

‘A Nihilist Kurort’: Siberian Exile in the Victorian Imagination, c. 1830-1890

The decades immediately preceding the collapse of Tsarism in 1917 witnessed a groundswell of international support for the Russian revolutionary movement. From the 1880s onwards, Russian political émigrés were fêted as celebrities in the capitals of Western Europe and in the United States, organisations such as the Anglo-American Society of Friends of Russian Freedom (SFRF) orchestrated agitational campaigns against the Russian government, and educated opinion endorsed revolutionary violence as an inevitable response to despotic rule.¹ During this period, no issue did more to galvanize international opposition to Tsarism than the mistreatment of political exiles in Siberia. In 1886, following a meeting with the American journalist George Kennan, the émigré publicist and former terrorist Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinskii wrote to an English associate that Kennan’s forthcoming exposé of Siberian exile would ‘represent an epoch in the conquest of European and American public opinion in support of our cause’.² The émigré-led ‘Russian freedom’ campaigns of the following decade originated in public demonstrations against two widely-reported massacres of political exiles in Yakutsk and Kara (known to contemporary parlance as the ‘Siberian horrors’) in 1890.³ In the years that followed, the agitation against Siberian exile piqued the interest of the progressive Anglo-American intelligentsia and, in the United States, earned comparisons to the abolitionist struggle of previous decades.⁴ Right up to 1917, Russian revolutionaries who had escaped from or survived Siberia enjoyed enthusiastic audiences and sympathetic press coverage from London to New York and beyond.⁵

The stereotype of pre-revolutionary Siberia as a vast snowbound prison populated by political exiles and Tsarist gaolers has been dismissed by historians as reductive and groundless.⁶ The origins and uses of that stereotype, however, have received less attention. Scholars have noted that the Tsarist penal system in general, and Siberian exile in particular, had a very negative reputation beyond Russia's borders from the nineteenth century onwards, and that both Russian émigrés and Western activists such as Kennan exploited that reputation in an effort to discredit the Russian autocracy in the eyes of the international public.⁷ Yet since these themes have been explored in little detail, the underlying question – why Siberia, a far-flung region then largely unknown to Europeans, and the Tsarist exile system, now acknowledged as *sui generis* neither in terms of injustice or brutality, retained such power to capture the popular imagination – remains unanswered. The purpose of this article, therefore, is to trace the evolution of Siberia's image in Victorian literary culture and among the educated British public⁸ throughout the nineteenth century and, in so doing, to shed new light on the origins of Western sympathy for the Russian revolutionary movement in the years prior to 1917.

Western representations of the 'non-traditional Orient',⁹ and the impact of such representations on Western self-image, have provided fertile ground for research in recent years. Scholars have dissected the quasi-orientalist discourses through which European and American writers and travellers throughout the modern era have described and provincialized Eastern and Southern Europe and the territories of the Russian Empire and Soviet Union, showing how the construction of these geographical 'others' as backward despotisms underpinned the image of an enlightened or democratic West.¹⁰ This article, in like manner,

demonstrates that carceral imaginings of Siberia served precisely this function in Victorian Britain. Furthermore, it explores how a recurrent theme in modern Russian culture – the image of Siberia as a liminal zone ‘between heaven and hell’ – was disseminated and functioned transnationally during the nineteenth century. Portrayed in folk culture and by the intelligentsia as both a place of exile and as a land of freedom and rebirth, Siberia has long presented Russians with a geographical ‘mirror on the self’.¹¹ As this article shows, however, these tropes, conveyed to the West by émigré agitators and through literary channels, also exerted an important influence on how many Britons understood Russian revolutionaries’ struggle against Tsarism.

