 1898). Similarly, in the April issue of the same year, the editors of *The New Order* appraised the March issue of *Free Russia* for its being dedicated to unveiling the shameful sentence of 18-month hard labour passed upon Vladimir Burtsev (MS 1380/2873 NO April 1898). *Free Russia* is also mentioned in Prelooker's journal *The Anglo-Russian*, but it was for the most part widely criticised for – in Prelooker's opinion – not considering the persecution of Russian religious minorities, focusing only on political exiles. See, for example, the July 1897 issue of *The Anglo-Russian*.

for its purpose" (Ibid.). Similarly, The Christian Herald, published in Detroit (Michigan) claimed that "the monthly magazine entitled Free Russia is invaluable to anyone who would keep informed on Russian questions" (Ibid.). At the same time, Free Russia also quoted from the mainstream press. The September issue of 1890, for example, contains an appraisal of Swinburne's "Ode" that had been published in the Fortnightly Review in the August of the same year ("Swinburne's Ode" August 1890), let alone David Soskice's desire to publish an article by Karl Blind, a contributor to the Fortnightly Review, in Free Russia (STH/DS/1/BLI/3).

Brooker and Thacker argue that the contact between counter cultures – embodied by magazines, journals and newspapers – and the public sphere at large is crucial, "for it is this which determines the well-formedness of a cultural formation and the position it takes as 'specialising', 'alternative', or 'oppositional'" (Brooker and Thacker 2009:20). The basic assumption underlying the scholars' claims is that the public sphere is not a monolithic entity, as Habermas conversely argued. It rather is a composite discourse, made up of different communities that organise around distinct papers, which in turn become institutions of a counter publics (Williams 1983; Jackson 2001; Tusan 2005; Hampton 2008). Moreover, as Tusan (2005) argues, niche papers are eager to establish their own readership, that is to say a community of readers that stands out as an alternative to mainstream publics. In the wake of this theoretical framework, the presence of cross references between *Free Russia* and the mainstream English press becomes a matter of major concern. The English press taking notice of *Free Russia*, in fact, validates the journal's status as a cultural formation, further highlighting its role as the institution of an alternative Anglo-Russian public. In addition to defining the journal's status, these cross-references demonstrate the existence of "overlapping audiences" (Hampton 2008:26), or "interpublic discursive interactions" (Fraser 1996:125), that is to say of different communities of readers converging into an alternative discourse devoted to the debate over Russian affairs. As other niche papers, therefore, *Free Russia* engaged

in the creation of its own alternative community of readers: its readership proved composite, for it reunited members of all classes and political affiliation, as the status of the journals and magazines that made references to *Free Russia*, as well as the ideology they promoted, suggest.

In Nancy Fraser's opinion, subaltern counterpublics within stratified societies have a dual character: "on the one hand," Fraser argues, "they function as spaces of withdrawal and regroupment; on the other hand, they also function as based and training grounds for agitation activities directed toward wider publics" (Fraser 1996:124). Interestingly, this is precisely the case of *Free Russia*: while wishing to establish its own niche within late Victorian England, thereby creating a distinctive Anglo-Russian alternative community of readers, the journal attempted to cross the English national frontier. In fact, *Free Russia* was simultaneously printed in London, New York, Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam and Geneva. Moreover, in the November issue of 1891 a new masthead appeared, reporting the sentence "Free Russia, registered as a newspaper for transmission aboard" (FR Nov. 1891). Its circulation was extended to New Zealand and South Africa, although there is no evidence of the readership the journal reached in these countries. In other words, *Free Russia* was not only struggling to establish its niche within the English periodical market and public opinion, but it was also trying to cross geographical borders and to move internationally. However, as the editorial article of November 1892 declares,

While *Free Russia* is published in three different editions – in London, New York and (in German) in Zurich – and read in the United States, in Canada, in New Zealand, in the Transvaal and throughout Europe, the literary and editorial work for all the three editions is done in London and, consequently, the expenses implied by it are borne exclusively by the mother society of Friends of Russian Freedom. (Stepniak November 1892)

London, therefore, was still the hub of *Free Russia's* trans-national network. If we "think of periodicals as instruments for the ordering of geographical space, or as a form of territory mapping, [the] territories they survey, and report, and distribute copies to, and take advertisements from, can sometimes appear

remarkably well-defined and yet startlingly strange, their boundaries conforming to no very obvious political or demographic boundaries" (Jones 2005:180-1). In the wake of Jones's observations, *Free Russia* looms large on the thriving lure of transnationality and cosmopolitanism. Challenging the discrete nature of national markets, in fact, the journal was mapping a new geographical space that crossed the borders of class and nationality, for it circulated in Europe, America, in "underground" Russia and elsewhere. As a result, "the community-building aspect of reading" (Hampton 2008:22) was not confined within the English national borders: on the contrary, it tended to reach an international audience, that is to say to build a transnational community of readers interested in Russian affairs.

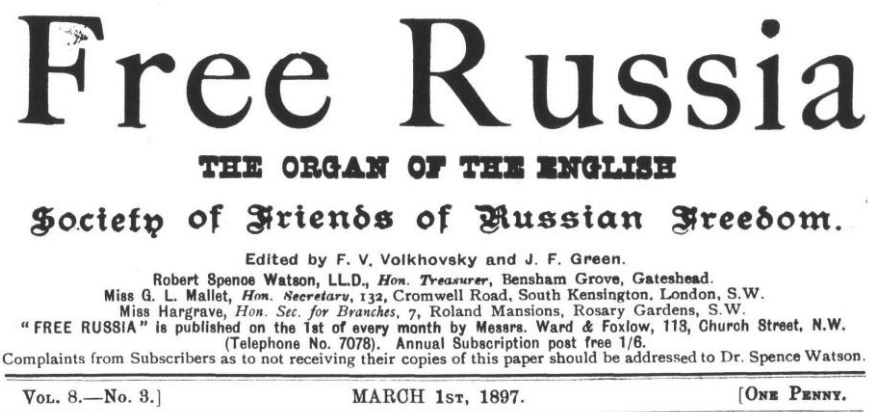


Figure 1: Masthead of *Free Russia*

In addition to borrowing conventions from the mainstream periodical press, some niche papers also depended on English publishing houses. As reported in the masthead, *Free Russia*, was published by Ward & Foxlow 113, Church Street (London).

Since November 1902, on the contrary, it was printed in the Ward & Foxlow's offices, but it was published by Thomas Laurie, 13 Paternoster Row

(London).⁸⁷ The editors' dependence on English publishers is noteworthy for two main reasons. On the one hand, it sheds further light on the émigrés' desire to enter the British public spaces through the well-established institutions of periodical publications, printing and publishing houses in particular. On the other hand, it emphasises the key role English sympathisers played in furthering the cause of Russian freedom in Britain: their loyal support, in fact, was essential to the publication of the journal.

However indebted to the institutions of the English press, *Free Russia* had its own idiosyncrasies. Contrary to the hegemonic press, in fact, niche papers need financial support, which can take the forms of subscriptions or donations (Hampton 2008). *Free Russia* frequently draws the readers' attention to the need for economic aid, and regularly publishes the list of subscribers, usually in the last page of each issue. As Volkhovsky writes to Goldenberg,

we have now from 230 -250 subscribers. I do not know the exact figures, but if you want them I will get them in my next. We are very much obliged to you for your management of the circulation of Free Russia – please accept my thanks. I fully appreciate all your efforts and if I have omitted my thanks before it was not because I was not grateful but because I thought you knew it without saying so ... It should be no use to ask Stepniak how many copies of FR should be printed because he is not a practical man. However, you will have plenty of time to print another edition when [Stepniak] is with you in America. (MS 1381/351)

Yet again, fund raising did not take place in England only, but also across the Atlantic, thereby contributing to increasing the cosmopolitan status of the magazine. Similarly, Alice Stone Blackwell, one of the American sympathisers of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, shared concerns for fund raising to

⁸⁷ Thomas W. Laurie (1866-1944) founded his T. Werner Laurie Ltd. Publishing house in 1904. He is best known for publishing works by Yeats, Wilde and Upton Sinclair among others. The fact that Laurie also published *Free Russia* since 1902 is noteworthy, for it hints at possible connections between the Anglo-Russian journal and modernist writers.

support the publication of the journal in a letter to David Soskice dated 11 October 1905:

Dear Mr Soskice, I heartily wish that I knew of some way to raise money in America to help the publication of Free Russia. When we are holding meetings, as we did during Mrs Breshkovskaya's visit it is possible to get subscribers; but at other times, I can only pick one up here and there. Between now and the end of next month, I am to lecture twice on "Why Russia is on the verge of revolution," and I will try to get some subscribers then. I will also talk with Frank Garrison; but I fear that it will not be possible to send much money from here. Our society is small, and its branches, except the New York one, are weak. It is possible to raise money through an appeal in the newspapers, for any subject that appealed for funds to bring back the political prisoners from Saghalien and one lady whom I do not know sent me \$ 300. In all, about \$ 1800 was raised – most of it by collections among the Russians. I think Dr Hourwich of Washington wrote me that six political prisoners were found on Saghalien. I wonder what have become of the seven others! But, while people will give for an object that appeal to their feelings, they will not give much to help the papers. It is too bad, for the papers are necessary and important. But we have the same struggle to keep the Women's Journal alive. Enclosed is a small gift from myself. I wish it were more. I am waiting the new double number of Free Russia with interest. [...] Sincerely yours, Alice Blackwell. (STH/DS/1/BL/10)

Alongside evoking the economic concerns *Free Russia* shares with other niche papers, the American *Women's Journal* in particular, Blackwell's letter to Soskice illuminates the practices of fund raising: subscription and donations, in fact, could be easily obtained at public lectures on Russian affairs. This is also one of the reasons why Russian émigrés were so much concerned about lecturing tours, both in Britain and in America. In order to raise larger funds, the members of the SFRF also used to sell pamphlets published by the society itself and photographs of political exiles, prisoners, or representing scenes of massacres (FR November 1892). Moreover, the society also sold illustrated Russian Cards for Christmas greetings. These were either scenes of peasant life or pictures by famed artists (FR December 1900).

Fund raising is also intimately connected to distributing apparatuses. English sympathisers were entitled to disseminate *Free Russia* among those

societies that shared the SFRF's concern for Russian affairs: as a member of the SFRF observes, "Free Russia and our pamphlets are sold not only at all the lectures arranged by the [Society of] F[riends of] R[ussian] F[reedom], but even at many lectures got up by other societies, institutes, or persons, but touching upon Russian topics" (FR, February 1893). For instance, during the meeting of the committee of the SFRF, "a lady friend of the Society has kindly offered to send out copies of Free Russia, instead of Miss Webb, to Libraries and Workmen's Clubs" (FR July 1895). Interestingly, the enthusiastic support and collaboration of the English was not only necessary to enter the English market, but also to smuggle the paper into Russia:

We are asked to announce to all friends wishing to spread our literature that sample copies of FREE RUSSIA can be had from the office (3, Iffley Road, Hammersmith) on application. Three hundred copies of FREE RUSSIA are printed every month on thin paper for greater convenience in introducing them into Russia. Anyone wishing to take or send such copies across the Russian frontier should apply for them at our office. (FR February 1893)⁸⁸

This fact stands witness to the thick web of collaborations and exchanges that took place among the many institutions that were interested in all things Russian, as well as to the selling practices through which *Free Russia* pioneered the English periodical market. Moreover, it also calls attention to another journalistic code, namely paper quality. In fact, the editions that had to be smuggled into Russia were published on thinner and low-quality paper, to make it easier to both transport and circulate the journal through unofficial channels. The periodical codes of a given magazine, therefore, are not fixed categories, but they are subject to change according to specific needs.

⁸⁸ The German edition of *Free Russia*, *Frei Russland*, could also be obtained at the offices of the Russian Free Press Fund, Iffley Road, Hammersmith.

The magazine was usually sold to sympathising Englishmen and women at public meetings. For example, Olive Garnett records selling the paper at George Kennan's lecture in London:

When L[ucy] & I got to Prince's Hall [Piccadilly] we saw Stepniak who took us into the committee room & gave us *Free Russias* to distribute. I stood at the door with Mr Leonard & sold copies, while he showed the people to their places. Fanny [Stepniak] & Lucy walked up & down the aisle with papers. [...] Everyone was in the highest spirits, all voting the lecture a great success. We handed over our takings. 8s..10d worth of Free Russia had been sold. (Garnett 1993:26)

In a letter to Davis Soskice dated 22nd May 1905 Olive writes that "[she] shall probably be unable to distribute Free Russia regularly [that] summer" (STH/DS/1/GARN/2), thereby making plain her active involvement in circulating the magazine. Moreover, *Free Russia* was also distributed in Hyde Park on May Day (FR February 1893). Evidence gathered from Olive Garnett's diary demonstrates that she took active part in selling the magazine on May 1st 1892 (Garnett 1989:72), clarifying her role in and support of this Anglo-Russian enterprise.

Given that *Free Russia* was not sold through the traditional channels the market press offered, back issues could not be obtained anywhere else, but from the editor. Olive Garnett herself writes to Soskice inquiring for a "copy of Free Russia containing [Soskice's] article on Prince Kilhoff," for she did not have a copy with her (STH/DS/1/GARN/2). Similarly, Constance Garnett corresponded with Soskice about the first issues of the journal: "I think you must have a complete series of the volumes of Free Russia," Constance writes. "I should be grateful if you would let me borrow the early numbers – from the beginning to the end of the year 1895. I would of course be careful with them" (STH/DS/1/GAR2). It is interesting to acknowledge that the timespan between 1890 and 1895 coincides with Stepniak's editorship: Constance's eagerness to read the issues in question may, therefore, derive from her interest in the editorial and literary career, as well as in the personal life, of the Russian émigré.

After Stepniak's death, the editorship of *Free Russia* passed over to other fellow émigrés, who significantly modified the original structure of the magazine. In particular, the artistic and literary turn of *Free Russia* since 1896 was triggered by Volkhovsky and Green, and it looms large on the editors' intention to disseminate Russian traditions abroad, rejuvenating, as it were, the English literary traditions.

2.2 The Evolution of *Free Russia*

As we have seen, *Free Russia* stands out as a telling example of the Russian émigré press in the English language at the turn the 20th century, as well as the crux and pivot of a cosmopolitan alternative Anglo-Russian community. However, it is worth considering that the history of the journal was distinguishably marked by three different editorships and, therefore, it can be subdivided into three different phases. This distinction is a matter of major concern, for it sheds light not only on the diverse editorial arrangements, but also on the subsequent evolution of the magazine as a cultural formation.⁸⁹

2.2.1 From Stepniak to Volkhovsky

The first phase of *Free Russia* coincided with Stepniak's editorship from the year of the magazine's inception until 1894. In these years, Volkhovsky collaborated with Stepniak as a joint editor, and he temporarily took over himself the full editorial duties of the magazine in 1891, when Stepniak went on a lecturing tour in America. Interestingly, from 1890 to 1895 the editors' names did not appear in *Free Russia*, probably to avoid scandals connected to Stepniak's past as a terrorist. In fact, the editors wished to convey the impression that the magazine resulted from the joint efforts of Englishmen and women who

⁸⁹ I here intend the term "cultural formation" as a "a formal or informal association of individuals engaged in some nature of cultural production which in turn sets them in different relations with broader trends in society" (Williams 1983:18).

belonged to the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom (Peaker 2006b). In 1894 Stepniak passed the editorship to Volkhovsky. Alongside F. J. Green, an English sympathiser, Volkhovsky edited the magazine until 1914. Since the beginning of this second editorial phase, the name of the editors started to appear in the masthead, thereby transforming the editors into public figures and highlighting the collaborative nature of the magazine. As far as the third phase is concerned, it coincides with Soskice's temporary editorship from 1904 to 1905, at the time of Volkhovsky's stay in Geneva,⁹⁰ and it is more of a parenthesis within Volkhovsky's long editorship.

These three editorial phases hallmarked significant changes in the periodical's style and content. Although *Free Russia* has always shown a keen interest for literature, suffice it remember that the first piece of Russian fiction was published in the April issue of 1891,⁹¹ and that a column dedicated to works on Russia has existed ever since, it was not until 1899 that the lure of Russian culture and the arts gained considerable momentum. This upsurge in literary and artistic practices in the pages of the Anglo-Russian magazine coincided with Volkhovsky's editorship, yet it was destined to decline when Soskice started to carry out editorial duties. Volkhovsky's editorship, therefore, is significant given the scope of this study, for it gave *Free Russia* a cultural, artistic and literary twist that neither Stepniak nor Soskice had ever envisaged. Volkhovsky, in fact, announced that

[Free Russia] has [...] become more varied in its contents. More stress has been laid on showing the capabilities and genius of the Russian race, thus bringing home this truth, that if the Russians enjoyed political liberty and personal security, their social, literary, artistic and scientific development would be an enormous spiritual gain to mankind. With this view, translations of some of the best specimens of Russian fiction and poetry, as

⁹⁰ In 1905, Soskice returned to Russia as a correspondent of the Tribune (Hollingsworth 1976).

⁹¹ Saltikov Schedrin's satiric story entitled "The Deceitful Editor and the Credulous Reader", *Free Russia* (April 1891)

well as articles dealing with Russian music, art industries, social work, etc., have been introduced. (COLL MISC 1028)

Volkhovsky's editorial plan, therefore, intended to unveil the literary capabilities of the Russians, discarding the well-established notion that sees Russia as backward country. Not only did he appropriate the country's best authors in support of the émigrés' radical cause, but he also published pictures of peasants' artefacts, thereby throwing light on the artistic potential of the Russian people. This necessarily served as a watershed, for the imposing presence of pictures, portraits of Russian authors and eminent personalities, alongside sketches of peasants' life, was an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of *Free Russia*. Many of the issues edited by Volkhovsky at the turn of the 20th century, in fact, published illustrations on the cover page itself, thereby highlighting the conjunction of written and visual material. Interestingly, the increase of visual material is further highlighted by the publication of a new masthead designed by Walter Crane since January 1899. The masthead concurred in giving a more "artistic appearance" to the paper, not only for visual material it contained, but also for the elaborate font used in the title which recalls the style of the Arts and Crafts movement (COLL MISC 1028).⁹² In other words, English artistic forms, represented by Crane's masthead, and Russian artistic and literary creativity, in the forms of literary works or peasants' artefacts, are juxtaposed in the pages of *Free Russia*. The coexistence of visual and written material, contributes not only to establishing *Free Russia* as a cultural institution, but also in the making of the Anglo-Russian mood of the magazine.

⁹² For more information about the Arts and Crafts Movement see Crook 2009 and Blakesley 2006. For a detailed analysis of the Arts and Crafts movement and the press, see Hart 2009.



Figure 2: Crane's Masthead

At the same time, Crane's masthead also served as a cartoon for the cause. From the right a Russian mujik reaches for the hand of an angel standing on the left, the West as it were. This angel of mercy is holding a heart and a torch, as if to suggest that the West could contribute to liberating the Russians from bondage (the mujik is in fact bound tightly with a rope and chained to the rocks) and from the oppression of both the Tsarist autocracy and the Orthodox Church. These are allegorically represented by a double-headed eagle wearing two crowns, piercing with its claws the mujik bosom. As Peaker observes, this drawing by Crane rearticulates Volkhovsky's idea that the Tsar and the Orthodox Church's oppression were arresting the literary, artistic and cultural development of Russia, as well as his belief in the unparalleled support the enlightened views of the West could give to the struggle (Peaker 2006b). In other words, pictures reinforced the claims of written words and contributed to transforming the journal into a proper cultural institution, where literature and arts, as well as social and ideological issues converged, thereby shaping a space of counter public debate.

It is true, of course, that a column entitled "Bibliography" has always been published in *Free Russia* since the very first issue, and it listed, as we have seen, works on all things Russian that English sympathisers should read in order to familiarise with revolutionary instances. Nevertheless, this column underwent major transformations under Volkhovsky's editorship, as the following

examples suggest. In the June issue 1890, the column entitled "The Bibliography of the Russian Question" was compiled by Robert Spence Watson, the secretary of *Free Russia*, and it listed works on political and social issues by leading Russian revolutionists, as well as by famed scholars of Russian traditions. Stepniak's *Russia Under the Tsars* (1885) and *The Russian Storm Cloud* (1886), as well as Kropotkin's *The Russian and French Prisons* (1887) are exemplary in these terms. As we have previously seen, pro-tsarist works were also advertised in *Free Russia*, as the presence of W. J. Stead *Truth About Russia* (1888) demonstrate. One may argue that literature also occurs in this column, given the presence of Stepniak's English novel *The Career of a Nihilist* (1889) and of his literary experiment *Underground Russia* (1883), and this fact is undeniable. Nevertheless, all the works listed here conformed with Stepniak's editorial plan to awaken British sympathy to the Russian cause for freedom, offering reading materials that could cultivate their critical power. It is not surprisingly, in fact, that the column itself was titled "Bibliography of the Russian Question."

The Bibliography of the Russian Question.

MANY persons have asked that the first number of our periodical should contain some account of the works in the English language from which they can learn something of the history and details of the Russian Question. In endeavouring to satisfy this demand I find it impossible to deal with the great number of articles contained in Magazines and Reviews. Many of these are of much importance and should be carefully studied, for they are often written by men who speak with authority. There is the advantage too of having very different sides presented to you in these articles, for the writers are persons whose knowledge and whose stand-point differ widely. We find amongst them the names of Prince Kropotkin, Stepniak, Karl Blind, Madame Novikoff, E. P. G. Law, the Rev. Malcolm McColl, the Rev. Mr. Lansdell, Jesse Collings M.P., and last, but perhaps most important, George Kennan.

A complete catalogue of these articles with their actual titles will be found in Lave's Catalogue of Periodical Literature which will be found in most of our public libraries, where the greater part of the articles referred to may be consulted and studied. When I add that there are more than six hundred papers treating upon Russia or Siberia prior to 1882, and more than two hundred from 1882 to 1890, it will be seen that any detailed account of them is out of the question. Many have been collected and published in book-form; many deal with questions of foreign policy; but the student or the inquirer will find invaluable material of information upon almost every branch of the questions of domestic policy which, at the present time, are of such absorbing interest for the lovers of political freedom for all lands alike. I may be allowed to add that whoever takes any interest in one of the greatest questions which has been agitated in the memory of the oldest amongst us should not fail to become intimately acquainted with the remarkable series of articles which George Kennan has contributed to the "Century" Magazine from 1887 to the present time. In them he has laid bare the iniquitous method pursued by the Russian Government in dealing with political prisoners. They are the result of long, careful, and minute personal investigation by a man who speaks Russian perfectly and had unrivalled opportunities of ascertaining facts, and few persons will rise from their perusal without the determination to aid in whatever way they can those Russians who are striving and suffering to bring about a great constitutional change in that unhappy country where "the negation of God has been erected into a system of Government."

Russia, by D. MACKENZIE WALLACE, M.A. 2 vols. 1877. This work deals chiefly with the various aspects of social life. It contains an account of the *Mir* or Village Community; treats of religious questions and the position of descent; and discusses the emancipation of the serfs and its consequences. It only takes up the more burning questions incidentally, but it is interesting as the earliest systematic work in English upon the subject, and forms a good introduction to the study of Russian questions. Mr. Wallace passed six years in different parts of Russia for the express purpose of becoming acquainted with the several classes of the community.

Russia, by W. R. MORFILL, M.A. 1880. This is a little book of 226 pages, one of a series entitled "Foreign Countries and British Colonies," and treats of the physical geography of Russia; its Ethnology; Language, Literature, and Art; Chief Cities; Government; Political Life; Church; Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries. It has also a chapter on "Social life and its characteristics," and a short sketch of Russian History, together with some account of Polish History and Literature.

A more extensive work on the same subject by the same Author is just Announced as the 23rd volume of "The Story of the Nations."

Underground Russia, by STEPNIAK. 1883. This book, first published in Italian, contains a series of pen-portraits of some of the men and women who took an active part in the great revolutionary movement in Russia from 1871 to 1881. Here you may learn much of the characters and motives of the leaders of the extreme Terrorist party, and may learn how desperate is that disease which led educated, wealthy, refined men and women to risk all in the attempt to bring about a cure by means so desperate.

Russia under the Tsars, by STEPNIAK. Two vols. 1885. In this work which should be read by all who wish to understand the Russian question, the author first treats of the evolution of the Autocracy, in several chapters of historic sequence. Incidentally many matters of pressing interest are discussed, such as "the decided bent for freedom and strong aptitude for self-government" which are characteristic of the Russian people. In the second part there is a graphic account of the police proceedings against political suspects, with full descriptions of prisons, trials, and punishments. The third part is devoted to the Crusade against culture, the perusal of which will fully explain the frequent "disturbances" at the Universities. The book ends with an appeal which is peculiarly interesting in connection with our paper. "The public opinion of free countries has—as every Russian will admit—a most decisive and beneficial influence on Russian society. Every manifestation of sympathy for our liberative movement from the neighbouring

Figure 3: Bibliography 1 – Under Stepniak's Editorship

countries is an event for Russia, and has no less a moral effect on our people than a manifestation of opposition in Russia itself. That is the mode in which European countries can contribute to strengthening the Liberal movement of our country."

The *Westminster Review* of July 1885, in reviewing this book, says: "We hope Stepniak's appeal will be answered, and in the manner which he here indicates. We hope that some leading statesman will show the people of this country that whatever just grounds there may be for looking on the Government of Russia with jealousy and alarm, there is no ground for such feelings towards the Russian people; that a free self-determining Russia would be an element of peace in Europe; and endeavour to create in our people a sympathy with the struggles of the Russians to be free, and lead them to express it by every moral means. We give our absolute internal assent and consent to Stepniak's statement: 'Only the destruction of Russian Autocracy can constitute Russia a guarantee of peace, and free Europe from external danger;' and to his appeal to 'all who are for progress, for peace and humanity, to unite in a moral crusade against Russian despotism.'"

The Russian Storm-Cloud. BY STEPNIAK. 1886. This book is, as the author says, a political one, and is to be very carefully studied for the light it throws upon the social, economical, and intellectual conditions of Russia, as well as upon the corruption and cruelty of the great official class in Russia.

The Russian and French Prisons. BY P. KROPOTKINE. 1887. Prince Kropotkine made his first acquaintance with Russian prisons in Siberia in 1862, as a young Lieutenant of Cossacks made secretary to a committee for the reform of prisons. He spent more than two years in the Troubetzkoi bastion of the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul at St. Petersburg in 1874 and 1875, and escaped from the Nicholas Hospital to which he had been removed to die. He gives a deeply interesting account of Russian prisons, the exile in Siberia, and the unfortunates who are banished to far off Sakhalien. He also deals at length with Mr. Lansdell's views upon Russian prisons and the exile system, and shows how little opportunity he had to come to any reliable conclusions.

The Russian Peasantry, Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life, and Religion. BY STEPNIAK. 2 vols.

1888. This is the most important book of all which I have mentioned to those who desire to understand the position of the great majority of the Russian people. It is a painfully interesting, a very sad story. The second volume which deals with popular religion and dissent is of quite peculiar value, and must be full of new information and pregnant with fresh thought for most English readers. Such a book enables us more clearly than ever to distinguish between the Russian government which we have little cause to love, and the great, patient, suffering Russian people whose very patience under unspeakable trials compels our sympathy and respect.

Truth about Russia. BY W. J. STEAD. 1888. This is a large book upon a short visit to Russia, but, like everything which the author writes, is interesting, provoking, and suggestive. There is a strangely interesting struggle all through the portion which deals with the Government of Russia between the natural views of one who is a born liberal at bottom, in the truest and widest sense, and those which have been borne in upon him by subtle outside influences, but the liberalism prevails. I do not think that any one who begins to read the book will lay it willingly aside until he has finished it, and the end points admirably the moral of the whole. The author asks Count Tolstoi what he could advise the Emperor to do, if he were consulted. "Nationalise the land. Declare absolute liberty of conscience. And establish the liberty of the Press. If these three things are done, all the rest would come right."

The Career of a Nihilist: A Novel. BY STEPNIAK. 1 vol. Walter Scott, 1889. This book is a novel, and one which it is almost impossible to lay down, once you have taken up the book. But none the less anyone who wishes to understand the Russian question will find it very instructive, for it is the best and most vivid picture of the innermost thoughts and feelings of the men and women who devote their activity and their lives to the cause of their country. To quote the words of one of the best English critics: "However much one may have read of nihilism one cannot take up this book without feeling that now for the first time have the true motives, the dolorous fanaticism, the strange manner of life of its devotees, been made intelligible." R. S. W.

(To be continued.)

The paper may be had from the publisher at 1d. a copy, or 1½d. post free. Every subscriber to the fund of the Society from 1s. and upwards will receive all its publications, that shall be forthcoming, free of charge till further notice.

Published by Wm. Reeves, 185, Fleet Street, London. Printed at the New Fellowship Press, Thornton Heath.



Figure 4: Bibliography 2 – Under Stepniak's Editorship

Bibliography.

Translations from Poushkin; by CHARLES EDWARD TURNER, ENGLISH LECTOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. PETERSBURG. (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.)

When Poushkin was only fifteen years of age, Zhoukovsky—a fully-developed poet of great power, who may be compared to Walter Scott—never ventured to let any of his poems go forth to the public without first submitting it to the lad's criticism. Gradually the promising lad grew up into a poet, whom Prosper Mérimée unhesitatingly called the greatest among those of the first half of our century. Mind you, Mérimée was a Frenchman; he spoke of a contemporary of Victor Hugo, and yet he held that opinion. No wonder. "The Russian creative power and the Russian impressionability have harmoniously combined in Poushkin's splendid style," said Tourguenev. Indeed, Poushkin was an eminently national poet, but in this sense, that on whatever he wrote he put, consciously or unconsciously, the stamp of that feature of the national Russian character of which the same Mérimée spoke thus to Tourguenev: "Your poetry seeks first of all for truth, for genuineness—*beauty comes by itself, as a sequel*." But, looking at everything with Russian eyes, expressing everything in a truly Russian way, Poushkin was agitated by sentiments common to the whole of mankind, and thus he became a universal poet. And this poet, who deserves the most careful study and a most talented rendering into all civilised languages, remains practically unknown to the English-speaking world. His prose works, which, with the exception of the historical novel, "The Captain's Daughter," are only secondary productions of his genius, exist in English translations.* But his dramatic, lyric and epic creations in verse, wherein lies the centre of gravity of his power, are an unknown mine of gold yet to be worked up into English coin. This assertion is not to be modified much in view either of the existence of a rhymed verse translation of "Eugène Onéguine," by Lieut.-Col. Spalding (Macmillan, 1881), or by the appearance of Mr. Turner's volume. The latter book gives, practically, only some specimens of Poushkin's epic and dramatic poetry. There are fifteen lyric poems also, but it would be far better were they excluded from the book altogether. Surely a poet who has written over 500 lyric poems cannot be represented by fifteen of them, picked up at random, and very unfortunately too, and among which such gems as "The Prophet," "Whether through Noisy Streets I Stroll," "Peter the Great's Festival," &c., &c., are not to be found. We must, no doubt, feel grateful for the historical tragedy, "Boris Godunov," and two shorter, but not less exquisite dramatic creations, "Mozart and Saglieri," and "The Statue Guest," which appear now for the first time in English form. While the first gives us the many-sided picture of Russia at a turning-point of her history with a really Shakespearean richness of colour, veracity to life, subtlety of psychology and beauty of style, the other two show that Poushkin could be an equally great master in treating other than Russian subjects. Both "sketches," as Mr. Turner incorrectly terms them, are condensed tragedies—nothing less—one unrolling the sinister story of the envy of an inferior talent towards a real genius, who, because he is a genius, is grand, generous, unsuspecting and bright, like warm sunshine; the other treating the legend of Don Juan in an altogether original manner. Yet one who knows Poushkin in the Russian asks himself why the other short tragedies, "The Mermaid" and "The Covetous Knight,"—productions sufficient to build up the fame of any writer in any literature—were omitted. Similar gaps do we find in the selection of epic poems. "The Bronze Cavalier" and "Poltava" are there, but "Galoub," one of the most ripe creations taken from Circassian life, is absent, not to speak of the "Caucasian Captive," while the charming, somewhat satirical "novels in verse" of the lighter type, such as "The Count Noulin,"

* *Poushkin, A Russian Romance* (London: Kegan Paul, 1880; 3s. 6d.).—*Poushkin, A. S.*, "The Queen of Spades" and other Stories, translated, with Memoir, by Mrs. Sutherland Edwards (London: Chapman & Hall, 1892, 3s. 6d.).—*Poushkin, A. S.*, *Prose Tales*, translated by T. Keane (London: Bell, 1894, 6s.). This volume contains all the stories of the preceding one, except "History of the Village Gorokhovo," "Peter the Great's Negro," and "The Gipsies," while, on the other hand, the reader gets in "Prose Tales," "The Captain's Daughter" and "Dobrovsky," which are not to be found in Chapman's edition.

"The Cottage in Kolomna," &c., are not represented at all. Mr. Turner's rendering of the Russian original leaves much to be desired. Be it understood, in the first place, that only the dramas were written by Poushkin in blank verse. His epic and lyric poems, given in Mr. Turner's volume, were all exquisitely rhymed. The translator has sacrificed the rhyme in order to preserve a better command of the beauty of expression and correspondence with the original thought. We do not blame him for that; but then in these latter respects the rendering should be perfect, which it is certainly not. For example, the manly sonorous verses of "Poltava" are reduced to mere feebleness. Even the metre is not always kept to. Lines like—

"Eighteen long years I have kept it hoarded," are not infrequent. The very meaning is sometimes distorted. Thus, we read "Enchantress queen" instead of the original "You, sweet demon;" the hostess of the tavern in "Boris Godunov," instead of addressing two vagabond monks as "venerable fathers," is made to call them "honest sirs," and the words of Pimen, the annalist, "The blood-stained miscreant wore penitential garb," has been changed by the translator into—"And courtiers proud gave place to humble folk." The whole of the translation bears the stamp of extreme haste and carelessness. On the whole we may say that it is far from doing justice to the Russian poet, though it is good enough to awaken in the reader a strong wish to become better acquainted with Poushkin, and since it is so it must be recommended for reading.

Anglophobia; A French Warning to England. By URBAIN GOHIER. *National Review*, September, 1899.

This article is a scathing indictment of the present dominant spirit of France by the brilliant author of the now famous book, *L'Armée contre La Nation*. M. Gohier considers that there is every probability of France joining authoritarian Germany and Russia in an alliance against liberal England, and the reason he assigns is the success of the Jesuits in capturing the army, and to a considerable extent the finance and press of the country. The author's view of the Franco-Russian alliance is given in the following pregnant paragraph:

"The last hopes of the *Kevanche* vanished with the illusions of the Russian alliance. After having furnished several milliards to their former bugbears, the Cossacks, the French ultimately learnt that this mighty partnership was based upon existing territorial arrangements. In other words it was founded upon a renunciation of Alsace and Lorraine. So we were constrained to look on complacently while the high-minded Tsar encouraged the massacre of the Armenians, and subsequently violated his constitutional oaths in order to destroy the liberties of Finland. At last we realised that while the Russian Government was ready to support every reactionary movement in Europe, it would give no countenance to the claims of France against her conqueror."

Very striking quotations are given from *La Croix*, the infamous organ of the Fathers of the Assumption, which has an enormous circulation in France.

A Russian Province of the North; by A. P. ENGELHARDT, GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF ARCHANGEL. From the Russian, by H. COOKE (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 18s.).

This is a useful, interesting, well and profusely illustrated volume, dealing with the natural riches and commercial and productive possibilities of the immense northern region of European Russia. Its statistical figures must not be taken too seriously. The statistics collected by the Russian police testify generally more to the readiness of their imagination than to anything else, while those referring to nomadic tribes, moving about in snowy or marshy deserts, are of necessity fantastic. Yet the main body of facts is, in general outline, quite genuine, and presents no novelty. The resources of the territory were known and exploited by the Novgorod Republic so far back as the twelfth century. Peter the Great's eagle eye already discerned the naval significance of the White Sea and the Polar Ocean. Lomonossov, the first Russian scientist, pointed before 1764 to the never-freezing harbours of that ocean. In 1871 the Russian Geographical Society published a tract in which it foretold, in rough outline, all that is now found in Mr. Engelhardt's book as a novelty, and about the same time the question of the impending opening up and development of the Russian North was introduced into the general Russian press. Mr. Engelhardt only popularises old notions, adding to them the description of what has been at last undertaken by the Imperial Government during the past five years in the way of overland

Figure 5: Bibliography – Under Volkhovsky's Editorship

Conversely, Volkhovsky transformed the column into an authentic venue for the promotion of Russian literature in translations or of works about Russian culture in general, a turn that clearly reflected Volkhovsky's editorial project to unveil the genius of what he calls "the Russian race." Not only did the column started to be published regularly, but it also shortened its name to "Bibliography." Vassily Zhook, another famed Russian émigré, succeeded Watson in the process of selection of books and compilation of the column. No longer a mere list of works on Russia, the column became an authentic venue for well-informed book reviews: for example, the October issue 1899 published an extended review of Charles Edward Turner's translations of Alexander Pushkin's poems.

Interestingly, since April 1901, a new column entitled "Rossica" started to be published in *Free Russia*. This new column, which was compiled by Zhook himself, was far from being a mere alternative to the "Bibliography" section, as Peaker (2006b) claims, suffice it to notice that the two columns coexist in a considerable amount of issues. It is true, of course, that "Rossica" listed books on Russian affairs, and, for this reason, it could be associated with the bibliography column. However, it was originally intended to be a venue for "articles on Russia as they appear in magazines and reviews from all sides of the Atlantic" (Volkhovsky April 1901), and its extended title was "Rossica: In British and American Periodicals". As the editorial note of the April issue 1901 declares, in fact, "by opening this special column we hope, with the generous aid of the industrious bibliographer, greatly to strengthen the position on and reference concerning things Russian" (Ibid.). This column is of great interest particularly because it gives a sense of what kind of English and American periodicals published articles on all things Russian, what was the picture of Russia that they conveyed and, at the same time, what topics were debated in the Late-Victorian and Edwardian press. Interestingly, Russian literature had a major part to play in this column. These facts do not only shed further light on the multiple

connections and cross-references between *Free Russia* and other English and American newspapers and journals, but they also contribute to strengthening the literary and artistic status of the Anglo-Russian journal. In other words, the multiplication of columns dedicated to the promotion of works on Russia complied with Volkhovsky's editorial project.

The editor's sheer interest in awakening the western world to the geniuses of the Russians gave, as we have seen, a remarkable literary turn to *Free Russia*, a journal which, since its very inception, has always shows a distinctively ideological and political engagement. Interestingly, Volkhovsky's concerns for literature and the arts are not only embedded in the use of visual materials or in the proliferation of columns listing literary works, but also in the publication of biographical articles on Russian literary personalities. It is true, of course, that an extract from S. N. Krivenko's biography of the Russia satirical author Saltykov (Shchedrin) had already been published in May 1893, and that it was not, therefore, an unprecedented phenomenon. However, Stepniak's choice to introduce a Russian satirical writer, whose works reflected the Russians' dissatisfaction with and critical attitude to the Tsarist regime, to the English reader complied with his plan to awaken the British sensibilities to the cause for Russian freedom also through literary works. In fact, he observes that "[Schedrin] united the mind and soul of a political thinker and agitator, for whom his talent was only a weapon for promoting the cause of progress and liberty in his dearly beloved fatherland" (Stepniak May 1893).

On the contrary, analysing Volkhovsky's biographical article on Turgenev, the reader receives a completely different impression: discussing Miss Ethel M. Arnold's latest translation of Turgenev's letters to his French friends published by T. Fisher Unwin, the editor observes that

Whatever we may think of its contents, we cannot but feel pleased, almost touched, by the mere fact of its appearance in English. It is sufficient to peruse the preface of the lady translator to see that this book in its English version is the outcome of the well-earned admiration of a foreigner for the great Russian master of fiction. [...] Tourguenev has shown to his people,

as in a mirror, the best and the worst of their soul. He has been largely instrumental in his country's political and social life [...], he has contributed much to the beautifying of the Russian language, and he stands before other nations as a first-class pattern of what Russian genius can produce in literary art (Volkhovsky April 1898:26).

Volkhovsky's praising the literary talent of the Russian master of prose departs from Stepniak's praise of Shchedrin's ideology: eager to awaken the English reading public to the Russian literary talent, the nature and tone of his article come as no surprise, nor does the growing presence of literary articles, the one celebrating the centenary of Pushkin among others (FR May 1899).

Changes in both style and content of the periodical, therefore, marked the transition from Stepniak's to Volkhovsky's editorship. The considerable number of literary works that started to be published in *Free Russia* from 1894 looms large in this respect. It is true that Russian literature in translation had always occurred in the journal, suffice it to call to mind the publication of Schedrin's short story entitled "The Deceitful Editor and the Credulous Reader," in April 1891. Still, it was only under Volkhovsky's editorship that Russian literature became a major concern. It may of interest to acknowledge the genre that were published in *Free Russia*, as well as their diachronic evolution.

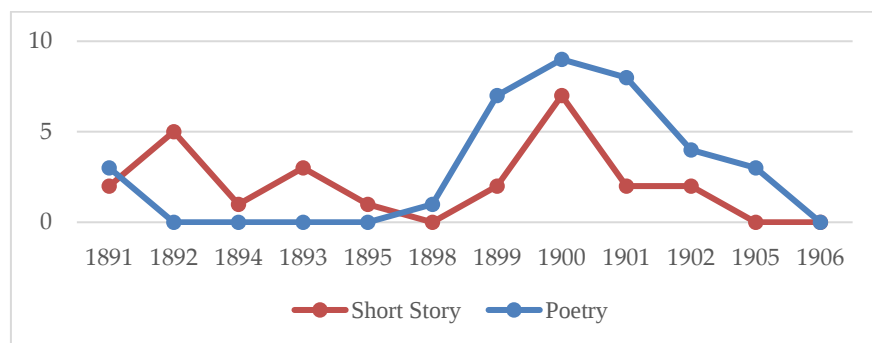


Figure 6: Russian Literature in *Free Russia*.

As shown in the graph, poetry and the short story were the two literary genres that *Free Russia* published in its pages. Interestingly, a lyric drama by the Russian poet Apollon Maykov (1821-1897) was also published in the journal in April 1901, but that was only an isolated attempt to inscribe drama in the literary

panorama of the journal.⁹³ Exploring the diachronic evolution of poetry and the short story genres, it is possible to notice that, apart from 1891, a genre has always predominated over the other. During the years of Stepniak's editorship, that is to say from 1890 to 1894, the short story was the privileged literary genre: poetry, apart from an isolated occurrence in 1891, was completely absent from *Free Russia*. This choice in literary matters, I argue, reflected Stepniak's editorial plan: being less elitist than poetry, the short story could reach and appeal to a broader reading public from all social classes. Given these characteristics, it was the literary genre that embodied Stepniak's idea of literature as a means of propaganda. The presence of short stories about religious and political persecutions, outrages, exiles to Siberia, conspiracies and plans to escape is, therefore, not surprising.

From 1899 translations from Russian literature increased significantly, reaching its peak in 1900. This unprecedented literary burst, however, was not only limited to the short story, but it also included poetry. In fact, from 1899 to 1908, poetry resumed sway and became the leading literary genre in *Free Russia*. It is true, of course, that short stories were still published in the periodical. However, the unprecedented proliferation of poetry after Volkhovsky took over full editorial duties could be interpreted as another marker of his distinctive editorial policy. His plan to challenge Victorian stereotypes about the Russians and to show the genius and the creativity of the Russian people undoubtedly had a significant part to play in his editorial choices, as we have already seen. Poetry, alongside light-hearted and folkloristic stories, N. Gogol's and A. Chekhov's works among others, contributed to shedding light on the most artistic aspects of the Russian genius. We should bear in mind, however, that the proliferation of poetry and *escapades* in *Free Russia* was not at odds with the émigrés'

⁹³ The drama resorts to the classic tradition and reinvent it in the light of the present state of affairs in Russia. It revolves around the deaths of Seneca, Lucanus and Lucius. The ignorance of the masses, the hypocrisy and the unscrupulous power of the governors, conspirators and plans to escape are the key motifs of the drama, all issues that were urgent in late-19th-century Russia.

revolutionary propaganda: by unveiling the genius of the Russian mind, Volkhovsky wished to draw the attention of western readers to the literary potential of the Russians, did the government not obstruct and prevent its evolution. Moreover, short stories about political violence and social injustice still occurred in the journal, thereby further exemplifying the synergy between art and radicalism that was part of Volkhovsky's editorial plan.

From 1905, Soskice succeeded Volkhovsky as editor of *Free Russia* and, as the graph indicates, the publication of Russian literature in translation was completely abandoned in 1906. It was never to be published again, even after Volkhovsky's resumed his editorial position. In the light of these observations, it is possible to conclude that *Free Russia*, although not a literary magazine or review of the modernist type, engaged in the dissemination of Russian literature in translation. Volkhovsky's editorship triggered the artistic turn of the journal: without undermining the ideological traits of the periodical, Volkhovsky transformed it into a cultural catalyser, a hub of Anglo-Russian counter culture.

2.2.2 Russian Literature in *Free Russia*: Translation Practices

Russian literature in English translation is, as we have seen, one of the hallmarks of *Free Russia*: conceived both as a means of propaganda and the expression of the Russian genius, it concurred in making the journal an institution of Anglo-Russianness. Fiction, in fact, aimed at "reforming English conceptions of the Russian national character" (Peaker 2006b:6), that is to say at generating sympathy, building myths and shattering stereotypes. While translation scholarship can point out how inaccurate these translations from Russian into English were, thereby calling attention to the value of a translation, this is not necessarily the most interesting approach. In trying to discuss their cultural implications, it is important to pay close attention to the translation practices in use.