The article’s central arguments may be summarized as follows. Firstly, Siberian exile was a stock theme in British literary representations of Russia from the early nineteenth century onwards, but became increasingly politicized over time. Prior to the Crimean War and the Polish uprising of 1863, Siberia served mainly as a source of exotica for fiction writers, but as knowledge of Russia began to permeate the Victorian public sphere in the latter half of the century, it increasingly became shorthand for criticism of Russia’s autocratic government and a rhetorical device for placing Russia beyond the ambit of European civilisation. Secondly, representations of Siberia as a land of exile were closely linked to the propaganda activities of Polish émigrés in Britain throughout the mid-nineteenth century and the concomitant growth of popular sympathy for the restoration of Polish statehood. As British liberals and radicals rallied to the Polish cause after the failed uprisings of 1830 and 1863, the fate of those insurgents banished to Siberia became symbolic of political repression, with the region itself portrayed as the key battleground in the contest between Western

liberty and Russian autocracy. When Russian émigré agitators began to publicize tales of their comrades' sufferings in exile in the 1880s and 1890s, they therefore drew upon the established generic conventions of Siberian melodrama and situated themselves within an imagined continuum of enlightened struggle against Russia's oriental despotism. Through their efforts, the heroic figure of the Siberian exile-martyr became not only emblematic of the revolutionary struggle against Tsarism, but a projection of the modern Western self.

'The land of eternal snow': Mme Cottin's *Elisabeth; ou, Les Exilés de Sibérie*

During the early nineteenth century, most Britons knew little of Russia, and disliked that which they did know. From the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853, the intractable strategic dilemmas posed by the protracted collapse of the Ottoman Empire produced increasingly acrimonious diplomatic relations between the two powers.¹² Such political tensions were compounded by a paucity of socio-cultural contacts. Few Britons visited Russia, still fewer spoke or read the language, and no British newspaper had a dedicated Russian correspondent. Likewise, no Russian literature whatsoever was available in English translation until 1821, and no translations of real consequence appeared until the 1850s.¹³ As a result, British knowledge of Russia depended largely upon the repeated propagation of crude stereotypes and the literary appropriation of Russian exotica, both of which served the political priorities of a Victorian liberalism that saw Russia as its autocratic antithesis and enabled the depiction of Russia as a distant, semi-Ruritanian other. For several decades, episodic instances of genuine curiosity struggled against 'a sense of cultural superiority and a whole set of stock emotional reactions and generalized

notions arrayed against a background of political and commercial hostility or self-interest'.¹⁴

As the remarkable nineteenth-century career of the French writer Sophie Cottin's novel Elisabeth; ou, Les Exilés de Sibérie (Elizabeth; or, The Exiles of Siberia, 1806) makes clear, representations of Siberian exile played a central role in this process from an early stage. A classic of the sentimentalist genre, Cottin's novel was based on the historical figure of Praskov'ia Lupolova, a Russian peasant girl who reputedly walked from Tiumen' to Moscow to petition Alexander I for her father's release from exile. Cottin took considerable artistic license in adapting Lupolova's story for the European literary market, with Elizabeth engineering her own escape from Siberia by winning the heart of the local governor's son and belatedly arriving in Moscow before the benevolent Tsar after several chapters' worth of snowbound tundra, wolves and troikas.¹⁵ Although a tremendous commercial success internationally,¹⁶ Elisabeth was nowhere more influential than in Britain, where it first appeared in translation in 1808 and was seen, for many years, as synonymous with popular perceptions of Russia in general and Siberia in particular. Despite Cottin's disclaimer that the novel bore no documentary merit ('It was unnecessary for me', she noted, 'to extend my researches to so distant a region [as Siberia], since every country affords traits of filial piety and of mothers animated with the glow of parental tenderness'),¹⁷ its success largely derived from the insatiable demand of British readers for material showcasing the most lurid clichés about Russia, and less than a decade after it first appeared in translation it was 'to be found in every library in the kingdom'.¹⁸ It remained a fixture in public discussion of Russia half a century later: as late as 1874, Punch could confidently predict that the Duke of

Edinburgh's marriage to the Grand Duchess Maria Alexandrovna would see everyone 'smitten with a taste for malachite [and] reading Elizabeth; or, The Exiles of Siberia'.¹⁹

By this time, Elisabeth's uselessness as a source of information on Russian politics, society and culture was increasingly obvious. After the Crimean War, the British reading public was generally better informed on Russian affairs, and the novel was a regular target for mockery: one adventure story that appeared in the Boy's Own Paper depicted a group of exiled nihilists fleeing Siberia with the help of illegally-imported copies of the book.²⁰ Yet others continued to invest the text with political meaning. As William Howells, the editor of the Anglo-American monthly Harper's, put it in 1888:

The pathetic tale of Elizabeth, or The Exiles of Siberia, one of the books which touched deeply the imagination of children fifty years ago, left an impression of Russian tyranny which no lapse of time wore away. The general American and English feeling about the gigantic and gloomy empire was largely determined by that little book. The national mind of both countries was prepared to receive and believe all the tales of the horrors of despotism, and the later mysterious organization of the Nihilists and the terrible revelations of the Russian novelists are all made credible and probable by the sorrowful story of Elizabeth.²¹

How and why did Cottin's novel achieve such significance? One minor detail offers a clue to its curious nineteenth-century afterlife: the fact that the author rewrote Praskov'ia Lupolova and her family as exiled Polish nobles. Why Cottin

included this detail (which is introduced halfway through, sparingly referred to thereafter and completely extraneous to the plot) is not quite certain, but probable sources for it are not hard to identify. The Polish partitions of 1793-1795 provided plentiful material for European writers around the turn of the eighteenth century. In 1799, the Scottish poet Thomas Campbell, later an influential Polonophile publicist, immortalized the rebel leader Tadeusz Kosciuszko in his historical epic ‘The Pleasures of Hope’ (‘Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell / And freedom shriek’d – as Kosciuszko fell!’) to great acclaim.²² Two years earlier, a brief visit to Britain by Kosciuszko himself had aroused great public excitement and indirectly inspired Jane Porter’s Thaddeus of Warsaw, the first historical novel in the English language, which went through nine editions between 1803 and 1810.²³ The success enjoyed by the Memoirs and Travels of Maurycy Beniowski – a Polish-Hungarian nobleman exiled to Siberia in the 1770s and later renowned for his improbable escape via Madagascar – likely provided another incentive for Cottin to Polonicize her novel.²⁴ Originally written in the 1780s, Beniowski’s memoir was quickly translated into multiple European languages and yielded August von Kotzebue’s opera Graf Benjowsky, oder die Verschwörung auf Kamtschatka (Count Beniowski, or The Uprising on Kamchatka, 1795) and the French ballet Beniowski; ou, Les Exilés au Kamschatka (Beniowski, or The Exiles of Kamchatka, 1800), which may have inspired Cottin’s title. Indeed, the Boston Statesman’s charming misapprehension of news in 1828 that a shipment of copies of Elisabeth had reached America (‘Exiles of Siberia - one hundred and fifty of these miserable felons are said to have arrived at New York, among them Count Benyowsky’) would suggest that the two texts were closely associated in the eyes of the public.²⁵

Whatever her motivation, Cottin's decision to situate her heroic Polish protagonists in the Siberian wilds fortuitously prefigured the region's association with the Polish national cause throughout the decades to come, when the fortunes of her final novel were closely connected to the growth of British sympathy with Poland and concomitant hostility towards Russia. In mid-Victorian Britain, virtually all reference to Siberian exile in Parliament, the press and popular literature either emanated from discussion of Poland or emphasized the sufferings of Polish exiles to the exclusion of their Russian counterparts: at a time when the fledging opposition to Tsarism was little known overseas, the repression of the Decembrists in 1826 passed without comment, as did the fate of later political exiles such as the Petrashevskii circle in 1849-50 and the publicist Nikolai Chernyshevskii in 1864. In this context, the reception of Cottin's novel set the tone for Polish émigré propaganda, which imputed a binary opposition between Poland and Siberia by equating the one with freedom, and the other with barbarism and despotism.

Siberia and the Polish national cause, 1830-1863

In November 1830, a group of Polish officers staged an uprising in Warsaw that quickly developed into a nationwide revolt against Russian rule. Despite early successes, political tensions among the rebels and the numerical superiority of the Russian army took their toll, and by October 1831 the insurrection had been decisively crushed. With the suppression of the rising came waves of reprisals, with thousands of insurgents deported to hard labour (katorga) and exile in Siberia.²⁶ At the same time, thousands more fled Poland for the capitals of Western Europe. The majority of participants in the 'great emigration' chose

Paris as their destination: a significant minority, however, came to London, where they met with a warm reception among British liberals and radicals alike.²⁷ Founded in February 1832 by the aforementioned Thomas Campbell with help from Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, Wladyslaw Zamoyski and other leading figures in the conservative Hôtel Lambert faction, the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland (LAFP) devoted itself to recruiting support for the Polish cause at Westminster and developing a formidable network of sympathetic contacts in the press and aristocratic society. Prior to its decline after the revolutions of 1848, it represented the single most important forum for establishment British Polonophilism.²⁸ Elsewhere, Polish refugees of more avowedly nationalist and proto-socialist persuasions had close ties to the Chartists during the 1830s and 1840s.²⁹ By the early 1860s, numerous Polish émigré groups were active in Britain, all enjoying varying degrees of public exposure and popular sympathy. Their contribution to the ardent Polonophilism so characteristic of the time cannot be overstated.