When analysing the translation practices adopted in *Free Russia*, greater attention should be paid to the literary works that were translated into English during the years of Volkhovsky's editorship, for they encapsulate urgent issues

about translation and have significant cultural implications. While under Stepniak's leadership translators were anonymous figures and no declaration of their translation practices was ever mentioned in the prefatory note to the translated text, things underwent an inversion of tendency under Volkhovsky's editorship. Not only translators' names, but also introductory statements clarifying the nature of the translation that the reader was about to read started to be published in the magazine. A telling example in this respect is the introductory note to the anonymous Russian short story entitled "On the Etape" which was serialised in *Free Russia* from July to September 1895, a story about the Russian exile system revolving around the deportation of political convicts.

The following sketch gives a good picture of the everyday life of the common culprit-gangs on their way across Siberia *étape* to *étape*. Although the sketch was not meant to give a stenographic account of what happened at a particular time and *étape* with a particular gang consisting exactly of the persons described, it is still a faithful rendering of what actually takes place. The author, a talented and well-educated young man, has himself made the long and tedious journey across Siberia by *étape* as a political exile, and his literary talent enabled him to choose only such material as was typical, and also to abstain from exaggeration in either direction. The sketch appeared in Russia in one of the best papers and passed the censorship. We give it here in a somewhat condensed translation owing to lack of space. – ED. (Volkhovsky July 1895:62)

The accurate authorial choices of events and anecdotes that the editor largely praises are at odds with one of the periodical codes of the journal, that is to say the length of each issue. This is the reason why the source text was manipulated and published in a shorter or "condensed" version in the English language. This example casts the notions of authorial intention and style under scrutiny, flouting the canon of accuracy in favour of abridgement and adaptation. Another example in these terms is the English translation of Gogol's "On Christmas Eve" by the editor himself. In his introductory note, in fact, Volkhovsky writes:

Unfortunately, we have been forced, through lack of room, to drop all the episodes of the story, except those which form its main thread, and even this we have to curtail. This is a great pity as all the omitted adventures and passages are most funny and amusing and also make the reader acquainted with many features of Oukrainian [sic] peasant life. We trust, however, that even in its present imperfect form our version of "On Christmas Eve" has preserved sufficient of its sparkling humour and poetic touch to give some idea of Gogol's genius. F.V. [Volkhovsky December 1899]

Volkhovsky's intention, therefore, was not to offer a valuable and competitive English version of the Russian text: on the contrary, the editor only aimed at giving a sense, however vague, of the Russian literary talent. This idea is also supported by the fact that in some of those cases where want of space led to the publication of an abridged version of the source text, the passages that were cut out were summarised by either the translator or the editor himself, in order to facilitate the reader's understanding. A remarkable example in this respect is Maykov's drama "Three Deaths" (April 1901). Similarly, some other times, as in the case of Chekhov's "Sharp Beyond my years" (May 1900) translated by Vera Volkhovsky, the incipit of the short story has been cut off without even mentioning the abridgement. The source text, in fact opens with the following paragraphs:

Компания охотников ночевала в мужицкой избе на свежем сене. В окна глядела луна, на улице грустно пиликала гармоника, сено издавало приторный, слегка возбуждающий запах. Охотники говорили о собаках, о женщинах, о первой любви, о бекасах. После того как были перебраны косточки всех знакомых барынь и была рассказана сотня анекдотов, самый толстый из охотников, похожий в потемках на копну сена и говоривший густым штаб-офицерским басом, громко зевнул и сказал:

— Не велика штука быть любимым: барыни на то и созданы, чтоб любить нашего брата. А вот, господа, был ли кто-нибудь из вас ненавидим, ненавидим страстно, бешено? Не наблюдал ли кто-нибудь из вас восторгов ненависти? А?

Ответа не последовало.

— Никто, господа? — спросил штаб-офицерский бас. — А вот я был ненавидим, ненавидим хорошенькой девушкой и на себе самом мог изучить симптомы первой ненависти. Первой, господа, потому что то было нечто как раз противоположное первой любви. Впрочем, то, что я сейчас расскажу, происходило, когда я еще ничего не смыслил ни в любви, ни в ненависти. Мне было тогда лет восемь, но это не беда: тут, господа, важен не он, а она. Ну-с, прошу внимания. В один прекрасный

летний вечер, перед заходом солнца, я и моя гувернантка Зиночка, очень милое и поэтическое создание, незадолго перед тем выпущенное из института, сидели в детской и занимались. (Chekov 1976:303)

The party of sportsmen spent the night in a peasant's hut on some newly mown hay. The moon peeped in at the window; from the street came the mournful wheezing of a concertina; from the hay came a sickly sweet, faintly troubling scent. The sportsmen talked about dogs, about women, about first love, and about snipe. After all the ladies of their acquaintance had been picked to pieces, and hundreds of stories had been told, the stoutest of the sportsmen, who looked in the darkness like a haycock, and who talked in the mellow bass of a staff officer, gave a loud yawn and said: "It is nothing much to be loved; the ladies are created for the purpose of loving us men. But, tell me, has any one of you fellows been hated -- passionately, furiously hated? Has any one of you watched the ecstasies of hatred? Eh?"

No answer followed.

"Has no one, gentlemen?" asked the staff officer's bass voice. "But I, now, have been hated, hated by a pretty girl, and have been able to study the symptoms of first hatred directed against myself. It was the first, because it was something exactly the converse of first love. What I am going to tell, however, happened when I knew nothing about love or hate. I was eight at the time, but that made no difference; in this case it was not he but *she* that mattered. Well, I beg your attention. One fine summer evening, just before sunset, I was sitting in the nursery, doing my lesson with my governess, Zinotchka, a very charming and poetical creature who had left boarding school not long before. (Chekhov 1920:257)

On the contrary, Vera's version begins as follow: "I was then about eight years old, but that does not matter; in this case, gentlemen, not he but she is of importance. Well, I beg your attention. One beautiful summer evening, before sunset, I am my governess, Zinotchka – a very sweet and poetic little creature, not long from a boarding school, were sitting in the nursery at our lessons" (Chekhov May 1900:55). The authorial intention here is significantly undermined: this "shift"⁹⁴ calls attention to one of the most urgent issues in translation studies,

⁹⁴ For an account of the evolutions of the notion of "shift" in translation studies, see Toury 1995; Catford 2000; Blum-Kulka 2000.

that is to say if a translation can “communicate to its readers the understanding of the foreign text that foreign readers have” (Venuti 2000:473), which still remains a source of intense debate.

Abridgment of the source text, however, was not only dictated by want of space: the process of manipulation, in fact, was dictated by the translator’s lack of proficiency in the language of the source text. In these cases, the process of translation took place in the light of another foreign version of the texts, either German or, more frequently, French. This is precisely the case of Alice Stone Blackwell, who contributed translations of Russian poetry to *Free Russia*. In a letter to David Soskice dated 10 march 1905, she thanks the editor for sending her some Russian poems to translate: these she would give “to her Russian Jewish girl to be put into English prose, and then it will give [Blackwell] pleasure to versify them” (STH/DS/1/BL/6). Blackwell’s translation practice is exposed in details in another letter to the editor dated 11 November 1904:

Thank you for telling me of that French translation of Nekrasof [sic]. I shall send for it. It will enable me to pick out the poems that I like best, and to get some friend to make me a prose translation of them which I may versify. For it is a mistake to think that an English versified translation can be made better from a translation in good French verse than from one in poor French or English prose. In a versified translation, the translator is always obliged to alter the original poem somewhat, and add things to it in order to make it rhyme. Then if someone takes this versified translation, and puts it into verse in another language, he has to alter it again and put in more things to make it rhyme, and so each successive translation would depart more and more widely from the meaning of the original. Therefore, for my purpose a literal translation, however poor, would enable me to make a more correct versified translation than I could make from the best translation in verse. It would not matter even if the prose translation were quite ungrammatical, provided it conveyed the right meaning. Perhaps you can find someone who will help me about this. But do not give yourself much trouble about it, for I know that you are overloaded with more important work. Sincerely yours, Alice S. Blackwell (STH/DS/1/BL/1).

Although these translations by Blackwell were never published in *Free Russia*, her letter is a document of great significance. Blackwell’s English versions

of Russian poems were not only mediated by their French versions, as she declares, but also by what she terms “prose translations,” which sound more like paraphrases of the source texts. These prose versions, which were likely to be written by a friend of her proficient in the French language, was the starting point for Blackwell’s English one: her idea, in fact was to write an accurate translation, “a literal translation” as she herself declares. Lacking any substantial command of the language of the source text, she resorted to French prose versions, for, unlike versified translations, they were, in her opinion, deprived of the rhetorical strategies the translator resorted to in his/her struggle to keep the rhyme and metrics of the original. Thus, a translation mediated by another versified translation in another language would mark a further departure from the source text. However thought provoking, Blackwell’s letter sheds light on the role of the translator as an adapter, a practice that, as Rachel May observes, was a frequent practice in 19th-century English versions of Russia texts (May 1994). The translator, whose work was largely informed by other foreign renderings of the source text, could not offer to the reading public a sense of the form and style of the original Russian version, thereby focusing on its content for propagandistic reasons, as in the case of *Free Russia*.

Alongside the manipulative one, another practice of translation sprouted up at the end of the 19th century. Inaugurated by Constance Garnett and Stepniak in the 1890s, collaborative practices involve at least two translators, a native speaker of Russian, and one of the target language, English in this case. In so doing, the translators struggled to convey to the English audience a more accurate version of the source text, negotiating the renderings of socio-political meanings embedded in the Russian style and vocabulary. Volkhovsky’s collaboration with Charlotte Sidgwick over the translation of the poem *The Monument* by Pushkin, published in *Free Russia* in March 1899, is a telling example in this respect. Not to mention that they also cooperated in translating

N. Ogaryov's poem *Summer*, (FR June 1901).⁹⁵ Although similar examples in *Free Russia* are not many, their sole presence stands witness to the fact that such a collaborative translation practice was not ignored and contributed to increasing the Anglo-Russian status of the journal.

Despite lacking accuracy, we should not be tempted to downplay the importance of translations in *Free Russia*. As Lawrence Venuti more broadly observes, the foreign text undergoes a "domesticating process," resulting from the choice of a texts for translation first of all, alongside the discursive strategies or practices adopted to translate it (Venuti 2000). Rather than communicating a foreign text, translators facilitate a domestic understanding of the text, thereby hinting at the presence of a cross-cultural dialogue between the two cultures that is mediated by the domestic. Considered in the light of this theoretical framework, and not in terms of accuracy and value, the English translations of Russian literature that occurred in *Free Russia* carry crucial cultural implications. Thanks to the émigrés' sheer interest in their national culture and literary traditions, authors such as Shchedrin and Chekhov entered the English literary panorama through the periodical market. As the editor writes in an introductory note to Chekhov's short story "Sharp Beyond my Years," "some of [Chekhov's] works have been translated into German, French, Polish and Oukrainian [sic]; yet in English "Sharp Beyond my Years" is, so far as we know, the first to appear" (Volkhovsky May 1900). This claim is supported by the fact that *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* (2000) dates the first English publication of Chekhov in 1903. In other words, *Free Russia* expanded the borders of materials publishable in the English periodical press, for it inscribed the Russian masters of both prose and poetry in the literary map of England.

⁹⁵ The translation practice based on Anglo-Russian collaboration gained momentum in the first decade of the 20th century, as soon as members of the famed Bloomsbury group, the Woolfs, Kathrine Mansfield and D. H. Lawrence among others started collaborating with Samuel Solomonovich Koteliatsky, a Russian Jew who moved to England. For a well-informed study on these collaborations, see Davison 2011, 1012, 2014; Beasley 2013.

If translation, as Venuti observes, is always ideological, for it combines sets of values, beliefs and representations linked to a certain historical moment and social position in the receiving culture (Venuti 2000:485), it is also true that the message that a text conveys is similarly enmeshed into its own cultural, linguistic, sociological and ideological features. Resulting from its own time, and for this very reason expressing anti autocratic stances, the Russian texts that were published in the magazine are not only a “linguistic contact zones” between the foreign and the translating culture (Ibid:477), but also, and most importantly, the expression of cross-cultural fertilizations. In other words, translations underline a constant negotiation between the foreign and the domestic or local.

Translation, therefore, involves the importing of foreign ideas that could awaken the domestic readership to foreign concerns, and this is precisely what happens in *Free Russia*. Translations did not only offer the English readers an insight into the Russian creative mind, but they also contributed to disseminating the émigrés’ ideology. Translating a text, therefore, means to invent for a foreign text a new readership that shares with other readers, both domestic and foreigner, the concern for the text and its embedded motifs (Ibid.). In other words, translations foster the creation of communities of readers, that, as it happens for *Free Russia*, are not imagined national communities (Anderson 1983), but heterogeneous ones: they attract, in fact, readers from different cultures, precisely from English and Russian ones. Considered as sites of unexpected grouping, English translations in *Free Russia* contributed to shape the community-building aspect of reading, a form of cosmopolitan Anglo-Russianness that is embedded in some translation practices themselves.

2.3 Poetic Patterns

As we have seen, *Free Russia* aimed at becoming a space of public debate, addressing readers with different political affiliations, as well as Englishmen and Russians alike. In so doing, the journal entered the lively debate on communities, challenging the well-established 19th-century idea of national communities and

triggering the negotiation of a new transnational Anglo-Russian network. In other words, *Free Russia* became an authentic institution of Anglo-Russianness, a site of public debate where a new community of readers sprouted up. Interestingly, the blurring of national borders and the creation of a transnational network is not only embedded in the magazine genre as such, but it is also further emphasised by literature. Translations from the Russian, in fact, contributed to circulating foreign literature in England, that is to say to find for Russian literature a new readership abroad. Favours the encounter with foreign forms and aesthetics, literary translations contributed to shaping the Anglo-Russian cultural and intellectual atmosphere of the magazine.

Bearing in mind the importance that literature in translation had in the negotiation of an Anglo-Russian ideological and, most importantly, intellectual network, an analysis of the literary forms published in *Free Russia* becomes compelling. As I have already mentioned in the previous paragraph, poetry and the short story were the literary genres that most frequently occurred in the journal. The choice of the literary genres to be published in the journal is of no lesser importance, for it calls attention to issues connected to the periodical code itself, length in particular, as well as to editorial intentions.

This fact notwithstanding, my analysis here departs from the traditional classification of literature into genres. In the great amount of literary works that *Free Russia* published in the time span of twenty-five years, I identified three recurrent motifs, that is to say those of exile, conspiracy and community building, motifs that hallmark the émigrés' activities in both Russia and England. The corpus of the literary works that tackle these motifs consists in seventeen short stories, a lyric drama, and ten poems, both anonymous and authored works. Taking into account both poetry and short stories alike, and moving generic differences on the background, I wish to offer an insight into the motifs that these literary works articulate, in order to show to what extent did they contribute to furthering the sense of an Anglo-Russian public.

2.3.1 Exile and Conspiracy

The sheer amount of works tackling oppression and persecution result from the editors' eagerness to cast under western eyes the real condition of Russia. The imposing presence of the motif of exile in the literary works published in *Free Russia* comes, therefore, as no surprise. N. Ogaryov's poem "Summer" published in June 1901 tackles the issue of exile to London, which is clearly evoked by the synecdoche "Thames". Contrasting the "cosmopolite" and industrial nature of London's urban geography with the Russian Steppe, the author evokes his past memories and his sentimental attachment to his fatherland, from which he had to depart: "for England's industry has grown to be Master of men, till only some are free. ... / Let us applaud! Myself will very soon / Sing hymns to evolution – mighty boon! / Yet, am I wild at heart, and yearn and pine / For the vast steppes – that native land of mine!" (Ogaryov June 1901). Calling attention to issues of loss, detachment from the fatherland and resettlement, the poem sheds light on some cultural and existential implications that the practice of exile entails.

The motif of exile, however, is not only articulated in terms of emigration to another country: as the majority of literary works published in *Free Russia* demonstrate, exile is to be intended as a synonym for deportation to Siberia, a distinctive Russian phenomenon taking place within Russia's national borders. The poem "Where Makar ne'er drives his lambkin" by Nekrasov published in *Free Russia* in March 1905 is a telling example in this respect.

Through the forest dark and dreary speed the horses, three in-spanned,
While the winter wind is raging with the snow on either hand,
And he yoke-bell high is calling;
In the carriage a policeman sits in state and high command.
See his grand moustaches sweeping! See his regimental grace!
See his pose of perfect triumph, for beside him in the place –
In a quiet that's appalling –
Sits a prisoner, under twenty, still and deathly in the face. [...]
"Where Makar ne'er drives his lambkins,"
Say the peasants in their proverb – to Siberia's furthest stream!
Tell us traveller, bleached and piteous, for what criminal intent

On thy neighbour, or what murder, art thou forth to exile sent? [...]
Not a word. But ever forward to Siberia; northward bent. [...]
Ever onwards to Siberia, ever onwards, never pause.
"O though boy, confess and tell us all that darker crime of thine –
In the future to enfranchise Holy Russia – home of thine." (Nekrasov March
1905:38)⁹⁶

The weakness of the young prisoner is here compared to the mildness and innocence of the lamb in the peasant saying, a comparison that clearly evokes the idea of the sacrifice of the innocent. The convict, in fact, is being transported to Siberia for sympathising with revolutionary ideology. The impotence of the young prisoner clashes with the strength and the power of the policeman, who is probably responsible for his arrest. The semantic fields of movement and speed are crucial in the poem, for they beat the time of the prisoner's deportation, which sees neither halts nor pauses. More broadly, the line "ever onwards to Siberia, ever onwards, never pause" could identify the deportation system as such, seeming a never-ending practice.

A similar scene is also described in a short story by Korolenko entitled "A Queer Girl", published in instalments from April 1892 to May 1892.

"Look here, Gavrilov, I'll recommend you for promotion; have you ever been on a despatch?" "Never, your honour," said I. "Well then," said he, "the next time there's a despatch, I'll appoint you junior, so as you can get into the way of it; the work's easy enough." [...] We got to the fortress all right, and the papers were given out, and then we stood and waited. I got wandering what the lady would be like. [...] At last they brought her out, and I saw she was quite young, - just a slip of a thing, - she looked no more than a child. She's got fair hair [...] and her cheeks were as red as fire when she came out; but afterwards she was quite pale, quite white all the journey. [...] Off we started. We had to drive through the town, and she kept looking out of the window of the carriage, as if she wanted to say good-bye to everything, or maybe to see her friends. [...] We travelled for three days and

⁹⁶ Italics in the original.

nights without stopping to sleep. You see, it's said in the rules that we're not to stop anywhere. (Korolenko April 1892:11-4)

The story revolves around a sergeant who "goes on dispatch" for the first time, that is to say he is put in charge of deporting a convict to Siberia. The prisoner resembles the one described by Nekrasov, for she looks pale and unfit to undergo a long journey towards the northern region of the country: the fact that the convict is, in this case, a young girl, exemplifies that women were not spared transportation. Once again, the journey to the north features as a restless and monotonous one.

Exile is also debated in terms of mass deportations, as described in "On the Etape", an anonymous short story published in *Free Russia* from July to September 1895. In this case, halts and pauses beat the time of the journey to Siberia.

The road – that road of immemorial banishment and suffering – was now transformed into a wide track of thick and deep mud. The gang, No. 26, consisting exclusively of single men, was nearing to the locked gates of the Khotoy *étape*, to the accompaniment of the monotonous clanking of the chains. "Mates," whispered one of the prisoners at pleased surprise, "the *semeynye* [prisoners accompanied by their families and single girls] are here in the *étape*. [...] On the way people said the Stony River was in flood, and there is no crossing it. The *semeynye* are here, and we shall be stopped too. We shall stop for a week." (Anonymous July 1895:52-3)

Unlike stories of individual deportation, hallmarked by the sense of speed and non-stop movement, "On the Etape" offers an insight into a different form of exile. Mass transportation, in fact, are characterised by an alternation of movement and pauses, that is to say of mobility and immobility, shedding further light on the importance geography has in these stories. Not only the road, as it happened in the examples reported above, but also various *étapes*, with their courtyards, communal buildings and dorms become part of the experience of exile. In other words, proceeding at different paces among the spaces of exile and deportation, prisoners seem to metaphorically draw a map of their experience of

exile, a geography whose meridian is “that road of immemorial banishment and suffering” (Ibid.).⁹⁷

As it turns out, exile is a recurrent motif in the literature about persecution and oppression that was published in *Free Russia*. However, exile did not necessarily translate into the exiles’ passive acceptance of their condition: on the contrary, some of them were eager to break away from imprisonment, as historical evidence demonstrate. At a literary level, exile is intimately connected to the motif of conspiracy, suffice it to remember “The Two Friends” by V. Debagory-Mokrievich (FR June 1892) and “On the Etape” itself.

Debagory-Mokrievish’s story deals with the Polish insurrection of 1863, which resulted in mass deportation to Siberia:

A stream of fresh exiles was constantly flowing into Siberia. The prisons were overfilled with Poles; in Irkutsk especially the crowding together of exiles reached an incredible degree. Among the great mass of people bound together by close ties, and hating the government from the bottom of their hearts, there grew up, little by little, the idea of organising an insurrection in Siberia itself. The Irkutsk prison was the central point of the conspiracy. The main idea was to effect a general escape from exile. Knowing that in spring they would be sent back to work on the Krougomorsky Road, they decided to carry out their plan from thence. The leader of the conspiracy was a certain Tzielinski. (Debagory-Mokrievish June 1892:13-4)

⁹⁷ The coexistence of movement and stasis in the experience of exile to Siberia also recurs in “The Dirge of the Tayga” a short story by Yelpatienvsky. *Free Russia* published the first chapter of the story only (February 1900). Contrary to the examples reported above, in this story the main character is already in Siberia. Monotony, therefore, is not to be intended in terms of unceasing movement: on the contrary, it is the hallmark of the Siberian landscape and of exile life, which is a life of confinement. Only the flux of the character’s thoughts seems to break free from the monotony and repetitively of exile life: “his head began to swim and it seemed to him that the stream was dragging and carrying him along with it.” The juxtaposition of thoughts and water is a motif that will be widely treated in modernist texts.

In this context, conspiracy is to be interpreted in terms of formulating a plan to escape from confinement or penal servitude. Interestingly, the motifs of conspiracy and escape are related to the dimension of time.

"I think we ought to have a little patience, and –"

"Patience! You seem to have forgotten the prisons and étapes pretty fast. I should have thought there had been patience enough"

"I haven't forgotten anything, but I think we must be patient from sheer necessity," answered Zarembo with irritation.

"You seem ready enough to forget how our people died of fever and scurvy out there last summer!" Sharamovich went on without heeding him; - "you can wait if you like, but we ... Gentlemen! – Whatever we may think about this insurrection; however immature we may consider it; remember *it is already begun*. [...] I tell you again, the only thing we can do is to join the rising. Now, gentlemen, there is no time to talk. [...] A scene of incredible confusion began; some rushed to the door, other stood against it to prevent their egress, and held it fastened. "The Moskals have found out!" cried someone forcing his way in from the yard. This turned out to be a false alarm, caused by a few soldiers passing on their way to relieve the sentry. But the momentary shock brought the excited people to their senses; they saw that delay would be fatal, and, rushing upon the startled soldiers, instantly disarmed them. (Ibid. July 1892)

As Verhoeven observes, in conspiracy literature a dual perception of time emerges. Time, in fact, could be either dilated or accelerated depending on whether the conspirators wish to keep waiting for the right moment, (accuracy and extension of time) or they are about to act (acceleration of time) (Verhoeven 2011:133). This dualism is clearly articulated by the Russian author in his short story, as patience is counterbalanced by impatience and desire to act, thereby articulating two different temporalities. As a result, conspiracy entails new relationships to time, which is alternatively slowed down or accelerated, resulting in the dichotomy of inertia and hyper-speed that characterises the insurrection. "Rumours of the insurrection very soon reached Irkutsk and energetic measures were taken at once;" "All was done with extraordinary speed;" "no time must be lost in attacking the enemy" are just a few examples of

the pervasiveness of the semantic field of time in relation to the motif of conspiracy.

A similar textualization of conspiracies occurs in “On the Etape,” particularly in the concluding section of the short story.

[The sentinel] did not, however, finish his narrative. An unusual sound struck his ear, and he turned round. The fact was that while he was busy talking one of the boards which covered the foundation of the *étape* from the outside was cautiously removed, and a figure appeared from the opening and crept on all fours into the woods. Another followed, but unfortunately touched the boards, and the sound awakened the sentinel’s attention. His countenance at once manifested despair; for a second or two he didn’t move, not knowing what to do. His clumsy little figure represented a picture of utter helplessness. Then, in a childish, whining way, he shouted, “He has run away; stop him!” The first of the runaways disappeared in the thicket. [...] Krouglyak and another convict sentenced to the mines for life were not to be found. The search discovered the existence of a tunnel [...]. Two pairs of broken fetters were also found in the tunnel. Three days passed. The runaways were not to be found. (Anonymous September 1895:79)

Contrary to the previous example, which deals with the conspirators planning their attack, here conspiracy is represented from the point of view of the sentinel who is supervising the gates of the *étape*. Once again, time is of remarkable importance in the short story: however, the form of temporality that is of interest here is no so much the one that is described, that is to say the sentinel being unable for a few seconds to act and his sudden countermeasures to capture the runaways, but the one that is not described. In fact, the presence of a tunnel and of broken chains implies that the conspiracy has been carefully planned and conspirators were only waiting for the right moment to escape. In other words, wait and patience, although not described, enter the timespan of the short story, as they are intimately connected to plotting the escape. Unlike “The two Friends,” where impatience was evoked by the semantic field of speed, in “On the Etape” it is the narrative style that bears witness to hyper-speed as opposed to inertia. In fact, not only is the escape described in a few lines, but the focus on the sentinel’s bewilderment shed further light on the suddenness and rapidity of

the escape. Of no lesser importance is the dimension of sound: the fact that “the sound of the footsteps of the escaped prisoner on the fallen wood gradually died away amongst the trees” (Anonymous September 1895) contributes to increasing the perception of hurry and speed as opposed to immobility.

As a result, the literary motifs of exile and conspiracy, which are intimately connected to the Russian historical and cultural contexts, contribute to *Free Russia's* ideological propaganda in Britain, unveiling social and humanitarian issues, as well as the political superpower of the Russian autocracy. Moreover, they also inscribed a distinctive Russian approach to time in the English literary map, resulting from the national historical and social contests: the revolutionists' idiosyncratic approach to time translates here into the creation of a revolutionary aesthetics of time, hallmarked by the juxtaposition of different temporalities. In other words, these motifs are both hallmarks of Russian national history and literary creativity.

It is also interesting to notice that the English reading public was exposed Russian aesthetics at a crucial time in the British cultural and literary history, one hallmarked by the eagerness to revivify national literature, to find an alternative to exhausted traditional forms. Within this framework, *Free Russia* favoured the circulation not only of Russian ideologies, but also of the country's aesthetics, thereby triggering the creation of a transnational literary imagination: motifs such as the refusal of and opposition to institutions, be they social, political, cultural or literary, the motif of exile and uprootedness, as well as the emphasis upon the dimension of time and space are all aspects of crucial importance for in the cultural and literary scene of *fin-de-siècle* Britain, aspects that are extensively discussed and problematised in proto-modernist and modernist texts. Consequently, cosmopolitan encounters could have contributed to reinvigorating the English literary tradition, informing modernist readings and textualizations of major cultural, social and literary concerns.

2.3.2 Community Building: Practices of Reading, Education and Propaganda

Exile and conspiracy are, as we have seen, recurrent motifs in *Free Russia's* literary panorama. Although these motifs call attention to the social, humanitarian and ideological issues that were afflicting 19th-century Russia, it is worth mentioning that these are not the only questions at stake. Community building, as we have seen, is crucial in the analysis of *Free Russia*. What is of interest at this point of my investigation is to try to lift the veil on how the motif of community is textualised in the pieces of literature published in the magazine, in the hope of furthering our understanding of *Free Russia's* cultural and literary role.

The motif of community clearly occurs in the short story "On the Etape," where the exiles call themselves "mates" (Ibid:80), thereby evoking the sense of comradeship that shared experiences, in this case that of transportation, entail. The anonymous poem "To the Judge," published in *Free Russia* in December 1900, articulates similar concerns: "I took on me for garb the peasants' own, / I 'criminally' laid aside my shoes, / Stepped down among my brothers, where they groan, / and toil to all day and cannot choose" (Anonymous December 1900). Political and social oppression, in other words, increase the sense of brotherhood among the people, an idea that also occurs in Nekrasov's "The Song of the Poor Wanderer" (December 1899): describing the journey of a wanderer among the Famine striven district, the Russian poet highlights the sense of brotherly communion brought about by poverty and illnesses. Not to mention that Pushkin himself in his poem titled "A Message" addresses the Decembrists in the Siberian mines with the expression "My Brothers!", exhorting them not to give up hope, for "no bolts shall bar our friendship's way" (Pushkin February 1901:16).

Alongside this sense of brotherhood galvanised by shared experiences of oppression and poverty, there is another form of community that occurs in the periodical, one that is incepted by literature itself. Literacy and culture, in fact, are closely related to the social and ideological context in which the Russian

revolutionaries operated, for they were the means through which the illiterate Russian peasants could make sense of the evils of the governmental power. Therefore, closely related to these questions is the revolutionary practice of propaganda.

“Caught and Inciter”, an anonymous short story published in instalments from May to August 1891, and “Among the Oukranian Peasants” (March 1900) offer an insight into the roles of revolutionists in educating Russian peasants. As I outlined in the first chapter of this study, revolutionists were well-educated, and whenever a propagandist was found with some books, he/she was automatically recognised as an “inciter:” this is what happens in the story with the same title. After being stopped by a village community on suspicion of being a revolutionist, the “inciter’s” bag is carefully searched:

‘Look,’ she said, ‘what’s in it – books!’ We began turning them over. ‘Clever tricks,’ ‘Songs,’ ‘The Daughter of Wisdom,’ a lot of books. The starosta took up one and began to read. ‘Look here,’ he said, ‘what’s written!’ All of us that can read come to the look (we’re no great scholars, but we can read). ‘First of all the tsar receives 9.000.000 roubles a year. Isn’t that pretty good pay?’ ‘There! You see it’s about the Tsar! He’s an Inciter!’ ‘Well, well! Let’s see what comes next.’ ‘If you count it up, that comes to 25.000 roubles a day’ ‘I say, boys, is that true?’ I asked, but uncle Yegor (he lives next door to me) he put in: ‘Look here what’s written about the *stanovoy*.’ (Inciter May 1891:13-4)

Books, illegally carried around the country, were the means to educate the peasants, some of whom were illiterate, as the quotation highlights.⁹⁸ Alongside

⁹⁸ A stereotypical representation of peasants occurs in a short story entitled “How a Peasant Saved two Generals” (FR, January 1892) by the Russian satirist Mikhail Y. Saltykov-Shchedrin, best known with the literary pseudonym of Nikolai Schedrin. This story satirises over the Russian bureaucracy, who cannot survive if it were not for the hard work of the peasants. In fact, despite being illiterate, the peasant manages to save two generals from a deserted island. Political satire also occurs in other stories by Shchedrin, for example in “The Deceitful Editor and the Credulous Reader” (April 1891), “The Virtue and the Vices” (November 1899), as well as in anonymous poem

educating the masses, the Russian revolutionists also wished to disseminate authentic information among the peasants about their own condition and the despotic government that was exploiting and oppressing them. This story represents a successful propaganda attempt, for as soon as the peasants read the first few lines of the book, they wished to go on reading and learning more about the bureaucracy's welfare.

A similar episode is also described in "Among the Oukranian Peasants", where a first person narrator, probably the author himself for the book is a collection of his memories of his underground life, goes in the Oukranian province to dispatch books among the peasants.

I went out to the court-yard, where I gave some hay to the hoarse, got out the books from the cart, which were all in the Oukrainian language, and returned to the hut. "Here are some books, father, which Fvodor requested me to hand over to you." "Oh, thank you!" answered the old man, while receiving the books with a certain solemnity. He added, however, that he could not read himself, but that Stetsko would read them to him, when home on leave. "Our son is an educated man," he explained. (Peasants March 1900:29-30)

Books that circulated through underground channels, therefore, were not only published in the Russian language, but also in all other languages of the territories under the direct control of the Russian government. This was not only to facilitate the understanding of revolutionary principles: by addressing the peasants in their own languages, in fact, the revolutionists wished to make them feel directly involved in the struggle for freedom. Furthermore, the circulation of books printed in many Slav languages sheds light on the intense publishing activity of the revolutionists, and consequently, on their wide circulation network.

entitled "the Judge" (December 1900). Social satire occurs in his short story titled "Conscience" (November 1902).

The unofficial circulation of all sorts of books was necessary to counteract the deceitfulness of the official press, an issue that Shchedrin tackles in his short story entitled “The Deceitful Editor and the Credulous Reader” published in *Free Russia* in April 1891. Being openly critical of editorial practices in Russia, as well as of the ignorance and credulity of the reader, the author highlights the extensive power of the press in moulding the readers’ mind. The editor, who is represented as a “very deceitful” person, who “was always telling lies” to his readers, suddenly choose to “[treat] the reader to the truth every day”: as the reader believed him whatever he published, the editor asks, “What is the best way to go on deceiving the credulous Reader – with falsehood or with truth?” (Shchedrin April 1891:13-4). It is precisely to prevent the readers from being deceived that the Russian revolutionists planned a capillary propaganda among the peasants, in the attempt to awaken their sensitivities and winning over their support.

Interestingly, Pushkin’s poem “The Monument”, published in *Free Russia* in March 1899 strikes a blow to the autocratic power, denouncing its oppressive nature and its making-up of false myths.

A monument not made with hands I rear;
The people’s feet shall mark the path thereto.
More high than Alexander’s, and more clear
It soars into the blue. [...]

All the Russian lands shall know me well.
The future race that yet shall wear our name,
Both Slav and Finn, or who in Asia dwell,
The Tougouz, hear my fame.

The folk shall love me, since my lyre I taught,
Not evil thoughts, but good, to wake and crown;
Because I Freedom sang and mercy sought
For all the trodden-down. [...] (Pushkin March 1899: 20)

The monument Pushkin refers to in his verses is the famed Alexander’s column, which was erected in St. Petersburg in 1832 by order of the Tsar Nicholas I in memory of his brother and predecessor Alexander I. In his poem, the Russian

author draws a comparison between this very moment and the poetry, considered as a metaphorical monument in memoriam of the poet himself: while the former reminds “evil thoughts,” that is to say the people’s oppression at the hand of the tsars, the latter shall awaken the sensitivities of the people. In other words, literature becomes here a means to teach, to educate the people to higher ideals of freedom and solidarity and alimnet the hope for a better future, a recurrent motif in the texts published in *Free Russia*.⁹⁹ Evoking the long-established idea of the immortality of art, the lyrical I calls attention to the power of literature to create communities, not so much for tis wide circulation in “all the Russian lands” both in the present and in future times, as for its teaching of higher moral values. Contrary to the transiency of the political power and its oppression, literature stands out as an immortal collective possession.

The focus on the community-building aspect of literature is of crucial importance in “Among the Oukranian Peasants”, where it is tackled in terms of practices of reading. Given his father’s illiteracy, the son has to read books aloud to him, transforming reading from a silent and individual practice into a collective one, connected to the oral dimension. Mikhail L. Mikhailov’s short story titled “On Easter Day” (FR April 1894) is representative in these terms.

“Books have come!” Such was the delightful news that quickly spread throughout the village and caused all the little ones of the place, who could

⁹⁹ The semantic field of freedom and hope for a better future in Russia frequently occurs in the literature published in *Free Russia*: therefore, it may be objected that such a theme should occupy a prominent position in the analysis of recurrent literary patterns. Nevertheless, it has not seemed appropriate to introduce extended observations on the topic, for it falls slightly out the scope of this study. Conversely, greater attention has been given to literary motifs that prove crucial not only for the Russian émigrés’ projects, but also to the literary offshoots Anglo-Russian relations had at the turn of the century. For reference, the semantic field at stake occurs in “Easter Eve” by Korolenko (April 1893), “The Citizen” by K. Ryleyev (February 1901), “A Message” by Pushkin (Ibid.), an anonymous poem titled “The Reply” (Ibid.), an anonymous poem entitled “To the Judge” (December 1900), “The Commandment” by N. Ogaryov (October 1901), “Quench not the Spirit” by A. Zhemchouzhnikov (February 1903), and in the short story “Where Makar ne’ev drives his Lambkin” by Nekrasov (March 1905).

read, to gather in my schoolroom. They attached the printed matter as starving people attack bread. Each of them chose a book and, too impatient to go out of the room, seated themselves and plunged at once into reading. Look at them, what a refreshing picture they present – all those peasant boys with their booklets in their hands. How carefully they hold them so as not to injure them in any way; how cautiously they turn the leaves over! Their bright eyes twinkle, their fresh faces now brighten with a smile, now become serious and absorbed. [...] One of the boys tells Tolstoy's story "The Two Old Men" and adds: "I'll take it with me, to read it to my grandmother." ... Another exclaims: "Oh, there's a fine book – "A Crooked Fate!" I must take it home, to read it again." [...] That evening the lights in the small windows of many village huts were gleaming later than usual, though this meant expense [...]. The boys, book in hand, formed centres of little circles, consisting of the whole family. [...] The good words, the ideas of truth and justice, find their way into the hearts and minds of the listener. [...] They might live better. Their intelligence is awakened. [...] Oh, give us some *more* books! Some *good* books! (Mikhailov April 1894:35)¹⁰⁰

The discourse about reading becomes here part of the awakening, if not construction, of national consciousness. Novels, who probably reached the provinces through the unofficial channels and networks of the revolutionists, are cheerfully welcomed by young boys, who immediately start reading them. However, silent reading, which as Rosamaria Loretelli landmark study points out (Loretelli 2010), was the practice of reading that favoured the affirmation of the novel as a literary genre in the 18th century, is here juxtaposed to collective reading. Boys, in fact, read novels to their families, who reunite around them to listen to the story, a practice that was also common in Victorian patriarchal society. Reading books aloud to members of families proved crucial in furthering the plan of cultural awakening that the revolutionaries set out to. Interestingly, not only collective, but also individual reading could contribute to increasing the sense of community: reading the same literary works, in fact, could lead readers to recognise themselves as belonging to a distinctive literary community, in this case a distinctive Russian one, as references and allusions to Tolstoy's fiction

¹⁰⁰ Italics in the original.

demonstrate. In other words, reading practices enact a community culture that proved pivotal in the revolutionaries' design both in Russia and in England, a culture they tried to recreate in their journalistic enterprise.

In the light of all these observations, it is possible to conclude that the literary works published in *Free Russia* offered a backdrop of fictional images that could support the journal's propaganda. I would not venture as far claiming that Russian literature in translation introduced new motifs in the English literary panorama, but that it certainly "imported" their distinctive Russian character, that is to say the peculiar connotations and implications such aesthetics had in the political, social and cultural Russia context. In other words, literature concurred with journalism in furthering the émigrés' cause for Russian freedom and has, therefore, no lesser part to play in the construction of an Anglo-Russian counter public. In fact, literature itself favoured the creation of cross-cultural alliances, as the many instances of Anglo-Russian collaborations over the translation of Russian literature demonstrate. Moreover, by inscribing not only foreign voices, but also foreign cultural and literary traditions, in the literary and cultural geography of England, *Free Russia* triggered cross-cultural encounters.

In conclusion, in the attempt to negotiate its own niche within the English public discourses, *Free Russia* propelled forward the creation of a distinctive Anglo-Russian community of readers, for its being addressed to Englishmen and Russians alike. In other words, the journal experiment stimulated the blurring of national borders, thereby uprooting any conception of community based on nationality. Such implications invite us to adopt a cosmopolitan perspective and to value *Free Russia* as the institution of a thriving Anglo-Russian counter public. Shedding light on the community-building aspect of reading in its different forms, the journal could be truly defined not only as an example of Anglo-Russianness, that is to say an enterprise in cross-cultural encounters, but also as a proper catalyser of cross-cultural dialogue. As a result, this Anglo-Russian journal reflects the émigrés' concern for community-building, both at home and in Russia, a motif that even occurred in many pieces of Russian literature that the

journal promoted. In the wake of this fact, it would be interesting to explore what kind of communal enterprises did the émigrés promote, as well as the literary offshoots these experiments galvanised, as I resolve to do in the next two chapters.

3 Tolstoyan Togetherness and its Literary Legacy

Towards the end of the Victorian era, the city assumed a significant role, for it became the symbol of progress and, as a consequence, a representative space in 20th-century literary and cultural discourses.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, the rapidly growing metropolis and the identity crisis of the middle class triggered to an extent the dissolution of human bonds, giving way to individualistic stances and practices (Hobsbawm 1987). The international mobility of the *fin de siècle*, from both European and extra-European countries, did nothing but increase the dynamism of urban life, calling attention the widespread feeling of uprootedness and dislocation within the modern world. The modern metropolis encapsulated, in other words, the “liquefaction” of modern life (Baumann 2000). In this culture of transiency, the longing for a collective dimension comes as no surprise. The eagerness to find a group where to belong in a world where all else is shifting and moving becomes, therefore, an urgent issue, which leads to significant transformations not only in the social world, but also in culture and arts. The longing for organic communities, which becomes expression of the thriving desire to react to capitalist ideology, set the basis for alternative social constructions. The so-called home colonization movement, the Pre-Raphaelite Guild and the Arts and Crafts movement are just a few examples of the momentum collective aspirations gathered in the Late-Victorian years. Nevertheless, it probably was the unprecedented upsurge in utopian experiments of communal life that embody the anxieties and the aspirations of the *fin de siècle* to an even greater extent. The famed Industrial Village established

¹⁰¹ For a well-informed analysis of the role of cities in late modern and modernist literature, see Alter 2005. Alter argues that realism in English modernist literature is to be intended in terms of the subjective and fragmentary perception of the city. In other words, what the reader perceives is not the geography of the city, but what the mind of the characters makes, thereby transforming it into a “theatre of vitality and transience” (p. 120). See also Thacker 2003.

by Herbert Mills at Starnthwaite, as well as General Booth's colony at Hadleigh are telling examples of the lure of community that took root in the 1890s.¹⁰²

However, such utopian experiments in communal life were far from having a British matrix: the cultures of 'anarchist communism' and 'religious anarchism' that characterised these modern English phalansteries, in fact, were largely informed by American transcendentalism and Franco-Russian anarchic ideologies. As far as the Russian influences are concerned, the émigrés of the 1880s-1890s, Peter Kropotkin and Vladimir Chertkov in particular, had a significant part to play in the dissemination of utopian ideologies in England. While Kropotkin's anarcho-communism and his theory of mutual aid triggered the creation of two colonies on the British soil, namely the Clousden Hill Communist and Cooperative Colony (Newcastle) and the Norton Colony (Sheffield), Vladimir Chertkov contributed to the dissemination of Tolstoy's religious anarchism, and became directly involved in publishing enterprises aimed at promoting the Russian author's works in England. Consequently, foreign voices become of still greater importance in refining our assessment and understanding of the Late-Victorian utopian discourse, particularly in relation to the social experience they promoted and the literary and cultural attitudes they stimulated.

Anglo-Russian cross-cultural interactions exist in tension, as it were, with conceptions of nationality. Not only did emigration and exile, and the circulation of ideas that these phenomena entail, undermine the well-established notion of an indisputable national identity, but so did the communal experiments themselves. In fact, such communities challenged Late-Victorian institutions and capitalism, promoting cosmopolitan communities that were figured as utopian alternatives to both the nation and its domestic core, the family (Hardy 1979:174). In other words, the nation and its institutions are no longer the primary locus of

¹⁰² For more information about alternative communities in the nineteenth century see Hardy 1979 and Armytage 1961.

communal affiliation: what emerges, therefore, is a new-fashioned community, based on cross-national and cross-cultural relations.

In the debate over alternative communities, space becomes a matter of major concern for the cultural implications embedded in the term utopia itself: in fact, it could mean either “no place” or “good place”. Anglo-Russian Tolstoyan colonies are not unreal places, for they were located on the map of the real world, in the English countryside to be precise. On the contrary, they stand as “good places” from where the amelioration of humanity would originate. The relationship between alternative societies and unconventional geographies has been brought up by Foucault in his essay “Of other spaces”, where he discusses the notion of heterotopia. In Foucault’s terms, a heterotopia is a place that, despite being outside all places, it is located in reality unlike a utopia (Foucault 1984): it “create[s] a space that is other, another real space, as perfect meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled” (ibid:27). Being real places that act as counter-sites, Tolstoyan colonies can be interpreted as heterotopias, as they are spaces where an alternative ordering of modernity is negotiated. Consequently, these colonies stand out not only as alternative societies, but also as alternative spaces to the cityscape of the metropolis. They re-inscribe decentralised geographies in the cultural map of England, that is to say those geographies that the process of urbanization that characterised the Late-Victorian years was progressively forgetting.¹⁰³

As a result, these utopian colonies mature a complex relationship with the nation and its institutions: located on the borderlands, they are liminal to the nation-state both culturally and geographically, yet contained within the nation itself. Therefore, these transnational communities seem to enact the interdependence of the national and the cosmopolitan discourses, as they are tending towards transnationalism from within the borders of the nation itself.

¹⁰³ For well scholarly studies on the Tolstoyan movement in Britain, see Armytage 1995; Holman 1995; Holman 2000; Alston 2012; Alston 2014.

This seemingly problematic interconnection has no secondary part to play in literature (Bhabha 1996; Moretti 2000; Huyssen 2007): the negotiation between local and foreign, in fact, contributes to rejuvenating the artistic expression, as we shall see in the following pages. This chapter seeks to map geographically this form of Anglo-Russian hybridization, as well as to unlock and reframe the effects that these colonial experiments had on modern cultural and literary production.

3.1 Tolstoyan Land Experiments in England

The Tolstoyan movement notoriously is a cosmopolitan phenomenon: despite its distinctive Russian origins, in fact, it acquired international fame within a few years from its inception, that is to say after Tolstoy's declaration of his new life principles.¹⁰⁴ Alternative communities of Tolstoyan matrix sprouted up not only in Russia, but also in the United States, Holland, the Austro-Hungarian empire, South Africa and Switzerland among others. Nonetheless, nowhere outside Russia did the Tolstoyan movement play a greater cultural role than in Late-Victorian England (Edgerton 1968; Alston 2014). The reasons for the great success of Tolstoyan ideology in England are yet to be explored, but it is highly plausible that Russian émigrés, Vladimir Chertkov in particular, played a leading role. Moreover, it is likely that the Tolstoyan movement gathered momentum in England, because Tolstoy's religious anarchist theory addressed social, political and religious questions that were at the heart of the English reform movements of the *fin de siècle* (Holman 1995, Alston 2014, Taylor 2016).

The English Tolstoyan movement originated in the London suburb of Croydon in 1894, when John Coleman Kenworthy, a former businessman, founded the famed Croydon Brotherhood Church. The foundation of this new

¹⁰⁴ These are published in *A Confession* (1882), *What I Believe* (1885), *On Life* (1888) and *The Kingdom of God is within You* (1894).

community is recorded in the first issue of the *Croydon Brotherhood Intelligencer*, the newspaper of English Tolstoyans:¹⁰⁵

Our Church dates from the acceptance in May last by our comrade J. C. KENWORTHY of the post of Honorary Pastor and the formation of a Committee of Management, as follows: Mary Grover, Nellie Shaw, Fred Muggeridge, Willm Gilruth (Hon. Sec.) Jas. Henderson and Frank Henderson. The declared object was to spread Christian Socialist Principles. The inaugural service was held on 3rd June '94 in the old Salvation Army Barracks at 46 Tamworth Road. [...] The Socialist Propaganda has been greatly assisted by the sale of literature at our meetings ("Its Formation" January 1895).

Kenworthy's utopian design for a new society is articulated in the Pastor's Note that was published in the first issue of the *BI*:

The Brotherhood Church, as the name implies, aims at gathering together people of ALL CLASSES, to learn and to practice the fraternal principle of the SERMON OF THE MOUNT. Nothing, to an honest and good mind, can be plainer than this purpose. Our message is, and must be, especially to the working people and the poor – the fellow of those who, of all, heard Jesus gladly. Whatever work may eventually become, the duty of the hour is to carry the doctrines of SOCIAL SALVATION into every heart and home than we can reach. We desire to help every Social activity that makes for righteousness; and to waken the minds of men with a gospel that calls for and shows the way to honest and right conditions of industry and business, which are the first needs of social life. Upon this foundation we labour to build up the spiritual and moral natures of ourselves and of others, after the Christ-idea. [...] Each one must labour in his surroundings and help to unite people of character and ability who may eventually take part in the CO-OPERATIVE INDUSTRIES which we hope to establish. Our aim is BUSINESS: secular things are with us sacred and we would apply the principles of true religion to all the affairs of life, beginning with the primary forms of labour. [...] In this ideal society, each ought to do his fair share of useful work with brain and hand, labouring first to make and spread about the necessities of life, food, clothing and shelter; the less necessary work to

¹⁰⁵ Henceforth: *BI*. The *BI* changed name in November 1895, when it became *The New Order*, title that echoes the lure for the amelioration and improvement of society. MS 1380/2873 Leeds Russian Archive.

be done after this necessary work. [...] In this ideal society, men would not bargain, or compete, or monopolize, as they do now. [...] In this ideal society, no man would have power to force others to do his or their bidding [...] In this ideal society, there would be no enmities over religion, and no effort of some to force their opinions on others. (Ibid)

Campaigning on issues of Christianity and socialism, Kenworthy wished to establish an alternative community, whose affiliation with Tolstoy and the international Tolstoyan movement was officially announced in the second issue of the journal: "There are a good many books which can tell you more about these things, one especially, by Count Leo Tolstoi, the Russian, called "The Kingdom of God is within you," which should be read by everyone who wants to understand the teaching of Jesus" (Kenworthy February 1895).¹⁰⁶ It was precisely from that moment that Kenworthy became the leading voice of the English Tolstoyan movement, a role which was to be taken on by Vladimir Chertkov in 1896 (Holman 2000:131).

As Nellie Shaw records in her memories of the time she spent in the community, not only class, but also ideological borders seemed to be blurred at the Corydon Brotherhood Church. Her account of the kind of people who gathered together at the community's Sunday meeting is a telling example in this respect:

It may be doubted if ever a more mixed and diverse crowd ever gathered within four walls than used to assemble weekly at the old Salvation Army tin tabernacle in Tamworthy Road. Every kind of 'crank' came and aired his views on the open platform, which was provided every Sunday afternoon. Atheists, Spiritualists, Individualists, Communists, Anarchists, ordinary politicians, Vegetarians, Anti-vivisectionists, Anti-vaccinationists – in fact every kind of 'anti' had a welcome and a hearing, and had to stand a lively criticism in the discussion which followed (Shaw 1935:21).

¹⁰⁶ Edgerton claims that Tolstoy's distrust for civilization and the anarchist nature of his religious philosophy were largely informed by his readings of Rousseau and Proudhon respectively. Edgerton 1968: 72-3.

The evening meetings shed further light on the composite ideological nature of this community: there were, in fact, not only readings from the Bible and Tolstoy's theoretical writings, which as Shaw records, "would speedily lead to a revolution in [their] social and civil life" (Ibid:24), but also from Emerson and Carlyle. Not to mention that a considerable number of Tolstoyans sympathised for Edward Carpenter's social theories, as well as for the cultural reforms promoted by William Morris and John Ruskin (Alston 2014). As a result, the Croydon Brotherhood Church could be truly defined as an ideological melting pot, where British Tolstoyans negotiated their understanding of Tolstoy's philosophy in relation to their own local concerns, in a constant interplay between local and foreign cultural traditions.¹⁰⁷

Before venturing into the analysis of the cultural implications of the movement, a few preliminary remarks are compelling. Although Kenworthy wished to appeal to all social classes, it was the middle-class that more than any other proved most receptive to Tolstoism. Not to mention that many reform movements of that time were also largely informed by middle-class ideals and principles, suffice it to call to mind Sir Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Movement (1898). English Tolstoyans who contributed to the proliferation of land-colonies are Sudbury Protheroe, the junior partner of his father's auctioneers firm, Hurbert Hammond, a banker, and Arnold Elioart, a chemistry lecturer. Professional men and intellectuals, as well as army officers widely featured in the English Tolstoyan movement (Alston 2014).¹⁰⁸ Of no lesser

¹⁰⁷ As Alston observes, given the anarchist matrix of Tolstoism, which is nonetheless more of a religious than of a political movement, it is not surprising to find interconnections between Tolstoyan communal experiments and other advanced and reformist ideologies (Alston 2014). The affiliation with the anarchist groups in England was probably discussed in a letter John Coleman Kenworthy, the initial leader of the Tolstoyan movement in Britain, wrote to Tolstoy, to which the Russian author replied as follows: "I am [...] greatly interested in what you say about anarchists and their approach towards us. God grant it be so" (NO September 1896).

¹⁰⁸ Religious non-conformists, mainstream Protestant, Catholics and atheists, as well as ordinary soldiers, bank clerks and shopkeepers also sympathised with Tolstoyan ideology (Alston 2014).

importance was the presence of Nellie Shaw, a member of the Fabian Society, the independent labour party and the Corydon socialist society: she stood out as a telling example of the many affiliations with non-conformist groups English Tolstoyans had.

The lure for Tolstoyan togetherness that the Croydon Brotherhood Church incepted in the receptive minds of English sympathisers translated into the creation of the first Tolstoyan land settlement in Purleigh (Maldon, Essex) in 1896. Further attempts to form Tolstoyan land colonies were made at Ashingdon (1897) and Wickford (1899). Not only Essex, but also Gloucestershire yielded ground for Tolstoyan land experiments, suffice it to consider the Blackburn and the Whiteway colonies, which sprouted up in 1899 and 1898 respectively.¹⁰⁹ It is true that the Whiteway colony is probably the most famed of the many Tolstoyan experiments, as well as the longest lived one (it still existed in the late 20th century): still, it is the Purleigh colony that is worth further scrutiny, not so much for its being the first land experiment of Tolstoyan matrix, as for the Anglo-Russian interactions and collaborations it fostered.¹¹⁰

As Joy Thacker records in her historical account, after eighteen months from its inception, the Purleigh colony numbered fourteen colonists and a considerable number of seasonal visitors (Thacker 1993). It was a rather small land experiment, based on bred-labour and on Tolstoyan simplicity, yet it did not fail to attract interest from nearby areas (Hone December 1897), as well as the attention of the English press: the colony, in fact, features in reports in *The Daily News*, *The Clarion*, *The Manchester Guardian*, and *the Essex County Chronicle* between August and September 1898. The interest the local press matured for

¹⁰⁹ Another isolated attempt to put Tolstoyan lifestyle into practice took place in Leeds. For a detailed account of the Tolstoyan colonies and their affiliations with other reform colonies, see Alston 2014 and Armytage (1995). See also Maltz 2011 for a brief history of Gloucestershire and its land experiments.

¹¹⁰ For first-hand accounts of how life in the Whiteway was like, see Shaw 1935 and Thacker 1993.

Tolstoyan land colonies has long passed without scrutiny, or it has just been occasionally mentioned in studies about the Tolstoyan movement in Britain, regardless of the crucial cultural implication it carries.

It is true, of course, that Tolstoyan land colonies preached a return to the land, to a genuine lifestyle and spirituality, and, for this reason, they were clearly detached from urban modernity. Nevertheless, English Tolstoyans, who were negotiating their own counter public space in re-discovered decentralised geographies, were eager to set an example of morality and simplicity for society at large. It is precisely in the wake of this utopian design that the attention leading English newspapers gave to this Tolstoyan experiment proved of crucial importance. By publicising the Purleigh colony, the colonists' principles of conduct as well as Tolstoyan ideology, in fact, the English press favoured the encounter between English dominant public opinion and Tolstoyan counter culture.

At the same time, the periodical press sheds further light on the controversial attitude English Tolstoyans had towards society. While wishing to set apart from it, they nonetheless depended on one of its institutions to disseminate Tolstoyan ideology in England, that is to say the periodical press. Alongside the English national press, the Tolstoyan periodicals that sprouted up at the turn of the 20th century are remarkable in this respect. Charles Daniel's *The Crank*, *The Tolstoyan* (1903-1904) and *The Open Road* are just a few examples of Tolstoyan journalism. Although these journalistic enterprises offered a platform for circulating Tolstoyan views, they were not the organs of land colonies, as the *Brotherhood Intelligencer* was. In fact, the editorial of the August 1894 issue of the periodical reads:

We aim to make this Paper, and our centre at Croydon, a means of intercourse, counsel, and help for those who share our principles. Therefore, we ask for the cooperation of everyone who is interested. As to our principles, those who have read, and who agree with, the teaching of Leo Tolstoi, will agree with us. We believe in the Sermon of the Mount; and in the doctrine of Jesus, which is simply common sense and common honesty, that people must act up together belief. We believe that He thought more

than SOCIALISM; more even than COMMUNISM. [...] We are beginning to publish literature that will spread our principle. This includes leaflets, pamphlets and books ("Editorial" August 1895).

The Tolstoyan periodical press advertised meetings of English Tolstoyans and of their associated groups, made literary recommendations to readers, advertised sympathetic reading and serialised Tolstoy's philosophical writings (Alston 2014). While shedding lights on the contradictory relationship Tolstoyan had to society and its culture, calling attention to their indebtedness to the publicity that only the periodical press and mass market offered, such periodical enterprises stand out as the institutions of a thriving Tolstoyan counter culture.

The cultural importance of the Purleigh colony in the English *fin de siècle* was destined to increase after Vladimir Chertkov's arrival in Britain in March 1897, where he resided for about eleven years. The July 1897 issue of the *New Order*, in a section entitled "the Purleigh Colony" announces the presence of "two Russian friends [...] who are very useful and interesting men and who seem to be in accord with us" (July 1897): they were Chertkov and Aylmer Maude, one of the most famed translators of Tolstoy's works into English.¹¹¹ It is true, of course, that Kenworthy had already established a direct bond with Tolstoy during his many visits to Russia: nevertheless, it was Chertkov's emigration to England that instilled the impression of a more direct connection with the Russian masters. This was due to the fact that Chertkov had been Tolstoy's collaborator in Russia, as well as his confidant and friend. Most significantly, Chertkov's settling in the Purleigh Colony attracted the interest of other Russian reformists, who moved, either permanently or temporarily, to the colony premises, thereby giving to this land experiment a truly Anglo-Russian disposition. Apart from the Chertkov households, Russians who eventually turned up in Purleigh included Tolstoy's friend and biographer P. I. Biryukov

¹¹¹ For a detailed account of Maude's contribution to disseminating Tolstoy in England, see Holman 1985 and Holman 1995a.

(1860-1931), the Tolstoyan and socialist-revolutionist Prince D. A. Khilkov (1858-1914) and the revolutionist V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich (1873-1955).¹¹²

Russians in Purleigh feature in Nellie Shaw's account: as she records, they settled near the brotherhood house, on Duppas Hill:

[They] settled down into a very interesting little community. At meals, all sat together at an exquisitely clean large deal table, partaking of their simple vegetarian fare. Helena Petrovna, Anna, the cook, the Austrian doctor, the Tchertkoff family, which now included the dowager Mme. Tchertkoff (a baroness in her own right), and her daughter, Olga Deidricht, forming the most harmonious and democratic group imaginable (Shaw 1935:31).

By entering into direct contact with British Tolstoyans, Chertkov favoured the circulation of ideas between Russia and England and contributed to awakening British attention to those things Russian that were so dear to Tolstoy, for example the persecution of religious minorities in Russia, such as the Doukhobors.¹¹³ As Nellie Shaw observes, in fact,

We heard [...] about the poor persecuted Doukhoborts, interest in whom was shortly afterwards greatly stimulated by the arrival in Croydon of a number of Russians, friends of Tolstoy's – Vladimir Tchertkoff, with his wife and son, Dr. Skarvan from Austria, where he had suffered imprisonment for his Tolstoyan principles, Helena Petrovna, a Caucasian Princess, with quite a retinue of dependants and two servants (Ibid:29-30).

Chertkov's direct collaboration with Tolstoy also involved the resettlement of the Dukhobor sect to Canada: on his arrival in Britain, in fact, Chertkov drew his host country at the core of this successful campaign that involved the Tolstoyan movement at large. In so doing, he encouraged the British Tolstoyan colonies to cross their national boundaries and to collaborate with this thriving

¹¹² See Holman 1995b.

¹¹³ See Holman 2000. See also Alston 2012. For the connections between the English and the Russian Tolstoyan movement, particularly in terms of interpersonal relationships, see Alston 2014.

international movement (Alston 2014).¹¹⁴ What emerges from these intercultural contacts is a sort of ideal international Tolstoyan community, which, as its local counterparts, stands out as a modern utopian design in transnational group relations.

Nevertheless, it was the remarkable contribution that the English branch of the movement offered in disseminating Tolstoyan literature that transformed Britain into the chief centre not only of international Tolstoism, but also of Tolstoyan publishing activity. As Holman observes, it was in England that many works by Tolstoy that were prohibited in Russia were first published (Holman 1988:185). This happened thanks, once again, to Chertkov and his Free World Press (Izdatel'stvo Svobodnago Slova), founded in 1899 and, subsequently, its English branch, namely the Free Age Press.¹¹⁵ Chertkov's publishing house was a rather innovative enterprise. It is true, of course, that the Free World Press did not greatly differ from the Russian Free Press Fund, the publishing enterprise founded by Stepniak and Volkhovsky and other émigrés, as they both aimed at publishing literature in the Russian language that was prohibited in Russia and at smuggling it into their fatherland. Still, the greatest achievement of Chertkov's publishing enterprise was the creation of an English branch which, moving parallel to the Russian one, would disseminate Tolstoyan literature in England. In order to publish accurate translations of the Russian master's writings, he collaborated with English Tolstoyans as well as with Russian émigrés. For all these reasons, Chertkov's publishing activity could be truly defined an Anglo-

¹¹⁴ We should not forget that the English reading public became first acquainted with the plight of the Doukhobors a year before Chertkov's arrival in England. In fact, J. C. Kenworthy engaged in the publication of a letter by Tolstoy on the Doukhobors, which was eventually published in *The Times* on 23 October 1895. This fact notwithstanding, it is undeniable that Chertkov's activity proved crucial, for it further increased the English concerns for the persecution of religious minorities. See Holman 2000.

¹¹⁵ Henceforth: FAP.

Russian one, as it further tightened the bond between Russia and England, as well as between English and Russian Tolstoyans.

3.2 Translating and Publishing Tolstoy

3.2.1 The Free Age Press and its Cosmopolitan *Milieu*

Before venturing into the study of Chertkov's FAP, it is worth recalling that Tolstoy himself wrote a letter to J. C. Kenworthy, the first leader of the English Tolstoyan movement, in which he gave his English disciple full rights over the first English translations of his works. The letter is dated 4th November 1898 and reads:

My dear friend, sympathising with all my heart with the aims of your Brotherhood Publishing Co., I intend to put at your disposition the first translation of all my writings as yet published, as well as forthcoming. Should you find it in any way expedient, as for instance in order to secure for them a wider circulation, to offer the first of my publication of any works to one of the English periodical papers or magazines, and should any pecuniary profit therefore ensure, I would desire it to be devoted the work of your Brotherhood Publishing Company. As for the further right off publishing my works (i.e. after this the first appearance in English, which I intend to placing at your disposal) they are to become public property in accordance with a statement I have formerly made public and now desire to confirm (MS 1380/2200).

English Tolstoyans were engaged not only into putting Tolstoy's vision of social life into practice, but also into the dissemination of Tolstoy's works in England, facts that shed further light on the social and literary stances of the movement. Nevertheless, just two years after writing to Kenworthy, Tolstoy appointed Vladimir Chertkov as his sole representative in England in a letter dated 25th February 1898: "Now that my friend Vladimir Tchertkoff is living in England, it is into his hands that I desire to transmit all arrangements in connection with the first publication of my writings in foreign countries and therefore to him that I would refer all translators and publishers interested in the

matter” (Tolstoy 1992:33). In other words, Chertkov became Tolstoy’s intermediary abroad and anyone wishing to publish or translate the Russian master’s works had to meet his approval. The English branch of Chertkov’s publishing house, the FAP, became the leading institution of English (and international) Tolstoysm.

The sheer success the FAP enjoyed in the first years of activity probably depended on the quality of printing, on low prices, as well as on mass distribution (Holman 1988). It is likely that it was precisely in the light of the considerable development of mass culture in the Late-Victorian years that Chertkov’s Anglo-Russian enterprise gained momentum. In other words, the social changes of the *fin de siècle* triggered the creation of publishing enterprises: the circulation of ideas that ensued from these experiments in print culture proved crucial for the construction of Anglo-Russianness.

In line with Tolstoy’s statement, where he declared his intention not to make profit out of the publication of his works abroad, the volumes of the FAP were issued free of copyright. Not only did the words “No Right Reserved” occur on the title-page of each book, but also a statement of intent, which read:

No private person has benefited or will benefit financially by the existence of *The Free Age Press*; the books are issued free of copyright, so that anyone may reprint them who wishes; and any profit made (necessarily small) will go to assist the same work in the Russian language. For the hundreds of kindly letters received from all parts of the world, and the practical help in publicity which has enabled us to circulate upwards of 200,000 booklets and 250,000 leaflets since July 1900, we are very grateful and tender our heartily thanks.

The desire to make no financial profit from the publication of Tolstoy’s works is another telling example of the Tolstoyans’ refusal of capitalist society. Moreover, the FAP had an international reach: Tolstoy’s literary works, as well as his social tracts, in fact, circulated in Paris, Nice, Cannes, Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Geneva, Lausanne, Berne, Zurich, Rome, Copenhagen, Belgrave, Shanghai, Singapore, Yokohama, Port Said and New York, as well as in New

Zealand and South Africa (MS 1381/1238a). A truly transnational cultural network! Consequently, not only did English Tolstoyans partake in international enterprises, the resettlement of the Doukhobors to Canada in particular, but they also gave a considerable impulse to Tolstoyan culture by publishing Tolstoyan literature and circulating it worldwide. In so doing, they transformed England into the hub of international Tolstoyan counter culture, a process that Chertkov ingrained. The importance of émigrés in triggering cross-cultural encounters and the negotiation of a cosmopolitan counter cultural community is, therefore, paramount.

Although the FAP was founded by Chertkov, the support and collaboration of the English proved of topical significance. Arthur Fifield enhanced the success of Chertkov's publishing enterprise, working as "publisher, manager, joint editor, joint translator, publicity agent, advertising expert, warehouseman, porter, packer, clerk, book-keeper, office boy and stamp licker (Ibid). The fact that the offices of the FAP were located in a back bedroom in Fifield's home, first at Catford (South East London) and later at Wick Cottage in Southbourne (Hampshire), is a telling example of Fifield's involvement in – and indeed devotion to – the project from 1900 to 1902.¹¹⁶ As he records in the Statement of the FAP:

All unused to business by nature and training as [Chertkov] was, even despising its claims on time and attention, and impatient with any new chains of obligations, Tchertkoff yet bowed his neck to my English yoke and subdued himself for three years sufficiently to enable me to issue no less than forty three separate publications of a total length of 2,024 pages, in the translation of which he took a very large share, with a total circulation of 209,00 copied besides a quarter of a million leaflets. And multiplying the page length by the circulation attained one can say that The Free Age Press

¹¹⁶ As Holman observes, although the imprint of the early FAP editions was "Maldon, Essex", there never was a FAP at Maldon. The office of the press was backroom in Arthur Fifield's home at Catford (South East London) and subsequently at Wick Cottage (Southbourne, Hampshire). Nevertheless, Fifield was in regular contact with Chertkov. When ready to print, they usually engaged outside printers, for example Morrison and Gibb (Edinburgh). See Holman 1988.

put before the English-speaking world no less than 424 million pages of Tolstoy's writings, on a self-supporting basis, with no personal profit; besides permitting every extensive reproduction of the articles and stories in magazines and newspapers (MS 1381/1238a).

As it happened for *Free Russia*, the FAP resulted from Anglo-Russian collaborations: these did not only regard the management or the dissemination of printed materials, but also the very process of translation. In a similar way to the Anglo-Russian magazine, the FAP developed its own distinctive modes of distribution, as well as alternative and anti-capitalist modes of financial support. Moreover, the fact that the FAP encouraged the reproduction of Tolstoyan articles and stories in the English magazines and newspapers is noteworthy, for it fostered the encounter between Tolstoyan ideology and the English dominant culture. For all these reasons, the FAP could be truly regarded as another institution of Anglo-Russian counter culture, as well as a cultural experiment informed by Russian émigrés.

As we have seen, there are similarities between *Free Russia* and the FAP, particularly their interest for the dissemination of Russian literature in English-speaking countries. Both these Anglo-Russian experiments, in fact, triggered the creation of a literary cosmopolitan network which favoured the encounter between foreign traditions and Russian culture and literature. Nevertheless, it is worth recalling that, although both institutions paid great attention to literary translation as a practice to favour cross-cultural fertilization, it is on the practices of translation that they sharply diverge. While *Free Russia* mainly published translation written by English sympathisers, in some cases mediated by another language, the FAP resorted to Anglo-Russian collaborative translations, a practice that features rarely in journal. Given the topical importance of translation in the creation of an Anglo-Russian counter culture, an insight into this collaborative practice becomes compelling.

3.2.2 Translation as Anglo-Russian Collaboration

As early as 1895, J. C. Kenworthy underwent the translation of a letter by Tolstoy, which proved instrumental in drawing the world's attention to the persecution of religious minorities in Russia, particularly of the Doukhobors. This letter was eventually published in *The Times* on 23rd October. Although it proved ground-breaking from a thematic point of view, for it attracted the attention of British public opinion to the plight of the Doukhobors, its cultural relevance in the history of Anglo-Russian relations is to be found elsewhere. The translation of this famed letter, in fact, resulted from the collaboration between Kenworthy and Sid Rapoport, an affiliation that had already produced an English version of Tolstoy's *Master and Man* (New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company, 1895). In other words, collaborative translation became dominant among the British Tolstoyan movement, and gained considerable momentum after Chertkov's foundation of the FAP.

It is true, of course, that not all of Tolstoy's works published by the FAP resulted from Anglo-Russian collaborations. Nonetheless, evidence gathered from the Tuckton House papers at the Leeds Russian Archive seems to validate the theory according to which the collaborative practice of translation was highly valued among Tolstoyans in England. Arthur C. Fifield's unpublished statement over the work of the FAP looms large in this respect. Written in 1933, it tracks down Fifield's personal and professional experience among British Tolstoyans, going back to 1897, when his acquaintance with Chertkov started: "We met at Tamworth Hall, Croydon, at Paul Boulanger's house in Forest Hill, at my own house in Beckenham, and at Castle's Vegetarian restaurant, Shoe Lane, London; and we became immediate friends" (MS 1381/1238a). After his encounter with the Russian émigré, Fifield started to work for the FAP, carrying out a great variety of tasks, joint translator among many others: in fact, he records going "for weeks almost daily to Edward Square, Kensington, to make fresh translations

with Madame Kosnakoff, a handsome, charming and cultured lady, whose work subsequently appeared under the initials N. and B. for political reasons" (Ibid).¹¹⁷

One of the many reasons why Fifield's statement is so important, is that it records how the process of translation was carried out:

In our translations, the Russian partner in the joint effort would read out from the original text sentence by sentence a rough rendering of the meaning, which I copied down after challenge and perhaps suggestion, which went on until we were both satisfied we could get no nearer to the sense and still more to the feeling of the moment. At home, I would re-write the whole of the trial translation, attempting a more uniform level of the exaltation and passion with which Tolstoy generally wrote; a surcharged emotional intensity which was rather foreign to Aylmer Maude's nature, who was always guided by a reason which was at times too cold and restrained, and which to my taste always made him rather understate Tolstoy's religious excitement, and prune him down to a rational ethical teacher instead of an inspired prophet, confident that 'all things are possible to him that believes'. At the next meeting I would read out my amended version, while the Russian partner would check it word by word by the text; after which at home I would make a complete final draft for the printer. (Ibid)

Collaborative translations were articulated into four different moments: on their first encounter, the translators, one proficient in Russian and the other in the target language, negotiated a first translation, which the English translator would revise in a second phase; another meeting would ensue, where eventual changes at the hand of the English translator would be discussed with the Russian partner; afterwards, the final draft would be written. Through his publishing enterprise, Chertkov drew a number of English and Russian Tolstoyans into his service, who worked as either joint translators, as in the case of Fifield, or as editors and proof readers. For example, Isabella Fyvie Mayo and

¹¹⁷ The importance of Arthur Fifield in the publication of Tolstoyan literature is also recorded by Nellie Shaw in her memoirs. See Shaw 1935.

Florence and Jane Holah were directly involved in these translating practices.¹¹⁸ After Fifield's split with the FAP, his position in the publishing house was taken on by Alexander Sirnis, a Latvian émigré who arrived in England as a refugee in 1907. As soon as he joined the FAP, Chertkov felt the need to inform him about practices of translation at the FAP:

If Maude has returned to England, please ask him to translate this article without losing any time. If he has not returned or does not wish to do the translating, please translate it yourself, and in this connection act as I used to do with my translations, viz.: send it to Mrs Mayo for correction and let her know that you do it at my request. Let her correct it, adhering to the method she used in the case of my translations. When you have received back your translation corrected by her don't fail to compare it with the Russian original in order to ascertain if any mutilation of the original meaning have not crept in... Having finally verified the translation please send it to be typed and then forward the requisite number of copies to Massie. [...] The translation should be as literal as possible, preserving the style, the repetitions, and all the peculiarities of Tolstoy's composition, as long as the English version be quite correct as to grammar and, of course, the sense be quite clear. [...] We should avoid the temptation common to translators: instead of a literal rendering to use hackneyed English expressions which the translator thinks show his exceptionally thorough knowledge of the English language. [...] One should also avoid correcting, when translating, what a translator thinks is a defect of the author's style. [...] On the other hand, for instance, one should of course cut up a sentence that is too long, for the sake of clearness, into several separate ones, etc. (MS 138/641)

Interestingly, in the publications of the FAP, translators were not acknowledged in the text, thereby increasing what Venuti terms "the illusion of transparency" (Venuti 2008:1). This strategy was functional to Chertkov's plan:

¹¹⁸ For a scholarly account of Isabella F. Mayo's affiliation with Chertkov and the International Tolstoyan movement, see Moore 2014. It is interesting to acknowledge the presence of Mayo, who lived and worked for the Tolstoyans from Aberdeen, in the cultural circle of the Tolstoyan movement, which did not take root in Britain at large, but in England only. Mayo's personality, therefore, establishes a bond between English (and consequently, international) Tolstoysm and Scotland.

by offering an accurate rendering of Tolstoy's works, in fact, he aimed to make the English readers familiar not only with Tolstoy's authorial message, but also with his distinctive literary style.¹¹⁹ The translator's invisibility would favour an easier flow of Russian into English, a smoother cross-fertilization. In other words, the translator's voice should be silenced, to give way to the author's one: adaptation, manipulation and re-writing, in fact, do not enter Chertkov's plan. Ideology and form were equally worth transferring in the target culture. Proficiency in both English and Russian proved, therefore, essential: the collaboration of native speakers of the two languages, in fact, reduced the degree of manipulation and adaptation, discarding, as it were, the domesticating norms of 19th-century English translation practices (Venuti 2008; Beasley and Bullock 2011).

As Beasley observes, foreignizing translations would reach their heyday in high modernism, enhancing cultural debates (Beasley 2014). If it is true, Beasley argues, that modernist translators engage in the process of "defamiliarization", that is to say of praising a foreignizing theory of translation, it is also true that these translations were concerned to establishing stylistic norms. "So although [this] strategy may disrupt the domesticating norms of English translation practice, characterised by fluency and transparency, they nevertheless enact a different form of domestication, rewriting the source text to serve modernist

¹¹⁹ By rejecting "domestication" in translation, in fact, Chertkov opted for "foreignizing translations", which highlighted the foreign, rather than the domestic aspects of a text. This seems to comply with Walter Benjamin's translating ideal that sees translation as a process of "linguistic complementation" (Benjamin 2000:21). A translation, in fact, should not only convey the meaning of a text, but also incorporate the "mode of signification" of the original version, thereby triggering the expansion of linguistic boundaries. However, the scholar's theory simultaneously draws attention upon the "utopian" connotation of foreignizing translations: although they can propel forward cross-cultural fertilization, in fact, translations can never be transparent. They can only convey the "illusion", as Venuti claims, of transparency. Consequently, Benjamin's linguistic utopia is sustained by a utopian theory of transaction, a combination that seems embedded in Chertkov's plan itself, hallmarked by the intention to fuel, as it were, the target culture with Russian traditions and aesthetic models.

cultural agenda,” (Beasley 2014:6) which pivoted on the search for new forms and aesthetics in order to rejuvenate English literary traditions.¹²⁰ In spite of their modernist focus, Beasley’s observations prove crucial in the assessment of Chertkov’s cultural plan, although he was far from being a modernist translator. The collaborative practice in translation that he fostered, in fact, favoured “foreignizing values” over domestication and fluency, as opposed to those published in *Free Russia* or those by Constance Garnett, which are discussed in the next chapter. Summing up, the foreignizing ideal in translation necessarily enacts a defamiliarization process, insofar as it introduces the reading public of the target-culture to literary styles and aesthetics that belong to other cultural and literary traditions. As Venuti claims, defamiliarization fosters canon reformation, ideological critique and institutional change (Venuti 2000). Consequently, however foreignizing, a translation becomes a unique communicative act that attracts a domestic community of readers: it becomes, therefore a “domestic inscription” (ibid.) that foster cultural, ideological and literary renovation and triggers the process of transnational fertilization.

Moreover, the more a translation published by an institution performs different functions, the more the community of readers is heterogeneous (Venuti 2000). This observation is topical in our assessment of the FAP and its cultural and social implications. This institution of Tolstoyan Anglo-Russianness, in fact, published translations that performed cultural, literary, as well as social and ideological functions, that counteracted English dominant cultural values, offering answers to the interests of a wide and diverse range of domestic audiences. Such a heterogeneous community, which is essentially a domestic one, includes foreign sensibilities and interests, an encounter that the process of Anglo-Russian collaborative translations fostered. In other words, translation as a form of Anglo-Russian collaboration bridged the cultural gap between two different traditions, triggering the creation of a domestic community of readers

¹²⁰ See Arnold (1887).

concerned for foreign affairs: thanks to the two branches of the FAP, Tolstoyan literature circulated in both English and Russian versions, thus gathering a cosmopolitan Anglo-Russian community, favouring cross-cultural fertilization, and galvanising the creation of a transnational literary space.

3.3 Narratives of Community: Anglo-Russian Crisscrossing Paths in *Belinda The Backward* (1905) and *The Simple Life Limited* (1911)

As we have seen, the resultant effect of the rapidly growing discontent with Victorian capitalism and *mores* was the upsurge of utopian experiments in communal life. These were largely informed by modern ideals of social amelioration and perfectibility (Waddell 2012). Consequently, the lure of a collective dimension proves crucial in refining our understanding of 19th-century social and cultural discourses. Largely inspired by foreign ideologies, Tolstoysm to be precise, these utopian communities do not only exemplify the transnational and cross-cultural interferences that international immigration incepted, but they also offered alternatives to modern urbanization and individualism. In other words, these hybrid alternative communities help us to reframe the importance foreign ideologies had in the social and cultural debate that sprouted up in the Late-Victorian years, for their offering an alternative to *fin de siècle* cultural discourses.

The cracks and crises of the Late-Victorian years also lead to bewildering transformations in the worlds of culture and arts. The Victorian myth of a “homogenous” nation-state, as well as the 19th-century cultural system, in fact, started to fall apart. The distinctively modern need to do away with Victorian traditions resulted in a departure from the novel, particularly from its moral and pedagogical stances of Victorian matrix, for it was the literary genre that had characterised the cultural and intellectual life of the previous centuries (Caserio and Hawes 2012; Kucich and Taylor 2012). Interestingly, this phenomenon did

not automatically translate into a cultural void. By dismissing the moral and didactic functions of the novel, in fact, modern authors were trying to find narrative strategies that could textualise this early modern interest in utopia, as well as the related issues of individual identity, social organization and communal politics that this ideal caught up. In other words, the social changes that hallmarked the Late-Victorian years proved the condition *sine-qua-non* for formal transformations. What I wish to investigate in these pages are the written responses to politics and utopian thinking in British early modernist literary culture.¹²¹

Salome Hocking's *Belinda the Backward* (1905) and Ford Madox Ford's *The Simple Life Limited* (1911) exemplify the aesthetic quest that characterised the turn-of-the-century English literary panorama.¹²² Before venturing into the analysis of interwoven motifs and narrative practices, a few preliminary observations become compelling. Both texts depict alternative communities informed by Tolstoyan ideology. Nevertheless, while Tolstoysm is the crux and pivot of Hocking's work, it enters Ford's fiction only marginally.¹²³ In other words, *Belinda the Backward* and *The Simple Life Limited* offer a narrative record of the utopian Anglo-Russian land colonies that spouted up at the turn of the 20th century. The question of how to represent this lure for utopia at a narrative level becomes, therefore, a matter of major concern. How could the novel, as a moralistic and didactic genre, articulate the modern refusal of the *status-quo*, being itself the genre of Victorian literary tradition? It is precisely to answer to

¹²¹ For a well-scholarly analysis of the pre-modernist era and of its responsive to modernity, see Peter Brooker 2007. For the early modernist interest in utopia, see Waddell 2012 and Potter 2006.

¹²² Henceforth: BB and SLL.

¹²³ Ford was not only in direct contact with Russian revolutionary émigrés, Stepniak, Kropotkin and Volkhovsky in particular (and later with David Soskice, who became his brother in law), but also with the intellectual and cultural movements of the day. It is likely that, for his affiliation with the Russian émigrés, as well as with the Garnett family, he was aware of the Tolstoyan movement in England and of its cultural implications. See Ford 1932, Ford 2011a/b, Garnett 1954, Garnett 1993.

this aesthetic need that old genres resumed sway in the *fin de siècle*, genres which were destined to dominate the literary scene for a few years: these are the genres of utopia and *romance* (Pagetti 1998).

It is a rather well-known fact that *romance* captivated the literary and artistic sensibilities of Late-Victorian and (early) modernist authors, suffice it to call to mind H. G. Wells's scientific romances, R. L. Stevenson's adventure romances, as well as his essay entitled "A Gossip On Romance" (1882), or Conrad and Ford's collaborative novel, who was eventually titled *Romance* (1903). Not to mention Jane Weston's anthropological study *From Ritual to Romance* (1920) and the impact it had on Jane E. Harrison's studies, as well as on T. S. Eliot *The Wasteland* (1922). Most importantly, Virginia Woolf herself had something to say about it: "In Stevenson," she claims, "romance is treated seriously and given all the advantages of the most refined literary art. [...] Scott, Stevenson, Mrs Radcliffe, all in their different ways, unveil another country of the land of fiction; and it is not the least proof of their power that they breed in us a keen desire for something different" (Woolf 1929). The idea of '*romance*', in other words, breaks through the *fin de siècle* cultural and literary discourses: it encapsulates a desire for "something different", from both a social and literary points of view, offering a way out to literature.¹²⁴ It is precisely in the wake of this theoretical framework that *Belinda the Backward* has to be interpreted, for its very subtitle reads "A Romance of Modern Idealism."¹²⁵ Given the fascination of the day for the genre, Hocking's choice comes as no surprise. The *romance*, as a genre newly reborn,

¹²⁴ For scholarly accounts of the evolution of the romance and the tug of war with the novel, see Caserio and Hawes 2012, Kucich and Taylor 2012.

¹²⁵ The use of subtitles that clarify the authorial intention, and that, consequently, shed light on the kind of "narrative pact" that the author established with her readers, is a common praxis in Hocking's works. *Granny's Hero: A Tale of Country Life* (1885), *Jacky: A Story of Everyday Life* (1887), *Chronicles of a Quiet Family: A Story of Temperance* (1888) are just a few examples of the author's resorting to different literary genres – the story and the tale in these cases – in her writings. It is likely, therefore, that when she used the term "romance" for her novel *Belinda the Backward*, she did so deliberately, suggesting her eagerness to inscribe her work into that literary tradition.

proved most suitable to tackle the lure of perfectibility, amelioration, and regeneration of society that modern idealism promoted.

Salome Hocking was Author Fifiield's wife: her fictional account of the Tolstoyan Colony called "The Strangeways Colony", as well as the characters in her work, are deeply informed by historical evidence and by her personal experience among the Tolstoyans at Tuckton House encounters. Of a similar nature is Ford's *The Simple Life Limited*: the author, in fact, draws upon his life experience in the London suburb of Limpsfield. Moreover, his awareness of social and garden planning of the *fin de siècle* has no lesser part to play in this respect. As a satirical polemic of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Plan, Ford's work articulates the author's distance from the Late-Victorian utopianism of Tolstoyan matrix. In his work, Ford ironically undermines the inconsistencies of ideal societies, as well as their capitalistic turn: for this reasons, Ford's text could be described as a "utopian satire" (Moser 1980). Despite his refusal of modern utopianism, Ford is well aware that more is at stake in utopian communities than simple life, which somehow expresses radical turbulences in culture and language. Topical issues of negotiations, in fact, are at tackled in the text, however lightly and at times satirically: these include the dichotomies urban/rural, and archaic/modern, all aspects that are central to utopian concerns but also to literary ones. Although Ford's and Hocking's texts can be ascribed as belonging to certain literary *genres*, these very generic borders seem to be blurred in their writings, for they combine history, biographical details and fiction.

It is true, of course, that the genres of utopia and romance resumed sway at the turn of the 20th century, and that their norms offered a breath of fresh air, as it were, for early modernist authors who wished to dismiss the Victorian novelistic tradition. It is not by chance, in fact, that Ford and Hocking resort to these genres extensively. By blurring the well-established generic distinctions, in fact, they moved a further step far from Victorian traditions, forerunning the modernist appetite for cross-generic works. In other words, they negotiated an alternative narrative strategy to textualise utopian – and therefore alternative –

communities. Thus, the social change that Tolstoysm promoted, posed a challenge to narrative forms: new social constructions demanded for a new aesthetics that could textualise the modern lure of utopia. What I wish to explore is how the newly reborn genres of romance and utopia proved most suitable to textualise an alternative communities and networks. I will investigate the intertwining modes of textualizing alternative orderings of modernity, calling attention to the decentralised geographies that these communities populated and to cosmopolitan discourses, to conclude on the defamiliarising effect that these narratives of communities convey.

3.3.1 Decentralised Geographies: A Dialogue with Modernity

Crossing the borders of conventionalism does not only occur in terms of generic choices: the texts in analysis deal, in fact, with unconventional, alternative social constructions of Tolstoyan matrix. Being located on the fringes of urban centres, these alterative communities of modern utopianism called attention to “alternative”, or decentralised geographies. Nevertheless, the modern metropolis is not completely absent from these narratives: cities and city life, in fact, are juxtaposed to rural and communal life style, in order to better define the latter as an alternative to the former. In other words, this juxtaposition articulates the crossing of geographical borders between urban and rural centres, re-framing the role of decentralised areas in both the utopian design and in the modern imagination.

Belinda the Backward offers a wide range of images of urban and country life, the latter characterised by a sense of togetherness:

Strange though it may seem, in leaving Uncle Seth’s house, which was situated in the centre of a thickly populated London suburb scarcely an hour’s ‘bus ride from the heart of the city, to go down to a little sleepy, undeveloped watering-place in the very heart of the country, I yet considered that I was leaving stagnation behind me, and going into a place of progressive thought. So much was I influenced by the progressive people with whom I was brought into immediate contact, that for the time being they formed my world. What mattered it to me that all round me lay

London. That magic city which contains within its walls some specimen of everything that is considered of value in the civilised world. My London was the suburb in which Uncle Seth lived. And what was it to me that I could not go into the street without meeting a never-ceasing stream of people, if with not one of them I exchanged a single idea? (BB 83-4)

The traditional representation of the modern city as the cradle of modernity and progress is here completely subverted, giving way to images of stagnation and immobility rather than social, cultural, architectural, and intellectual dynamism. Interestingly, this unconventional representation of the city is not devoid of ambiguities. In fact, while advocating intellectual immobility, the narrator evokes the “never-ceasing stream of people” that populate this modern scene, thereby calling attention to the fluidity of modern life. The dynamism, almost restlessness, of the modern metropolis is further emphasised by the narrator’s Dutch interlocutor, who on her arrival in the colony claims: “I do not like your London. [...] It is dreadful: everybody in ve streets looking as if vey ‘ave only von day to live, and vey must vork every meenit of dat day. Vat for must I be so mad?” (BB 41-2). The experience of time-space compression (Harvey 1990) that characterised urban modernity is what land colonists reject.

On the contrary, it is far from urban centres that progressive ideology takes roots, resulting in the creation of alternative communities, such as the one that welcomed the first-person narrator. Progressive thought is here induced by the encounter with foreign voices and ideologies, particularly Tolstoysm, which seem to undermine the traditional and stereotypical vision of the countryside as a backward space. In other words, the rapprochement at the textual level of urban modernity and land colonies, that is to say of divergent geographies, calls attention to the issue of borders and to the general dissatisfaction of utopian thinkers with the country/city dichotomies.

Similarly, the issue of geographical borders becomes of crucial importance in Ford’s *The Simple Life Limited*:

Frog's Cottages hung half-way down a steep hill, a little way on the Kent side of the Surrey border. They were very old and red-tiled over weatherboarding. The three of them stood side by side, the hill coming very steep down in a bank behind them, the gardens sloping not quite so sharply in front. On the top right-hand corner of the steep path leading down was a spring approached by mossy and greenish stones. A sort of niche was cut in the solid rock over the spring so that it covered the hollowed trough into which it was the habit of the advocate of the Simple Life to dip their buckets. The overflow of the spring ran down alongside the gardens to form at the bottom a shallow pond flagged with stones. Here such of the "Lifers" as were accustomed to bathe, bathed. Others who disliked the chill of water upon the skin of their bodies would sit dabbling their feet in the clear liquid. Very tall and very old trees towered upon the bank behind the cottages, overshadowing them so that the russet tiles of the uneven roofs and sides were streaked here and there with green tracks from dripping water. (SLL 48)

The Simple Life colony is set in Kent: geographical elements such as trees, hills and the stream draw the borders, as it were, of this land experiment. It is worth emphasising, however, that Ford's distinctive literary style further problematises the representation of space. The juxtaposition of the Kent and Surrey geographies in the expression "on the Kent side of the Surrey border," in fact, calls attention to the question of geographical proximity and introduces motifs of liminality and threshold areas. The Simple Life project, therefore, illuminates the problematic and at times contradictory nature of liminal spaces. While described as a geographically circumscribed area, an enclosed space ideally separated from modernity and conventionalism, the colony seems to foster dialogues and encounters, to-and-fro movements and exchanges, as references, however indirect and subterranean, to urban modernity and the presence of visitors from nearby areas demonstrate. The geographical borders of the Simple Life movement, therefore, are circumscribed and porous at the same time, a fact that hints at the tension between isolation and networking that is at basis of this utopian communal experiment.