The Polish émigrés of the 1830s recognized the propaganda value of Siberian horror stories from an early stage. Aware that Russophobia was Polonophilism's natural corollary, Czartoryski, Zamoyski and their supporters in Parliament sought to juxtapose the portrayal of their homeland as an enlightened European nation with a correspondingly negative image of Russia. As a result, MPs who spoke in support of the Poles during the early 1830s rarely neglected to reference the deportation of the November insurgents to Siberia. In a debate in the House of Commons on 18 April 1832, the Scottish MP and LAFP stalwart Robert Cutlar Fergusson noted that 'while the mildness and mercy of the Emperor Nicholas were the theme of some persons' praise, he had transported his

Polish subjects by thousands from their own country to the barren wilds of Siberia', while Lord Viscount Sandon rose in like manner to condemn the banishment of the Poles as 'an act of unparalleled atrocity'.³⁰ In another debate on Polish affairs just over two months later, Viscount Morpeth lamented that the nobility of the 'land that first resisted the torrent of Mahomedan invasion and secured the liberties and religion of Europe' had been 'consigned to the dungeons, the mines, the graves of Siberia', and its children 'carried off to lose the memory of their noble country on the frozen banks of the Ob'.³¹ The same motif appeared in the LAFP's 1832 founding manifesto, in which Campbell declared that 'the Muscovite is sending, by thousands and by tens of thousands, the wounded men, the weeping mothers, and the very youth from the schools of Poland, in chains to Siberia'.³²

Undeterred by the failure of its initial parliamentary agitation (which only secured the support of a handful of backbench MPs and failed to alter British policy towards Russia in any way), the LAFP founded regional branches across Britain, disseminated literature and published pro-Polish articles in the British press. This approach met with far greater success, and by 1836 the Manchester free trade evangelist Richard Cobden, then making a name for himself as a vocal opponent of Russophobia, felt obliged to object to the 'clamour of fine sentiments palmed by philanthropic authors and speakers upon the much abused public mind' concerning Russian aggression in Poland.³³ As émigré propaganda reached a wider audience, the imagery of Siberian exile began to permeate the public sphere. Petitions demanding the restitution of Polish sovereignty expressed concern for those 'marched by tens of thousands to work in the mines and people the dreary wilds of Siberia'.³⁴ Cottin's *Elisabeth; ou, Les Exilés de Sibérie*

appeared in several new editions and was adapted for the stage, artistic depictions of the insurgents' deportation were critically acclaimed,³⁵ and Prince Roman Sanguszko, a young Polish nobleman reputedly forced to complete his journey to Siberia on foot, became the subject of a popular music hall ditty:

This done Sanguszko fare thee well

The fatal die is cast

Heroic Prince, a long farewell!

The exile's hope is past.

Extends no hand to loose his chain?

No mercy to the Pole?

Alone, on foot, he drags with pain,

The irons pierce his soul.³⁶

In the years immediately preceding the Crimean War, Polish émigrés produced a number of 'informational translations' intended to confirm British readers' chauvinistic biases about Russia.³⁷ Among these was the first autobiographical account of Siberian exile to appear in English during the nineteenth century. Revelations of Siberia (1852) was the memoir of Ewa Felinska, a minor Polish noblewoman exiled to Berezov in the 1840s. In his introduction, the editor, Krystyn Lach-Szyrma, utilized the imagery of exile to juxtapose concepts of freedom and autocracy:

The subject of the present work is Siberia, a region dreary by nature, and not only in name synonymous, but actually identical with a vast prison