Visitors of all sorts were welcomed to have a tour of the Simple Life colony: and yet, they were not shown life in the colony as it actually was. To keep up

appearances of respectability, high morality and cleanliness, Lifers were allowed to show guests over one cottage only, "show cottage" (SLL 135): almost uninhabited for most of the year, it was kept in excellent conditions, while all else was in a state of neglect. Visitors from urban centres also features in Hocking's text:

"You spoke of visitors just now, what kind of visitors do you get?" She laughed merrily as she replied –

"All sorts. Lots of them come to see us as they would go to see a menagerie, and seem rather surprised and disappointed to find us so much like other people. [...] Then again there are those who come with a view to joining us, but after a week or two many of them find the life too hard or too monotonous, and return to their towns. But they generally remain more or less in sympathy with us, and many of them send us parcels and groceries or bundles of clothes when they can afford it. Many visitors like the country in the summer, but only the old original colonists can stand the winter. (BB 107)

A similar description occurs in chapter XIX, where Belinda, the first-person narrator, records her impressions of town guests:

One of my chief sources of amusement that summer was the attitude taken up by some of the visitors who came to stay with us. Many of them must have come expecting a sort of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, and when day after day assed by and we displayed no entertaining tricks for their delectation, they began to feel disappointed. Some of them could not help telling us what they had expected to find, and certainly their expectations did great credit to their imaginations. The mere name of colony, I suppose, has a romantic sound to the ear of most town dwellers, and they imagine something Arcadian and altogether delightful, forgetting that they chief industry on a colony must of necessity be an agricultural one, which all through the spring and summer requires the daily care and labour of the colonists. (BB 161)

Curiosity and the lure for exoticism stimulated the interest of visitors, who associated 'colonial' life with a sort of Arcadian or primitivist ideal, which was nonetheless of crucial importance in the cultural and literary history of the early 20th century. This is also the impression Belinda herself gets on her arrival at the

colony: "to [her] town-bread eyes" (BB 125), the colonists bear traces of a sort of picturesqueness that reminded her of "Fennimore Cooper's noble red man or of Longfellow's Hiawatha" (BB 131-2). Similarly, the term "picturesque" and the schemata that it necessarily activates occur in Ford's text to describe cottage life, which is represented a "laudable effort after picturesqueness" (SLL 128). In other words, visitors were attracted to these colonies by romantic imagination that alternative colonial experiments awakened, some of these guests even venturing to partaking to colonial life in their longing for the exotic.

Visitors to colonial experiments are just one of the many cues that hint at the interconnection between city or town life and utopian land colonies. It is probably more interesting to acknowledge that, although it departs from conventionalism, the utopian community Ford describes is still attached to modern commodities, as well as to social and cultural conventions:

But what was the colony to so? They had reduced almost everything to the very simplest. They did no cooking at all. They lived mostly on nuts, cheese, sour milk and wholemeal biscuits. But they found they could not do without hot water. They needed it to drink for indigestion if they did not need it for anything else. They needed it for washing their clothes with; they needed it even for washing the tables off which they ate their food, for the vats in which they stepped and dyed such fabrics as they manufactured. They could not, in fact, do without it, and some of them were so unregenerate as not to be able to do without their cup of tea. (SLL 50)

Ford's critique of utopian experiments draws upon the impossibility to withdraw from both modern commodities and cultural identity. For example, Englishness is here stereotypically embedded in tea customs. This indebtedness to modern civilization also features in Hocking's text, as the colonists accepted donations from visitors and sympathisers, most of which consisted in clothes and food. Moreover, Mr Gubb, the founding father of the Simple Life Colony is himself planning improvements, introducing communal electric supply and a cold storage system (SLL 174, 220, 266). Not to mention that, in both SLL and BB money matters lay at the very basis of communal experiments. In Ford's novel,

Mr Luscombe, an aristocratic landowner, offers Mr Gubb a small amount of money to start his colonial experiment. Similarly, Hocking's narrator observes that "it was only because some of the colonists had enough money to buy the land outright that they are able to make [such an] experiment" (BB 136). Utopianism and capitalism, therefore, seem problematically intertwined.

The English periodical press is another important topic of conversation in the SLL, as well as another aspect that casts a new light on the interplay between alternative communities and dominant public opinion. While discussing the importance of receiving a testimonial for his work at the Simple Life Ltd, Mr Gubb asks her interlocutor to "consider the immense publicity it will give to the Colony," because it is very likely that "all the London papers will mention it" (SLL 244). Since the colonists targeted the amelioration and perfectibility of society at large, the dissemination of their principles depended upon the institution of dominant culture, the periodical press to be precise, which was given a significant burst at the turn of the 20th century. Modern society, in other words, proved the condition *sine-qua-non* for the making of alternative communities: not only did they sprout up as a reaction to commodity culture, but also thanks to modern capitalist culture. In other words, it was the society colonists wished to depart from that favoured the creation of alternative colonies.

This paradox, however, is far from prefiguring a historical time when capitalism eventually leave way to alternative socio-economic systems. On the contrary, it tends to invalidate these alternative social constructions. All characters who have ventured into the Simple Life experiment are dissatisfied with it and retort to traditional life styles. Ophelia Branson is a telling example in this respect: once the voice of the philosophy of the Simple Life, she is disillusioned with its corrupted values and decides to start a new life in London. She is eventually sent to Paris in order to be properly educated. It is true, of course, that the Simple Life seems to outlive its initial spokespersons, as Hamnet Gubb put into practice his own interpretation of Mr Gubb's philosophy: he moves to the countryside and lives with as a close a connection with nature as

possible. And yet, Hamnet's experiment is an individualistic one: it does not articulate any form of sociability and becomes, on the contrary, a dreamer's extravaganza. As a result, the colonists' original plan to establish alternative self-supportive communities translates into an unattainable ideal.

Experiments in alternative communal relations, therefore, articulates concerns of liminality, staging different forms of encounter between country and city lives and traditions. It is worth noticing that the on-going dialogue between these two poles is also articulated in terms of circulation of ideas.

This movement back to the land is, I am convinced, an entirely right one," [Mrs Percival] said to me when we were alone, Miss Morehen having gone into the next cottage to see another "sympathiser." "After living near to, and working among some of the poorest in South London, I have come to the conclusion that nothing can be done for them until we can take them away from their present hopeless surroundings. They must be torn away from the degradation of town life before they can be made to live clean and self-respecting lives. If the people here can show that a living can be got from a few acres of land properly cultivated, what is there to prevent others from coming and sharing this life? Anyway, every person who leaves the town and comes to live in the country helps to ease the terrible competition which is driving so many people to be paupers, criminals, or suicides. [...] I could not begin to tell you of all the hopes I have centred in this colony. It is my dream of an earthly paradise; my garden of Eden before the serpent crept in." (BB 135-6)

The dramatic tone, as well as the set of biblical images, encapsulate the utopian design of these land colonies and the colonists' eagerness to transform this experiment into a model for social perfectibility. The semantic field of the Bible also appears in Ford texts, thereby increasing the utopian charge of these alternative communities: "[Mr Gubb] suddenly began to walk along the little group of tiled cottages to inspect them and to count them. 'The Promised Land!' he exclaimed. 'By Jove, the Promised Land!'" (SLL 91). Moreover, Lady Croydon observes that "[the colony] is almost good for working people. It's an earthly paradise" (SLL 146). As a result, these colonies were to be examples of morality, whose principles had to be disseminated, in the attempt to lead to the

amelioration of society. To attract the interest of sympathisers was pivotal, for that was the only means to expand utopianism. In other words, this process of cultural dissemination triggered the circulation not only of ideas, but also of people: geographical borders were blurred, thereby tightening up the connections between central and peripheral areas.¹²⁶ The porous borders of these threshold areas favoured the dissemination and the affirmation of this utopian form of social construction.

Lefebvre's concept of social spaces as always intertwining with one another proves significant for our understanding of the socio-cultural connections between urban modernity and utopian land colonies as they feature in the texts in analysis: "Social spaces," Lefebvre argues, "interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another. They are not *things*, which have mutually limiting boundaries ... Visible boundaries, such as walls or enclosures in general, give rise for their part to an appearance of separation between spaces where in fact what exists is an ambiguous continuity" (Lefebvre 1991:87).¹²⁷ It is true, of course, that utopian communities are set in contrast to urban centres, particularly for their offering a social, cultural and ideological

¹²⁶ In spite of these promising basis, both the experiments described by Hocking and Ford are destined to an unsuccessful outcome. The Simple Life colony, far from being an example of morality and perfectibility, is became a source of income for its founder, Mr Gubb, who was forced to abandon his projects and to address his lure for utopia somewhere else. He subsequently founded the Croydon Garden City Limited. Similarly, Mrs Percival is dissatisfied with the Strangeways Colony particularly because of free unions, which she considered more as amoral practices than as alternatives to marriage conventions. Although the experiment may fail, the desire for "a more healthy and natural life" (BB 145) still thrived, so that Mrs Percival, in alliance with the narrative voice, underwent her quest for a new Eden.

¹²⁷ Italics in the original text. As Thacker observes in his investigation of space and place in modernist literature, Lefebvre's theory of "social space" is pivotal in our assessment of modernist social and cultural geography (Thacker 2003). Every society, in Lefebvre's theory, produces its own distinctive form of space, according to its needs; at the same time, space has a function to play in the construction of social life. Society and space are, therefore, intimately interconnected. See Lefebvre 1974.

alternative to modernity. Nonetheless, urban modernity is still a constant, however subterranean, presence in the texts in analysis and has no lesser part to play in shaping the cultural panorama we are investigating. The principle of “interpenetration of social spaces,” necessarily entails that any fragment of space that we venture to analyse, unveils many social relations across geographical borders.

Consequently, the flux of people and ideas seems to weave together the modern metropolis of Edwardian suburbs with utopian arcadias, paving the way for modernist writers to capture the dynamism of modernity. As a result, Hocking and Ford did not only juxtapose urban and pastoral geographies, but also two different models of sociability. In so doing, they offered a subjective insight into alternative social constructions, which emerge, in turn, as borderline communities, both culturally and geographically. Discussing spaces, therefore, proved functional to Hocking and Ford, for it enabled them to unveil the inner paradoxes of these alternative social models, as well as their distinctive utopian charge.

3.3.2 The Chronotopes of Utopian Colonies

As we have noticed, decentralised and urban geographies permeate the texts in analysis: although dealing with alternative geographies, in fact, modern society features in BB and SLL. Central among the range of spaces surveyed in Ford’s and Hocking’s texts are the cottage and the land, which are the chronotopes of the texts in analysis, in the way Bakhtin defines the term:

Chronotopes are points in the geography of a community where time and space intersect and fuse. Time takes on flesh and becomes visible for human contemplation; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time and history and the enduring character of a people. [...] Chronotopes thus stand as monuments to the community itself, as symbols

of it, as forces operating to shape its members' images of themselves.
(Bakhtin 1981:84)¹²⁸

What I venture to unveil in the following pages is the chronotopic function of these spaces drawing attention not only upon their plot-generating, representational and semantic significance, which are, in Bakhtin's theory, the major functions of the narrative chronotopes, but also upon their ideological and cultural ones.

3.3.2.1 The Cottage

Although Hocking is greatly concerned with the representation of alternative spaces, she does not provide any systematic description of Seadown House.

The intense stillness and darkness seemed ominous, and I shivered as much with fear as cold. No answer being forthcoming and the cabman not liking leave his horse, I ventured round the house to the back, and was at last rewarded by seeing a light streaming from an uncurtained window. Feeling around I found a door, which opened into a dimly-lit washhouse or scullery. I knocked at the door opposite me, but there was such a babel of sounds within that it was not until I raised my umbrella and gave a sharp rap-rap that the noise ceased and some one called out "Come in." I opened the door, and saw a very long table surrounded by people. (BB 22)

The expression "babel of sounds" anticipates the scene that will unfold before Belinda's eyes as she enters the room. The presence of many people sitting around a long table foretells the nature of this place: it is, in fact, the common house where all members of Mr Kovalevsky's cultural group lived. The interior of this communal building necessarily calls to mind the motif of domesticity, which, in this case, is to be intended as a collective dimension. I call this phenomenon "collective domesticity", for it draws attention to the threshold between public and private, between the individual and the collective.

¹²⁸ For a contemporary reassessment of Bakhtin's theory and of its most recent applications and future perspective, see Bemong 2010.

Moreover, it unfolds the social dimension of colonial life: in the common house, is fact, not only social, but also professional relations are established. This fact highlights the spirit of collaboration that hallmarked the life at the colony, as well as the plot-generating significance of the colonial house. In fact, it is at Seadown House that Belinda makes important encounters, for example the one with Mr Kovalevsky, with whom she starts collaborating over the dissemination of Tolstoyan ideology, proof-reading his drafts and answering his letters. Not to mention Belinda's meetings with new friends and the one with Olga Sharapoff, supposedly a Russian spy, who would undermine the tranquilly of colonial life: they all take place in the colonial house.

Interestingly, Hocking gives a detailed description of the cottage where Belinda moved to upon leaving Seadown House. This cottage was part of the Strangeways Colony, a community of Tolstoyan matrix.

As [I] entered the door of Jessie Newman's cottage, I looked around eagerly at what was about to be my future home. It was an ordinary four-roomed cottage, the walls being partly of brick and partly of weather boarding. I thought I have never seen such small low rooms. It was not ceiled overhead, and the beams and flooring were almost black with smoke. The kitchen floor was made of bricks, much worn and broken. Not a single door or window fitted, and in cold or windy weather the draughts were terrible. But I did not discover these drawbacks until later. I was too much taken up with the novelty of it all to be very critical. For the first time in my life I was going to live in a genuine cottage, and the thought delighted me. [...] I was anxious to meet the other inmates of the cottage, so Jessie Newman went up and rigged up a flag and shortly after they appeared. The first to arrive was Miss McLeod, a woman about forty, wearing gold-rimmed spectacles [...]. Lizzie Brown was a young girl of twenty. Good-looking, rosy-cheeked and strong, and very good tempered. [...] The third member was Miss Selina Morehen. She was nearer fifty than forty, I should say. (BB 104, 107-8)

Again, Hocking's representation of cottage life is figured in terms of collective domesticity: unlike Seadown House, however, the Strangeways Colony consisted in a few cottages scattered on the land. Each cottage was inhabited by a small group of people, in the case reported above, of women. If we consider the cottage as the primary site of social construction within the

colony, it is possible to claim that there exist diverse sub-groups within the community itself, given the presence of diverse cottages at the colony. Consequently, the cottage does no longer stand for a family household: it rather emerges as a “basic” social construction, where the spirit of collaboration and mutual aid that the colony praises are cultivated. Needless to say, each cottage-unit is connected to the community at large, thereby establishing a complex network in which all colonists have their part to play. As a result, a substantial reconfiguration of the cottage’s imaginative scene is here at stake: no longer a private space, it features as a collective endeavour, where a new community can be constructed. In other words, the cottage is re-interpreted as a public space, fuelling public discourses and communal ideals.

Interestingly, cottages are far from being hospitable places, as Belinda later acknowledges, not so much for their status of neglect, as for their rusticity and minimalism, which are, of course, to be ascribed to the Tolstoyan ideals of simplicity. The kettle takes a long time to boil, nothing but damp wood was available for cooking matters, smoke was occasionally blown out into the room, not to mention the absence of comfortable beds and the noises caused by the ill-fitting windows (BB 104;107): these are just a few of the discomforts that Belinda has to face while living in the colony.

A diametrically opposite image of cottages features in the SLL, where the discomforts of cottage life seem to be completely obliterated.

The door opened straight into a living room of an extreme white spick and spanness. Upon the duck’s nest grate in the inglenook was a copper kettle, brighter than any the Countess thought she had ever seen. On the oak beam that did duty for a mantel-shelf stood three cheap Delft plates, representing in blue and yellow, Dutchmen in enormous yellow clogs. The chairs were of white wood, with high stiff backs and greenish grey rush seats. The table was of white deal, scrubbed and sand-papered till the hardness of its surface had been eroded. The curtains before the little casement windows were of bright red Turkey twill. There was nothing less whatever in the room except Mr Brandetski who sat in an attitude of passionate dejection, his head almost between his knees, half-in, half-out of the ingle. A scullery was approached by a white door with a large wooden latch that Mrs Lee pulled

up with a string through a hole. It contained a sink, a plate-rack, holding white plates, a Windsor chair, over the back of which for a moment was thrown the housekeeper's grey woollen shawl, a draining-board and a kitchen table, upon which there stood a wooden Swiss clock with a painted face representing a boy shooting at a pigeon, in scarlet and emerald green, and a geranium in a pot. [...] Wooden stairs turning rather awkwardly half way up led them to the bed-room floor. The room which was exhibited – the sleeping apartments of Mr and Mrs Johnson – was as severely, as frugally white as the living room down below. Two beds, quite small and of white, soft wood, were covered with blue serge from head to foot. The fireplace, which had apparently been newly put in, had a circular hearth of very bright red bricks and there was a little semicircular mantel-shelf of white deal. The window curtains, here, also, were of red twill and with the exception of two of the white, high backed chairs, there was nothing else in the room. (SLL 137-8)

Central among the rage of colours is white, which pervades the whole scene giving an impression of cleanness, brightness and care. Although the essential furniture and the materials employed, wood in particular, seem to reflect the simple life of the colony, this cottage is in sharp contrast with the one described by Hocking, not so much for the meticulous care, as for the presence of some commodities, such as the mantelshelf, decorated plates, curtains, and the Swiss clock. Not to mention the fireplace, which seems to have been a most recent improvement. Interestingly, this is the only description of a cottage interior that occurs in the novel, a fact that comes as no surprise: the cottage that Ford describes, in fact, is the so-called "show cottage," the only one visitors were shown up to. Although there are references to this cottage being similar to all the others, it is likely that this one is kept in better conditions in order to give a good impression to visitors. In other words, the cottage reflects the colonists' desire to keep up with appearances, giving the impression of respectability to the visitors.

The debate over respectability and appearance is the crux and pivot of the novel and it takes place in Mr Bransdon's cottage:

Mr Gubb was clearing from the oaken slab of the table the remains of Mr Bransdon's dinner. [...] Mr Bransdon's living room exactly resembled that of Mr and Mrs Johnson except that the fireplace was upon the right-hand

side of the door and the windows upon the left. It contained, moreover, the loom, and as a concession to Mr Bransdon's habit of luxury, an old-fashioned dresser of dark wood. [...]

Mr Gubb was used to querulous moods in his leader. "Of course, if you weave," he said, "it looks more simple. But I think that if you dictate it's really more impressive."

Mr Bransdon raised one of his shaggy eyelids, giving an odd impression that one half of him was piercing perspicacious and the other half lazily half asleep.

"I wish you'd shut that door," he exclaimed. And then he added with an imperiousness that was certainly more than Mr Gubb had expected: "Of course you prefer me to dictate. It lets you show off your devotion!" [...]

"If you haven't got anything fresh in your head to dictate," Mr Gubb said, "you could do 'Riders to the Hills' or 'the Waste Places of the Sea' over again. It doesn't really matter about having anything new. It's just to show people a typical example of how we live."

Mr Gubb was pressing his head against the window-pane and peering painfully sideways along the road.

"[The Lady of Croydon] is coming out of Johnson's," he said. "Won't you seat in the loom seat? It's so much more impressive" [...]

"This is all blame rot!" [Bransdon] exclaimed.

The latch of the garden gate clicked. Mr Gubb, trotting swiftly across the room, caught up his reporter's tablet and his pencil and, according to the established custom, so that the chanting voice might be heard through the closed door, Mr Bransdon began to speak from deep in his throat and Mr Gubb became engrossed in his shorthand. [...]

"Look here, you, I'm not going to put up with this sort of thing any longer." [Bransdon said]

Mr Gubb said soothingly: "Well! Well" He was confident enough that when the next batch of visitors came along he would be able to persuade his wayward leader into the old course of action. He rose and was making towards the door.

"It's all very well," Mr Bransdon exclaimed. "There you go, dancing attendance on people, picking up all that the desirable acquaintances you can, and here I have to sit, acting the fool like a blame sick monkey. Let me tell you I'm as good a man at conversation as you are, and I'm pretty fairly sick of this great Panjamdrum business." Mr Bransdon came out of his loom-seat with an activity altogether astonishing. [...] "I'm coming with you" he announced. Mr Gubb uttered a "But ..." and then he relapsed into silence.

"After all," he said, "I don't see why you shouldn't. Except [...] that it will look as if your dictation was merely a dramatic display."

"Well, it was only play-acting, wasn't it?" Mr Bransdon said. (SLL 142-5)

The dichotomy of reality and appearance is here cast under scrutiny: as the dialogue unfolds, in fact, the superficiality of the Simple Life emerges. What Lifers are doing, in other words, is just staging the play of communal life, an interpretation that is backed up by the presence of the semantic field of drama. Ford's approach to the cottage seems, therefore, ambivalent: while, on the one hand, it still is the place where communal relations are established and where the doctrine of the Simple Life is discussed and problematized, on the other hand, it becomes the site where hypocrisy and moral corruption are unveiled, that is to say where the positive utopian connotation of these experiments is irrevocably dismissed. In other words, the chronotope of the cottage does not only stage concerns for alternative orderings of modernity in Ford's text, but it also articulates the author's ideological criticism, for it becomes the site where the hypocrisy and illusion of the utopian design is revealed. The role of the cottage as the basic unit of the society of utopia is, therefore, mitigated and eventually invalidated.

It is undeniable that the cottages that feature in these texts are a far cry from those represented by Jane Austen, Charlotte Bronte or George Eliot: they are no longer suggestive buildings in a picturesque landscape, nor the site of a family household, nor the emblem of Englishness, as the cultural tradition of the 18th and 19th centuries puts it.¹²⁹ In the textual representation of utopian land colonies, the cottage dismisses its cultural tradition to take on new meanings: standing out as the space where alternative forms of sociability take roots, it offers an opportunity to textualise modern concerns for community, utopian plans for social perfectibility, as well as the disillusion with the utopian discourse. For its articulating concerns of collectivism, as well as of social and geographical border crossing, the cottage also serves as the backdrop for narrative surprises, thereby shedding light on its chronotopic function.

¹²⁹ For a cultural critique of the English cottage, see Andrews 2006.

3.3.2.2 The Land

Having discussed cottages, an insight into the textual significance of the land becomes compelling: what I wish to do in these pages is to unveil its function as a literary chronotope of narrative of communities, in the hope of furthering our understanding of the social geography of these alternative orderings of modernity. The chronotope of the land is intimately connected with land-working, being it the principal occupation within these utopian “agrarian” experiments. Land-working and the issue of land property frequently occur in BB, and they become of topical significance after Belinda’s resolution to join the Strangeways Colony.

“Now will you tell me something about the rules of the Colony?” [Belinda asked Jessie Newman]

“Rules! We don’t believe in laying down rules for anybody. Each one must follow his or her own conscience.”

“But about the land, who does it belong to? The one you call ‘the Boss’?”

“Fred Firman? No, he doesn’t own the land. The ground is free to whoever wants to work it. There is a plot for you if you like.”

“Thank you, but I don’t understand yet. Who bought the land in the first place? Whose name was used in the deeds of transfer? For there must be a responsible owner.”

“Oh, I see what you mean. Well, Fred Firman was the man who transacted the business, but the money to buy the land was found by four of the original colonists.” [...]

“But who holds the deeds?”

“There aren’t any. We saw that there might be some friction in the future about the ownership, so we agreed to burn them. Now the land is free to whoever wishes to work it. [...] Occupation is the only claim that is recognised among us.” (BB 105-6)

All her efforts notwithstanding, Belinda fails to grasp the unconventionality of the colony, particularly as far as land-property is concerned. The land, in fact, is not a private property, but a collective one. Nevertheless, it is not to be interpreted as a modern version of the commons. If it is true, in fact, that land-working does not automatically translate into land-ownership, it is also true that colonists only could have access to the colonial

land. In other words, there is an interplay between land-working and community membership. It is for this very reasons, in fact, that Belinda herself wishes to “try [her] hand at the outdoor work” (BB 151), for it would help her to truly feel a member of the community.

When I arrived at our cottage that morning I found that it was Jessie Newman’s day for housework, and on telling her that I proposed doing some digging, she told me I could have her spade and fork. Putting on the oldest and the thickest pair of boots I possessed, and a tam o’shanter in place of my hat, I started off with my tools on my shoulder, feeling very workmanlike indeed. In fact as I crossed the field to the piece of land which had been allotted to me, I began to feel rather proud of myself and to wish that come of my friends could see what a brave figure I was cutting. [...] “Try the fork, it’s much easier when there are weeds.” I looked up to see Lizzie Brown standing at the end of my plot, her face all one broad smile. “Well, Alice Goodwin called digging a nerve-soother, nerve-irritator would be the truer expression,” was my rather breathless reply. “Oh, everything’s hard at first, even talking, but the world is full of talkers all the same,” was her merry answer. “But you haven’t got the hang of the job yet. You mustn’t take up a spadeful and drop it down the same way, you must turn it over. Here, let me show you.” Catching up the fork she dug it in with her foot, hauled it up, and turn it over with the weed at the bottom. In half the time it had taken me she had dug a row right across my plot. Then straightening herself she asked suddenly, “What are you going to plant here?” I hesitated for a second or two, for I hadn’t thought about planting, my one idea had been to dig. [...] I felt rather taken aback, evidently there was more to learn in this job than I had imagined. [...] The fact that I had never thought about seed or manure, all I had done in my own mind was to dig up the ground and reap splendid crops, for I had the townsman’s vague idea that given the ground and a spade, all the rest followed as a natural consequence. I felt a little cast down as I thought of all I had to learn; but hope soon sprang up again, and I determined that I would begin to read up the gardening books I had seen in Jessie Newman’s cottage that very evening. (BB 151-4)

Land-working proves a great opportunity for Belinda: by partaking to the agricultural life of the colony, in fact, she would recognise herself as belonging to the community at Strangeways, a colony that is greatly committed to land-

working,¹³⁰ and one where the activity of private individuals contributes to the public wellbeing. Nevertheless, the narrative voice has to dismiss her provincialism, her townswoman's ideas, that is to say the superficiality, naiveté and commodity culture that had hallmarked her past life in the London suburb. The encounter with Lizzie Brown stimulates this process of *Bildung*, for it awakens Belinda's interest for gardening, encouraging her to become more familiar with agricultural practices, which are at the basis of the colony's self-support.

Moreover, her meeting with Lizzie Brown at field, as well as those with other colonists, triggers Belinda's inner quest, leading her to consider if "[she] should ever be able to cultivate such a large and generous nature" (BB 126) as that of the colonists. Land-working and the semantic field of agriculture also feature at a metaphorical level, thereby tightening the interconnection between agriculture and colonial life. As a result, land-working offers an unprecedented opportunity to the narrative voice: it favours, in fact, her encounters with other characters, shedding light on motifs of mutual aid and collaboration that are pivotal in the text, as they are the key aspects of colonial life. Once she undertakes her agricultural enterprise, in fact, Belinda feels part of the community and dreams about providing for it: "I exulted in the thought that I was no longer a parasite living on other people's labours, but a genuine producer. The thought was entrancing, for in imagination I saw myself not only providing for my own needs, but able to give of my abundance to new comers who might at any time be expected now" (BB 157). In a similar way to the cottage, the land favours the encounter between people, becoming, therefore, a place where the collective dimension is negotiated and social bonds are tightened. Moreover, land-working enabled Belinda to interrogate her identity and her role within the colony,

¹³⁰ During her stay at Seadown House, Belinda met a few men working the field, suffice it to remember the Dutchman with whom she started a conversation on the differences between town and city life (quoted above, 41-2). Not to mention that as soon as she arrives at the Strangeways colony, she finds Jessie Newman working in her garden (103).

furthering her eagerness to be part of it. In other words, mutual aid and sense of belonging are intimately intertwined and pinpoint an interplay between land-working and social construction.

Standing out as a symbol for primitive virtues, land-working proves of topical importance in BB, where it becomes the practice through which social construction is negotiated. Moreover, agricultural work further highlights the alterative nature of colonial experiments: in years hallmarked by capitalism, international economic exchanges and trade relations, it is interesting to detect the presence of colonies relying on self-sufficiency and agriculture. Alongside its economic and cultural implication, land-working proves crucial at a narrative level: it serves, in fact, as a chronotope of these alternative narratives, for it textualises the lure for the collective that sustained these colonial experiments, favouring and tightening social bonds. At the same time, it articulates connections between characters and space, a correlation that modernity and its civilisation of transiency, dynamism and restlessness, were undermining.

However brief, references to handiwork, gardening and land-working, feature in SSL. Mr Gubb, in fact, “began to spend more and more time in the country. He tried gardening. He tried planting potatoes. [...] At last he persuaded Mr Bransdon to settle in the cottage next door to himself. Bransdon had done no work since he had finished his novel” (SLL 79). Land-working is here juxtaposed to social construction: it is after attempting to agricultural experiments, in fact, that Mr Gubb persuades Mr Bransdon to settle in a cottage nearby, a settlement the Simple Life Colony would springs from. Although recalling social interactions, gardening features as an incidental individual practice, rather than a form of communal affiliation. Moreover, the colony would soon depart from its agricultural ideal: Mr Gubb’s primary aim was to establish “a whole colony of Intellectuals” (Ibid. 92), not of agriculturalists. This fact sheds light on the inconsistency of the colony’s self-supportive principles, as colonists were supposed to establish trading relations with surrounding areas in order to buy what they do not produce. Interestingly, Ford avoids mentioning everyday

working practices, thereby further emphasising the slackness and idleness of the colonists, and, as a consequence, the failure of the colony's utopian design.

The chronotope of agricultural land proves crucial in both Hocking's and Ford's narratives: however, while in Hocking's text it articulates concerns of belonging and identity, and serves as the backbone, as it were, of alternative sociability of utopian matrix, in Ford's narrative it encapsulates the author's satire of utopian thinking. It is true, of course, that Ford enters the debate over utopian experiments with SLL. Nonetheless, he departs from Hocking's position. While resorting to the same chronotopes, a fact that capitalises their importance in late-19th-century narratives of utopia, he nonetheless subverts the positive connotation that the author of BB gives them: they serve to highlight the ambivalent and contradictory aspects of alternative communities, which are despised for the slackness, naiveté, ignorance and backwardness of their members.

3.3.3 Cosmopolitanism and Anglo-Russian hybridization

Having discussed the chronotopic function of cottages and agricultural land in both BB and SLL, an insight into the collective networks that these chronotopes textualise becomes imperative, for it would help us to unveil intellectual and cultural implications that such alternative orderings of modernity carry. The colonies that features in the texts, in fact, encapsulate questions of cosmopolitanism and Anglo-Russianness: for this reason, they become interesting case study given the scope of this analysis.

The second chapter of BB, entitled "Connecting Links", introduces the motif of Anglo-Russianness in terms of the characters' genealogy. After the sudden death of her parents, Belinda moves to her aunt's, where she acknowledges the existence of Tolstoyan communities:

"Well, you know," [Aunt Jane said], "although I am always considered an Englishwoman, yet I have a half-sister who is a Russian. My father was a Russian, so also was his first wife, and when she died and my father came to England, her people kept my half-sister with them. I know but very little

of my father, for he died when he was a baby, but I believe he came of a good family in Russia. My mother was an Englishwoman, and I have never been out of England, consequently I knew but little of my half-sister until two years ago, when she wrote that she was staying near London, and would I come to see her. Her husband had been exiled for his religious beliefs, she told me, and they thought of settling in some quite seaside or country place in England. he has some queer notion about giving up property and living by the work of his hands, I believe."

"*A la Tolstoy*, I suppose," said Doctor Forster with an interested nod.

"They have two little boys, but besides my sister's own family, I gather from her letters they have always a lot of friends and sympathisers who either live in the same house or near at hand." (BB 19)

Although this quote does not refer to the cosmopolitan nature of the Tolstoyan community, it nonetheless introduces the motif of Anglo-Russian hybridity in the text. What emerges, therefore is not only the presence of English sympathisers on the colony premises, but also the Russian matrix of Tolstoysm and the leading role of Russian émigrés in implementing this ideology abroad. Tolstoyan communities, therefore, are depicted as the cradle of unconventional Anglo-Russianness.

Anglo-Russian ideological inter-crossing, while seemingly becoming the backdrop of alternative communities, stands out as an opportunity to rejuvenate English cultural and literary traditions in Hocking's text:

During my stay [in the Russian household] I think I must have come into contact with people of almost every shade of belief and unbelief: from the mystical Theosophist to the blank Materialist; from the believer in non-resistance, who disbelieved in all violence and indeed in every form of physical force, to the revolutionist who would resist all oppressors even unto death; from the orthodox evangelical Christian who believed unquestioningly in the inspiration of the Scriptures and the accepted dogmatic theology, to the Evolutionist who pinned his faith to Darwin and Huxley. (BB 21)

Tolstoyan colonies in Britain are here represented as ideological melting-pots, where all sorts of alternative ideologies cluster. It is true, of course, that most of these ideologies come from Russia, Tolstoysm in particular.

Nevertheless, English theorists, C. Darwin and A. Huxley for example, are here juxtaposed to other Russian ideologies, thereby contributing to the building up of the Anglo-Russian “intellectual atmosphere of the place” (BB 161). Chapter XIV, entitled “Aspirations”, looms large in this respect, for it contains a two-pages-long list of quotations from L. Tolstoy, F. de Lamennais, R. W. Emerson, E. Carpenter, T. Carlyle, H. D. Thoreau, Epictetus and the Prophet Micah (ibid 115-7).

Ford himself illustrates the miscegenation of Russian and English traditions in Mr Gubb’s utopian design:

“[Mr Gubb’s] – the founder of the colony – particular scheme had been moulding itself in his mind for more than a year. His idea was this. He would form himself into a company which should acquire either the freehold or the long leases of a quantity of land or of a sufficient number of dwellings to house all the Colonists near Frog’s Cottages. These dwellings and this land, the Simple Life Limited would let out to its supporters in such parcels as they might desire, charging a sufficient margin of rent to provide work-building and various other communal necessities. Mr Gubb had not at this time any idea of making a personal profit. What he desired, though he had never put it in words to himself, was to be the actual organiser, the dictator of a prosperous ‘going’ concern along lines of a sufficient idealism to gain for himself a certain sphere of influence. [...] He had read carefully every one of the ninety-eight Fabian tracts that by that date have been published; he had retained in his mind the salient point of all the works of Count Tolstoi, of Mr Edward Carpenter, of Mr H. D. Wells, of Dr Saleeby, of Henry George, of the late William Morris and his school; he had read with attention all the periodical literature of an idealistic nature or of a hygienic materialism ranging from the leaflets of Mr C. B. Fry to *The English Review*” [p. 93-4]

Interestingly, in a number of the monthly organ of the Simple Life, entitled *The Mare’s Tail*, letters of approval from Tolstoy himself are published (SLL 216). Alongside Tolstoysm, many other non-conformist ideologies suffuse the texts, some of which belong to English national and intellectual traditions. Edward Carpenter’s Fabianism, William Morris’s lure of simplicity and the Arts and Crafts Movement, as well as H. D. Wells’ literary utopias, have a significant part

to play in this context. Transatlantic and European echoes are not absent from the texts in analysis, suffice it to consider references to the American economist Henry George, of H. D. Thoreau and R. W. Emerson, or to the French philosopher and political theorist F. de Lamennais.¹³¹ In other words, the texts in analysis articulate the encounter between national and foreign cultural practices, combining local customs and materials with foreign traditions, facts that Tolstoyan ideology in England attempted to implement.

Ideological polyphony contributes to blurring the borders of national and cultural identity, thereby favouring the negotiation of an Anglo-Russian community largely informed by Russian utopianism. Mr Gubb's plan to create a colonial library, which "will contain serious books and will tend to improve the tone of mind of the readers" (SLL 264) is pivotal in these terms.

I shall begin [our library] by presenting to it my own library of works upon economic, political and historical subjects. Fiction we shall entirely banish except perhaps for the works of Richardson and one or two utopian novelists such as Mr Wells, Mr Galsworthy and Mr Upton Sinclair. We desire, above all things, to communicate to our fellow workers a tone of earnestness and of serious attention to the problems of life. (SLL 164)

In order to pursue the lure for social amelioration, Mr Gubb sets up a plan to establish a library that will contain pieces of literature that could ingrain such transformation: S. Richardson stands for high moral standards, while H. G. Wells, J. Galsworthy and U. Sinclair encapsulate this desire of perfectibility. Although Russian literary tradition is not mentioned in this passage, it still permeates the cultural atmosphere of the text: while discussing arts with a

¹³¹ Nonetheless, the reference to Ford Madox Ford's *English Review* is controversial: published by Ford Madox Ford himself from 1908 to 1909, in fact, this literary magazine published modern authors, thereby echoing that modernity that colonists were struggling to resist. Consequently, this reference could stand as a clue of the inconsistent and contradictory nature of the colony depicted in the text. For more details about how Ford conflates the events of the 1890s and those of the *English Review* day in his narrative, see Moser 1980.

Russian visitor, in fact, Mr Parmont, a literary agent, argues that “it was only Russians who could write because they hadn’t any conventions, they went straight to life, they went straight to nature” (SLL 204). He goes on celebrating I. Turgenev, F. M. Dostoevsky, M. Gorky, V. G. Korolenko and L. Tolstoy. Although he does not belong to the Simple Life movement, Mr Parmont sympathises with it. Moreover, he is a friend of Mr Bransdon’s. In the wake of these affiliations, his point of view is noteworthy: for his Russian connections (205-6), as well as for his affiliation with the colony, Mr Parmont’s perspective sheds light on the Anglo-Russian atmosphere of Ford’s text, as well as on the idea that Russian literary traditions could contribute to rejuvenating English literary and cultural ones, celebrating the creative potential of cross-cultural miscegenation.

As we have seen, both Hocking and Ford tackle transnational encounters in order to demonstrate their role in instilling the utopian discourse. While in BB utopian communities are celebrated precisely for their being transnational ideological melting-pots that discard national categorizations in favour of cosmopolitan stances, what connotation do cross-cultural encounters have in Ford’s narrative, given the fact that the author is sceptical about utopian land colonies? It is worth recalling, that the search for alternative social and literary aggregations was part and parcel of Ford’s life: his eagerness to establish a transnational intellectual network led him to collaborate with modernist authors, Joseph Conrad among others, and to found the short-lived magazine *the transatlantic review* in 1924. Given his fascination for intellectual exchanges, Ford’s position in the SLL needs disambiguation: in fact, he does not criticise cross-cultural interactions as such, rather certain collectivist ideologies that permeated through the porous borders of England and their hypocritical utopian offshoots. Consequently, while bringing land colonies and their utopian stances to the attention of Edwardian readers, he also unveils the inconsistency of this form of cultural interaction. In so doing, he seems to interrupt the *fin du siècle* dialogue over agricultural utopias and their literary representations, venturing

into the quest for alternative collective spaces where intellectual encounters and the ideological synergy could be fertile. Intellectual inter-crossing, in fact, is the sole aspect of the simple life movement to which Ford gives a positive connotation, a fact that suggests Ford's aesthetic cosmopolitanism.

At this stage of the analysis, an insight into the narrative strategies through which this cultural melting-pot translates at a linguistic level becomes a matter of major concern. Although written in standard English, Hocking's text draws upon a set of linguistic strategies that proves most suitable to textualise hybridity and cosmopolitanism, preeminent among which is the phonetic use of the English language.¹³²

As soon as Belinda arrives at Seadown House, she is welcomed by her Russian aunt as follows: "'Ah, you have come,' she said with a very cordial smile. 'We were going to send to the station, but the cart was brokken'" (BB 23). Belinda is immediately asked to join the group sitting around the table, a group that, as she noticed, was entirely made up of foreigners (23).

I was startled the next moment by hearing a voice at my elbow say in very fair English, "Do you not wish some butter? You have nossing but potatoos." [...] Plucking up my courage I ventured to ask, "Are there no English people here at all?"

I think somehow he understood the unspoken thought behind my words, for with a little laugh he said merrily, "Will you run away if dere are not? But why should you be afraid, it is de English who are de robbers of de world."

I laughed too as I answered, "How can you say that when we *buy* so many things that are *made in Germany*?"

"Ah, de Shermans are a very great people. Do you speak Sherman?"

I had to reply regretfully that I could speak no language but my own.

"Dat is no matter. I will teach you Russian. It is vary easy. Now, say ----"

¹³² Anglo-Russian linguistic contact zone also features in Ford's *The Simple Life Limited*. However, they are far from being expression of a cosmopolitan community, as they only define Mr Brandetski's lure to learn the English language, as well as his use of Russian whenever he needs to communicate spontaneous feelings. The same happens to Mr Bransdon, who used "the Russian of his childhood" anytime he was "excited, out of himself" (SLL 231).

The long five-barrelled words which he reeled off so glibly seemed utterly impossible to my slow English tongue, and when he persisted in my trying, my stuttering efforts were so ludicrous that they called forth a roar of laughter." (BB 24-5)

The narrative voice cannot Russian, nor any other language apart from English: this is exemplified by the fact that she does not transcribe the sentence in Russian that she is asked to repeat. This happens on many other occasions, where she records people speaking in Russian, but these dialogues are not reported in the text (34, 39): she just records that Russians speak their mother tongue very fast, that it is unintelligible to her English ears and impossible to reproduce. The foreignness of the Russian language is also recorded at a visual level: when she enters Mr Kovalevsky's office, she sees on the door "a ticket with some Russian characters written on it" (30), which she cannot decipher. Only on one occasion, after a few months spent among the colonists, Belinda is able to pick up some Russian words which she reports in transliterated Russian: "'Auchen chorashaw, auchen choroshaw,' which I understood men 'very good' or 'very beautiful'" (BB 99). The juxtaposition of two different linguistic codes, the English and the Russian one, highlights the Anglo-Russian atmosphere of the colony, as well as of Hocking's text itself.

Unlike Belinda, her interlocutor speaks English fluently, although his pronunciation is not accurate. He fails to pronounce the /dʒ/ sound in the word "Germans" and the /ð/ sound in "there" and "that", sounds that notoriously do not exist in the Russian language. Similarly, Dutch colonists find it hard to pronounce the /ð/ sound, they replace /w/ with /v/, not to mention that they drop their /h/, as the following example demonstrate: "everybody in ve street looking as if vey 'have only von day to live, and vey must vork every meeinit of dat day" (BB 41). In other words, the phonetic use of the language proves a most suitable strategy to represent cosmopolitanism at a formal level. Here as elsewhere, Hocking records the diverse English accents that foreigners speaking in English have, as well as their idiosyncratic styles, which inevitably "[bring] a certain strangeness to something familiar" (Thomsen 2008: 99): drawing her attention on

linguistic varieties and styles, Hocking articulates the interplay between strange – foreign – and familiar at a formal level, thereby shedding light on the cosmopolitan polyphony of her work. By offering an insight into the stratification of the English language that émigré voices triggered, Hocking undermines well-established notions of language as being expression of national identity. English becomes the language of cosmopolitan alternative social constructions: this diversity of voices and styles, and consequently of points of view, contribute in building up a sort of cosmopolitan heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1934), which is the hallmark of Hocking's text.

3.3.4 In the Heart of Diversity

Given the fact that both Hocking and Ford textualise modern alternative forms of social construction, it is interesting to try to lift the veil on the effect that such narratives of community are meant to have on the reader, also in the wake of the authors' divergent viewpoints on the utopian discourse. The first chapter of BB proves significant in this respect:

But before I go on to speak of this phase of my life, I must relate the peculiar circumstances which led up to my joining the Strangeways Colony. In fact, those circumstances, over which I seemingly had no control, are the only explanation I have to offer for the strange fact that I, who was by nature, though not in theory, extremely conservative, and as insular in my prejudices as any other Betsy Bull and much given mentally to balancing myself on a fence, should yet be found among a group of people who were forever turning their backs on time-honoured customs and traditions, who believed in no law save those prescribed by conscience and reason, and who were tied down by no conventionalities whatsoever and cared nothing at all for public opinion. To do this I must begin by introducing myself to the reader in the usual orthodox way, which will be only more one proof to my friends, should they need one, of how well I deserved the name they gave me. My real name then is Belinda Annette Tremayne. (BB 8-9)

The "orthodox way" of narrating events is here set in contrast with the unorthodoxy of colonial life, which is the very subject of the text. It is on this tug of war, as it were, between conventionalism and unorthodoxy, in fact, that the

text pivots: Belinda's joining the colony, that is to say a place of advanced ideology, contrasts with her insularity and it is for this very reason that she was given the nickname of "Belinda the Backward". In this passage, Hocking sets up what Rosa has termed the "narrative pact" (Rosa 2008): her implied reader is very likely to be a middle-class one sharing the conventional ideals and the insular prejudice of the main character. Interestingly, the narrative voice seems to resort to traditional narrative practices, as she introduces herself in the most conventional way, that is to say telling her name, describing her genealogy and her past experiences, thereby imparting on her readers the sensation – or as I venture to unveil, illusion – of familiarity.

Nonetheless, as soon as she arrives at Seadown House, she realises that "[she] was in [her] own country, even though [she] was in a house full of foreigners" (42). The semantic field of foreignness and strangeness pervades the whole text: interestingly, the former is always used to describe the colonists and their habits, thereby calling attention to concerns of nationality and consequently to the cosmopolitan nature of the colony. On the other hand, the latter is always referred to Belinda herself, who feels like a stranger both at Seadown House and at the Strangeways Colony. In fact, she records, "I had come to them a comparative stranger" (118); "the others undressed in the dark, but I being a stranger, was allowed the kitchen lamp" (121). The semantic field of unfamiliarity conjures up with other narrative strategies to articulate Belinda's impressions about life among the Tolstoyans.

The encounter with the colonists instils a sense of uneasiness and unfamiliarity in the narrative voice, who is struggling to make sense of the new situation in which she is cast. Her aunt's welcome address, which I have already quoted elsewhere, is significant in this respect:

"Ah, you have come," [her aunt] said with a very cordial smile. "We were going to send to the station, but the cart was broken." There was some joke about the cart, I gathered, for there was a general laugh at her remark. [...]

Soon after some discussion arose about Socialism, I think; for I caught the word several times, and then I noticed that as Mr Kovalevsky talked the young German's face lost all its drollery and grew very grave, even angry, I thought, and then he began to speak rapidly, but the others did not stop, and there were at least four talking at the same time. Mrs Kovalevsky also joined in later on, and soon it seemed to me that I, who understood not a word, was the only listener. (BB 23, 25)

Belinda does not understand the joke about the cart: being an outsider, in fact, she does not know that the colonists do not own a cart, nor any other commodity. In order to convey the impression of unfamiliarity, the narrative voice describes what the other do without giving any comment on it, as she is not able to understand what all is about. The presence of the semantic field of thinking, evoked here by verbs such as "gather" and "think" is representative in this respect, for it evokes the character's efforts to understand practices and customs of the colony.

Speculation and deduction are also emphasised by expressions of wonder and adverbs of probability, which frequently occur in the text. Belinda's first sight of her bedroom, as well as the impression she gets on her first day at the colony are significant in these terms:

Evidently, personal vanity was not encouraged here, for there was no mirror. Well, I must make my had-glass do, I decided. At any rate, the room was beautifully clean and fresh, and a little Spartanism would do me good. I woke the next morning with a pleasant sensation of everything being new. [...] When I found my way down to the kitchen, which I inferred was the general dining-room, I saw only the woman who had shown me to my room the night before. [...] Soon after two of the men I had seen the night before came and helped themselves to tea and bread. Evidently there was no fixed time for breakfast, for they kept dropping one by one. (BB 26)

The encounter with this alternative community provokes a defamiliarising effect on the narrative voice, who in her embarrassment and confusion (23), and at times surprise (50), tries to understand new practices. An authentic feeling of

bewilderment raises as soon as she is asked to collaborate with Mr Kovalevsky, the Russian leader of the group at Seadown House:

When [Karl Brietsen] had left the room Mr Kovalevsky turned to me, and taking up a lot of letters spread them out on a table in front of one of the windows where I presumed I should have to work, and then began to explain to me what he wanted to have written. His instructions were so complicated and voluminous that my head fairly whirled. He went on never stopping except to take breath, and by the time the last letter was laid down I felt utterly bewildered. [...]

"Oh, all these letters must be answered by evening, and I can't remember anything Mr Kovalesky told me to say. He spoke so very, very fast that I quite forgot to make any notes."

[Karl Brietsen] looked amused. "Ah I tink you are accustomed to de Russian way of doing tings yet. Do not be sad, wait a leetle while and it will be all right. As for doing all dese letters for dis evening you must not trouble. Do what you can and leave de rest."

"Oh, but he said they were 'most important,'" I began doubtfully. [...]

"On no, not at all. You do not understand. You see it is vary important at ze time, but so are a lot of ozzet tings, and ze last ting will be de most important of all."

I looked at him wonderingly. Should I ever understand! (BB 32-3)

Understanding becomes essential for Belinda and it is the crux and pivot of chapter four, which is entitled "Trying to Understand." This need to make sense of alternative orderings and practices of modernity is directly triggered by her encounter with utopian clusters and, as a consequence, with their cosmopolitan and multicultural *milieu*. It is true, of course, that to convey her impression of being in an unfamiliar place, she often describes what the colonists do, without however commenting on it, as their attitudes are unintelligible to her conventional and insular eyes. Nonetheless, on some occasion she resorts to describe not what people do, but what they seem to be doing, thereby further increasing the sense of uncertainty and unfamiliarity. This is what happens when a suspicious character, Olga Sharapoff, turns up at Seadown House: the narrator records, in fact, that "everybody had seemed to be rushing about the house on aimless errands" (89). Colonists were actually busy trying to set all things ready

for Karl Briesten's departure, as the impression that Sharapoff was about the Russian revolutionist sprang.

In this narrative of community, the narrator does not represent these alternative social constructions as they are, but as she perceives them: she delineates social practices and unfamiliar spaces that are a far cry from the experience of her readers, as well as from her previous ones. The resultant effect of the encounter with these alternative social construction is the subversion of what Shklovsky terms "automatism of perception" (Shklovsky 1925:778), and the production of a defamiliarising effect on both narrator and readers. In other words, Hocking's technique of defamiliarization generates a cognitive *novum*, a sort of "cognitive estrangement" (Suvin 1979), insofar as it rejuvenates the readers' perceptions of their social reality, which is characterised by the dichotomy innovation-tradition, by the coexistence of alternative and conventional social constructions. Consequently, Belinda's defamiliarized perspective opens up a new space for ideological debate over national categorization, cosmopolitan or inter-crossing cultural dynamics, concerns that were at the core of the *fin de siècle* intellectual life.

Interestingly, this narrative technique proves crucial at the very end of the text, where the narrative voice speculates over her experience at the Strangeways Colony:

And yet to-day Jessie Newman congratulated me on the work that I had undertaken, and assured me that she would have to think out a new name for me, for the old one was no longer appropriate. But I am not so sure of that, for it seems to me that I have never really decided anything for myself in my life. If I have come forward and been found in positions, which, to say the least of, one would have expected to be occupied only by people with strong convictions, or at least some amount of enthusiasm, it has been because circumstances have been too strong for me, and my mind responds too readily to the latest convincing argument. Left to myself, I feel assured that I still deserve the name of 'Belinda the Backward'. (BB 191)

The narrative voice specifies that her joining the colony does not derive from her strong will but from her passive surrendering to external circumstances,

as well as from her weak convictions. In other words, the defamiliarising effect that her narrative has on the reader is further emphasised by the fact that the character herself does not share the ideas and beliefs of the colonists: she is an outsider from an ideological point of view. Although she has lived among the colonists, that is to say among people with strong progressive convictions, she still preserves her insular perspective. It is precisely this attitude of hers that the nickname that the colonists gave her exemplify: while partaking to the social life of modern colonial experiments, she does not share their “advanced” positions. In other words, while articulating innovation, the text ends upon a note of resistance to it, as the narrative voice acceptance of her nickname demonstrates: it is precisely in these terms that the ambivalence of the text unfolds.

Defamiliarization is also the hallmark of Ford’s SLL. Nonetheless, it is worth noticing that this effect is not achieved in the same way as in BB. It is true, of course, that there are some affinities between the two texts in terms of narrative strategies, such as the use of the semantic field of foreignness and the focus on issues of understanding. This, in Ford’s text, translates into the obsession of making sense of what the Simple Life really is. Nonetheless, Ford develops his own approach to the middle-class utopian discourse, which consists in unveiling the inconsistency of these ideologies, making irony the pivot of his criticism. In order to lift the veil on these alternative societies, Ford focuses great attention on the paradoxes and controversies of the Simple Life, suffice it remember that while praising self-support, it still depends on commodities, hot water for example (SLL 50). Interestingly, Mr Bransdon’s lifestyle that encapsulates Ford’s criticism:

Even the very mead which Mr Bransdon, on account of his age the sole non-abstainer of the colony, drank out of a bullock’s horn decorated with silver by Mr Major in his capacity of Craftsman – even the very mead tasted of paraffin, and so for the matter of that did the morning eggs and bacon that Mr Bransdon ate from a pewter plate. Mr Bransdon, indeed, was the only flesh-eater of the colony, but then wasn’t he figuratively the father of them all? (SLL 50)

Being the intellectual father of the colony, Mr Bransdon dictates the principles of conduct, that is to say simplicity of life and vegetarianism: “to cook vegetables was to offend against the law of nature: to wear fine clothes was to ape the peacock: to have domestic servants was to enslave the image of God: to put papers upon walls was to offend against the canons of the Decorative Arts, since no man should be ashamed of his materials” (SLL 83). The fact that he does not follow his own guidelines looms large on the hypocrisy of the Simple Life, a fact that is further emphasised by the use of the rhetorical question.

Mr Gubb encompasses the novel’s critique of garden city politics and alternative social orders. From the outset of the novel, he is depicted as the sheer defender of simplicity and anti-capitalism: in the wake of his principles, the architect of the colony, Mr Major, was “suspected of a heresy against absolute simplicity” (SLL 49), for his resorting to modern inventions, such as wood preservatives and draught eliminator made of zinc, to fix some of the colony’s problem. Moreover, he has a distaste for commercialism, and he strongly opposes Ophelia Bransdon’s journalistic enterprise, for it would “[re-introduce] the commercial element in the Colony and that was what he was trying to stamp out” (SLL 217). These facts notwithstanding, Mr Gubb quite gladly moves into a position of influence over the colonists, a position from which he does not only plan the improvement of the colony, but he also draws a considerable amount of money. Even though the Simple Life experiment is originally set up to be “a mean to improve the rest of the world, an example showing people how to live wiser and better lives” (SLL 274), it eventually turns into Mr Gubb’s source of income.

The hypocrisy of Mr Gubb is discussed by Miss Egmont and Ophelia Branson on two different occasions. In her fierce debate with the founder of the colony, in fact, Miss Egmont criticises his biased vision of colonial life:

“You always were a liar, Horatio Gubb!” Miss Egmont said. [...] Mr Gubb avoided the subject, “we have to consider public opinion.”

"We have to consider public opinion!" Miss Egmont spat out. "Who's we? [...] Reformers who are afraid of public opinion! What sort of people are they?" [...]

"A little testimonial is to be presented to me" Mr Gubb answered with a touch of bashfulness, "on Saturday night."

"A testimonial!" Miss Egmont exclaimed in tones of the coldest contempt and incredulity. "To you! What for? What have you done? And what is the Simple Life to do with testimonials? It's contrary to every principle. [...]" (SLL 243-4)

Miss Egmont's bewilderment as she acknowledges of Mr Gubb's desire for personal aggrandisement re-echoes in Mr Bransdon's question to Gubb himself: "Don't *you* feel disgusted when you think of the things you have done for this imbecile movement?" (SLL 247). In other words, what is supposed to be the representation of an alternative community from the outset, it actually turns into sharp criticism. Ophelia Bransdon's last speech is a telling example in this respect:

I am Mr Gubb's disciple. Such as you see me he made me. He has always taught me that I should speak at all times and upon all occasions when I perceived a wrong. Well, I perceive a very great wrong. [...] And I tell you this thing is a sham and a fraud from the beginning. It's all a sham! It's all a fraud! The life we lead is a detestable imitation of something that never has been lived. The lifers are a collection of week-kneed, irresolute, ineffectual individuals. (SLL 341)

Ford's distinctive use of provocative questions, most of which remain unanswered, of rhetorical ones, as well as of exclamations, proves an effective strategy to unveil the contradictory nature and the inconsistency of idealism and alternative urban planning, which are, nonetheless, corrupted by the "commercial greed of the age" (SLL 276). Moreover, they also serve to articulate the characters' points of view and their taking the distances from a movement which has become unfamiliar to them, for it has departed from the original plan.

As we have seen, both Hocking and Ford texts formulate a criticism of modern forms of utopia. Still, there are differences as to the actual reasons for this distancing. Hocking does not dismiss social experiments as such: the reason

why the main character eventually departs from the colony depends on her conservative ideology, an attitude that her nickname highlights. Nonetheless, she does not fail to mention that people with stronger beliefs than her could successfully partake to it. Utopian communities acquire, therefore, a positive connotation.

On the contrary, in Ford's text it is the utopian experiment itself, and the reformatory ideology at its basis, that is destined to fail. In other words, while opening up a space where both alternative social orders and national identifications could be discussed and reevaluated, Ford dismisses and takes the distances from the utopian stances of Late-Victorian middle-class, which become the object of his ideological satire. Consequently, the defamiliarising effect that the SLL encompasses is to be interpreted as the resultant effect of the description of alternative communities, as well as one deriving from intellectual detachment, of both characters and authorial voice, from the *fin de siècle* bourgeois ideological standpoint. This defamiliarising technique is embedded in the satiric genre itself. It is precisely in the wake of their divergent standpoints that these texts are worth studying: offering to English Edwardian readers two different perspectives on the motifs at stake, they open up a space for intellectual and ideological debate, a debate that is injected by foreign cultures and traditions and that sees the blurring of national categorization.

Narratives of community encapsulate the reformist stances that alternative orderings of modernity informed by Tolstoyan ideology promoted. The eagerness to do away with conventionalism and all sorts of social and cultural tradition is clearly reflected at the narrative level. It is true, of course, that Hocking and Ford inherit the English intellectual and literary traditions: nonetheless, they reinvent it in the light of the modern lure of the collective. To do so they both resort to the narrative technique of defamiliarization, which does not only offer an opportunity to engage with the ideological debate over innovation and tradition, but also to reveal the problematic coexistence of these terms in the texts, as well as their role in unravelling the texts' implicit

standpoints. By reflecting geographical, intellectual, ideological, linguistic and cultural border crisscrossing, as well as by textualizing alternative social constructions, these narratives of community seem to anticipate modernist attitudes and concerns: the critical attitudes towards traditions – and, in some cases, technological modernity –, the quest for literary renovation, the fascination for the cosmopolitan discourse and the need to reassess the role of reader are just a few examples in this respect. In other words, utopian communities displace narrative hierarchies and consolidated structures and prove engines of political and formal speculations. Russian émigré voices, the ideologies they promoted, and the cultural and literary offshoots they galvanised seem to envision this practice and to infuse the aesthetic and ideological debate of *fin de siècle* England with their country's cultural, ideological and intellectual traditions.

Having discussed the alternative social construction that émigré voices instilled, it is worth offering an insight into the kind of literary network they fostered, as they also seem to anticipate the modernist lure for literary collaborations. The Garnett family looms large in this respect, and it is precisely its affiliation with émigré voices, as well as with other English intellectuals, that I venture to explore in the next chapter, offering another example of the multiple instances of cross-cultural fertilization that Russian émigrés triggered.

4 The Garnett Family: A Case Study of Anglo-Russian Literary Relations

Till [the day I talked to Mr E.V. Lucas] in 1898 I had never given the matter of my own nationality a thought. I gave it very little after that. There remained in my sub-consciousness a conviction that must have grown stronger – that I was not English. Not English at all, not merely ‘not really English’. I never had much sense of nationality. Wherever there were creative thinkers was my country. [...] Every artist of whatever race was my fellow-countrymen – and the compatriot of every other artist. (Ford 2007:59)

This famed claim by Ford Madox Ford carries crucial cultural and literary implications, insofar as it relentlessly dismisses the idea of national identity in favour of the creation of a cosmopolitan and transnational artistic space. The pivotal importance of Ford’s claim lies in the fact that it offers an alternative to the paradigm that sees the modern artist as a genius alienated from society, somehow calling attention to alternative orderings of society, motifs that hallmarked the British cultural history of the *fin de siècle*. In other words, Ford is expanding the borders of the communitarian ideal to accommodate experiences of intellectual exchanges and artistic collaborations across cultural traditions. In so doing, he discards the well-established tradition of national literature and seems to move towards the negotiation of a new world literary canon, a phenomenon that has occasioned a fair amount of critical discussion in recent years.¹³³ This project of Ford’s, therefore, seems to postulate a cultural and intellectual melting-pot,¹³⁴ a global space of letters that would stimulate international cross-fertilization and artistic renewal, while calling attention to the

¹³³ David Damrosch, Pascale Casanova, Emily Apter and Gisèle Sapiro – a sociologist who mostly works on editorial archives – are just a few of the representative figures in the wide panorama of cosmopolitan and world-literary studies. See for example, D. Damrosch 2003; P. Casanova 2004; E. Apter 2014; G. Sapiro 2009.

¹³⁴ As Wilson claims, in fact, the melting-pot serves as “a modern episteme, one that in its moment provided a signal location for theorizing novelty, change and difference” (Wilson 2010: 3).

urgent issue of finding a place – or a group – where to belong in a world where borders are being made more porous and permeable.¹³⁵

The cosmopolitan experience of the Garnett family from the 1880s to the early 1900s could be interpreted as a model *avant la lettre* for this distinctively modern attraction for an artistic community, as it were for a modern “Republic of Letters:” in fact, it did not only establish an intellectual network that crossed national borders, but it also significantly contributed to the expansion of the literary map of England, accommodating foreign voices, cultural experiences, and aesthetic models, thanks to both translation and literary criticism. Immigration had a leading role to play in this context: it was, in fact, in the wake of encounters with foreign voices that such a model for an imagined community of letters could originate (Wilson 2010; Rosendahl Thomsen 2010). While the role of American expatriates in the English cultural panorama from the *fin de siècle* to high modernism has already been widely acknowledged, this is not the case of the Russians, which has only recently attracted the interest of a small number of scholars.

Having explored some of the offshoots of Anglo-Russian cultural and intellectual exchanges in the previous chapters, an insight into their interactions with English literary circles and writers becomes compelling: as we have noticed, in fact, Russian émigrés were widely concerned not only with ideological and political issues, but also with aesthetic ones. What I argue in this chapter is that Stepniak and Volkhovsky’s affiliation with the Garnett family proved crucial in the British cultural and literary life of the Late Victorian and Edwardian years.

¹³⁵ As Ford notices, in fact, the contemporary British literary scene is dominated by foreign voices: “None of the great artists of that day was pure English. Conrad was a Pole, James an American, Hudson an American born in La Plata, Meredith a Welshman, Yeats an Irishman, Whistler an American, Sargent the same. Even Thomas Hardy was popularly credited with French ancestry.” (Ford 2007:60). This statement of Ford demonstrates the already melting-pot nature of the English literary discourse, and sets the basis for his design for a transnational community of letters and world-canon. The notion of canon, as I will argue in these pages, could be expanded to include foreign literature in translation, as such foreign texts served as models to diverse early-modernist and modernist authors.

Not only did they trigger the expansion of the Garnetts' cosmopolitan intellectual circle, but they also actively contributed to the making of such figures as Constance and Olive Garnett. Moreover, their collaborations with the members of the Garnett family favoured the penetration of Russian models into the English literary system and raised the interests of the British intelligentsia for Russian aesthetics.

4.1 The Garnett Family and the Russian Emigres

Contrary to Edward Garnett, Constance, his wife, has always shown a keen interest in social and political debates, as her affiliation with free-thinking and radical circles since her early youth demonstrates. In fact, she joined both the famed Fabian Society and William Morris's Socialist League in 1884 (Garnett 1991:45-6).¹³⁶ It is little wonder, therefore, that when Edward introduced her to the Russian radical Felix Volkhovsky, Constance felt predisposed to welcome the newcomer. As she records in her diary,

One day in [June or July] 1891 Edward on coming back from London told me 'I have met a man after your heart – a Russian exile – and I have asked him down for a weekend.' This was Felix Volkhovsky, who had recently escaped from Siberia and he soon became a great friend. He had no home and (I forget whether at his suggestion or ours) it was arranged that he should make our cottage his headquarters.¹³⁷ (Garnett 1991:73)

The encounter with Volkhovsky inaugurated a new trend of intellectual affiliations with the Russians. Thanks to him, in fact, close connections rapidly

¹³⁶ For a biography of Edward Garnett, see Jefferson 1982. For a biography of Constance Garnett see Garnett 1991. For a general history of the Garnett family, see Heilbrun 1961. The diaries of Olive Garnett prove a fertile source of information about her life and her affiliation with the Russians (Garnett 1989, 1993).

¹³⁷ While Edward Garnett worked in London for T. F. Unwin, Constance remained in the countryside. The cottage that she mentions here is Pennington, at Henhurst Cross in Surrey. See Jefferson 1982.

grew between the Garnetts and other Russian émigrés, Nicholas Chaikovsky, Prince Peter Kropotkin and Prince Tcherkessov – a Georgian exile– among others (Garnett 1954:10-1). Constance’s fascination for Russian radical ideologies led her to befriend radical figures such as Vera Zazulich, Vera Finger and Vladimir I. Lenin during their stays in England.¹³⁸ It is also interesting to notice that her attachment to the Russians was not limited to the radical émigrés in *fin de siècle* England: in fact, she was familiar with Peter Lavrov’s household in Paris, where she stayed during her visit to the city in 1898, not to mention the many acquaintances she made during her stay in Russia in 1893 and 1904, significant among which are Vladimir Korolenko and Lev Tolstoy (Garnett 1954, Garnett 1991).¹³⁹

It is true, of course, that the Garnett’s Russian connections were many: still, it was with Stepniak that the family weaved the most significant ones. It is worth noticing that Stepniak has always been fascinated by intellectual circles: upon his arrival to England, in fact, he partook to the cultural life of Bedford Park, a middle-class suburb where people with artistic and literary sensitivities used to gather (Bolsterli 1977).¹⁴⁰ Most significantly, he was a member of the Calumet

¹³⁸ Vera Zazulich (1849-1919) had assassinated General Trepov on 24th January 1878 and had henceforth lived in Geneva (Switzerland). Vera Finger (1852-1942) was a representative of the Russian revolutionist party *Narodnaya Volya*, which took active part in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II (1881). As David Garnett records in his biography, when Finger was released in the general amnesty of 1906, she moved to England and became a frequent visitor at the Cearne, the Garnetts’ cottage in Limpsfield. See Garnett 1954.

¹³⁹ During her first visit to Russia, she met Tolstoy at Yasnaya Polyana, with whom she talked about her English translations of his novels (Garnett 1954:15). Constance’s meetings with Korolenko is recorded in Garnett 1954, Garnett 1991, Tove 1958. In 1904 Constance took her young son, David Garnett, to Russia, an event that informed his accounts of his family, particularly the first volume titled *The Golden Echo* (1954).

¹⁴⁰ Founded by Jonathan T. Carr in the 1880s, Bedford Park was intended to be a middle-class utopia, where intellectual richness and corporate happiness were to be the pivot of everyday life. This plan was part and parcel of the fascination for alternative communities that invaded England in the 1880s and which was informed by French and Russian socialist and anarchist theories. Given

circle, a private conversation group founded by Moncure Conway in 1882.¹⁴¹ His acquaintance with the club proved one of his first experiences of – and experiment in – Anglo-Russian group relations, and the one that inspired further affiliations and collaborations. Given his fascination for intellectual networks, Stepniak's entering the Garnetts' circle is not particularly surprising. As I venture to illustrate, such a resolution plays a crucial role in the history of Anglo-Russian ideological and intellectual exchanges.

In 1890 Volkhovsky first took Edward and Constance to meet the editor of *Free Russia*, who lived at 31 Blandford Road, Bedford Park (Chiswick): that was, as Constance records in her memoirs, “one of the most important events in [her] life” (Garnett 1991:81). Stepniak, in fact, stimulated her intellectual curiosity for both Russia and radicalism, involving her in his underground activities: for instance, he persuaded her to smuggle secret correspondence and prohibited literature to Korolenko during her first visit to Russia, thereby arranging channels of communication between the exiles and the underground

its socialist and anti-institutionalist principles, the fact that Stepniak – a Russian émigré of radical ideology – settled in this suburb comes as no surprise. For a history of the Bedford Park Estate, see Bolsterli 1977.

¹⁴¹ The *Acton and Chiswick Gazette* reports one of the meetings of this small society, which consisted in “Literary men, journalists, artists, and others – who assemble every fortnight at each other's houses in rotation to indulge in friendly converse over a pipe. On Sunday evening last the meeting-place happened to be the house of Stepniak, who has always been a prominent and much respected member of the Calumets, and the illustrious exile seemed to be in the best of health and spirits, receiving his guests with as much cordiality as simplicity of manner. Among those guests was a prominent German socialist settled in England; and on the talk turning on the principles of his party, one could not help being struck with the knowledge of the subject displayed by Stepniak, as well as by his great moderation and reasonableness of his views. Equally sensible and incisive where his remarks on the *régime* in Russia, the present state of Armenia [...] the Anglo-American dispute, and other current topics” (28 December 1885). Quoted in Bolsterli 1977. Interestingly, among the most famed literary personalities who partake in these meetings were W. B. Yeats and G. K. Chesterton.

revolutionary organizations in Russia thanks to his English friends (Garnett 1954, Garnett 1989, Garnett 1991).

Similarly, Stepniak also had a powerful and shaping influence on Olive Garnett's receptive mind. As her sister-in-law, Olive was deeply fascinated by radical ideologies of French and Russian origins and she even initiated a collaboration with the young Rossetti for the publication of an anarchic journal titled *The Torch* (Garnett 1993).¹⁴² Not to mention her acquaintance with Sid Rapoport, who was at that time collaborating with Kenworthy over the translations of Tolstoy.¹⁴³ Olive was, therefore, familiar with a variety of anti-conformist counter publics informed by Russian ideology. Having discussed socialism and radicalism with both the Rossetti and Volkhovsky, Olive's intellectual curiosity led her to read the pages of the émigré journal *Free Russia*, and, consequently, to become more and more interested in the activities of its editor in chief. It was clearly at Stepniak's suggestion, in fact, that Olive started to sell copied of *Free Russia*, to attend meetings, political debates and lectures organised by the SFRF,¹⁴⁴ and to have the correspondence of the émigrés sent to her private address at the British Museum (Garnett 1989).¹⁴⁵ As a result, the

¹⁴² For a well-informed account of the Russian interests of the Rossetti family, see Waddington 1998. In his book of memories titled *Return to Yesterday* (1972), Ford Madox Ford remembers meeting Kropotkin once at the office of the journal in Goodge Street, a fact that demonstrate the Russian émigré's interest for the young Rossettis' anarchist enterprise, as well as Ford's early affiliation with radicalism. Ford remembers, in fact, publishing one of his first poems in the journal (RY 83-4, 111-2).

¹⁴³ As she records in her diary, "Mr Rapoport had translated 'Master & Man' (Tolstoi) with a Mr Kenworthy & they had got £ 20 for it. He gave me a copy." (Garnett 1993:184).

¹⁴⁴ Olive's personal remembrance of one of the meetings of the SFRF occurs in her diary (Garnett 1989:58).

¹⁴⁵ The Garnetts – apart from Edward – moved to the British Museum as soon as Richard Garnett was appointed keeper of printed books in 1890. It is very likely, therefore, that the Russian émigrés' frequent visits to the Museum – as outlined in chapter one – could have tightened their relationships with the Garnetts. See Garnett 1954, Garnett 1991. Ford Madox Ford himself

Garnett household was not only a microcosm of the contemporary intelligentsia (Turton 1992:184), attracting English intellectuals of radical ideologies, but it also became the site of a unique Anglo-Russian network, where political and social issues of the day could be debated. It was within the circle, in fact, that Ford Madox Ford became first acquainted with the Russian émigrés, particularly with Stepniak, Volkhovsky and Kropotkin, a fact that looms large on the crucial role the Garnetts played in favouring Anglo-Russian encounters and exchanges (Ford 1972:132-3).¹⁴⁶

The model of people sharing a common interest, in this case politics and cultural history, gathering together to discuss matters of major concerns to them, inevitably calls to mind the 18th-century coffee houses and their leading role in the negotiation of modern civil society (Habermas 1989). Still, the Garnetts' Anglo-Russian circle departed from the nation-oriented inheritance of the coffee house to share the late-19th-century fascination for cosmopolitanism: not only did Russian émigrés and the British intelligentsia gather together, but they also discussed international politics, society and culture, giving to such meetings a distinctively transnational disposition. For its gathering people from abroad, raising interest to the international political and cultural scene and for radical ideology, the Garnetts' network contributed to the creation of a transnational space of public debate, thereby standing out as model for a new form of civil society based on transnational principles, as well as an institution of the Anglo-Russian counter-public discourse.

Still, the proliferation of such an unprecedented Anglo-Russian group was much pervaded with linguistic curiosity. Not only did Volkhovsky teach Russian

remembers sending time in the British Museum courtyard with the young Garnetts (Ford 1972:20-1).

¹⁴⁶ Ford remembers walking home with Stepniak, Volkhovsky and Kropotkin after a meeting at London University and being followed by Russian spies, calling attention to the supervision Russians in England had to endure in the 1890s (Ford 1972:135-6).

to both Constance and Olive, but he indulged with them in conversations over Russian literature and criticism. Under Volkhovsky's supervision, in fact, Constance started to read Russian literature in the original language and to translate it into English. Moreover, Constance and Olive's early acquaintances with the Russians subsequently resulted in collaborative experiments: they, in fact, used to proofread the Russian émigrés' English papers as Olive Garnett records in her diary: "returned at 4 o'clock & since then I have been entertaining Volkhovsky who stayed to dinner. After threshing out the 'bibliography,' he produced an article on 'Capital Punishment in Russia,' written in very Russian English by a Russian, this he returned into his own English & I turned it into English English so we have been pretty well occupied" (Garnett 1989:146). Interestingly, this collaboration between Olive and Volkhovsky, was not an isolated one: in fact, three years later, in an entrance of her diary Olive writes: "[Volkhovsky] produced an article on 'Autokolsky, the Sulptor' – would I go through it & correct the wording? I did so while he played at soldiers with the children" (Garnett 1993:19).¹⁴⁷ It is also interesting to notice that Stepniak himself resorted to Olive Garnett's linguistic advice: "Came [to Highgate] early, & revised [one of Stepniak's articles] from 2 o'clock P.M. till 1 a.m. Enjoyed doing it, it is so interesting to see how Stepniak had worked at it. I am very slow at revising & took great pains to make out the exact meaning" (Garnett 1993:173). It is a well-known fact that Stepniak had only a cursory command of the language: proofreading, therefore, was not only a necessary practice to make his style plain for English audiences and readers, but also a challenging one for Olive. Nonetheless, she found this practice stimulating from both methodologic and ideologic points of view.

¹⁴⁷ In an earlier entry in her diary, Olive remembers revising one of the most famed of Stepniak's articles, which was his reply to Ivanov's (pseudonym for Mme Novikov) attack in the *New Review*. See Garnett 1993:27. Proofreading goes along with other forms of literary collaborations: Olive, in fact, agreed to compile a bibliography of English and French books about Russia for Volkhovsky in 1891 (Garnett 1989).

It was probably for both her curiosity for Russia and her skills as a linguistic advisor that Olive was soon introduced to Vasily V. Bervi, an exiled philosopher from Russia who wrote under the pseudonym of N. Flerovsky, by Stepniak himself in 1893.¹⁴⁸ Soon Mrs Bervi started to teach Olive Russian, while her husband suggested that she should partake in a literary enterprise of his: “Met Stepniak as I was going to the Berveys ... Mr. Bervey proposed that we should (he & I) form an association for the writing & publishing of the stories which he has in his head, & share the profits. He showed me one which he had written in imperfect English & I read it aloud” (Garnett 1993:175). Although this collaboration did not take place, its being conceived further expands on the cultural significance Anglo-Russian collaborations had at the turn of the 20th century: these, in fact, triggered an ongoing flow of Russian culture into English, an influx that was primarily fostered by Stepniak, the Garnetts and their progressively expanding literary circle.

Despite his political conservatism, Edward Garnett was part and parcel of this Anglo-Russian coterie. It was in fact thanks to him that Constance and Olive became acquainted with the Russian émigrés in late-19th-century London. But this was just one of the many reasons why Edward is worth mentioning. His fame in the cultural context of *fin-de-siècle* England has been recently rediscovered by scholarship, and has been primarily connected to Thomas Fisher Unwin and his publishing house.¹⁴⁹ Working as a publisher’s reader for Unwin, and subsequently for Gerald Duckworth & Co. and Jonathan Cape, and being one of the first critics to occupy that position, Edward is widely known for

¹⁴⁸ Olive’s first impressions of Bervi are recollected in Garnett 1989:231. Moreover, in 1895, Fanny Stepniak (Stepniak’s wife) was translating Bervi’s autobiography into English and asked Olive for help. See Garnett 1993.

¹⁴⁹ See Slatter 1998, Bassett 2004, Smith 2011.

having introduced new authors to the public, Joseph Conrad, D.H. Lawrence, W. H. Hudson and C. Graham among others.¹⁵⁰

If it is true that Edward's advice proved crucial for the future generation of authors, particularly for those who came from abroad, Stephen Crane and Conrad for example,¹⁵¹ it is also true that his support became extremely valuable for those Russian émigrés who were trying to have their works published in England, a fact that has only received scant attention. An analysis of the correspondence between Edward and Peter Kropotkin from 1897 to 1916 reveals how the Russian émigré's choices for his *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* were informed by Edward himself. In a letter dated November 23, 1898, Kropotkin writes to Garnett: "Mrs Stepniak has told me about what Mr Heinemann mentioned to you about my *Memoirs*, and I would so much like to have a talk with you about my literary affairs. I am in great need of a good adviser. Where and when could we meet?" (HR 1).¹⁵² Kropotkin's asking for Edward's advice has twofold implications: first, it accounts for Edward's widespread fame as professional advisor for writers wishing to write in English since the beginning of his career (Slatter 1998); second, it pinpoints Edward's entanglement with émigré voices from Russia. A few years later, Kropotkin wrote to him:

November 22, 1899,
My dear Garnett,
With this mail I send you my book. Accept it as a token of affection from a friend. There is something of yours in it. I never forgot our conversations about *Memoirs*' writing, and of your kind words of encouragement – which I as much in need of – and your friendly hints. And I cannot but repeat how

¹⁵⁰ For a detailed account of E. Garnett's career as a publisher's reader, see Jefferson 1982.

¹⁵¹ These letters from Kropotkin to Garnett are quoted in Slatter 1998. See Garnett 1928, Ford 1972, Jefferson 1982, Smith 2007.

¹⁵² The letters from which I quote here are kept at the Harry Ransome Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin [HR], while some others are kept as copies at the Garnett family archive, previously at Hilton Hall [HH], now at Northwestern University (Illinois). The extracts are quoted from Slatter 1998.

thankful I am to you, dear friend, for you good interference, and all the trouble you took with it. It appears now, as you see, not only from a good publisher, but also in a nice form. – (HH 18).

The affectionate tone of the letter is noteworthy, insofar as it brings new importance to the Garnetts' Anglo-Russian circle, which emerges as a unique and unprecedented phenomenon in transnational relations, from both personal and professional points of view (Vernitski 2005). As it turned out, Edward's friendly support and expert advice eventually enabled Kropotkin to publish his autobiography in 1899.¹⁵³ Within the Garnetts' circle, therefore, literary production emerges as a collaborative enterprise, bridging not only people but also different cultural and literary traditions. It epitomises Ford's claim that "the art of writing is an affair as international as are all the other arts – as international as co-operative and as mutually uniting" (Ford 1930:4).¹⁵⁴ In other words, this

¹⁵³ Interestingly, there is no evidence that Edward ever collaborated with other Russian émigrés in a similar way as he did with Kropotkin. Still, his sister records his plan to write a play in tandem with Stepniak, an enterprise which they, nonetheless, never undertook (Garnett 1993:67). Smith (2011) claims that there are references to Edward in Stepniak's short story *Domnik na Volge* (*The Cottage by the Volga*). However, this does not sound likely, given the fact that Stepniak became acquainted with the Garnetts later in 1890 and that the short story was published the same year. See Garnett 1989. A fictional representation of Edward Garnett, on the contrary, features in *The Inheritors: An Extravagant Story* (1901), jointly written by Conrad and Ford Madox Ford, and in Ford's *The Simple Life Limited* (Jefferson 1982). Although this reference has nothing to do with Edwards' Russian connections, it nonetheless emphasises his impact on the receptive mind of the members of the Garnett circle, as well as his leading cultural role within the group itself.

¹⁵⁴ We should bear in mind that Conrad and Ford Madox Ford also belonged to the Garnett's transnational circle, and it is though Edward that they eventually met up and started collaborating. See Ford 1972. Moreover, interesting in this respect is the fact that Conrad probably modelled his characters in *Under Western Eyes* (1911) after some members of the Garnett's Anglo-Russian circle. While Stepniak could have served as a model for both Haldin and Razumov, Olive inspired the character of Natalia Haldin, a character that Conrad himself discussed in a letter to Constance Garnett dated October 20th 1911. (Moser 1984; Garnett 1928). Moreover, Moser claims that Olive Garnett's fiction may have inspired Conrad while writing *UWE*. Consequently, this intricate network of correspondences sheds further light on the pivotal importance of the Garnett's circle in

distinctively Anglo-Russian group fostered the creation of a transnational cultural and literary space, where collaborations and intellectual exchanges proved the *conditio sine qua non* of literary creation.

4.2 Translating and Circulating Russian Writings

In the 1890s, the nationalistic turn that took place in the mid-nineteenth century was progressively drawing to an end. This phenomenon was to have a shaping effect on the development of cultural and literary history: not only did it suggest a renovated interest for foreign literatures and cultural traditions, but it also paved the way for the re-opening of the national literary canons to include international masterpieces. Cosmopolitan competences and cultural knowledge became, therefore, the prerequisites of the modern intelligentsia (Thomsen 2008). As Thomsen argues, though, “in a historical perspective, international canonization is [...] more dependent on formal innovation; never formal innovation in an empty space, however, but rather, one laden with cultural and specific histories” (Thomsen 2008:48). This is particularly evident in late-19th-century Britain, where the eagerness to rejuvenate English literature led early modernist authors to question the authority of Victorian traditions and to look for new aesthetic models elsewhere.

It is true, of course, that French authors have long served as models of realism for generations of English writers. Nevertheless, the 1890s were hallmarked by an unprecedented interest in Russian literature. As Beasley and Bullock (2011) observe, many were the combining factors underling this form of ‘Russomania’: Turgenev’s popularity, the publication of well-informed studies on Russian literature, such as Ernest Dupuy’s *Les grands maîtres de la littérature russe* (1885) and E. M. de Vogué’s *Le roman russe* (1885-6), and I argue the arrival

favouring the circulation of ideas and aesthetic model, while serving itself as a source for literary creation.

of Russian émigrés, who played an active role in the circulation of new aesthetic models. Such a literary interconnection was primarily due to translations (Smith 2011), as I have already anticipated in the previous chapters. Still, translations in both *Free Russia* and the Tolstoyan communities pivoted on ideological and philosophical propaganda. It was not until the arrival of Constance Garnett that a departure from this ideological model was eventually promoted. Her translation, in fact, focused on the perfect rendering of the Russian authors' style into English, disseminating new aesthetics that were destined to influence some English modernist authors, suffice it to call to mind Virginia Woolf, D. H. Lawrence, John Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield among others.¹⁵⁵ Contributions of and collaborations with the Russians make Constance Garnett's pioneering enterprise noteworthy: it bears witness to the pivotal role the Russians played in fostering cross-cultural and literary rapprochement, illuminating their role as *Kulturträger*.¹⁵⁶

4.2.1 The Russian Émigrés and Constance Garnett's Translations

It is a well-known fact that Constance's interest in translations dates to the years she spent at Cambridge, where she was trained in translation from Latin and Greek (Garnett 1991). Although her education inevitably influenced her life, it was the final encounter with Volkhovsky and, subsequently, with Stepniak that marked a significant turn in her career. Volkhovsky, in fact, immediately realised Constance's genius: he suggested that she should learn Russian – which

¹⁵⁵ For Woolf and the Russians see Dalgarno 2004, Protopopova 2006, Rubenstein 2009, Protopopova 2013, Ciceri 2015. For the influence of the Russians on the modernist short story see, among others, Hunter 2003, Skrbic 2004. See also Kaye 1999, Davison 2014.

¹⁵⁶ Other translators from the Russian were Aylmer Maude, a fervent Tolstoyan, and Samuel Solomonovich Kotliansky – a Ukrainian émigré who moved to London in 1911 and who became a member of the Bloomsbury group. For an informed biography of Kotliansky see Diment 2011. On translations from the Russians see Jabboury 1992, May 1994. On Maude's translations see Edgerton 1968, Holman 1985. On Kotliansky see Rogatchevskii 2000, Davison 2011, Beasley 2013, Davison 2014.

she did under his supervision – and read Russian fiction (Garnett 1991). Apart from tutoring her in Russian, therefore, Volkhovsky stimulated Constance's curiosity and encouraged her to undertake the translation of Ivan Goncharov's *A Common Story* (1847), which was eventually published by Heinemann in 1894. Within the time span of about thirty years, Constance introduced the English reading public to L. Tolstoy, F. Dostoevsky, A. Chekhov, A. Ostrovsky, I. Turgenev and N. Gogol, as well as with a limited number of political writings and memoirs, namely A. Herzen's *My Past and Thoughts* (Chatto & Windus 1924-1927), and C. Feldmann's *The Revolt of the 'Potemkin'* (Heinemann 1908).¹⁵⁷

However, it is with her translations of Turgenev that Constance's career reached its zenith, a success that was largely due to Stepniak. The ambitious and monumental plan to translate Turgenev's fiction into English, in fact, was Stepniak's, as Constance wrote in her 1899 translation of *The Jew and other Stories* (1846-1868), which she dedicated "to the memory of Stepniak whose love of Turgenev suggested this translation" (Turgenev 1899).¹⁵⁸ Constance warmly welcomed this task, which took her more than five years to accomplish (from 1894 to 1899). This enterprise can be defined as a collaborative one, not so much due to Stepniak's suggestion, as for his actively partaking in the process of translation. In fact, he thoroughly proofread Constance's drafts and compared the original text with her translation to verify the accuracy of her work. Writing about Constance's translation to *Rudin*, Stepniak claims that "a good deal of its charm is unavoidably lost in translation. But I am happy to say that the present one is as near an approach to the elegance and poetry of the original as I have

¹⁵⁷ For a complete list of Constance Garnett's translation see Garnett 1991: 361-2. See also Moser 1988, where the scholar highlights the impact her translations of Dostoevsky had on J. M. Murry. She also translated peasants' songs (Garnett 1954:76). See also Tove 1958.

¹⁵⁸ Interestingly, the role of Constance's language teacher was taken over by Stepniak. In an entry of her diary dated October 16th 1892, Olive records that her sister-in-law used to go once a week to the Stepniaks to read Russian (Garnett 1989). Moreover, she also went there to correct proofs of her translations (Garnett 1993).

ever come across" (Turgenev 1894: xxix). Stepniak's direct involvement in the project is chronicled by Constance herself: "I gave a first draft of six of the stories [of Turgenev's *A Sportsman Sketches*] to the Russian revolutionary leader, Stepniak, to read over. I had put, as I always did, alternative words above the line, wherever I was in some doubt of the right word" (The Listener 1947). After Stepniak's death in 1895, his wife, Fanny, took over the role of Constance's Russian advisor: this fact sheds further light on the role the Stepniaks played in the Anglo-Russian community.¹⁵⁹

However, Stepniak is not credited for having introduced Turgenev's fiction to the English reading public. William Ralston, for example, published a translation of *Lisa (A Nest of Gentlefolk)* as early as 1867, Henry James wrote critical essays on Turgenev in the 1870s, and George Moore published an article on Turgenev in 1888, just to mention a few contributions to English criticism. Conversely, Stepniak's importance depends on the fact that he fostered the publication of the first edition of the complete works of Turgenev. Not only was it the first systematic attempt to translate Turgenev in the West (Europe and America), but it also was the first collected edition in English directly translated from the original Russian texts. In fact, before Constance's enterprise, English translations were mediated by either French or German ones, languages in which Turgenev started to be translated as early as the 1860s. This novelty of Constance's work contributed to set up a new standard for translations from the Russians (Turton 1992): translations from the original source text, in fact, offered linguistic accuracy and stylistic equivalence – also thanks to Stepniak's advise – which those mediated by translations in other languages lacked.

Constance's outstanding achievements were praised by Conrad in a letter to Edward Garnett dated May 1917, in which he writes:

¹⁵⁹ For more information about Fanny Stepniak and Constance Garnett's collaboration, see Garnett 1991 and Garnett 1954.

As a boy, I remember reading *Smoke* in a Polish Translation [...] and the *Gentlefolks* in French. I liked those things purely by instinct [...] with which the consciousness of literary perfection had absolutely nothing to do. For the rest Turgenev for me is Constance Garnett and Constance Garnett is Turgenev. She had done that marvellous thing of placing the man's work inside English literature and it is there that I see it – or rather that I *feel* it. (Garnett 1928:248-9)

Ford Madox Ford's appraisal of Constance's works echoes that of his Polish friend and collaborator:

The prominence taken by the Intelligentsia and Nihilists in England intellectual – and certainly in my own, life was due to Mrs. Constance Garnett. That lady's family had long been engaged in Russian trade and she herself gave to the world one of the noblest literary monument – her translation of the works of Turgenev. For me Turgenev is the greatest of all writers and Mrs. Garnett's rendering of his Russian into English is the most flawless and limpid of carrying across from one country to another of a literary masterpiece. (Ford 1972: 130-1)¹⁶⁰

Interestingly, none of these passages mentions Stepniak's contribution. This fact notwithstanding, it is worth mentioning that it was only thanks to his collaboration with Constance Garnett that Turgenev was eventually incorporated into the English literary consciousness, rather than being an object of exotic curiosity, as Ford's statement clearly highlights. Therefore, Stepniak and Constance worked as cultural and literary go-between, insofar as their joint enterprise bridged the gap between two artistic tradition, expanding the canon of English national literature to accommodate experiences of diversity and new aesthetic models.