[...] The author could not but suffer the more bitterly when torn of a sudden from her domestic hearth and the bosom of civilized society, and carried off to the wilds of Siberia. Here, among a barbarous population, her very habits of refinement, as may be conceived, rendered her position more difficult and unendurable [...] Desolate and dismal, unexplored and unexplorable, as Siberia may be, it is not, as will be seen from this work, without its peculiar lineaments of sublimity, amidst all its dreariness and solitudes; and a day will come when its ice-bound territories will be opened to civilisation and its forests vanish before the advance of freedom.³⁸

This depiction of Siberia as Poland's autocratic antithesis, a geographical other underscoring the Poles' European identity and self-sacrificial heroism, became a standard trope in Polish émigré propaganda. For the time being, however, it elicited little response from the press and educated public. Reviewers complained that Felinska was 'not as graphic in her descriptions as we could desire' and that 'the reality here described [was] considerably less shocking than the imaginary horrors which are generally associated in men's minds with the notion of transportation to Siberia'.³⁹ Such thinly-veiled disappointment that the reality of political exile did not meet British readers' titillating standards also characterized the reception afforded in 1855 to My Exile in Siberia, a misleadingly-titled translation of the second volume of Aleksandr Gertsen's memoir Byloe i dumy (My Past and Thoughts, 1852-1868).⁴⁰ The complaint of the Athenaeum's reviewer that Gertsen's account of his Perm' exile 'did not fulfil the ideal of

Siberian desolation' was not a comment on his publishers' geographical misapprehensions.⁴¹

In January 1863, after months of unrest across the Western Provinces, Poland once again rose in rebellion against Russian rule. As in 1831, the insurrection was suppressed with great severity. Alongside hundreds of public executions and the widespread confiscation of noble estates, between 18,000 and 24,000 insurgents were sentenced to hard labour and exile in the years that followed, with Poles ultimately accounting for over 30% of those exiled to Siberia throughout the 1860s.⁴² In Britain, with public opinion under the sway of Lord Palmerston's jingoistic liberalism, news of the rebellion quickly elevated the restoration of Polish statehood into an all-encompassing cause célèbre. Speakers at public meetings called for war with Russia, while events in Poland generated only slightly less coverage in British newspapers than the denouement of the American Civil War two years later.⁴³ The fate suffered by many insurgents provoked particular outrage. After presenting a petition in support of the Poles to the House of Lords in May 1863, the Earl of Shaftesbury remarked of the insurgents' deportation to Siberia that 'of all the outrages ever perpetrated by sinful man, there was not one more foul and horrible'.⁴⁴ So great was popular interest in Polish exiles in 1863 that con-artists posing as Siberian escapees were (according to one source) commonplace,⁴⁵ and parodies of exiles' memoirs, such as the following letter to the boys' magazine Fun, began to appear in the press:

The circumstances connected with my escape from Siberia are as follows. My sympathy with the cause of Poland was ardent, but I had always a strong conviction that one of the minor duties of an Englishman was to

attend to his own business. Mine was grocery [...] To free the Poles is, of course, our immediate duty. Nevertheless, I did not go to Poland. In point of fact, I never left St Mary Axe. And it is entirely to this circumstance that I attribute my escaping from Siberia.⁴⁶

The Polish crisis of 1863 represented a pivotal moment in British representations of Siberia, which was increasingly portrayed less in the sentimentalist terms of Mme Cottin and more as the birthplace of revolutionary heroes. Attention was lavished upon the émigré writer Rufin Piotrowski, a participant in the 1830 uprising who had escaped from prison in Omsk in 1846 and whose Siberian memoirs were published in English on the eve of the January uprising.⁴⁷ The London press adopted Piotrowski as a minor celebrity, with The Times proclaiming him ‘almost a solitary example [...] of a man relegated to that desolate prison-house who has attempted his escape and has succeeded and lived to tell his extraordinary story’ and Charles Dickens’ weekly All The Year Round devoting a lengthy feature to his flight from exile.⁴⁸ The following year, Dickens – a prominent supporter of the LAFP – sent a correspondent to Moscow to report on the ongoing deportations of the insurgents to Siberia. Invited to witness the departure of an exile party from the city’s Butyrka transfer prison, the journalist concealed neither his disappointment that the Polish exiles were relatively few in number nor his disinterest in the Russian common criminals, whom he described as ‘mutinous and shameless’ and ‘of a low type’. The Poles, by contrast, cut heroic figures, walking ‘with such a dignity and a calm defiant pride, not studied, nor self-conscious, nor theatrical, [but] proceeding from a quiet, deep, intense, indestructible, changeless hate, arising from a hostile religion, from a difference

of race, creed, manners and civilisation. Their leader [...] walked as if he was leading on a regiment of heroes to die for Poland.’⁴⁹ The implicit ghastliness of the fate awaiting them underscored not only their heroic self-sacrifice, but their European identity.