Hindsight, however, has inclined commentators to criticise the quality of Constance's work. Vladimir Nabokov and Edward Crankshaw are figureheads

¹⁶⁰ It is worth remembering that John Galsworthy dedicated his novel *The Island Pharisees* (1904) to Constance Garnett as a token of admiration for her English translation of Turgenev. Using similar terms, Conrad himself inscribed a copy of his 1897 novel *The Nigger of the Narcissus* to her. See Jefferson 1982, Garnett 1991.

in this respect (Davison 2010): in his article published in *The Listener* in 1947, in fact, Crankshaw criticised Constance's translations of Chekhov's play and her choices to render idiomatic language into English. Still, unlikely Nabokov, he credited Garnett for paying a unique contribution to English literature, introducing models that were to inspire the future generations of writers (Crankshaw 1947). Therefore, the assessment of Constance Garnett's achievement has always proved controversial and balanced between sheer refusal or warm welcome. It was not until very recently that scholarship has convened upon the high quality of Constance's translations, re-reading her work in the light of later renderings and declaring them superior (Davison 2010).

If it is true that a comparative analysis – by which I mean a study of Constance's translations and of original Russian texts – may highlight some discrepancies between English translations and Russian source texts, it is also true that most of them are limited to idiomatic uses of the language or to the Russian peasants' speech.¹⁶¹ At this stage of the analysis it is interesting to call attention to Constance's own description of her translating practices in her *Listener* interview:

Tolstoy's simple style goes straight into English without any trouble. There's no difficulty. Dostoevsky is so obscure and so careless a writer that one can scarcely help clarifying him – sometimes it needs some penetration to see what he is trying to say. Turgenev is much the most difficult of the Russians to translate because his style is the most beautiful (The Listener 1947)

However one evaluates her work, it is crystal clear that Constance valued clarity of meaning and fluidity, which had long characterised English translation practices. Resorting to a transparent mode of translation, insuring “easy readability by adhering to current usage, maintaining continuous syntax, fixing a precise meaning” (Venuti 2008:1), Constance Garnett facilitated the reception

¹⁶¹ See Turton 1992, Nikoliukin 1995, May 1994.

of Russian literature in England (Beasley and Bullock 2011). Alongside the norms of Late-Victorian translations, contemporary perception of the Russian novel also influenced Constance's translating practices. These are encapsulated in Matthew Arnold's paradigmatic statement, according to which Russian literature, and Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* in particular, is not to be taken as a work of art, rather as a piece of life: "great sensitiveness, subtlety, and fitness, addressing themselves with entire disinterestedness and simplicity to the representation of human life" (Arnold 1887:784) are the aspects of the Russian realist novel that contemporary English criticism praised.¹⁶² Interpreted in these terms, Russian literature demanded for a transparent mode of translation, in order to convey the illusion of life and reality encoded in the source text with as much clarity as possible (Beasley and Bullock 2011).

Constance's target-oriented translations informed the process of domestication of Russian literature, opening the English literary system to accommodate new voices and compositional patterns. This new realist aesthetics of Russian matrix, in fact, would be fundamental for future generations of writers. What emerges, therefore, is a model of translation as a "generative writing practice" (Yao 2002:4).¹⁶³ In other words, Constance should be credited with having imported Russian literature into England and with having contributed to the assimilation of its distinctive compositional patterns and discourses, processes that resulted from her early collaboration with Stepniak. Thus, it is possible to claim that collaborations among the members of the

¹⁶² As Beasley and Bullock observe, in fact, this interpretation of Russian literature features in M. De Vogue's landmarking study *Le Roman Russe* (1885). As I demonstrate in the following pages, Edward Garnett's criticism of Turgenev, in fact, reflects this perception.

¹⁶³ It is true, of course, that Yao's use of the term applies to modernist authors engaged themselves in translation. The scholar, in fact, claims that translation proved significant for modernist writers, insofar as they drew inspiration from foreign cultures for rejuvenating their own. (Yao 2002). This expression, however, could also be used to refer to other context, where a literary text in translation could inspire literary creativity, as it is the case of Turgenev for a hoard of modernist writers, from Woolf to Ford.

Garnett's Anglo-Russian community have great significance, insofar as they propelled forward the flow of cultural material across national borders and the creation of an Anglo-Russian literary space, where foreign and national models were juxtaposed.¹⁶⁴ Constance and Stepniak's enterprise, therefore, is symptomatic of profound cultural and literary transformations: it indicates, in fact, an intriguing overlap between cosmopolitan stances and artistic rejuvenation.

4.2.2 Edward Garnett, Stepniak, Turgenev and the English Novel

Not only translation, but also criticism contributes to challenging, re-defining and expanding the boundaries of a national literary system. Within the framework of the British reception of Russian literature, and particularly of Constance Garnett's translations of Turgenev, Edward Garnett and Stepniak had a leading role to play, as they contributed to shape the British response to the Russian master's fiction. Turgenev's fame in England, therefore, was the resultant effect of Anglo-Russian collaborations, both during the process of translation itself, and in the critical assessment of the Russian master's works.

Interestingly, at the outset of the project, Stepniak was appointed the role of literary critic: he was invited, in fact, to contribute introductions to Constance's translations. Evidence gathered from Olive Garnett's diary, though, demonstrates that this proposal had to face the opposition of the publisher, William Heinemann, who was reluctant to have Stepniak associated with his publishing house:

Thursday Dec. 7th [1893]. Lovely day. Connie to luncheon. She said that [William] Heinemann does not want Stepniak to write the critical introductions to [her translations of] Turgénieff, he is afraid of his politics. He would rather get Bjørnsen, or Henry James to do the work. Edward has made an overture that Stepniak's name shall merely appear at the end of the

¹⁶⁴ To rejuvenate English literature, therefore, new models are required, models that come from abroad. This observation looms large on the importance not only of Constance Garnett's achievements, but also of the Garnett circle itself in English 20th-century culture.

introductions, not be advertised at all. Of course, as Connie says she will not have half the pleasure in translating if Stepniak has no share, the idea was his, & no one else can give the facts about these epoch making novels as he can. Other writers may write their critical introductions, they cannot write the critical-historical introductions that he can, which will make the edition unique. (Garnett 1989:236)

Satisfactory arrangements were made, and Stepniak's introductions to Constance's translations of Turgenev were eventually published. Still, due to his premature death in 1895, Stepniak managed to contribute critical-historical introductions to her 1894 translations of *Rudin* (1856) and of *A House of Gentlefolk* (1859) only. Despite his wife's opposition, Edward Garnett introduced the other volumes. At the time Garnett took over the writing of the prefaces to Turgenev, therefore, the portrait of Turgenev had already been sketched (Smith 2011).

In the opening volumes of the collection, Stepniak interpreted the Russian author as a chronicler of mid-19th-century Russia and of its thriving intellectual and social dissent. In other words, the Russian émigré discussed Turgenev's works from an ideological perspective and his introduction to *Rudin* is a telling example in this respect:

Although small numerically, the section of Russian society which Turgenev represents is enormously interesting, because it is the brain of the nation, the living ferment which alone can leaven the huge unformed masses. It is upon them that depends the destinies of the country. [...] Thus, during one of the most important and interesting periods of our national history, Turgenev was the standard-bearer and inspirer of the Liberal, the thinking Russia (Stepniak 1894a: xi, xvii).

In Stepniak's opinion, therefore, *Rudin* is a social novel or, to put it differently, "the first of Turgenev's social novels, and is a sort of artistic introduction to those that follow, because it refers to the epoch anterior to that when the present social and political movement began" (ibid: xviii). Such an approach exemplifies Stepniak's keenness on cultivating British interest in Russian literature and to raise the sympathies of the British intelligentsia to the émigrés' anti-Tsarist cause. However, Turgenev's novels mattered to Stepniak

not only as records of a period of Russian history the émigré himself had been directly involved in, but also as expressions of artistic genius, an aspect of his criticism that has long passed without scrutiny.¹⁶⁵

Commenting on Turgenev's prose, Stepniak observes that "to one familiar with all Turgenev's works it is evident that he possessed the key to all human emotions, all human feelings, the highest and the lowest, the noble as well as the base. From the high of his superiority he saw all, understood all: nature and men had no secrets for his calm penetrating eyes" (ibid: vii-viii). To Stepniak, therefore, Turgenev's creative talent deepened on his power of observation and representation of life: his ability to depict what Stepniak terms "the vast body of psychological truth, [...] the subtle shades of men's feelings" (ibid: vi) is what, in the émigré's opinion, dictated his international fame. In the wake of his criticism, that pivots on the ability of the Russian novelist to provide sketches of life, it is very likely that the Russian émigré further informed Late-Victorian ideas about Russian literature. An insight into Edward Garnett's criticism validates this interpretation.

Although Edward Garnett's agenda ultimately differed from that of Stepniak, it is interesting to detect some similarities between the Russian émigré's prefatory note and Edward's appraisal of the Russian author. "It is life arbitrary but inevitable," writes Garnett in his introduction to Constance's 1898 translation of Turgenev's *The Lear of the Steppes*, "life so clarified by art that is absolutely interpreted [in Turgenev's novels]; but life with all the sense of mystery that nature breathes around it in its ceaseless growth" (Garnett 1898:

¹⁶⁵ In his biography of Constance Garnett, Richard Garnett, in fact, claims that Edward was better suited to introduce his wife's translations than Stepniak was. This was primarily due to Stepniak's political and social criticism, that did not convey to the English the aesthetic values of Turgenev (Garnett 1991:143). It is Turton who first acknowledged Stepniak's interest for Turgenev's aesthetics in her 1998 book on the reception of Turgenev in England from 1850s to 1900s. It is true, of course, that she accounts for Stepniak's interest in literary creativity; still, she does not linger on the topic, moving father to Stepniak's involvement in the radical circles of mid-19th-century Russia.

vii). As David Garnett explains, “Edward was not particularly interested in realism as a *method*. What he cared about was what he called truth, i.e. psychological truth” (Jefferson 1982:278). Edward Garnett, therefore, is here disentangling the abused interconnection of truth and realist rhetoric: Turgenev’s psychological insight, his ability to represent the mystery and the transiency of human existence, as well as his poetic condensations are the qualities of his work that Garnett celebrates, thereby attuning his criticism to Stepniak’s.

Both Stepniak and Garnett were, therefore, concerned with Turgenev’s realist aesthetics. In formulating his definition of Turgenev’s realism, Stepniak claims that

Turgenev is a realist in the sense that keep close to reality, truth and nature. But in the pursuit of photographic faithfulness to life, he never allows himself to be tedious and dull. [...] His descriptions are never overburdened with wearisome details; his action is rapid; the events are never to be foreseen a hundred pages beforehand; he keeps his reader in constant suspense. And it seems to me in so doing he shows himself a better realist than the gifted representatives of the orthodox realism in France, England and America. (Stepniak 1894a: xxviii)

Similarly, Edward Garnett writes, “[Turgenev] is a great realist, and his realism carries along with it the natural breath of poetry. [...] His thoughts and his emotions are blended in one; he interprets life, but always preserves the atmosphere, the glamour, the mystery of the living thing in his interpretation” (Garnett 1898: xvi). Stepniak and Garnett, therefore, clarify that Turgenev’s realism is not akin to that of English or French 19th-century authors: “the Russians,” writes Garnett, “are *instinctive* realists and carry the warm of life into their pages, which warmth the French seem to lose in clarifying their impressions and crystallizing them in art” (Garnett 1899: viii).¹⁶⁶ The results of Stepniak and

¹⁶⁶ This appreciation of the Russian author would re-echo in his book on Turgenev titled *Turgenev: A Study* (1917).

Garnett's antinaturalistic positions were decisive: celebrating the distinctive nature of Turgenev's aesthetics, Stepniak and Edward Garnett dismissed 19th-century naturalism, shifting the focus of the art of fiction from morality and photographic materialism (Arnold Bennett) to the life of the mind, a new form of fiction the Russians – and Turgenev in particular – were masters of. This new aesthetics would be championed by Virginia Woolf a few years later, who opposed the naturalistic stances of Edwardian literature in favour of a new realism.¹⁶⁷

It is true, of course, that Stepniak did not contribute to the reception of Russian literature in the way Edward Garnett did, both because aesthetics was not his primary concern, and because of the limited number of his critical writings. This fact notwithstanding, Stepniak's criticism re-echoes in Garnett's writings and prefatory notes, a fact that suggests the leading role Stepniak played in shaping the English appreciation and assessment of the Russian writer. In other words, Russian emigration and Anglo-Russian networks proved crucial in the English cultural life of the *fin-du-siècle*: fuelling the British interest for Russian literature, in fact, they triggered cross-cultural rapprochement.

In the assessment of the great significance of Russian models – and of Turgenev in particular – in England, it is worth recalling that the promotion of the Russians took place at the turn of the 20th century, namely in an era of literary transformation and transition (Smith 2011). Turgenev's psychological realism and his ability to represent vivid life sketches in his novels, to make life visible through literature – all aspects that both Stepniak and Garnett celebrated – were to have a great impact on the evolution of the novel in 20th-century England, also thanks to the works of some British intellectuals who gravitated in the Garnetts' Anglo-Russian orbit, J. Conrad, D. H. Lawrence, F. M. Ford, and J. Galsworthy

¹⁶⁷ Woolf deals with the modern art of fiction in her essays, primarily among which is 'Modern Fiction' (Woolf 1984). For a detailed account of the ways in which Woolf's appreciation of Turgenev and of his realism re-echo Stepniak's and Garnett's critical assessment, see Ciceri 2015.

(Moser 1988) to name just a few.¹⁶⁸ The figure of Henry James is significant in this respect: attached to both Turgenev and the Garnett family, he had already commented on the status of the modern novel in 1884 in his famed essay "The House of Fiction:" dismissing the determinist rhetoric of naturalism, in fact, James identified observation and psychological insight – a distinctively Turgenevian method, as Garnett and Stepniak claimed – as the constructive elements of modern fiction, as the sole technique that could unveil the mystery of life.¹⁶⁹ Although James's observations were written about ten years before the Heinemann edition of Turgenev's collected work, they still bear crucial significance, especially for the centrality they indirectly acknowledge to Turgenev in the world literary system.

The urgency to make life visible on the page reached over some proto-modernist writers, who were affiliated with the Garnetts' Slavonic coterie. Ford Madox Ford is a figurehead in this respect. Writing about Turgenev's fiction, in fact, he observes that

in the *Sportsman's Sketches*, in the *Singers*, the *Rattle of the Wheels*, and in *Bielshin Prairie* above all, you get that note: - of the enamoured, of the rapt, watcher; so enamoured and so rapt that the watcher disappears, becoming merely a part of the surrounding atmosphere amidst which, with no self-

¹⁶⁸ Still, what the scholar does not mention, is the fact, that it was not only thanks to the British intellectuals' critical writings or their private correspondence that such a process of dissemination took place, but also through their fiction writing. Many of the figures who gravitated in the Garnett's Anglo-Russian orbit, in fact, were fascinated by the new Russian models that the Garnetts in alliance with Stepniak were promoting, stimulating their creative mind and encouraging them to look for new narrative forms elsewhere (Turton 1992)

¹⁶⁹ "Experience is never limited and it is never complete; it is an immense sensibility, a kind of huge spider-web, of the finest and silken threads, suspended in the chamber of consciousness and catching every air-borne particle in its tissue. It is the very atmosphere of the mind; and when the mind is imaginative much more when it happens to be that of a man of genius – it takes to itself the faintest hints of life, it converts the very pulses of the air into revelations." (James 1884)

consciousness, the men, the forests or the birds act and interact. (Ford 1921:70-1).

Indeed, Ford re-echoes Stepniak's and Edward's critical stances about Turgenev's juxtaposition of observation and emotional insight: such an intellectual inheritance comes as no surprise, given Ford's involvement in the cultural life of the Anglo-Russian community, his friendship with Henry James, which Ford frequently mentions in his works, as well as his complex – and at times controversial – relationship with Edward Garnett himself (Smith 2007). It is also interesting to notice that Ford's reading of Turgenev had a shaping effect on his theory of fiction.¹⁷⁰

the novelist must pass unobserved in the crowd if he himself is to observe. And the crowd is his clay; of his observations of it he will build his monuments to humanity. [...] But the first thing the novelist has to learn is self-effacement – that first and that always. [...] His efforts should be at one with his material. Without that he will not understand its emotions and reactions. [...] A novelist who does not to some extent enter into those feelings can hardly understand and will certainly be unable to render to perfection most human affairs (Ford 1972: 295-6).

Ford's disregard for the factual reality and the sociological approach of French naturalism, as well as for the artificial plotting of the traditional Victorian novel, is patent in this passage. The technique exposed here is the same Ford systematised in an essay titled "On Impressionism" published in *Poetry and Drama* in 1913, which is identified as "literary impressionism." According to the OED, impressionism identifies a "literary or artistic style that seeks to capture a feeling or experience rather than to achieve accurate depiction." Grounding his aesthetics on observation, the only practice, in Ford's opinion, that could unveil the seemingly casual aspects of human life and relationships, Ford advocates the importance of individuality, either fictional or real, of its impressions and

¹⁷⁰ For a study of Turgenev's influence on Ford, see Saunders 2007.

observations. In other words, he is negotiating a new aesthetics for the modern novel one pivoting the subject as a perceptive being, and the one able to represent the controversial aspects of reality (Colombino 2012). It is in this sense that Turgenev's fictional method becomes an important interlocutor to Ford, and the one that would have a shaping effect on his literary style (Ford 1921:38-9, 210).

It is also interesting to notice that Ford's theory of impressionism was not only inspired by Turgenev, but also by his enduring association with France and French models, particularly Guy de Maupassant. In fact, in 1921 he writes that the combination of French and Russian models "ought to be the most formidable combination in the world – and perhaps it is!" (Ford 1921:31). Ford writes extensively about Russian authors, particularly about Dostoevsky – whom he strongly criticised for being too much of a "romantic" – and Tolstoy, thus showing his engagement with the masters of Russian prose. It is likely, however, that whenever Ford refers to the Russians, he is referring to Turgenev in particular:

for us who are the western nations, it is Turgenev who makes us most thankful that Russia had existed. [...] Tolstoy the novelist gave us exact and very wonderful observations of life: Dostoevsky gave us the most wonderful registrations of mental abysses, of darkness, of profound and irremediable gloom. But Turgenev gave the world a tender, exact, and poetic rendering of human life. (Ford 2002:40)

Thus, alongside French models, Russian aesthetics, and particularly that of Turgenev, had an indelible impact on Ford's theory of fiction, which, in turn, contributed to moulding Joseph Conrad's literary style. Literary collaborations and the life-long friendship between the two authors, alongside their affiliation with the Garnetts' Anglo-Russian coterie, have been pivotal in this respect. Conrad's programmatic statement in his preface to the *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, according to which the aim of the novel is "to make you hear, to make you feel – it is, before all, to make you see" (Conrad 1897:14), in fact, bears witness of his literary impressionism, which he developed in close alliance with Ford, and in

the wake of French and Russian models.¹⁷¹ Thus, it is likely that, despite his refusal for all things Russian, Conrad matured an interest for Turgenev in the light of Ford's criticism, Constance's translations and Edward Garnett's readings of the Russian author:

It is *you* [i.e. Edward Garnett] who have opened my eyes to the value and quality of Turgenev [...] As far as I know, you are the only man who had seen T not only in his relation to mankind but in his relation to Russia. And he is great in both. But to be so great and at the same time so fine is fatal to an artist - as to any other man for that matter. It isn't Dostoiewski [sic] the grimacing haunted creature who is under curse; it is Turgenev. Every gift has been heaped on his cradle. Absolute sanity and the deepest sensibility, the clearest vision and the most exquisite responsiveness, penetrating insight for the significant, for the essential in human life and in the visible world, the clearest mind, the warmest heart, the largest sympathy - and all that in perfect measure! There's enough there to ruin any writer. (Garnett 1928:248-9)¹⁷²

In so doing, Conrad, pinpoints the pivotal role the English critics played in shaping the English reception of Turgenev, so much so that he appoints Edward the role of "Russian ambassador in the Republic of Letters" (Garnett 1928:223). Summing up, collaborations between the Constance, Edward and Stepniak favoured the dissemination of Turgenev in England, whose distinctive style stimulated the intellectual curiosity of proto-modernist authors, who were, at the time, re-negotiating the theory of fiction.

As Ford claims, in-between the 19th and 20th centuries, "the story of literature became one of individual efforts without any particularly visible

¹⁷¹ Interestingly, Constance Garnett's dedication of her XIV volume of Turgenev "to Joseph Conrad whose art in essence often recalls the art and essence of Turgenev" pushes the question of intellectual indebtedness to Russian literature even further, insofar as it suggests an affinity between the two authors. Moreover, Ford himself writes that "Mr Conrad found salvation not in any machined Form, but in the sheer attempt to reproduce in words life as it presents itself to the intelligent observer" (Ford 1921:46). For a well-informed study of Conrad's impressionist theory, see Peters 2001.

¹⁷² Italics in the original.

cohesion" (Ford 1921:40). It is particularly in the wake of this trend that the Garnetts' Anglo-Russian collaborations take on new meanings: the encounter between different cultural and literary traditions, the debate over and the negotiation of new aesthetics forms are all aspects that make this cosmopolitan circle rather unique. In Beasley and Bullock's words, "the translation of Russian literature provided an opportunity for British writers, critics and readers to re-evaluate their conception of literature, nationality and humanity" (Beasley and Bullock 2011:299). Edward's and Stepniak's critical assessments of Turgenev's works were integral to Constance's translations of the Russian master's fiction and contributed, therefore, to inscribing new aesthetic models in the English literary scene. Edward and Stepniak played the role of cultural mediators and midwives of the English modern novel: their criticism, in fact, shaped the British responses to Turgenev – as far as Garnett is concerned, to Russian literature at large (Smith 2011) –, raising him as an aesthetic model for young English writers.¹⁷³

In the light on these observations, the Garnetts' Anglo-Russian group stands out as a proper workshop of modern letters: the English family's collaboration with the Russians, in fact, proved instrumental in broadening the source materials for young English writers, who were trying to find a new way in which to write literature taking the distances from exhausted traditions. The movement beyond national literary practices and the Anglo-Russian cross-fertilization that the Garnetts' cosmopolitan circle initiated, therefore,

¹⁷³ Garnett's interpretation of Russian realism as the connection between insight into human life and its relation to the outside world is to be found in his essays on Chekov and other writers and philosophers he praised. See Garnett 1922. The influence of Turgenev's fiction on the English letters, in fact, is not simply limited to fin-de-siècle literary culture (Turton 1992). On the contrary, it stretches in the 20th century and instances can be detected in Virginia Woolf (Rubenstein 2009). It is precisely in the wake of the English fame of Turgenev, and of the shaping effect it had on English writers, that Constance, Edward and Stepniak's collaboration assumes an even more crucial significance.

contributed to the process of refashioning of the English novel, as it took place at the turn of the 20th century, juxtaposing foreign and local traditions.¹⁷⁴

4.3 Stepniak and the Making of Olive Garnett

As we have seen, Stepniak is credited with having contributed to securing Turgenev's English fame, thanks to both his collaboration with Constance and his critical assessment of the Russian author's prose. Alongside favouring the inclusion of Turgenev in the English literary canon, Stepniak also had a profound influence on Olive Garnett, who had already demonstrated a keen interest in all things Russian as early as December 1891, when she first attended Stepniak's lectures at the National Liberal Club (Garnett 1989). Financial, social and religious issues were all extensively debated during these lectures, thereby stimulating Olive's Russian interests. However, it is likely that it was Stepniak's literary arguments that most fascinated Olive, who recorded attending one of his lectures on Turgenev, Chernyshevsky and Herzen.¹⁷⁵ At a time when she proofread Stepniak's English papers, the Russian émigré took over the role of Olive's advisor and mentor, a fact that casts light on the mutual exchanges and collaborations that took place in the Garnetts' cosmopolitan literary group.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ See Ford 1921:101,104; Ford 1972:29, Smith 2011.

¹⁷⁵ As we have seen, in fact, Russian literature was part and parcel of the Russian émigré's cultural agenda, and it was thanks to both his works of literary criticism, primarily his introductions to Constance's English translations of Turgenev, and his lectures on the masters of Russian realism and social reform, from Tolstoy to Turgenev, from Herzen to Chernyshevsky, that he eventually managed to familiarise English readers with the traditions of his country. Olive also attended lectures by Volkhovsky, Kropotkin and G. Kennan. See Garnett 1989; Garnett 1993.

¹⁷⁶ After Stepniak's death in 1895, Olive had to look for a literary advisor and mentor elsewhere. She eventually met Henry James (Garnett 1954:64), who even sent her a letter containing his advice to young writers. A copy of the letter is published in the second volume of Olive's diary (Garnett 1993:272-3). The fact that James advised Olive on how to write fiction is of no secondary importance: it further exemplifies James's role as a master of modern letters, it includes him in the Garnetts' circle, and it further exemplifies how scholars and authors who appraised Turgenev's art impacted

Olive Garnett's diary documents her relationship with Stepniak, particularly as far as his influence on her fiction is concerned, highlighting the inevitable intersection between these two dimensions.

After dinner I set off for Bedford Park. The Stepniaks welcomed me very warmly. [...] [Stepniak] talked to me of Miss Austen, George Eliot & Thackeray, & of my work. He seemed to be mildly interested in studying my character & saying things to see what I would say. Occasionally his eyes wandered round the room. I wanted to catch the 10.7 so I let early, he said "Come again & bring some manuscript to read to us." I said "Some." (Garnett 1989:131)

A week later, Stepniak and Olive gathered at another evening party, where they discussed George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) and Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* (1877):

... it was inconceivable from a Russian point of view that a girl [Maggie] should sacrifice herself & the man who cared for her to another girls [sic] happiness. He contrasted the heroine in *Anna Karenina*. We tried to explain the actual point of view in England. I said "sense of duty." After a time Stepniak turned to me & said "Yes it is so, a sense of duty, you are right," but he would not argue as the others wanted him to. Edward said, "Shakespeare, the most universal genius, makes his heroines all examples of constancy. [...] [Constance] said "Yes, Shakespeare's heroines are all conventional women." We have a great discussion on Hardy. Stepniak says he is quite artificial. [...] "Hardy is not a true artist" [Stepniak said]. Miss Austen is his type of an artist purely... (Garnett 1989:133)

Stepniak's comments on English literature attest to his literary sensitivity as well as to his great awareness of the artistic traditions of his host country. Sharing ideas and points of view on national literatures and of their respective systems of values was, therefore, a common practice among the members of the Garnetts' circle and the one that informed literary creation. Discussing literature

on Olive Garnett's mind and career. However, James's exchanges with Olive are limited to a couple of incidental meetings and the abovementioned letter, which do not ascertain for a long-lived and influential collaboration, as opposed to the one with Stepniak. See also Moser 1974.

with Stepniak, in fact, proved most significant in Olive Garnett's intellectual life: not only did she sharpen her critical approach to English 19th-century literature, but she also became acquainted with both Russian artistry and system of value.

Interestingly, Stepniak's sharply criticised Olive's first literary attempt:¹⁷⁷

[Stepniak] says I am not to be discouraged, so I won't be, though the first reading took my breath away. Poor 'Provincials' [the title of Olive's first novel] must be entirely re-shaped, remodelled, new chapters written, etc. etc. I have 'smothered' the good in it. I have utter inexperience in novel making, in fact it is not so much a novel as materials for one. The consolation for this is that I have *hit* on a brilliant idea (I don't like that hit, considering that I invented it) have excellent characters (smothered) & that for a girl of my age and lack of experience the *experiment* is *excellent*. [...] But Stepniak's letter is an exceedingly nice one, & shows what a kind-hearted man he is, & that he takes real interest in my work. (Garnett 1989:166-7)¹⁷⁸

Despite his sharp criticism, Stepniak always proved particularly supportive, encouraging Olive not to give up writing, so much so that Olive "[felt] under [Stepniak's] protection as far as [her] literary career was concerned" (Garnett 1989:175). Stepniak's suggestion that Olive should discuss her work with Edward, in the light of his authority as a publisher's reader and of his literary sensitivity, shows the Russian émigré's interest in Olive's literary career. Olive diligently followed Stepniak's advice, although she did not find Edward's advice particularly helpful:

In the case I should ever succeed in the exceedingly difficult task of rewriting ['Provincials'] & forget my obligations I may as well remark that

¹⁷⁷ Interestingly, Olive herself also commented on Stepniak's *The Cottage by the Volga*: "I said that I noticed one defect, one thing that jarred, three lines that were commonplace, the ballroom paragraph" (Garnett 1993:169). This fact exemplifies the mutual professional exchanges that took place among the members of the Garnetts' circle, looming large on its status as a workshop of modern letters.

¹⁷⁸ Olive's first novel was never published. The original manuscript may have been lost, as it does not feature among the Garnett Family Papers (Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois). Italics in the original.

it will be entirely owing to Stepniak that the strong points will be placed in strong lights, & the trivial points set in their right places in the background ... & in short [Stepniak] taught me a great deal... [...] I feel distinctly stronger now as an artist. (Garnett 1989:178-9)¹⁷⁹

Consequently, Olive Garnett's diary, a document of great value that has, nonetheless, received only minimal critical attention, gives evidence of her intellectual indebtedness to the Russian émigré, who made a great impression on Olive's receptive mind. At this stage of the analysis an insight into the implications of his advice warrants further scrutiny.

The serious novel is your work, the study of character. Your gifts are observation & insight. You have imagination but not fancy & cannot describe what you have not seen. You want experience. A novel requires a structure of many materials on which it is to be built up. It is a very serious matter ... Go about, mix with people, seek experience. Don't be afraid of new feelings, some troubles even. (Garnett 1989:232)

Stepniak's advice to Olive Garnett distinctly calls to mind his critical appraisal of Turgenev, whom he celebrated for ability to combine factual observation and emotional insight, gifts that, in his opinion, Olive herself possessed. The fact that Stepniak encouraged Olive to study Turgenev (Garnett 1989) is significant in this respect, insofar as it sheds further light on the Russian émigré's attempt to promote the Russian author's realism. Therefore, not only did he facilitate the introduction of Turgenev into the context of English literature, thanks primarily to his collaboration with Constance Garnett and his criticism, but he also raised him as a transnational model for young writers. It is

¹⁷⁹ See also Garnett 1989:201: "Stepniak went through the first chapter of my novel with me [...]. He was very kind & gentle, & kept saying 'after all this is a matter of taste,' 'this is of no importance,' 'I should' etc, but he had made up his mind to the sacrifice of all the cousin part, & he won't let me off the conversation chapters I don't want to write...He said 'you behaved like a schoolboy who wants to get out of doing his lesson, you know,' which I suppose is practically the case ... Stepniak has, or pretends to have, an opinion of my powers far beyond fact; he says 'make this brilliant, make this so & so' as if I had only to deepen in ink to do so."

to Turgenev's novels, in fact, that Olive should turn to cultivate her literary talent, to mature a deeper insight and to enhance her power of observation, all aspects that are at the core of the modern novel in Stepniak's opinion. In other words, Stepniak's theory of the novel pivoted on Turgenev's realism and his appreciation of young novelists depended on their ability to be inspired by the Russian master's aesthetics.

Moreover, in a letter to Olive Garnett dated 14th August 1895, Stepniak advised her to go to Russia and to work as a governess in Odessa, where he had already arranged everything for her. "I should like you," Stepniak writes, "to accept it in view of your future literary achievements in which I have great confidence" (Garnett 1993:195). What is worth mentioning, is the fact that Olive resolved to "obey Stepniak forever in everything good" (Ibid 196) and she eventually moved to Russia. As Moser observes, alongside accepting the Russia émigré's advice to go to Russia, Olive welcomed Stepniak's suggestions. The first two short stories by Garnett published in the collection *Petersburg's Tales* (1900), in fact, bear traces of her experience in Russia, while some of the characters that feature in her novel are modelled after some English and Russian personalities that belonged to the Garnetts' literary coterie (Moser 1984).¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, the passages of the novel dealing with the narrator's encounter with the Russian revolutionist in Florence distinctly echo entries in Olive's diary (ibid). This fact illuminates the process of Olive's literary creation, which consisted in recording her impressions daily in a diary, which would provide material for her fiction. Most importantly, however, the juxtaposition of personal remembrances and fiction, which has been extensively discussed by Moser (1984) and Vernitski (2005), seems to testify Olive's artistic indebtedness to Stepniak: it bears witness, in fact, of her attempts to "work on living models" and to base her writing on

¹⁸⁰ Suffice it to remember the character of the Russian revolutionist Muromsky, who is evidently inspired by Stepniak himself. In Moser's opinion, Stepniak may have inspired many other characters, for example the main character of Conrad's *The Sisters* (1928), and both the characters of Razumov and Halding in *Under Western Eyes* (1911).

factual observation, as Stepniak advised her to do (Garnett 1993:212).¹⁸¹ Commenting on Olive's collection of short stories, Conrad writes, "That is *something*! That is many things – and the only thing – it is written! It is. That work is genuine, undeniable, constructed and inhabited. It hath foundation and life." (Garnett 1928:173). Conrad's appreciation of Olive's short stories gives evidence of Olive's success in putting Stepniak's advice into practice.

The importance of Olive Garnett's diary extends far beyond its being a mere record of her experiences in the Anglo-Russian network or of the way Russian émigrés were perceived by their English friends (Vernitski 2005). Most significantly, it bears traces of the influence of Russian literature on the English world of letters. Such a literary transfer was actively promoted by Stepniak, who did not only contribute to disseminating the works of Turgenev in England, but he also encouraged young writers to follow the paths opened up by Russian novelists. In so doing, he bridged the gap between two apparently unrelated cultural and literary systems. Thus, the Garnetts' Anglo-Russian circle stands out as an experimental workshop of modern letters: intellectual and literary collaborations, in fact, enhanced processes of cross fertilization, thereby setting the basis for the rejuvenation of the English novel in the wake of foreign models and aesthetics.

4.4 "All Souls are Mine:"¹⁸² Olive Garnett's Fiction and the Anglo-Russian Discourse

Olive Garnett has never been regarded as one of the great authors of her time. This fact, however, does not depend on her little literary talent or on the low-quality of her publications, which are limited to a collection of short stories,

¹⁸¹ Olive welcomed Stepniak's advice and modelling her characters on real ones, she wrote *In Russia's Night* (1918). Moser 1984.

¹⁸² This is a quote from Olive's novel (Garnett 1918:347).

Petersburg Tales (1900), a novel, *In Russia's Night* (1918) and a short story, *A Certainty*, published in *English Review* in the June issue of 1909.¹⁸³ It is likely that the cultural history of Anglo-Russian relation, and therefore of English interest in Russian affairs, culture and the arts, played a leading role in determining that her modest success. In fact, Olive's literary works met with mild appreciation, as they were published at a time when the great masters of Russian fiction were being translated into English, personalities who had greater authority in the representation of their country's cultural values and social issues.

While it is true that *In Russia's Night* received wider critical response compared to Olive's short stories (Vernitski 2005), this did not go in tandem with intellectual appreciation: critics, in fact, argued that the novel offered an anachronistic portrait of Russia, insofar as it is published in 1918, yet staging events of 1905. Moreover, it was exploited by pro-tsarist critics, William Thomas Stead of *The Pall Mall Gazette* among others, who interpreted it as the quintessential representation of the despicable social unrest and disorder resulting from the dissemination of revolutionary ideology (Vernitski 2005). In other words, it was not Olive's literary style, but the social and ideological implications of her work that attracted the attention of early-20th-century critics, all facts that may have contributed to Olive's short-lived and modest success. Although *The Spector* issue of 18th May 1918 included Olive's novel in the column titled "Readable Novels," her fiction raised only limited interest from her contemporaries and has passed for a long time without scrutiny. It was not until 1985 to witness the publication of the first critical essay about her fiction (Moser 1985) and then another twenty years for another article where Olive's production is only mentioned in passing (Vernitski 2005). Despite the critical void of about

¹⁸³ Contrary to her other works, the story she contributed to Ford Madox Ford's review does not pivot on Russian motifs: it rather focuses on women's suffrage and women's role in early-20th-century society. It is true, of course, that such a short story anticipates the gender discourse that underlies her novel: still, given the complete absence of Russian motifs, its study would just fall out the scope of this analysis.

half-a-century, recent scholarship seems to have reevaluated her literary achievements, which are mentioned in studies about the Garnetts' literary network.

Despite such a renovated interest, Olive's fiction, her distinctive literary style and the issues she tackles in her fiction have long passed unnoticed. By contrast, greater attention has been paid to her mode of literary production, namely her resorting to her diary for source material for her novel (Moser 1985, Vernitski 2005).¹⁸⁴ What I intend to do in these pages, therefore, is to offer an insight into Olive Garnett's novel *In Russia's Night* from a literary perspective, drawing attention to the narrative strategies she deploys to articulate concerns of cross-cultural encounters and exchanges, shared voice and communal awareness, especially in relation to the dominant discourses of nationality and gender. In other words, I wish to investigate how the cosmopolitan condition, as embodied in the semantics of travel and Anglo-Russian transnational relations, propel forward the construction – and indeed the re-construction – of the main character's self and stimulate her intellectual upbringing.

Before venturing into the analysis of Olive's novel, though, it is worth drawing attention to the paratextual apparatus, primarily titles. Titles such as *In Russia's Night* and *Petersburg Tales*, in fact, do not only anticipate the Russian motifs that permeate both texts, but they also, and particularly the latter, bear intellectual implications. The title Olive resorts to for her collected short stories, in fact, is highly evocative, as it calls to mind a collection of short stories written by the Russian author Nikolay Gogol (1809-1952) in the 1830s-1840s: they were eventually published in volume form in 1842 as *Петербургскіе повести* (*Peterburgskie povesti*), which was later translated into English as *Petersburg Tales*. This fact is not incidental. As Gogol's short stories, which tackle life beyond the

¹⁸⁴ Interestingly, *In Russia's Night* is not even mentioned in Slatter's study on the figure of the Russian revolutionary in English fiction (Slatter 1999). It is briefly referred to, in the contrary, in Cross 1958 but no aesthetic comment is given.

cold and elegant façade of the modern city, Olive Garnett's ones investigate what lies behind Russian officialdom and aristocratic propriety, to unveil the "underground" world of Russian radicals, as well as hypocrisy and corruption in the modern context. This is strikingly evident in the short stories she sets in Russia, namely *The Case of Vetrova* and *Roukoff*. As it turns out, therefore, both Gogol and Garnett offer sketches of Russia's everyday life, calling attention to its social tensions and inherent contradictions. Most significantly, this choice bears crucial implications as far as Olive Garnett's novel is concerned: it contributes, in fact, to undermining the British-centred perspective of English literature, drawing the transnational discourse to the core of literary creativity.

However, Olive's prose does not share Gogol's comic tone, nor his use of heterodiegetic narrators. Moreover, Garnett's *The Secret of the Universe* and *Out of It* are not set in St Petersburg, but rather in London. These facts notwithstanding, it is undeniable that Gogol's work was part of Olive's intellectual biography, and the one to influence her literary choices. This intertextual reference to Gogol's fiction, in other words, illuminates Olive's familiarity with Russian literature and hints at her eagerness to establish a link between Russian and English literary traditions. Thus, she contributes to dismissing the consolidated assumptions that sees literature as an intrinsically national phenomenon, promoting a literary transfer that would give to her fiction a unique Anglo-Russian tone. The semantics of travel and meeting is the crux and pivot of Olive's novel and it offers an insight into how she articulates concerns of cosmopolitanism, cross-fertilization and liminal identities. It proves, in other words, a successful narrative strategy to textualise multiple and multiplying points of view, the discursive instability of national identity, and the great cultural significance of group relations in bridging cultural divide.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Such motifs are of great importance in English modernist literature and the ones inspired by the cosmopolitan ideals and practices. See Berman 2001; Walkowitz 2006; Wilson 2010.

4.4.1 The Wandering I/eye: Travelling and Shifting Perspectives in *In Russia's Night*

"Once out of sight, the pace dropped. I consulted my conversation-guide and called out 'How far?' to a very broad back. 'Twenty-three versts,' replied the coachman, turning with a face all one broad grin" (Garnett 1918:4). The semantic field of movement, the use of culture-specific terms, such as versts, and the traveller's resorting to a conversation guide are all aspects that exemplify the centrality the motif of travel to a foreign country has in Olive Garnett's fiction. As I have pointed out beforehand, travel and geography have been motifs of great fascination for Olive from her first literary attempts, *Petersburg Tales*, where her concerns for geography and Anglo-Russian encounters feature at both thematic and structural levels: stories set in England, in fact, are juxtaposed to others set in Russia. As far as the latter are concerned, they introduce the pattern of the Englishwoman travelling to Russia and getting to know the controversial aspects of Russian life.¹⁸⁶ This pattern is further extended and problematised in her novel, yet again from both thematic and structural points of view.

In Russia's Night is divided into four parts: part one is set in Glinskoë, a fictional country town near St Petersburg, part two and four in St Petersburg, part three in Florence, Italy. While it is true that Britain does not provide a setting for Olive's novel, this fact does not necessarily imply its absence from Olive's text: England, in fact, is the place where the narrative voice comes from and where she will eventually return to after her many adventures in-between Russia and Italy, facts that give to the novel a circular structure. Moreover, references to the main character's English origins are disseminated in the text, thereby making Englishness, as well as English cultural and social traditions, significant interlocutors in the main character's quest for identity and place in a thriving cosmopolitan *milieu*. What I intend to explore in these pages is the

¹⁸⁶ Interestingly, the short story titled *Roukoff* is full of references to travelling. Not only the Englishwoman travels to Russia, but also Roukoff himself moves to London to continue his frauds, thereby highlighting the to-and-fro movement from one country to the other.

interconnection between geography and identity building, drawing attention primarily to the way in which the motif of travel encapsulates and stages concerns of liminality and fluctuating perspectives.

Katia, a young English girl, moves to Russia after the death of her aunt, the only family she had, and goes to live with the Annenkovs, old acquaintances of her late aunt's. Upon her arrival in Russia, she is welcomed by the Annenkovs' coachman, who takes her to Glinskoë, a country town near St Petersburg where the Russian family spends its summer. The conversation mentioned in the previous quote takes place between Katia and the coachman himself on their way to Glinskoë, when they are crossing a landscape that is totally alien to the main character:

The country though which we were passing to my eyes seemed wild and untended, but varied and undulating as I could never have imagined from school geographies. For a time we were ploughing our way along a wide road through the blackest of mire, and far below us on the right, in a wooded ravine, would a deep river intersected with cascades, bluffs covered with forest trees standing out above it, bold and black-green in the July sunshine: then on a bare, flat surface one saw the same river flowing widely and smoothly, shallow and silvery; and again, one took a sharp turn, one saw planted aloft on a hill-top, like some Tuscan hamlet, a staring pink manor house and the green roof and spire of a village church adorned with sprawling frescoes. [...] Nowhere could be seen any gardens, hedged, or palings; all seemed free and wild and the road no less so. (Ibid:4-5)

Katia is immediately struck by the endless vista of open fields and woods: the Russian landscape is indirectly set in contrast with the English scenery the narrator was familiar with, one characterised by the presence of hedgerows, private small gardens and fences. The metonymic function of these elements contributes to increasing the main character's sense of dislocation. She finds herself alone in an almost unconceivable land. Architecture further emphasizes this dimension. The village church, in fact, does not at all resemble English country ones: frescoes on the external walls, which highlight the distinctive colourfulness of the Russian scenery, are uncommon in British religious

architecture. For its being unregulated, unfenced and almost neglected, the Russian landscape seems bewildering and wild to the main character's English eyes, which were used to contemplate well-organised and enclosed English vistas.¹⁸⁷

As she continues her journey towards her destination, Katia's first impressions are reinforced:

[...] I, overcome by the fresh air, fell into a doze. Throughout this ran like a rhythm memories of ordered life in England, interwoven with the violent oscillations of the German express on its iron highroad, the rocking of the dawdling Russian one, the mud splashing in the villages, followed by this soporific field track along which I seemed to be further and farther born to a wider and wider unknown.....but I awoke with a start. (ibid:6)

Russia is here represented as a country where everything moves at a different pace compared to England and, more generally, to Europe. The fastness of the German express, in fact, is here opposed to the slow-moving Russian one and to the even slower travel by coach from the train station to Glinskoë. The pace of Katia's journey, therefore, progressively decelerates, giving way to a sense of drowsiness. It is as if her journey to Russia symbolises a departure from modernity and progress, here evoked by the fastness of the train, and a venture into an 'anachronistic' world, moving at a slower pace compared to modern societies and pervaded by a soporific atmosphere. Interestingly, the juxtaposition of English and Russian landscapes in the character's mind highlights the binary structure of the first chapter. Alongside introducing the English-Russian discourse the novel pivots on, this narrative strategy proves most effective in staging the first-person narrator's point of view. Contrasting

¹⁸⁷ Katia's description of the unbounded Russian landscape has significant cultural implication: it seems, in fact, to comply with the Victorian stereotype that sees Russia and the Russians as wild and untamed. Interestingly, this first impression of Katia's would progressively leave way to an appreciation of both Russian characters and scenes, as she her delights in Russia increases.

Russian to English landscapes, Katia's awareness of being in an utterly unfamiliar place is highlighted, an interpretation that the semantic field of unknown and mystery validates.

Her first impressions notwithstanding, Russia reveals a hospitable nature, as her acquaintance with the Annenkov family demonstrates. Not only do the Annenkovs welcome her, encouraging her to make their estate at Glinskoë her new home, but they also try to educate her to Russian cultural values and costumes. Or, to put it differently, to educate her to the principles of the Annenkovs' aristocratic ideology. While Dmitri – the Annenkovs' son – teaches her Russian (Ibid:43), his mother, Mme Annenkov, introduces her to the *comme-il-faut* society to which she belongs (Ibid:19).

Politics, I learned, spoiled many promising acquaintances. K.K. was learned, eminent, of good family, very conversable, but of too liberal a tinge to be trusted by the authorities; moreover, he had a tiresome wife and tragic offspring. Count N., living in a sort of shanty by the wayside, was a fascinating creature, a good shot, but a *mauvais sujet*. Another house was inhabited by an opera singer, who brought down rowdy parties of impossible people. A cinematographic proprietor, who had made a fortune, was building a bizarre mansion, and was also impossible: others were 'unsound' or 'unsafe'. Madam Annenkov herself when a girl, as a member of a very innocent secret society, as she told me, had had some dreadful experience which had destroyed her nerves, and had made it out of the question for her to associated with persons not *comme il faut*. (Ibid:18-9)

The time she spends with the Annenkov, in fact, proves most instructive for the young and almost unexperienced Katia, as the expression "I learned" demonstrate. It is as if Katia, while staying at the Annenkovs', is undergoing a process of 'Russification', in both social and cultural terms, a process that culminates in her marriage with Dmitri. In other words, the main character is about to start a new life in Russia: this transition is symbolised by her resolution to wear white dresses at Glinskoë, as her mother-in-law intimates her to, whiteness being, as we know, a symbol of rebirth (Ibid:14). Although this progressive welcoming of Katia does not ultimately translate into assimilation,

as I venture to unveil in the following passages, it still hallmarks a shift in the main character's ideas about Russia, as her description of the Annenkovs' estate demonstrates:

The house was charming, it was two-storied, and built all of wood in the shape of a Maltese cross. In the four angles were four verandas, into which we moved for shade as the sun moved. When the weather was fine all our meals were taken in these. Not that the house was stuffy, for the doors and windows were open all day long, and breezes blew in freely over the painted floors. [...] That first week at Glinskoë was a wonderful one for me who had always lived in one of a row of brick houses in a dull road in Havant. I became very fond of the place and roamed about it a great deal, but never beyond the estate palings. The estate, however, was quite large enough to get lost in. (Ibid:15-6).

It is true, of course, that Katia draws, yet again, a comparison between Russian and English architectures, the former epitomising the luxury – and indeed the excesses – of Russian aristocracy. Diversity, however, is no longer a source of anxiety, bewilderment and sense of loss: it rather fascinates the main character's mind, who is willing to make Russia her new home. Consequently, the familiarization with Russia – or, to be more precise, which a distinctive aristocratic perception on Russian affairs – and her becoming a member of the Annenkovs' household has an impact on the main character's perspective. Katia, in facts, looks on Russia from a different angle, namely from within Russian *comme-il-faut* society itself, and is thus able to enjoy the diversity of the country of her adoption. In other words, it is as though by becoming acquainted with Russian society, she modifies her point of view on Russia, which is no longer an English, but rather a "Russianised" one.

Interestingly, despite her "Russification," Katia is never identified as a Russian character. Her mother-in-law, for example, still labels her as "the English girl" (Ibid:19), thereby hinting at the apparently indissoluble link between self and nationality. Katia's "domestication" process, therefore, does not result into cultural and social assimilation, as the main character acknowledges. Although she shares the Annenkovs' aristocratic perspective, she never defines herself as

a Russian character. Whenever she talks about herself, she always says that she is an Englishwoman married to a Russian (Ibid:149): this match bears crucial implications for the main character, as she has to face what she defines as “the problem of [her] Anglo-Russian life” (ibid: 52), namely the issue of finding her own place, being herself a character in-between two cultural traditions. In the wake of her unstable identity, of her quest for a balance between English and Russian discourses, her fluctuating point of view comes as no surprise.

However, the issue of identity building and shifting points of view are further problematised in the third part of the novel, when Katia travels to Italy with her husband.

We had come to anchor in Florence for the winter, after protracted wandering southwards, during which Dmitri had been at this whimsical best, and had proved a most charming companion, to my inexpressible relief. [...] Now, after an intoxicating autumn in Venice, we had taken possession of a first floor in the Via Romana, looking out on to the wall of the Boboli Gardens; and for the first time since leaving England I was feeling in possession of myself, in my element, and, in some degrees, in possession of my husband. [...] ‘Let us be Mr and Mrs Nobody,’ I suggested, and I still have sketch books filled with our inconspicuous selves quizzing the Somebodies we came across. By the time I reached Florence, I felt quite my old British self. (Ibid:145-6)

Once again, identity is perceived through the prism of travel. Taking the distances from Russia, and particularly from that Russia she has become familiar with, namely her mother-in-law’s *comme-il-faut* society, Katia is disentangled from the constraints that aristocratic ideology imposed upon her – to associate with respectable people, to be a good wife, not to get interested in Russian politics, all aspects that hint at the gender subtext of the novel – and to re-question her identity: she seems to embrace again the “old British self” that Russian social constraints have silenced, a fact that sheds further light on her fluctuating perspective. Travelling to Italy proves a landmark experience in the character’s quest for a balance.

[...] I read carefully through all the literature I had brought back with me. I gathered from this that Russia lay under an oppressive censorship, that people were liable to be deported to Siberia by administrative order without trial, that laws were liable to be overruled by decree, that there was no right of free public meeting, that there were periodic and preventable famines, much mismanagement of public funds, great official corruption, and systematic ill-treatment of political prisoners. The fact of the censorship was the only one of which I personally had any knowledge. I used to find *caviare* – i.e. blacked out passages in English newspapers, which Mme Annenkov said was stupid and tiresome. I might have read them, as printed, in the English library attached to the Anglican church, had I not married a Russian. (Ibid:156-7)

In Italy, in fact, the narrative voice encounters an Anglo-Russian community and affiliates with Russian radicals, acquaintances her mother-in-law prevented her from making in Russia for respectability's sake. It is as if, "in coming to Italy [she has] [...] journeyed into the heart of Russia" (Ibid:193): she becomes aware, in fact, of prevailing social and political conditions in Russia. This shift from ignorance to awareness articulates the character's intellectual growth. In fact, when Muromsky asks her if she has ever resented being controlled by her mother-in-law, she answers: "not while I was there. I didn't notice it. But since I have been here I have made comparisons. [...] I believe I have grown" (ibid:217). Interestingly, deictic words evoke the spatial discourse in relation to the character's growth, thereby demonstrating the entanglement between travelling, (re)constructing identities and shifting perspectives. In this framework, Italy features as a liminal space where a sort of intensified defamiliarization is enacted, one that leads the main character to challenge and overcome the binary opposition between Britain and Russia.

In the wake of her experiences in Italy, Katia goes back to Russia and she looks at "everything around [her] with different eyes" (Ibid:272). The semantic field of vision becomes prominent in the fourth part of the novel and it is always used to describe the main character's new perspective on Russian life: "My eyes being now opened to underground Russia," the narrative voice declares, "I [am] to find a new significance [...] practically everywhere" (Ibid:301). In other words,

travelling to Italy triggers an intimate encounter between Katia and “real” Russia, that of young radicals: it leads her to reconcile her split and fluctuating self, as she tells Luba: “Dmitri has never made me feel Russian; and after travelling about alone with him I gradually became more and more English in feeling, and reached Florence a complete Briton. There, becoming very friendly with Muromsky, I gradually grew less British, and since the shock you gave me a moment ago in telling me that willy-nilly I am a Russian, I declare that I feel half and half” (ibid:274). Consequently, her travel to Italy had a shaping effect on Katia’s receptive mind: it stimulates her quest for identity and leads her to find a balance between her English and Russian selves. The closing line of the novel is particularly significant in this respect: it reads “all souls are mine”, a quote from the eighteenth chapter of Ezekiel, and pinpoints the miscegenation of the character’s selves and her hybrid status.

Constantly oscillating from one country to another, the main character seems to metaphorically draw her own geography, and one which is distinctively transnational and based on her impressions and experiences. England, in fact, is the cradle of juvenile memories and tragic events, where both Katia’s beloved aunt and fiancé died; Russia is the country of her adoption, and it is precisely the encounter with the different facets of Russian society that stimulates her intellectual and personal growth; Italy is where the main character feels part of a cosmopolitan community for the first time, and where she explores her identity even further. Glinskoë, St Petersburg and Florence, in other words, correspond to different phases of the main character’s *Bildung* process: in the light of this intimate intertwinement between space and quest, the character stands out as a nomadic and polyvocal subject, as a wandering I/eye, whose identity and perspective are constantly re-defined, re-oriented and re-negotiated. Consequently, travelling parallels with the idea of search, a motif that suggests

an inevitable intersection between travelling and writing about the self, which would have a shaping impact on the aesthetics of modernism.¹⁸⁸

4.4.2 Going Cosmopolitan: The Anglo-Russian Community in Florence

As we have seen, wanderings stage a complex connection between geography and identity in Olive Garnett's novel, highlighting the importance of geography – and I argue also travelling – (dis)placement and movement in the construction of subjectivity (Berman 2001). Topographical notions of identity, in fact, are checkmated in *In Russia's Night*, leaving ground to the negotiation of liminal, cosmopolitan selves. Still, not only the trope of travel, but also that of international and trans-cultural encounter have a leading role to play in this respect. It is precisely the on-going process of making and unmaking of human connections, a process that is embedded in the idea of travel itself, that stimulates the main character's quest and determines her oscillating perspective. As Berman observes, such a dynamic network of human relations is at the basis of the construction of alternative versions of community, as they sprout up in liminal zones of cross-cultural encounters (Berman 2001). What I wish to explore in these pages, therefore, is the way in which Olive Garnett reconstructs cosmopolitan communities in her novel and how she problematises their impact on the construction of the main character's (artistic) identity.

4.4.2.1 Bridging the English-Russian Divide: Cross-cultural Encounters

Encounters between English and Russians and the related issues of identity and community *Bildung* are the crux and pivot of the novel, and they feature

¹⁸⁸ Travelling and writing about the self, as well as the related issue of quest for identity, are at the heart of some canonical modernist texts. James Joyce's *The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), Gertrude Stein's fiction and some of Ford Madox Ford's novels, as well as his books of memories, are telling examples in this respect. Most importantly, Joyce's famed novel parallels – and to a certain extent anticipates – Olive's literary enterprise, suffice it to consider the semi-autobiographical background and the quest for identity of the modern artist. This will be discussed in the following pages.

from the incipit of the text, suffice it to call to mind Katia's acquaintance with the Annenkovs. However, not all forms of transnational encounters prove fertile or about to generate communal affiliations. As we have seen, in fact, despite her attachment to Russian *comme-il-faut* society, Katia is still considered an Englishwoman, an outsider: this fact implies the existence of a dividing line between two cultural traditions, between two apparently unreconcilable systems of values. This great divide is further exemplified in the second part of the novel, when Katia goes to St Petersburg with her Russian husband and meet an only English friend of hers, Monica:

'Fancy meeting *you* here, Kathie; I had no idea you were out of England; but I recognised your voice two rooms off!' then she noted Dmitri. I murmured the words 'My husband,' for the first time in English. She gave an awkward little bow, her expression changed, her face fell. [...] 'Fancy you married to a Russian! [...] How did it happen?' pursued my friend in another gasp, in the tone of one inquiring how did you catch this disease? [...] Monica looked so distressed in her staid little way that I asked if she knew anything of the Annenkovs. [...] 'Well, it will be jolly coming to see you, my first English friend here, and such an old one,' I said, rather straining my enthusiasm. 'Oh yes, of course you must come. I shall tell Mamma, and explain all about it. *You* are so good. As a rule Mother doesn't let us know any Russians because of their – well, funny morals, you know; [...] I shall tell Mother all about it, and then I'll introduce you after service at church, and I have always wanted to know Russians; they look so fascinating, so mind you come.' (Garnett 1918:75-6)

The members of the British colony in Russia, therefore, have no interaction at all with their Russian hosts: Monica, in fact, who has lived for a while in Russia, has never met a Russian since her encounter with Katia and her husband. Monica's speech underlines a distinction between "we" the English and "they" the Russians, the latter being kept at a distance because of their slack morality. This outlook on Russia is further emphasised by Miss Watson, another English acquaintance of the main character's: "their morals are not those of the middle class from which you spring, and so it specially desirable not to lose touch with the milieu in which you were reared" (Ibid:93). Such a negative representation

of the libertine Russian character is inevitably much biased by cultural and national stereotype, emphasised by the use of the semantic field of disease in relation to the main character's marriage with Dmitri. Moreover, in Monica's speech, Russians feature as the exotic object of English curiosity. Interestingly, not only Dmitri, but also Katia herself is kept at a distance by the English community: geographical proximity and encounters with the other, in this case a foreign other, therefore, do not automatically translate into hospitality: in this case, in fact, they do nothing but widening the cultural divide.

At the same time, other instances of transnational encounters become more prominent over the course of the novel making it clear that national categorization, and thus the entire model of community which depends upon it, has been relegated to a backdrop. A new model of community dominates the third section of the novel. Upon her arrival in Florence, in fact, Katia meets the Misses Murray, two active members of the English colony in the Italian city, who invite her to buy tickets for an event they are organising the favour of the Russian exiles (Ibid:147). This early reference is quite significant, insofar as it pinpoints interferences between English and the Russian colonies in Italy, a model of social interaction that is diametrically opposed to the one the main character has experienced in Russia. At the soirée, Katia and her husband get acquainted with Russian radicals, prominent among whom is Nikitin, who tells the young couple that Russian exiles "have quite a circle of British sympathisers" in Florence (Ibid:152).

Looking around her, in fact, Katia notices that "there [are] a number of leaflets lying about on little tables, towards one of which Nikitin and Dmitri [have] moved: they [seem] to be getting on together and [are] deep in talk. [She] look[s] about [her] and [thinks] the company seem[s] about equally mixed of English and Russians, with a sprinkling of Italians" (Ibid:153). The presence of leaflets necessarily draws attention to the motif of propaganda among the circles of Russian exiles: propaganda becomes, in fact, an opportunity to gather together sympathisers to the Russian cause and to stage the community building aspect

of debating politics and exchanging ideological perspectives. Still, what warrants further notice here is the use of the expression “mixed” to describe the circle of sympathisers, one that evokes the idea of miscegenation: not only do the English and the Russians outnumber the Italians attending the meeting, but they also seem to be equally balanced, to merge into a single community sharing interests and concerns. Such a community, therefore, figures as a cosmopolitan one, delineating the creation of an alternative civil society, of a cosmopolitan counter public within broader public discourses, and one having a distinctively Anglo-Russian disposition.

Not only ideological exchanges, but also literary debates are the quintessential representation of Anglo-Russian rapprochement and interactions. Literature, in fact, is a constructive element of all meetings between Russian exiles and their English supporters, suffice it call to mind the recitation from Shchedrin that follows the afore-mentioned soirée (Ibid:154).¹⁸⁹ The Russian exile Muromsky, organises a series of lectures on Russian literature in Florence, pivoting on hidden meanings in Russian literature: his last lecture, for example was on Korolenko, Potapenko, Garshin and Tchekov (Ibid:193). These meetings are addressed to English and Russian alike: as Katia notices, however, his speeches, although delivered in the English language, seem to be mentally translated from the Russian idiom, a note that introduces concerns with translation in the text.

Debates, as they take place after meetings or some other occasions, bear witness of transcultural exchanges to an even greater extent.

¹⁸⁹ This reference to the Russian author bears witness to Olive Garnett’s familiarity with the Russian émigré circles and to her vivid and trustworthy narrative representation of these meetings. Shchedrin, in fact, has always been one of the Russian men of letters Russian exiles used to quote or to refer to in their propaganda in the wake of his satiric treatment of the Russian government. The author’s short satiric sketches also feature in the émigré journal *Free Russia*, as I have pointed out in the second chapter.

Both English and Russians overwhelmed me with Ruskin, the former for his art criticism, the latter for his works upon social reform. He formed, as it were, a bridge between two cultures, the aesthetic and ethical, and was a touchstone for both groups of compatriots; the British violently shying at the logical consequences of the ethical teaching; the Russians absolutely ignoring the aesthetics. It was poised upon this rocking bridge that the sly humour of the Ukrainian Nikitin found vent. (Ibid:187-8)

The Anglo-Russian community in Florence proves highly cultivated and engages in debates over cultural and literary traditions. English and Russian points of view, however, diverge on the appreciation of Ruskin: while the former praises his aesthetics, the latter admires his reformative character. This fact notwithstanding, Ruskin figures as a go-between, as the semantic field of connectivity and the metaphor of the bridge demonstrate. Still, such a bridge is far from being a stable one: as the adjective “rocking” suggests, in fact, it seems to be oscillating between two standpoints. This oscillatory movement parallels the cultural fluctuation between England and Russia, the cross-cultural exchanges that were taking place in the Florence community, which were to have a great impact on the character’s negotiation of her in-betweenness, of her hybrid Anglo-Russian identity. Ruskin, therefore, is here represented as a liminal author, not in terms of mixed genealogy, but in the wake of his being appreciated by both English and Russian characters alike, a fact that introduces the idea of – and desire for – a transnational literary canon.

Interestingly, literary debate textualises also another form of Anglo-Russian rapprochement, one that calls attention to cosmopolitanism and gender-related issues:

To-day the subject pitched on was women of different nationalities. We asked the Russians whence they derived their ideas of Englishwomen, and they said from translations of English novels. Muromsky pronounced himself an admirer of George Eliot, and began to discuss the ending of *The Mill on the Floss*, about which he had once argued for three days with a friend who upheld Maggie Tulliver, while lying hid from the police, in a barge on the Volga. He said it was inconceivable for a Russian point of view that a girl should sacrifice herself and the man who cared for her to another

girl's happiness, and contrasted Anna Karenina. Darlymple, the Murrays and I tried to explain the actual point of view in England, but our subtleties didn't seem to convince him, and at last I ventured 'sense of duty'. (Ibid:205)

This passage distinctly echoes the conversation that took place between Olive Garnett and Stepniak themselves, thereby standing out as a clear instance of Olive's modes of literary production, which consisted in the juxtaposition of her personal experience as recorded in her diary and narrative (Moser 1985). Still, this quote is of particular interest for reasons different from biographical references and writing practices: it points out, in fact, the importance of literature – and particularly of literature in translation – in informing the Russian's perception of Englishwomen. Bringing examples from both English and Russian literary traditions of the late-19th century,¹⁹⁰ the passage introduces the gender discourse of the novel, which is here interpreted in terms of nationality. Debating literature, and particularly national literary traditions, therefore, becomes a way to stage different points of view, cultural and social traditions, as well as systems of values.

As the narration moves on, though, such a model is progressively abandoned to give way to a new one:

'Shakespeare, the most universal genius, makes his heroines all examples of constancy. Imogen will not even entertain the idea of her husband's infidelity;' and Bessy Hatto chimed in, 'Yes, Shakespeare's heroines are all conventional women, but then Shakespeare was a man. We want a female Shakespeare now, to give us a fresh conception of a free woman, and to lift us out of these ruts of conventionality. May we expect such a genius from Russia?' (Ibid:206)

The gender discourse becomes prominent in this passage and is intimately connected to literature. The English literary tradition has long been the cradle of conventional femininity, representing female characters who comply with

¹⁹⁰ *The Mill on the Floss* was published in 1860, while *Anna Karenina* in 1877.

patriarchal ideology and its principles of propriety and sense of duty, all aspects that are hallmarks of Englishness in the text.¹⁹¹ Interestingly, what the characters are claiming in this passage is the universal condition of the modern free woman, which seems to transcend national categorization: they are advocating a modern artist who could represent such a universal condition, the only prerogative being that this writer must be a woman. In other words, gender and national discourses are no longer interconnected and interdependent. What this passage is advocating, therefore, is a cosmopolitan community of women, one that transcends national boundaries and categorization, as well as socially-established roles, a community that could be narrated by members of this very community only. Questioning whether a writer of modern femininity could eventually come from Russia illuminates the cosmopolitan nature of this ideal transnational social construction and the pivotal role literature plays in articulating such a community.¹⁹² Thus, literary debates among the members of the cosmopolitan community in Florence draw attention to community and gender-related issues: they introduce, in fact, a modern version of femininity, which is utterly disentangled from national and patriarchal discourses and conventions, one embodying the cosmopolitan ideal. Such a theoretical investigation finds its living instance in the main character, Katia, whose *Bildung* process articulates this progressive detachment from conventionality and the creations of a cosmopolitan Anglo-Russian identity.

¹⁹¹ In this respect, it is worth remembering Mme Annenkov's reception of the main character, a well-brought up and conventional one in the true English fashion: "I trust the well brought up English" (Ibid:43).

¹⁹² It is interesting that such a narrative of feminine community occurs at a historical time in which gender role were being discussed and re-fashioned. Moreover, such an approach to the genre discourse will also be of great fascination for modernist authors such as Virginia Woolf, who deals with the modern condition of women in *A Room of One's Own* (1929). This observation bears witness of Olive's awareness of the cultural and social debates of her time, as well as of her distinctive response to them.

Literature and literary debate, therefore, prove most suitable to textualise Anglo-Russian cultural encounters and rapprochement. While, on the one hand, they stage non-coincidental viewpoints and unveil different systems of values, they also introduce the gender discourse in the novel and give prominence to cosmopolitan stances. To put it differently, it is thanks to cross-cultural encounters that cosmopolitan communities and identities are discussed and negotiated, encounters that are articulated in terms of ideological and literary exchanges. As Berman (2001) observes, in fact, community and identity develop in conjunction to the cosmopolitan condition in high modernist texts. This is also true for Olive's novel, which stands out as a proto-modernist work: in fact, it is only in the wake of the Russian's exile to Italy that an Anglo-Russian community comes into being; similarly, it is only when Katia familiarises with and becomes a member of this liminal community that her quest for identity eventually takes off. Consequently, transnational encounters and meetings have a chronotopic function in the text: they highlight, in fact, how to a given space and social *milieu* corresponds a phase of the main character's upbringing. In other words, they set the terms for the construction of alternative communities and draw attention to the major concern of hyphenated identity.

4.4.2.2 Anglo-Russian Collaboration: a *Künstlerroman*?

Having discussed the generative mode of the cosmopolitan condition in terms of community and identity building, it is worth exploring the last form of Anglo-Russian interaction that features in the text, another one informed by cultural encounters, namely collaborations. The collaborative mood of the Florence community has already been introduced in the previous pages, where the leading role of the English in organising events in support of the Russian exiles and their cause for Russian freedom has emerged. Still, Anglo-Russian literary collaborations are of greater importance: not only do they shed light on the diverse levels at which Anglo-Russian exchanges and interactions take place, but they also contribute to further expand our understanding of the impact

cosmopolitan encounters have in the making of the main character, as far as both her personal and professional identities are concerned.

The first instance of Anglo-Russian collaboration regards the publication of a newspaper edited by the Russian émigré Muromsky: “Muromsky, as editor of the news sheet, was constantly impressing helpers into his service. Miss Murray ‘Englished’ his editorials and paragraphs; Darlymple contributed book reviews” (Garnett 1918:167). Most significantly, Anglo-Russian collaborations take place at both linguistic and structural levels. In fact, while Miss Murray proofreads Muromsky’s English papers, Darlymple, another British sympathiser, contributes book reviews. Consequently, the newspaper stands out as a hybrid enterprise: in fact, not only does it depend on Anglo-Russian collaborations, but it also emerges as a newspaper combining political and literary concerns.¹⁹³ Collaborations, therefore, focus not only on ideological propaganda, but also on literary dissemination, thereby further enhancing the circulation of ideas, as well as of cultural and literary material both at national and international scales, as the plan to publish a similar newssheet in London and New York demonstrates (Ibid:152). In other words, collaborations among the members of the Anglo-Russian community propel forward cosmopolitan ideals, searching for new audiences and new members at an international level.

Moreover, Muromsky also works in alliance with a Swedish expatriate, Mr Fergusson, who over his book on world economics: Muromsky, in fact, supplied him with all sorts of information about Finland, a fact that illuminates the importance of mutual support in the cultured community in Florence. Not only Russian émigrés, but also other members of the colony profited from such forms of cross-cultural exchanges and affiliations. It is true, of course, that the collaborative mood is part and parcel of communal practices among the members of the community, and that is fascinates Katia: still, it is the intellectual

¹⁹³ This newspaper could stand for a fiction representation of the émigré journal *Free Russia*.

exchange between Muromsky and Katia herself that proves most significant in this framework, insofar as it fostered the main character's upbringing.

'And now,' said Muromsky, pulling out a notebook and fountain pen, 'I am ashamed of my lectures and the blunders I make, and want to do better. Can you tell me of anything I said incorrectly last time, and will you correct some phrases for my next lecture? It is upon Tolstoy, of our greater writers the best known to the English people, and I wish to be quite intelligible. (Ibid:179)

Once again, collaborations among the members of the Anglo-Russian colony take the form of linguistic revision. Such a practice, in fact, proves most important to the émigrés, who speak English as a second or third language and need advice when addressing an English audience, in order to clearly convey their ideological and literary criticism. Moreover, linguistic advice is the first form of collaboration between Katia and the Russian émigré. Such an unprecedented experience bears witness of the main character's involvement in the cultural life of the Anglo-Russian colony.

Advice was reciprocal: while Katia proofread Muromsky's English notes, the Russian émigré encouraged her to pursue a literary career: "'Yes, you are an observer,' he replied, 'of a special kind; you must write, but that requires much practice, if I were you I should record my impressions daily in a diary. You would soon acquire facility, and with sincerity might produce something valuable'" (Ibid:168). It is true, of course, that this quote distinctly echoes Stepniak's advice to Olive Garnett and stands out, therefore, as a further instance of Olive's narrative practices (Moser 1985). This parallelism between fiction and personal experience notwithstanding, it is worth noticing that such an advice has a shaping effect on the main character. Muromsky's suggestion that "[she] should *write*, [because she has] descriptive powers" (Garnett 1918:191) is a sort of refrain in the third part of the novel and the one that would influence the main

character's intellectual growth.¹⁹⁴ As the plot unfolds, in fact, the reader realises that Katia eventually resolves to follow her Russian friend's invitation: "So I tried to follow out his advice [...] and I set apart a couple of hours each day for serious reading, or for practicing writing, even if only in a diary" (Ibid:210).

The combination of the cosmopolitan condition and identity building is, as I have ventured to unveil, the core of the whole novel. What is remarkable is that travelling and encounters with the Anglo-Russian community exercise a lasting influence on the main character: not only do they set the terms for her quest for identity, which figures as a mixed and liminal one, but they also lead her to question her role within the community itself, as well as her identity as a writer. However, one may argue that diary writing is the only form of literary practice that features in the novel: it is true, in fact, that there are no references to Katia sitting at a desk and writing fiction in the novel. Still, it is not so much in the plot, as in the structure of the novel itself that such a question emerges.

As we have seen, in fact, the novel is divided into four sections, each one corresponding to a different phase of the character's upbringing, and it is narrated in the first person. The huge number of analepses and prolepses and the presence of the semantic field of memory, as well as the use of metanarrative statements, such as "I am not trying to present an historical document" (Ibid:277), indirectly identify the narrative voice as the fictional writer of the novel, who writes in retrospection. It is as if Katia, having undergone a process of *Bildung*, undertakes to narrate her past experiences. Anglo-Russian encounters and collaborations are pivotal in this respect: in fact, it is only after her meeting with Muromsky that she becomes aware of her literary talent and she starts exploring writing practices, first and foremost, by writing a diary. In other words, not only is the first-person narrator discussing the different phases of her quest for a balanced Anglo-Russian self, but also her upbringing as a young

¹⁹⁴ Italics in the original. Dmitri himself records Muromsky's advice to Katia: "Muromsky says you have to write, you have talent" (Garnett 1918:204).

writer, thereby setting the novel into dialogue with the modernist literary tradition of the *Künstlerroman*.

In Olive Garnett's *In Russia's Night*, identity is constantly re-created and re-defined together with the cosmopolitan discourse, which hinges on notions of communality, shared experiences and cross-cultural encounters. One could imagine that in depicting the Anglo-Russian community in Florence, Olive is reacting to provinciality and national narrowness, exploring the possibility of a community of intellectuals that cuts across national borders and gender divisions. Her novel, in fact, seems her distinctive response to the absence of intellectual networks in turn-of-the-20th-century England (Pollini 2007), a void that Russian émigrés and their British friends were trying to fill, making up cosmopolitan cultured communities, where transnational encounters would reinvigorate literary practices. In so doing, the novel seems to anticipate modernist concerns of communal affiliation and of the representation of multiple and liminal perspectives as determined by intercultural exchanges. The Anglo-Russian community in Florence, in fact, becomes the pole around which the questions of self and artistic identity spin and collide, dictating their possibilities and significances. In other words, the construction of the main character's identity becomes a dialogical process, informed by both the semantics of travel and transnational encounters.

Summing up, Olive's fiction gives way to the representation of an alternative cultured community made up of both English and Russian intellectuals, a community that informed the main character's quest for identity, which resulted in the affirmation of both her liminal identity and her role as an artist, a chronicler, as it were, of this form of intellectual crisscrossing. Olive, therefore, is trying to find a way to textualise such concerns of in-betweenness and intellectual cosmopolitan clusters, which are here expressed in terms of Anglo-Russian transfer. Within this framework, *In Russia's Night* becomes a unique literary achievement: performing cross-fertilization at different levels and balancing English and Russian discourses, the novel can be identified as a

truly – and rather unique - Anglo-Russian work, resulting from actual and fictional alliances between the English and the Russians, and one raising cross-fertilization and communal affiliations as the condition *sine-qua-non* of literary creation.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the points of intersection between English and Russian cultural and literary traditions at the dawn of the 20th century proves extremely fertile. Not only does it illuminate the distinctive and almost unique nature of this phenomenon of cross-cultural and literary encounters, but it also sets the terms for the evolution of Anglo-Russian exchanges in the years to come. Transformations in the public sphere, as well as changing views on culture, national identity and communities are embedded in this crossing process that gained momentum in the Late-Victorian years (Werner and Zimmermann 2006). To put it differently, transnational encounters highlight the porous and plastic nature of national borders and negotiate new contexts of cultural and literary creation.

It was primarily thanks to Russian émigrés of radical ideology, Stepniak, Volkhovsky, Kropotkin, and Chertkov among others, that such a creative Anglo-Russian transnational space was promoted. Their propaganda activities, in fact, attracted English sympathisers to the Russian cause for freedom, whose collaboration with the émigrés gave birth to *Free Russia*. Russian émigrés, therefore, stimulated cultural rapprochement and inspired new models of communal affiliation. Tolstoyan colonies and the Garnett household are of paramount importance in this respect, insofar as they embody the innovative aspects of Anglo-Russian cultural transfers. While Tolstoyan colonies attempted to promote a new mode of understanding communal affiliations inspired by Tolstoy's utopian design, the Garnetts' circle championed literary networks and intellectual collaborations, moving towards the creation of a transnational literary space injected by collaborations, criss-crosses, and interferences.

It is true, of course, that these forms of interactions across borders carried ideological and cultural consequences, suffice it to consider the negotiation of an Anglo-Russian counter-public discourse within British public spheres. Of greater interest are the literary offshoots that Anglo-Russian communal relations

triggered, for they greatly impacted on the British literary imagination of the *fin de siècle*. Most importantly, Anglo-Russian exchanges took the form of collaborative translations, which, although limited in the émigrés' experiments with the periodical press, became common practices among members of the British Tolstoyan movement and of the Garnetts' intellectual network. However, Alice Blackwell's and Constance Garnett's translations complied with the domesticating norms of Late-Victorian translation practices, while Chertkov's project for the translation of Tolstoy highlighted the foreignizing aspects of the Russian master's works, a model that would become popular among the modernist intellectual circles. Despite their different cultural implications, collaborative translations stimulated cross-cultural dialogue and inscribed new forms and models into the literary map of England.

Constance and Stepniak's role as co-translators of Turgenev occupies a prominent position in the framework of Anglo-Russian cultural and literary interactions. Although their collaboration was circumscribed to the timespan of a few years, it had, nonetheless, a long and lasting impact on the cultural and literary life of 20th-century Britain: Turgenev's Russian realism, in fact, had a shaping effect on Ford Madox Ford, Joseph Conrad, and on the future generation of modernist writers, Virginia Woolf and Katherine Mansfield among others. Similarly, the personal and professional relationships between the Russian émigré and Olive Garnett proved determinant, standing out as a telling instance of the way in which the Anglo-Russian discourse informed aesthetic quests and literary creativity, and fostered the textualization of experiences of community and in-betweenness.

Transnational encounters offer an opportunity to stage thriving concerns of liminality, communal affiliation, multilingualism, shared voice and exchange of experiences, aspects that are not only reflected but re-discussed and problematised in the works by Ford, Hocking and Garnett. Drawing attention to forgotten geographies, these authors build up a new semantics of community, which is no longer confined to the national discourse, but takes on a

cosmopolitan meaning: it triggers the re-signification of spaces, as the example of the cottage in Hocking's and Ford's novels illustrates, and tackles the problematic aspects of belonging and assimilation. Interestingly, Olive Garnett's text is pivotal in this context, insofar as it offers a narrative of the way in which Anglo-Russian transfers impact on the receptive mind of the young artist. Consequently, the novels in analysis challenge consolidated assumptions concerning the all too abused dichotomies of individual-collective, centre-periphery, public-private, local-global, national-cosmopolitan, and invite to re-think the locations of cultures, promoting cosmopolitan practices as the *conditio sine qua non* of literary creation, as well as a highway to the rejuvenation of extinguished literary traditions.

Russian émigrés of the *fin de siècle*, therefore, greatly impacted on British intellectual and literary life. Their collaborations with their British sympathisers and friends, in fact, favoured the inclusion of foreign aesthetics into the British literary canon, stimulating the process of artistic and literary renovation that would reach its heyday in the timespan of a few years. Simultaneously, they promoted the idea of intellectual life based on professional exchanges and collaborations, and ultimately of a cohesive – yet by no means homogeneous – intellectual community, which was absent from the English cultural scene of the *fin de siècle* (Pollini 2007). In other words, Russian voices gave an answer to the British writers' desire for intellectual cultured communities – a desire that reached over to modernist authors – propelling forward the constructions of Anglo-Russian networks that cut across national borders and gender divisions. The specificity and importance of the Russian discourse, therefore, lays on the fact that it offers a response to the desire for intellectual communal affiliations of the British intelligentsia, inspiring the construction of diverse forms of cosmopolitan communities from which the rejuvenation of letters would originate.

The *fin du siècle* taste for a transnational literary space stretches towards high-modernism. As Beasley and Bullock observe, in fact, English modernists'

interest in other languages highlights their eagerness to find inspiration for renewing their literary tradition beyond the national borders: foreign languages and literature are approached from a “cross-border sensibility” (Beasley and Bullock 2011:295), one that would contribute to expanding the possibilities of expression in English.¹⁹⁵ Within this cosmopolitan framework, it is worth noticing the still widespread interest for the Russians, one that Samuel Solomonovich Kotliansky, a Ukrainian Jew who moved to London in 1911, revived. He was a learned mediator between English and Russian literary centres, a valuable collaborator of Leonard and Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield, and a great friend of D. H. Lawrence (Davison 2014). As co-translators, Kotliansky and the Woolfs inherited and cherished the Anglo-Russian translation practices that the Russian émigrés of the *fin de siècle* initiated. In other words, the collaboration between Russian émigrés and British intellectuals which dates back to the 1890s crystallises in the 1910s and 1920s. Kotliansky contributes to fashioning the image English intellectuals have of their Russian counterparts and to informing the ideal of Anglo-Russian intellectual networks, thereby standing at the crossroads between Soviet Russia and the West (Davison 2011).

Interestingly, in his 1924 preface to the English translation of stories by Boris Pilniak, D. S. Mirsky, the famed émigré literary critic, pinpoints the anachronism of the British interest in Russian literature:

The English reading public knows next to nothing of contemporary Russian Literature. In the great age of the Russian Realistic Novel, which begins with Turgeniev [sic] and finished with Chekhov, the English reader is tolerably at home. But what came after the death of Chekhov is still unknown or, what is worse, misrepresented. Second and third-rate writers, like Merezhkovsky, Andreyev, and Artsybashev, have found their way into

¹⁹⁵ Yao (2002) investigates this predominant attitude in English modernism, calling attention to Jane Ellen Harrison, William B. Yeats, H.D., and Ezra Pound’s interest in Greek and Latin literatures and costumes, Ford Madox Ford’s appreciation of the French novelistic tradition, D.H. Lawrence’s concerns for Italian literature, and James Joyce’s attention to German models.

England and are still supposed to be the best Russian twentieth century fiction can offer. The names of really significant writers, like Remizov and Andrey Bely, have not even been heard of. (Mirsky 1926: ix)

Although Mirsky's views have been challenged by recent scholarship (Beasley 2012), his argument is not without foundation. Russian modernism, in fact, was not acclaimed as greatly as the Russian realist tradition of the 19th-century novel. Turgenev, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Chekhov were still the most translated and influential Russian authors in the 1920s-30s, a success that was primarily due to Russian émigrés in the *fin de siècle* and their role as cultural promoters.¹⁹⁶

However, as Davison observes, most of the works Koteliansky brought to the Hogarth Press were contemporary works arriving in Britain immediately after their publication in Soviet Russia (Davison 2011). Although they were not canonical masterpieces in themselves, these works are determinant in shaping British response to Russian literature, as well as in further interlocking ideological and literary stances. Chekhov's *Notebooks* (1921), Dostoevsky's "Stavrogin's Confessions" (1922), and Tolstoy's related material are foundational texts in this respect.¹⁹⁷ This fact carries two crucial implications: first, it bears witness of the lasting fame of 19th-century Russian authors and of their influence on both Russian and English cultural lives even after the February revolution of 1917; second, it illuminated the role of the Russian émigrés as mediators and cultural promoter. Selecting what works to import from Russia, Koteliansky played a leading role in shaping the British image of and response to Soviet Russia. Therefore, the scanty success of Russian modernism depended on the

¹⁹⁶ Moreover, Russian modernism was dominated by poetry, and the linguistic experiment of avant-garde poetry challenged even the most skilful translator (Beasley and Bullock 2011).

¹⁹⁷ Works by Tolstoy were never published by the Hogarth Press. Still, it issued a considerable amount of Tolstoy's related works, suffice it to remember M. Gorky's *Reminiscences of Tolstoy* (1920), Goldenweizer's *Talks with Tolstoy* (1923), the autobiography of Countess Tolstoy (1922) and Tolstoy's love letters (1923).

limited interest of cultural mediators in disseminating literary experiments. This tendency was the resultant effect of historical, social and cultural transformation in Russia, particularly after 1917. In fact, WWI and the Russian Revolution of 1917 transformed Anglo-Russian relations: an investigation into the modes of cross-fertilization and transnational intellectual relations since the 1910s demands, therefore, different ideological and critical frameworks.

Recent years have witnessed a thriving interest in Anglo-Russian cultural and literary interferences. Interestingly, the points of conjunction between English and Russian culture have been primarily discussed in relation to British literary modernism, drawing attention to the ways in which British modernists proved receptive to Russian literature and culture. The extended bibliography on Virginia Woolf and Russia is a telling example in this respect (Dalgarno 2004, Protopopova 2006, Rubenstein 2009, Protopopova 2014, Ciceri 2015). Simultaneously, the evolution of narrative genres has also been re-discussed and re-framed in the wake of Anglo-Russian interferences (Hunter 2003, Skrbic 2004). However, it was not until very recently that the implications of Anglo-Russian cross-cultural encounters for the evolution of a cosmopolitan literary modernism have been tackled, and they are expected to take another leap forward with the publication of Rebecca Beasley's *Russomania* (OUP 2017).

Translation studies has proved receptive to this relatively new area of research (May 1994). Claire Davison's book *Translation as Collaboration: Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield and S.S. Koteliansky* (2014) is only one of the latest publications on the cultural and literary impact of English translations from 19th-century Russian literature, one which postulates translation as a distinctively collaborative practice. As this study has demonstrated, collaborative translations were a widespread phenomenon among the Anglo-Russian networks of the *fin de siècle*, and Davison study offers a valuable analysis of the evolution of this practice in the 1920s. Not to mention Rebecca Beasley's diachronic study of English translations from the Russian in high-modernism (2012), and Rebecca Beasley and Philip Bullock's edited issue "The Illusion of Transparency" (2011),

all works that pinpoint the leading role translation from the Russian had on the modernist cultural agenda.

From these few titles and references, however, it is quite clear that extensively has been written about Russia and British canonical modernists, considering cultural influences and collaborative translations. However, little attention has been paid to less canonical authors, translators and cultural mediators in triggering Anglo-Russian cultural, intellectual and literary rapprochement. While D.S. Mirsky, Jane Ellen Harrison, Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield and many others are well-known figures in the map of Anglo-Russian relations, this could not be said of Iris Barry, Huntly Carter, John Cournos, John Gould Fletcher, Stephen Graham, William Gerhardt, to name but a few. Their role in circulating Russian traditions in England and in stimulating literary creativity warrants further scrutiny, as it would contribute to unveil the different forms and declinations of English attitudes to Russia over the first half of the 20th century.

Although a lot of work has been done to disclose the cultural and literary importance of Anglo-Russian encounters and cross-cultural interferences, there is still a lot to be explored. It is here that we can gesture at possible future lines of inquiry. One might be the influence of Russian cultural and literary tradition on British avant-garde magazines. Ford Madox Ford's *The English Review* – however short-lived – could serve as a valuable starting point: it published, in fact, pieces of international literature, included a small amount of translations from the Russians, Constance Garnett's translation of Tolstoy's *The Cossacks* (1863) among others, not to mention David Soskice's political and cultural writings. The analysis of interferences between English and Russian models, in fact, would contribute to tracking down the public visibility and circulation of the Russian discourse, to grasp its cultural significance in years of political, social, cultural and literary transit, and to highlight its role in questioning the divide between individual and the mass, a major concern for modernist authors.

Another interesting and fertile line for further inquiry might be the analysis of how the intellectual repercussions of the Russian Revolution affected British modernism. Under the impetus of the Russian revolution, in fact, a new sense of internationalism came into being. It might be of interest to lift the veil on the forms of interaction across borders that took place at the time of this world-changing event: such an approach would help us to re-frame the importance of world migrations and travelling, to pinpoint how the British perception of Russia changed under these particular circumstances, what response British intelligentsia gave to current events in Russia, how the Bolsheviks intervened in the British public sphere, and, most importantly, how the Russia of the 1917 Revolution impacted on British modernist literature. Such a line of inquiry might be of even greater interest and fascination given the upcoming celebrations for the centenary anniversary of the Russian revolution in 2017.

Transnational encounters and intellectual exchanges across borders have always galvanised cultural and literary transformations. An inquiry into transfers, however, is always situated in a diachronic perspective, in the wake of the continually changing relationship between historical and political conditions and the cosmopolitan discourse, which stands out as a the permeable, plastic, multiple – and at times controversial – one. Drawing upon Russian and English intellectual and literary relationships, it is possible to detect different forms and models of cross-fertilizations as we move on the timeline. It is undeniable, however, that at the end of the 19th century, Russian émigrés gave a significant twist to the cultural history of Anglo-Russian relations, one that was destined to have major literary consequences. They triggered unprecedented transnational networks, which re-oriented British attitudes to Russia and questioned consolidated assumptions of national, cultural and literary identity. Establishing unprecedented ideological and literary networks, in other words, they stimulated new semantics of community and space: these distinctive experiences of foreignness and in-betweenness stand out as touchstones of modernity,

insofar as they alimented the turn-of-the-20th-century desire for intellectual networks and literary rejuvenation.

APPENDIX A

List of the Founding Members of the SFRF as reported in *Free Russia* (June 1890):

Arthur H. Dyke Acland, M. P. (York)
Thomas Burt, M.P. (Morpeth)
J. E. Eliis, M. P. (Nottingham)
The Rt. Hon. J. G. Shaw Lefevre, M. P. (Bradford)
Joshua Rowntree, M. P. (Searborough)
Henry C. Stephens, M. P. (London)
Professor James Stuart, M. P. (London)
Alfred Webb, M. P. (Waterford)
Henry T. Wilson, M. P. (Sheffield)
Mr James Real, L.C.C.
Rev. Charles Barry (Wolverhampton)
Rev. Stopford A. Brooke (London)
Mr Percy W. Bunting (London)
Mr W. P. Byles (Bradford)
Rev W. Moore Ede, Rector of Gateshead
Miss Isabella O. Ford (Leeds)
Mr L. J. Hobhouse, Merton College (Oxford)
Mr John Macdonald (London)
Mrs Charles Mallet (London)
Mr J. Fletcher Moulton Q.C.
Rev. Donald Morrison, chaplain (Wandsworth Gaol)
Mr Edward R. Pease (London)
Mr William Saunders, L.C.C.
Mr Adolph Smith (London)
Miss Hesba Stretton (London)

Mr T. Fisher Unwin (London)

Mrs Elizabeth Spence Watson

Mr Robert Spence Watson L.L.D. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne)

APPENDIX B

Complete list of Kropotkin's desiderata as it appears in his letter to the British Museum (DH 4, Vol. 66, 1896: 228-32)

Desiderata for Rossica

Registered N 2919, 8 Aug 1888

Two Russian newspapers (St Petersburg and Moscow) for 1862-81.

The Novosti and the Novoye Vremya for the present year. [The Russkiya Vyedomosti is also a valuable newspaper].

Knijnyi Vyestnik. Bibliographical fortnightly. Lists of all books publ-d in Russia. Consists of all reviews. 1884 sq (3 rbls = 6 sh per year)

The Syevernyi Vyestnik – Rysskaya Mysl Two monthly reviews. St Petersburg (each 14 rbls = 28 sh per year, post free at London).

Vostochnoye Obozrenie (eastern Review) – 1881 sq. Publ-d formerly at St Petersburg now at Irkutsk by B. M. Yadrintseff (10 rbls = £1 per year). Most valuable information about Siberia & Turkestan. The back years 1881-87 ought to be had also.

Vyestnik Promyshlennosti (Industrial Review (Russian industrial life, petty trades, etc. [sic]) St Petersburg 1884 sq Monthly; 12 rbls = 24 sh per year.

Trudy Komissii po izsledovaniyu kustarnoi promyshlennosti (Works of Petty Trades' Committee). 15 vols. Petersburg 1879-87 (most valuable).

Sbornik svedenii o Kavkaze (Material for the knowledge of Caucasus Tiflis 1872 sq (all last volumes missing).[Notes made by the BM staff]: Ac.6130/22 Russ. Geogr. Soc of St Petersburg 1869, etc. To be had from Mr Seidlits the Secr. Of the Caucasus Statistical Committee

Memoirs (Zapiski) & Bulletins (Izvestia) of the Russian Geogr. Soc. & its branches (see letter)

Official Statistical Publications [in the margins: and their 'journals': Statistical Committee at Ministry of Interior Statistical Committees at Ministries of Justice, Ways & Communications, Finance, Public Instruction, States Domains Scientific periodicals of the Sc. Societies: at all Universities, Ural Naturalists, Mineralogical Society etc, etc.

Separate works

Works mentioned on enclosed BM demand ticket.

N. Sergievskiy. Наказание в русском уголовном праве XVI века (Punishment in Russian Law of 16th century) St Peters. 1887. 2 vols.

Д. Дриль. Малолетние преступники (Juvenile offenders). Moscow. 1887-8 2 vols (3 rb 50 c).

В. Короленко Очерки и рассказы. Moscow. 1887. 1 руб. 50 (Korolenko's Novels) [Added in the margins: Young Russian novelist].

id. Слепой музыкант. (Blind Musician). Moscow, 1887. 75 коп. [Museum note: related to both items: Works in BM].

Григорий Мачтет. Силуэты (Matchtett's Silhouettes) Moscow. 1887 (2 rbls.).

Шабельская. Наброски карандашом (Shabelskaya's Sketches in Lead Pencil). St Petersburg. 1887

Вольский А. Жена. (Volsky's 'Wife'). St Petersburg. 1888 (2 rbls)

Всеv. Гаршин. Рассказы (Garshin's Novels [sic]. New edition 1888)

Saloff 's Novels (Салов. Повести и рассказы) 2 vols.

ibid. Олшанский молодой барин (The young landlord of Olshansk) 2rb 50 c.

11a. Линев Среди отверженных (Amongst the outcast, by D. Lineff) Moscow 1888 1p. 50

С. Венгеров Критико-библиографический Словарь русских писателей Biographical Dictionary of Russian Writers) facs 1-20 (in progress) [Note: in BM].

Каптерев. Патриарх Никон и его противники. St Petersburg 1887 (most valuable) (Patriarch Nikon and his adversaries)

D.Mendeleyeff. Inquiry into dissolutions (Исследование водных растворов по удельному весу) St Peter 1887

Зерцалов Новые данные о земском соборе 1648-49 Moscow 1887 (new data about the Zemskiy Sobor)

Лазаревский Описание Старой Малороссии (Description of Old Little Russia) Kieff 1888 in progress

И.Кауфман Кредитные билеты (Kaufman's Russian Paper-money) [Note: be [sic] the capital work on finance]

id. Russian finance [Note: in BM].

Первольф Славяне т. 1 (Pervolff's The Slavonians) Warsaw 1885?

Satyrkewitsch Ueber den Einfluss des Kampfes zwischen den Völkern u. Ständen auf die Gestaltung d. Russischen Reichs. Moscow 1874?

Бржецкий Государственный долг России⁴⁷ (Brzeski. Russian Debenture) St Petersb 1884.

Пругавин Раскол. Сектантство vol. 1. 1888 (Nonconformism by Prugavin) St Petersb 1888)

Glyeb Uspenskiy's Works 8 vols St Petersb (12 rbls)

Yadrintseff's Siberian Recueil (Сибирский сборник) 3 or 4 vols

Багалеи. Очерк из истории колонизации и быта степных окраин (Colonisation of Steppes). Moscow, 1887. vol. 1st 3 rbls. [Note: in BM].

Андреевич. Исторический очерк Сибири (Andrievitch's history of Siberia) 4 vols. 1884-87.

Субботин. Материалы для истории раскола за первое время 8 томов (Materials for the early history of Non-Conformism 8 vols) In progress

А. Павлов Кормчая книга, как источник брачного права. 1887. 456 pp. (Pavloff's Materials for the history of law of marriage [sic]) (3 rbls)

Опочинин Русский театр. Его начало и развитие. 1887 (Opochinin. History of Russian Theatre).

- О.Миллер. Осетинские труды (Prof. Miller's Ossetian studies). 3 fascicules 1887.
- Проф. Замысловский. Учебный атлас по русской истории, изд. 3е. (Text-Atlas of Russian History by Prof. Zamyslovsky), 3rd edition 1887 (5 rbls)
- Андриянов. Очерк истории Волынской земли. (History of Volynia). Kieff, 1887.
- A. N. Maikoff 's Verses. Complete edition (vol. publ-d in 1888, containing his verses of 1883-1888 is not for selling)
- Семевский Крестьянский вопрос в России в XVIII и XIX веках. 2 тома (Semevsky's Peasantry Question in the XVIII and XIX centuries) 2 vols (6 rbls)
- В. О. Корш. Всеобщая история литературы. Fasc. 1-22nd. (Korsh's General History of Literature (NB Slavonic and Early Russian!))
- Зварницкий Запорожье в остатках старины и преданиях народных (Zvarnitsky's The Zaporog Cossacks in their traditions and songs) 2 vols with plates. (6 rbls)
- К.Кавелин Задачи этики. Спб. 1888. problems of Ethics, by Kavelin (1p. 50)
- Флоринский Т. Памятники законодательной деятельности Душана, царя Сербов и Греков (Florinsky. Monuments of Law of Duszan king of the Serbians and Greeks) Kieff 1888. 700 pp. (4 rbls)
- Пругавин Русская земельная община в трудах ее местных исследователей (Prugavin. Russian Village Community) Mosc. 1888. 1p. 50
- Кареев Н. Историческая философия Гр. Толстого⁶⁴ (оттиск из журнала: Вестник Европы. 1887. No 7) (Prof. Karyeff. Hist. Philosophy of Count Tolstoy) St Petersburg 1888. 60 c.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

- Anonymous. "Caught and Inciter." *Free Russia*, May – August 1891.
- Anonymous. "On the Etape." *Free Russia*, July – September 1895.
- Anonymous. "Among the Oukranian Peasants." *Free Russia*, March 1900.
- Anonymous. "To the Judge." *Free Russia*, December 1900.
- Anonymous. "The Reply." *Free Russia*, February 1901.
- Chaucer, Daniel (Ford Madox Ford). *The Simple Life Limited*. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1911.
- Chekhov, Anton. "Sharp Beyond my Years." *Free Russia*, May 1900.
- Chekhov, Anton. *The Chorus Girl and Other Stories*. Translated by Constance Garnett. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920.
- . "Zinotcha." *Polnoe sobranie socinenii i pisem v 30 tomax*. Tom 6. Moskva: Nauka, 1976. 303-308
- Conrad, Joseph. "Preface." *The Nigger of the Narcissus*. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1897. 11-16.
- Debagory-Mokrievich, V. "The Two Friends." *Free Russia*, June – July 1892.
- Ford, Ford Madox. *Thus to Revisit – Some Reminiscences*. New York: Dutton and Company, 1921.
- . *The English Novel*. London: Constable, 1930.
- . *Mightier than the Sword – Memories and Criticism*. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1938.
- . *Return to Yesterday*. New York: Liveright, 1972.
- . "Fyodor Dostoevsky and The Idiot." *Ford Madox Ford Critical Essays*. Ed. Max Saunders and Richard Stang. Manchester: Carcanet, 2002: 206-7.
- . *It was the Nightingale*. Manchester: Carcanet Press Limited, 2007.
- Garnett, Edward. "Introduction." *The Lear of the Steppes*. Ivan Turgenev. Translated by Constance Garnett. London: Heinemann, 1898. v-xv

- . "Introduction." *A Desperate Character and Other Stories*. Ivan Turgenev. Translated by Constance Garnett. London: Heinemann, 1898. vii-xiii
- . *Turgenev: A Study*. London: W. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1917.
- Garnett, Olive. *Petersburg Tales*. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1900.
- . *In Russia's Night*. London: W. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd. 1918.
- . *Tea and Anarchy! The Bloomsbury Diary of Olive Garnett 1890-1893*. Ed. Barry C. Johnson. Birmingham: Bartletts Press, 1989.
- . *Olive & Stepniak. The Bloomsbury Diary of Olive Garnett 1893-1895*. Ed. Barry C. Johnson. Birmingham: Bartletts Press, 1993.
- Herzen, Alexander. *My Past and Thoughts*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1968.
- Hocking, Salome. *Belinda the Backward. A Romance of Modern Idealism*. London: Arthur Fifiield, 1905.
- Hodgson, William. *A Night with a Nihilist*. Cupar: Fifehire Journal, 1886.
- Korolenko, Vladimir. "A Queer Girl." *Free Russia*, April – May 1892.
- . "Easter Eve." *Free Russia*, April 1893.
- Kropotkin, Peter. *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1899.
Digital text based on the first edition available at:
<http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/petr-kropotkin-memoirs-of-a-revolutionist>.
- Maykov, Apollon. "Three Deaths." *Free Russia*, April 1901.
- Mikhailov, Mikhail L. "On Easter Day." *Free Russia*, April 1894.
- Nekrasov, Nikolay. "The Song of the Poor Wanderer." *Free Russia*, December 1899.
- . "Where Makar ne'er drives his lambkin." *Free Russia*, March 1905.
- Ogaryov, Nikolay. "Summer." *Free Russia*, June 1901.
- . "The Commandment." *Free Russia*, October 1901.
- Pushkin, Alexander. "The Monument." *Free Russia*, March 1899.
- . "A Message." *Free Russia*, February 1901.
- Ryleyev, K. "The Citizen." *Free Russia*, February 1901.

Shchedrin (Mikhail Y. Saltykov). "The Deceitful Editor and the Credulous Reader." *Free Russia*, April 1891.

---. "How a Peasant Saved Two Generals." *Free Russia*, January 1892.

---. "The Virtue and the Vices." *Free Russia*, November 1899.

---. "The Judge." *Free Russia*, December 1900.

---. "Conscience." *Free Russia*, November 1902.

Shaw, Nellie. *Whiteway: A Colony on the Cotswold*. London: The W.C. Daniel Company, 1935.

Stepniak. *Underground Russia*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883.

---. *The Career of a Nihilist*. New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1889.

---. "Introduction." *Rudin*. Ivan Turgenev. Translated by Constance Garnett. London: Heinemann 1894a. v-xxix

---. "Introduction." *A House of Gentlefolk*. Ivan Turgenev. Translated by Constance Garnett. London: Heinemann, 1894b. v-xvii

---. *Nihilism as it is*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895.

Tolstoy, Lev N. *Polnoe sobranie socinenii i pisem v 90 tomax*. Tom 69. Moskva: Nauka, 1958 (reprint 1992).

Turgenev, Ivan. *The Jew and Other Stories*. Translated by Constance Garnett. London: Heinemann, 1899.

---. *Polnoe sobranie socinenii i pisem v 28 tomax*. Tom 11. Moskva: Nauka, 1966.

Woolf, Virginia. "Phases of Fiction." *The Bookman* (April 1929).

---. "Modern Fiction." *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*. Volume 4: 1925 to 1928. Ed. Andrew McNeillie. London: The Hogarth Press, 1984. 157-165.

Yelpatienvsky, S. "The Dirge of the Tayga." *Free Russia*, February 1900.

Zhemchouzhnikov, A. "Quench not the Spirit." *Free Russia*, February 1903.

Secondary Sources:

Alston, Charlotte. "Britain and the International Tolstoyan Movement, 1890-1910." *Russia in Britain 1880-1940. From melodrama to Modernism*. Ed.

- Rebecca Beasley and Philip R. Bullock. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 51-70.
- . *Tolstoy and his Disciples. The History of a Radical International Movement*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2014.
- Alter, Robert. *Imagined Cities: Urban Experience and the Language of the Novel*. New Heaven and London: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London and New York: Verso, 1983.
- Andrews, Malcolm Y. "The English Cottage as Cultural Critique and Associationist Paradigm." *Literature and Place*. Ed. Peter Brown and Michael Irwin. Bern: Peter Lang, 2006. 49-68.
- Anemone, Anthony. "Introduction." *Just Assassins: The Culture of Terrorism in Russia*. Ed. Anthony Anemone. Northwestern University Press, 2010. 3-23.
- Apter, Emily. *Against World Literature. On the Politics of Untranslatability*. London and New York: Verso, 2014.
- Ardis, Ann. "Staging the Public Sphere: Magazine Dialogism and the Prosthetics of Authorship at the turn of the Twentieth Century." *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernism*. Ed. Ann L. Ardis et al. London and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008. 30-45.
- Armstrong, W. H. G. *Heaven Below: Utopian Experiments in England 1560-1960*. London and New York: Routledge, 1961.
- . "J. C. Kenworthy and the Tolstoyan Communities in England." *Tolstoi and Britain*. Ed. Gareth Johns. Oxford: Berg, 1995. 135-151.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. *The Dialogic Imagination*. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1981.
- Bassel, Naftoli. "National Literature and Interliterary System." *Poetics Today*, 12:4 (1991): 773-779.
- Bassett, Troy. "T. Fisher Unwin's Pseudonym Library: Literary Marketing and Authorial Identity." *English Literature in Transition 1880-1920*, 47:2 (2004): 143-160.

- Beasley, Rebecca. "On Not Knowing Russian: The Translations of Virginia Woolf and S. S. Koteliansky." *The Modern Language Review*, 108: 1 (January 2013): 1-29.
- . "Modernism's Translations." *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernism*. Ed. Mark Wollaeger and Matt Eatough. Online edition, 2014.
- . *Russomania*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017 (forthcoming).
- Beasley, Rebecca and Philip Bullock. "Introduction: The Illusion of Transparency." *Translation and Literature*. 20 (2011): 283-300.
- Bemong, Nele and Borghart, Peter. Introduction. *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope*, edited by Bemong et al., Ginkgo Academia Press, 2010.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Task of the Translator." *The Translation Studies Reader*. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. London and New York: Routledge, 2000. 15-25.
- Berman, Jessica. *Modernist Fiction, Cosmopolitanism, and the Politics of Community*. Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Bernstein, Susan D. *Roomscape. Women Writers in the British Museum from George Eliot to Virginia Woolf*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013.
- Bergman, Jay. "Vera Zasulich, the shooting of Trepov and the growth of Political Terrorism in Russia, 1878-1881." *Terrorism*, 4:1-4 (1980): 25-51.
- Bhabha, Homi. "Culture's In-Between." *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Ed. S. Hall et al. London: Sage Publications, 1996. 53-60
- Blakesley, Rosalind P., *The Arts and Crafts Movement*. London: Phaidon Press, 2006.
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana. "Shifts of Cohesion and Coherence in Translation." *The Translation Studies Reader*. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. London and New York: Routledge, 2000. 298-313.
- Bosterli, Margaret Jones. *The Early Community at Bedford Park. The Pursuit of 'Corporate Happiness' in the First Garden Suburb*. London and Henley: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1977.
- Brooker, Peter. *Bohemia in London: The Social Scene of Early Modernism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

- Brown, Catherine. *The Art of Comparison: How Novels and Critics Compare*. Oxford: Legenda, 2010.
- Carr, Edward H. *The Romantic Exiles a Nineteenth Century Portrait Gallery*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961.
- Casanova, Pascale. *The World Republic of Letters*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Caserio, Robert and Clement Hawes. Eds. *The Cambridge History of the English Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Catford, J. C. "Translation Shifts." *The Translation Studies Reader*. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. London and New York: Routledge, 2000: 141-147.
- Ciceri, Martina. "Russian Ink in a British Pen: Anglo-Russian Echoes of Ivan Turgenev's Aesthetics in Virginia Woolf's 'The Years'." *ACME*. 2 (2015): 69-86.
- Clark, Claudia. "Chertkov and the Tolstoyans at Tuckton." *Britain-USSR*, 68 (1984): 6-10.
- Clarke, Frank G. *Will-o'-the-Wisp, Peter the Painter and the anti-Tsarist Terrorists in Britain and Australia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Clutterbuck, Lindsay. "The Progenitors of Terrorism: Russian Revolutionaries or extreme Irish Republicans?" *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16:1 (2004): 154-181.
- Colombino, Laura. "The Imagination of Space. Ford Madox Ford and France." *Franco-British Cultural Exchanges, 1880-1940*. Ed. Andrew Radford. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 168-186.
- Comtet, Maurice. "S. M. Stepnjak-Kravcinskij at la Russie sectaire 1851-1895." *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 12 :4 (1971): 422-438.
- Crook, Tom. "Crafts and the Dialogics of Modernity: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Late-Victorian and Edwardian England." *The Journal of Modern Crafts*, 2:1 (March 2009): 17-32.
- Cross, Anthony. *The Russian Theme in English Literature from the Sixteenth Century to 1980*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

- Dalgarno, Emily. "A British 'War and Peace'? Virginia Woolf and Tolstoy." *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, 50-1 (2004): 129-150.
- Damrosch, David. *What is World Literature?* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Davie, Donald. *Russian Literature and Modernist English Fiction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- Davison, Claire. "No Smoke without fire? Mrs Garnett and the Russian Connection." *Cahiers Victoriens et Edouardiens*, 1 (2010): 6-73.
- . "Samuel Solomonovich Kotliansky and British Modernism." *Translation and Literature*, 20 (2011): pp. 334-47.
- . "Virginia Woolf and the Russian Oxymoron." *Contradictory Woolf. Selected Papers from the Twenty-First Annual International Conference on Virginia Woolf*. Clemson, SC: Clemson University Digital Press, 2012: 229-42.
- . Translation as Collaboration. Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield and S. S. Kotliansky. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014.
- Edgerton, William. "The Artist Turned Prophet: Leo Tolstoj After 1880." *American Contributors to International Congress of Slavists*, 2 (1968): 62-85.
- Emirbayer, Mustafa and Mimi Sheller. "Publics in History." *Theory and Society*, 27:6 (1998): 727-779.
- Even-Zohar, Itamar. "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem." *Poetics Today*. 11:1 (1990): 45-51.
- Fleming, Marie. "Propaganda by the deed: Terrorism and Anarchist Theory in late nineteenth-century Europe." *Terrorism*, 4: 1-4 (1980): 1-23.
- Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias." *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité* (1967). Available at: <http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf>
- France, Peter. Ed. *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

- Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Ed. Craig Calhoun. Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1996, pp. 109-142.
- Garnett, Edward. Ed. *Letters from Joseph Conrad 1895-1924*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1928.
- Garrard, John A. *The English and Immigration. A Comparative Study of the Jewish Influx 1880-1910*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Gartner, Lloyd. *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914*. London: Vallentine Mitchell & Co Ltd, 1960.
- Glover, David. *Literature, Immigration and Diaspora in Fin-de-Siècle England: A Cultural History of the 1905 Alien Act*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Goldin, V. I. "Nikolai Chaikovskii in Revolution and Counter-Revolution." *Revolutionary Russia*, 14: 1 (2001): 22-41.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *Storia e critica dell'opinione pubblica*. Roma: Editori Laterza, 2005.
- Hamburg, Michael "The London Emigration and the Russian Liberation Movement: The Problem of Unity, 1889-1897." *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 2:3 (1977): 321-339.
- Hampton, Mark. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- . "Representing the Public Sphere: The New Journalism and Its Historians." *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernism*. Ed. Ann L. Ardis et al. London and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008. 15-29.
- Hardy, Dennis. *Alternative Communities in Nineteenth-Century England*. London: Longman, 1979.
- Hart, Imogen. "The Arts and Crafts Movement: The Century Guild Hobby Horse (1884-94), The Evergreen (1895-7) and The Arcon (1905-6)." *The Oxford*

- Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*. Ed. Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, Vol 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 120-141.
- Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990.
- Haupt, Georges. "Rôle de l'exil dans la diffusion de l'image de l'intelligentsia révolutionnaire." *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, 19:3 (1978): 235-249.
- Henderson, Robert. "Russian Political Émigrés and the British Museum Library." *Library History*, 9 (1991): 59-68.
- . "Vladimir Burtsev and the Russian Revolutionary Emigration: Surveillance of Foreign Political Refugees in London, 1891 – 1905," PhD Thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2008.
- . "International Collaboration in the Persecution of Russian Political Émigrés: The European Pursuit of Vladimir Burtsev." *Revolutionary Russia*, 22:1 (2009): 21-36.
- . "For the Cause of Education. A History of the Free Russian Library in Whitechapel, 1898- 1917." *Russia in Britain 1880-1940. From melodrama to Modernism*. Ed. Rebecca Beasley and Philip R. Bullock. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 71-86.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914*. New York: Vintage Books, 1987.
- Hollingsworth, Barry. "The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom: English Liberals and Russian Socialists, 1890-1917." *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, New Series, 3 (1970): 45-64.
- . "Soskice in Russia in 1917." *European Studies Review*, 6 (1976): 73-97.
- Holman, Michael. "Half a Life's Work: Aylmer Maude Brings Tolstoy to Britain." *Scottish Slavonic Review*, 1 (1985): 39-53.
- . "Translating Tolstoy for the Free Age Press: Vladimir Chertkov and his English Manager Arthur Fifield." *SEER*, 66:2 (1988): 184-197. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/4209734 (accessed: 28/07/2014).
- . "Translating the English Version of Resurrection: Leonid Pasternak's correspondence with Louise Maude." *Slavonica*, 2:1 (1995a): 27-58.

- . "The Purleigh Colony: Tolstoyan Togetherness in the Late 1890s." *Tolstoi and Britain*. Ed. Gareth Johns, Oxford: Berg, 1995(b). 153-183.
- . "British Tolstoyans, The New Order and the Doukhobors in the later 1890s." *The Doukhobor Centenary in Canada: A Multi-Disciplinary Perspective on their Unity and Diversity*. Ed. Andrew Donskov et al. Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 2000. 131-148.
- Holmes, Colin. "Immigrants, Refugees and Revolutionaries." *Immigrants & Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, 2:3 (1984): 6-22.
- Hughes, Michael J. "British Opinion and Russian Terrorism in the 1880s." *European History Quarterly*, 41:2 (2011): 225-277.
- Hulse, James W. *Revolutionists in London: A Study of Five Unorthodox Socialists*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Hunter, Adrian. "Constance Garnett's Chekhov and the Modernist Short Story." *Translation and Literature*, 12: 1 (2003): 69-87.
- Huyssen, Andreas. "Geographies of Modernism is a Globalizing World." *New German Critique*, 100 (2007): 189-207.
- Jabboury, Huda Albert. "Constance Garnett, Alymer Maude, S.S. Kotliansky: Russian literature in England 1900-1930." PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 2002.
- Jackson, Kate. *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880-1910: Culture and Profit*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- James, Henry. "The Art of Fiction." *Longman's Magazine*, 4 (1884).
- Jones, Aled. "The Dart and the Damning of the Sylvian Stream: Journalism and Political Culture in the Late-Victorian City." *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers*. Ed. Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell. Houndsmill, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005. 177-194.
- Jones, Gareth. *Tolstoi and Britain*. Oxford: Berg, 1995.

- Kaye, Peter. *Dostoevsky and English Modernism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Kendall, Walter. "Russian Emigration and British Marxist Socialism." *International Review of Social History*, 8:3 (1963): 351-378.
- Kucich, John and Jenny Bourne Taylor. Eds. *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*. Vol. III. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Laqueur, Walter. *The Age of Terrorism*. Boston, The Little Brown Company, 1987.
- Leatherbarrow, William J. *Dostoevskii and Britain*. Oxford: Berg, 1995.
- Lefebvre, Henry. *The Production of Space*. Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991.
- Loretelli, Rosamaria. *L'invenzione del romanzo. Dall'oralità alla letteratura silenziosa*. Roma: Editori Laterza, 2010.
- Lyons, Michael J. "An Army Like That of Gideon: Communities of Transnational Reform on the Pages of *Free Russia*." *American Journalism*, 32:1 (2016): 2-22.
- Maltz, Diana. "Living by Design: C. R. Ashbee's Guild of handicraft and Two English Tolstoyan Communities, 1897-1907." *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 39 (2011): 409-426.
- Mah, Harold. "The Intellectual in the Public Sphere: Projections, Contradictions and Dilemmas since the Enlightenment." *New Public Spheres: Recontextualising the Intellectual*. Ed. P. Thikssen et al. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. 13-26.
- Mavor, James. *My Windows on the Street and the World*. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1923.
- May, Rachel. *The Translator in the Text: On Reading Russian Literature in English*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1994.
- McGann, Jerome J. *The Textual Condition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Melchiori, Barbara Arnett. *Terrorism in the Late Victorian Novel*. London, Sydney, Dover, New Hampshire: Croom Helm, 1985.
- Miller, Martin A. *The Russian Revolutionary Emigres 1825-1870*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1986.

- Mirsky, D. S. *Contemporary Russian Literature, 1881-1925*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926.
- Moore, Lindy. "From Russia with Love: Tolstoy, Gandhi and Isabella Fyvie Mayo." *Text. Book. Publishing*, 2:6 (2014): 56-70.
- Moretti, Franco. "Conjectures on World Literature." *New Left Review*, 1 (2000): 54-68.
- Morrison, Mark S. *The Public Face of Modernism. Little Magazines, Audiences and Reception 1905-1920*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001.
- Moser, Charles. "From Olive Garnett's Diary: Impressions of Ford Madox Ford and His Friends, 1890- 1906." *Texas Studies in Literature and Languages*, 16:3 (1974): 511-533. Available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40754340> (accessed: 30/03/2015).
- . *The Life and Fiction of Ford Madox Ford*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- . "An English Context for Conrad's Russian Characters: Sergey Stepniak and the Diary of Olive Garnett." *Journal of Modern Literature*, 11:1 (1984): 3-44. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3831152> (accessed: 30/10/2013).
- . "The Achievement of Constance Garnett." *Translation*, 53:3 (1988): 431-438. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41211554> (accessed: 31/01/2015).
- Nikoliukin A.N. "Dostoevskii in Constance Garnett's Translation." *Dostoevskii and Britain*. Ed. W.J. Leatherbarrow. Oxford: Berg, 1995. 206-227.
- O Donghaile, Deaglan. *Blasted Literature: Victorian Political Fiction and the Shock of Modernism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011.
- Novikoff, Olga. *Russian Memories*. New York: E. P. Dutton & company, 1917.
- Orel, Harold. "The Forgotten Ambassadors: Russian Fiction in Victorian England." *American Slavic and East European Review*, 12: 3 (1953): 371-377. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2491791> (accessed: 07/01/2015).
- . "English Critics and the Russian Novel: 1850-1917." *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 33: 81 (1955): 457-469. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4204666> (accessed: 07/01/2015).

- Pagetti, Carlo. *L'impero di carta*. Roma: Carocci, 1998.
- Partridge, Monica. "Alexander Herzen and the English Press." *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 36: 87 (1958): 453-470. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4204962> (accessed: 28/01/2015).
- . "Alexander Herzen and the Younger Joseph Cowen, M. P. Some unpublished Material." *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 41: 96 (1962): 50-63. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4205415> (accessed: 18/09/2015).
- Patyk, Lynn Ellen. "Remembering 'The Terrorism:' Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinskii's 'Underground Russia.'" *Slavic Review*, 68: 4 (2009): 758-781. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25593788> (accessed: 07/11/2014)
- . "Dressed to Kill and Die: Russian Revolutionary Terrorism, Gender, and Dress." *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, 58:2 (2010): 192-209. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41052427> (accessed: 18/02/2015).
- Peaker, Caroline. "Reading Revolution: Russian Emigres and the Reception of Russian Literature in England 1890-1905." PhD thesis, University of Oxford (2006a).
- . "We are not Barbarians: Literature and the Russian Émigré Press in England, 1890-1905." *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, (2006b). Available at www.19.bbk.ac.uk
- Peters, John. *Conrad and Impressionism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Phelps, Gilbert. *The Russian Novel in English Fiction*. London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1956.
- Pollini, Stéphan. *Absent Minds. Intellectuals in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Porter, Bernard. *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

- . "The British Government and Political Refugees, c. 1880-1914." *From the Other Shore: Russian Political Emigrants in Britain 1880-1917*. Ed. John Slatter. London: Frank Cass, 1984. 23-45.
- Potter, Rachel. *Modernism and Democracy: Literary Culture 1900-1930*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Protopopova, Darya. "Virginia Woolf's Versions of Russia." *Postgraduate English: A Journal and Forum for Postgraduates in English*, 13 (2006). Available at <http://community.dur.ac.uk/postgraduate.english/ojs/index.php/pgenglish/article/view/54> (accessed 08/10/2014).
- . "Virginia Woolf and Russian Literature." *Virginia Woolf in Context*. Ed. Jane Goldman and Bryony Randall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. 386- 397.
- Reinholds, Natalya. "Virginia Woolf's Russian Voyage Out." *Woolf Studies Annual*, 9:3 (2003): 1-27.
- Richards, Christine. "Occasional Criticism: Henry James on Ivan Turgenev." *Slavonic and East European Review*, 78:3 (2000): 463-86.
- Roberts, John and Nick Crossley. "Introduction." *After Habermas: New Perspectives on the Public Sphere*. Ed. John Roberts et al. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004. 1-27.
- Robins, Bruce. "Introduction Part I: Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism." *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*. Ed. Pheng Chean and Robbins. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.
- Rogatkevskiaia, Ekaterina. "'The Most Important Books which I would Strongly Recommend to Acquire:' Petr Kropotkin and Vladimir Burtsev in Correspondence with the British Museum Library." *eBLJ* (2013).
- Rogatkevskii, Andrei. "Samuel Kotliansky and the Bloomsbury Circle (Roger Fry, E. M. Forster, Mr And Mrs John Maynard Keynes and the Woolfs)." *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 4 (2000): 368-385.
- Rosa, Giovanna. *Il Patto Narrativo*. Milano: Il Saggiatore, 2008.

- Rubenstein, Rebecca. *Virginia Woolf and the Russian Point of View*. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Said, Edward. "Reflections on Exile." *Reflexion on Exile and Other Essays*. Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000: 173-86.
- Sapiro, Gisèle. *Les contradictions de la globalisation éditoriale*. Paris: Nouveau Monde éditions, 2009.
- Saunders, David. "Stepniak and the London Emigration. Letters to Robert Spence Watson, 1887-1890." *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, New Series, 13 (1980): 80-93.
- . "Vladimir Burtsev and the Russian Revolutionary Emigration (1888-1905)." *European Studies Review*, 13 (1983): 39-62.
- . "Tyneside and the Making of the Russian Revolution." *Northern History*, 21 (1985): 259-285.
- . "Volkhovsky, Felix Vadimovich." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007 (online edition 2009. Accessed 24/02/2015).
- Scanlan, J. Ed. "Peter Lavrov: An Intellectual Biography." *Historical Letters*. Peter Lavrov. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.
- Scotto, Peter. "The Terrorist as Novelist: Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinsky." *Just Assassins*. Ed. Anthony Anemone. Northwestern University Press, 2010. 97-126.
- Senese, Donald. "S. M: Kravchinsky and the National Front Against Autocracy." *Slavic Review*, 34:3 (1975): 506-522.
- . "Bakunin's Last Disciple: Sergei Kravchinskii." *Canadian-American Studies*, 10:4 (1976): 570-576.
- . "Felix Volkhovsky in London." *From the Other Shore: Russian Political Emigrants in Britain 1880-1917*. Ed. John Slatter. London: Frank Cass, 1984. 67-80.

- Service, Robert. "Russian Marxism and its London Colony before the October 1917 Revolution." *SEER*, 88:1/2 (2010): 359-347. Available at <https://www.jsotr.org/stable/20780424> (accessed 04/01/2015).
- Shpayer-Makov, Haia. "The Reception of Peter Kropotkin in Britain, 1886-1917." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 19:3 (1987): 373-390. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4050466> (accessed: 04/01/2015).
- . "Anarchism in British Public Opinion 1880-1914." *Victorian Studies*, 31:4 (1988): 487-516. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3827854> (accessed: 28/02/2015).
- Skrbic, Nena. "'Excursion into the Literature of a Foreign Country': Crossing Cultural Boundaries in the Short Fiction." *Trespassing Boundaries: Virginia Woolf's Short Fiction*. Ed. Kathryn N. Benzel and Ruth Hoberman. New York and London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004. 25-38.
- Slatter, John. "Bernard Russell and the Volkhovsky Letters, 1920-26." *Russell: The Journal of Bernard Russell Studies*, 2 (1982): 8-19.
- . "Stepniak and the Friends of Russia." *Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, 2:1 (1983): 33-49.
- . "Jaakoff Prelooker and the Anglo-Russian." *From the Other Shore: Russian Political Emigrants in Britain 1880-1917*. Ed. John Slatter. London: Frank Cass, 1984. 49-66.
- . "Marginalia. The Correspondence of P. A. Kropotkin as Historical Source Material." *SEER*, 72:2 (1994): 277-288. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4211477> (accessed: 26/06/2015).
- . "The Russian Émigré Press in Britain, 1853-1917." *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 73: 4 (1995): 716-747.
- . "Peter Kropotkin's Literary Adviser: The Letters to Edward Garnett, 1897-1916." *Solanus*, 12 (1998): 33-56

- . "Bears in the Lion's Den: The Figure of the Russian Revolutionary Emigrant in English Fiction." *SEER*, 77: 1 (1999): 31-55. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4212794> (accessed: 06/11/2013).
- Smith, Helen. "Edward Garnett: Midwife of Genius. The Influence of Edward Garnett on early 20th century Fiction." PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 2003.
- . "Opposing Orbits: Ford, Edward Garnett and the Battle over Conrad." *Ford Madox Ford's Literary Contacts*. Ed. Paul Skinner. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2007. 79-93.
- . "Edward Garnett: Interpreting the Russians." *Translation and Literature*, 20 (2011): 301-313.
- Stead, W. T. Ed. *The M.P. for Russia. Reminiscences & Correspondences of Madame Olga Novikoff*. London: Andrew Melrose, 1909.
- Taylor, Antony. "The Whiteway Anarchists in the Twentieth Century: A transnational Community in the Cotswold." *History*. 101: 344 (2016): 62-83.
- Thacker, Andrew. *Moving though Modernity: Space and Geography in Modernism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- Thacker, Andrew and Peter Brooker. Eds. *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*. Vol. I. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Thacker, Joy. *Whiteway Colony: The Social History of a Tolstoyan Community*. Whiteway: Thacker, 1993.
- Thomsen, Mads Rosendahl. *Mapping World Literature. International Canonization and Transnational Literatures*. New York and London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010.
- Toury, Gideon. *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company, 1995.
- Tove, A. "Konstanzia Garnett – perevodchik I propagandist russkoi literatury." *Russkaya Literatura*, 4 (1958): 193-199.
- Turton, Glyn. *Turgenev and the Context of English Literature 1850-1900*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

- Tusan, M. E. *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005.
- Van Puymbroeck, Brigit. "Between the Individual and the Collective: Ford Madox Ford, Peter Kropotkin and the Spirit of Collaboration." *Neophilologus* 97 (2013): 231-244.
- Venturi, Franco. *Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia*. London: Grosset and Dunlap, 1960.
- Venuti, Lawrence. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London and New York: Routledge, 2008 (2nd edition).
- . "Translation, Community, Utopia." *The Translation Studies Reader*. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. London and New York: Routledge, 2000. 468-488.
- Verhoeven, Claudia. "Oh Times, There is no Tome (But the Time that Remains): The Terrorist in Russian Literature (1863-1913)." *Terrorism and Narrative Practice*. Ed. T. Austenfeld et al. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011. 117-136.
- . "The Making of Russian Revolutionary Terrorism." *Enemies of Humanity. The Nineteenth-Century War on Terrorism*. Ed. Isaac Land. London and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008. 99-116.
- . "Time of Terror, Terror of Time. On the Impatience of Russian Revolutionary Terrorism (Early 1860s – Early 1880s)." *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Neue Folge*, 58:2 (2010): 254-273. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41052430> (accessed: 01/04/2015).
- Vernitski, Anat. "Russian revolutionaries and English sympathisers in 1890s London: The Case of Olive Garnett and Sergey Stepniak." *Journal of European Studies*, 35: 3 (2005): 299-314.
- . "The Complexity of Truth: Ford and the Russians." *Ford Madox Ford's Literary Contacts*. Ed. Paul Skinner. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2007. 101:111.
- Waddell, Nathan. *Modernist Nowheres: Politics and Utopia in Early Modernist Writing, 1900-1920*. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Waddington, Peter. *Turgenev and England*. New York: Macmillan, 1980.

- . *Ivan Turgenev and Britain*. Oxford: Berg Publisher Limited, 1995.
- . *The Russian Interests of the Rossetti Family*. Pinehaven, New Zealand: Whirinaki Press, 1998.
- Walkowitz, Rebecca L. *Cosmopolitan Style: Modernism Beyond the Nation*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Wallace, Donald Mackenzie. *Russia*. London and New York: Cassell and Company, 1912.
- Werner, Michael and Bénédicte Zimmermann. "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity." *History and Theory*. 45:1 (February 2006): 30-50. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3590723> (accessed: 25/05/2016).
- Williams, Helen. "Russian-Language Periodical Publishing by the Radical Emigration 1855-1900." *Solanus, International Journal for Russian & East European Bibliographic, Library & Publishing Studies*, 12 (1998): 12-32.
- Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society: 1780-1950*. New York: Columbia University Press 1983.
- . *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*. London: Verso, 1989.
- Wilson, Sarah. *Melting-pot Modernism*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2010.
- Wisnicki, Adrian S. *Conspiracy, Revolution, and Terrorism from Victorian Fiction to the Modern Novel*. New York and London: Routledge, 2008.
- Woodford, McCellan. *Revolutionary Exiles: The Russians in the First International and the Paris Commune*. London: Frank Cass Company Limited, 1979.
- Yao, Steven G. *Translation and the Languages of Modernism: Gender, Politics, Language*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002.

Biographies:

- Acton, Edward. *Alexander Herzen and the Role of the Intellectual Revolutionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

- Bachman, John Elliot, "Sergei Mikhailovich Stepniak-Kravchinskii: A Biography from the Russian Revolutionary Movement on Native and Foreign Soil." PhD thesis, The American University, 1971.
- Diment, Galya. *A Russian Jew of Bloomsbury: The Life and Times of Samuel Kotliansky*. Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca: Queen's University Press, 2011.
- Garnett, David. *The Golden Echo*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1954.
- Garnett, Richard. *Constance Garnett: A Heroic Life*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1991.
- Heilbrun, Caroline. *The Garnett Family*. New York: Macmillan, 1961.
- Jefferson, George. *Edward Garnett, a life in literature*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1982.
- Maevskaia, T. P. *Slovo i Podvig. Djin i tvorcestvo S. M. Stepniaka – Kravchinskovo*. Moskva: Naukova Dumka, 1968.
- Miller, Martin A. *Kropotkin*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976.
- Senese, Donald. *S. M. Stepniak- Kravchinskii: The London Years*. Newtonville: Oriental Research Partners, 1987.
- Taratuta, Evgenia. *Stepniak-Kravchinsky Revoluzioner i Pisatel'*. Moskva: Xudogestvennaya Literatura, 1973.
- Woodcock, George, and Ivan Avakumovic. *The Anarchist Prince. A Biographical Study of Peter Kropotkin*. London, New York: T. V. Boardman & CO. LTD, 1950.

Newspapers and Newspaper Articles:

- "A Scottish Branch of the Society," *Free Russia*, October, 1891.
- "Editorial." *The Croydon Brotherhood Intelligencer*, August 1895.
- Free Russia*, November 1892.
- Free Russia*, February 1893.
- Free Russia*, July 1895.
- Free Russia*, December 1900.

"Friends of Dynamite," *Saturday review of politics, literature, science and art*, January 31, 1885.

"Good Work in Cardiff." *Free Russia*, November 1893.

"Its Foundation." *The Croydon Brotherhood Intelligencer*, January 1895.

"Leeds and the Society of Friends for the Russian Freedom." *Free Russia*, November 1893.

"Meetings." *Free Russia*, May 1893.

"Meetings." *Free Russia*, December 1892.

"Meetings." *Free Russia*, March 1894.

"Meetings." *Free Russia*, November 1894.

"Meetings and Lectures." *Free Russia*, May 1896.

"Meetings for February." *Free Russia*, February 1893.

"Nihilist Stepniak Here." *The New York Times*, December 31, 1890.

"Our Plan of Action." *Free Russia*, June 1890.

"Opinions of the Press." *Free Russia*, June 1891.

"Public Meeting of the Edinburgh Branch." *Free Russia*, February 1894.

"Purleigh Colony." *The New Order*, July 1897.

"Stepniak as a Lecturer: The Russian Makes his first Public Appearance in New York," *The New York Times*, January 9, 1891.

"Stepniak in Brooklyn: He Talks of Tolstoy as a Novelist and Social Reformer," *The New York Times*, January 13, 1891.

"Swinburne's Ode." *Free Russia*, August 1890.

The Anglo-Russian, July 1897.

"The Art of Translation." *The Listener*, 30 January 1947.

The New Order, March 1898.

"The Russian Impressions of an English Prison," *Free Russia*, February 1899.

"Russia and the United Kingdom," *Westminster Review*, September 1906.

"Russia in Literature. Tribute by Englishmen of Letters," *The Times*, Wednesday, Dec. 23, 1914.

Arnold, Matthew. "Count Leo Tolstoy." *Fortnightly Review*, 42 (1887): 783:799.

- Crankshaw, Edward "Work of Constance Garnett." *The Listener*, 30 January 1947.
- Ford, Ford Madox. "Turgenev, the Beautiful Genius," *The American Mercury*, September 1936.
- Green, F. J. "Police Action in Bourtsev's Case." *Free Russia*, February 1898.
- Gribble, Francis. "Tolstoy and the Tolstoyans," *Fortnightly Review*, September 1908.
- Hone, W. "Purleigh Colony." *The New Order*, December 1897.
- Kenworthy. J.C. "What Christ demands Today." *The Croydon Brotherhood Intelligencer*, February 1895.
- Krivenko, N. "Shchedrin." *Free Russia*, May 1893.
- Perris, G. H. "Stepniak and Terrorism," *The Saturday Review of politics, literature, science and art*; February 15, 1896.
- Pickard, Eliza. "What is Anarchism?" *The New Order*, 3:10 (1897).
- Rothstein, Theodore. "The Centenary of Pushkin." *Free Russia*, May 1899.
- Stepniak, "Terrorism in Russia and Terrorism in Europe," *The Contemporary Review*, 1866-1900; Mar 1884.
- . "Editorial." *Free Russia*, December 1891.
- . "Introduction." "Shchedrin." N. Krivenko, *Free Russia*, May 1893.
- . "The Dynamite Scare and Anarchy," *The New Review*, May 1892.
- . "Editorial." *Free Russia*, November 1892.
- . "Editorial." *Free Russia*, December 1892.
- "What Americans Can Do for Russia," *The North American Review*, 153: 420 (Nov., 1891): 596-609. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25102279> (accessed: 17/06/2015).
- "The Truth about Russia," *The National Observer*, February 13, 1892.
- Volkhovsky, Felix. "The sufferings of Russian Exiles," *The New Review*, November 1890.
- . "My life in Russian Prisons," *Fortnightly Review*, November 1890.
- . "The Road to Siberia," *The Contemporary Review*, April 1892.
- . "Introduction." "On the Etape," *Free Russia*, July 1895.

- . "The Case of Bourtzhev," *Free Russia*, February 1898.
- . "Ivan S. Tourguenev." *Free Russia*, April 1898.
- . "Introduction." "On Christmas Eve," N. Gogol. *Free Russia*, December 1899.
- . "Introduction." "Sharp beyond My Years," A. Chekhov. *Free Russia*, May 1900.
- . "Rossica." *Free Russia*, April 1901.
- Watson, Robert Spence. "Bibliography of the Russian Cause." *Free Russia*, June 1890.
- . "The Movement in England." *Free Russia*, June 1890.
- . "Editorial." *Free Russia*, September 1890.
- . "Sergius Stepniak," *Free Russia*, 7:2 (Feb. 1896).
- Zhook, Vassily. "Bibliography." *Free Russia*, October 1899.

Reference Works – Dictionary

- "Émigré." *Oxford English Dictionary*, online edition.
- "Refugee." *Oxford English Dictionary*, online edition.
- "Impressionism." *Oxford English Dictionary*, online edition.

Archives Cited

- British Museum Corporate Archive, British Library (DH2, DH4).
- British Library Archive (Add MS 45345; Add MS 50511; Add 50512).
- Central Archive of the British Museum (British Museum Signatures of Readers 1880-1882; April 1883 – August 1884).
- Pearson Papers (PEARSON 11/1/22/91), UCL.
- Russian Print (COLL MISC 1028, COLL MISC 0530, COLL MISC 0493), British Library of Political and Economic Science, London School of Economics (LSE).
- Stow Hill Papers (STH/DS), House of Lords Records Office.
- Tuckton House Collection (MS 1381, MS 1380, MS 138), Leeds Russian Archive, Leeds University (LRA).