Refracted through the lens of Poland’s struggle for self-determination, Siberia had by the middle of the nineteenth century become synonymous with exile among the British reading public, symbolising the iniquities of autocratic rule and Russia’s legal and political backwardness relative to Europe. In the decades that followed, however, both the inexorable decline of public enthusiasm for the Polish cause and the rise of political, social and economic intercourse between Britain and Russia began to undermine such assumptions.⁵⁰ As knowledge of Russia began to circulate more widely and heroic Polish patriots were harder to come by, it became increasingly imperative for Britons to discover the ‘truth about Siberia’. By the 1880s, the tendency was less to blithely conflate Siberian fact and fiction than to appropriate one as the other.

Buried alive: Dostoevskii’s Zapiski iz mertvogo doma in English translation

In February 1881, a short obituary for the recently deceased Fedor Dostoevskii printed in the periodical Academy noted that the writer was ‘doubtless best known in [Britain] for his Memoirs from the House of the Dead, which has been translated into English’.⁵¹ During the 1880s, Victorian critics’ fascination with Zapiski iz mertvogo doma (Notes From A Dead House, 1861-1862), Dostoevskii’s semi-autobiographical account of his experiences in Omsk katonga between 1850-1854, far exceeded their interest in either the author himself or his other works, which were little known and infrequently read in comparison to

those of Lev Tolstoi and Ivan Turgenev. Yet the novel's arrival in Britain, where it was misapprehended as documentary material and discussed more in political terms than literary, had little to do with the Russian original or its author.⁵² Its popularity reflected not Dostoevskii's artistic standing, but British readers' growing fascination with Siberian exile and their demand for reliable documentary sources with which to differentiate objective truth from politically-motivated sensationalism.⁵³

Zapiski iz mertvogo doma first appeared in English in 1881 under the title Buried Alive; or, Ten Years' Penal Servitude in Siberia.⁵⁴ Based on a pre-existing German rendering of the version included in the 1875 edition of Dostoevskii's collected works, this translation omitted the chapter describing the prison's Polish inmates, which had been removed by the censorship in 1862 and was only occasionally reinstated in subsequent editions.⁵⁵ Although this omission would have reduced the text's value considerably for readers of the previous generation, it may conversely have contributed to its success in 1881, when comparatively few were interested in the Polish national cause. Reviews of Buried Alive tended to favourably compare Dostoevskii's detailed narrative with the embellished or outright fictitious accounts of Siberian exile to which readers were accustomed. The Athenaeum praised Buried Alive as 'a valuable primer towards the formation of correct ideas about penal servitude in Siberia'.⁵⁶ This view was shared by Britain's preeminent Russianist, William Ralston, who may have had Sophie Cottin in mind when he declared Dostoevskii's sketches a 'useful corrective to the sensational accounts of Siberian horrors which certain French writers of fiction delight in producing'.⁵⁷ A similar reception awaited Prison Life in Siberia, a subsequent rendering produced by the journalist Henry Sutherland Edwards in

1887.⁵⁸ Edward Brayley-Hodgetts, a prominent commentator on Russian affairs, reviewed Sutherland Edwards' effort alongside a collection of prison sketches published by the revolutionary émigré Petr Kropotkin, recommending both texts to the 'student of the Siberian convict system'.⁵⁹

If many British readers came to value Zapiski iz mertvogo doma as documentary evidence of Siberian exile during the 1880s, others who questioned its value as such often misappropriated the text in their own way. The reception of Buried Alive in 1881 was largely dictated by the controversy around Henry Lansdell, a Bible Society colporteur whose Siberian travels during the late 1870s had convinced him that the realities of the exile system had long been wilfully distorted in Europe by fiction writers and political agitators alike. In a series of letters to The Times in the spring of 1880, Lansdell argued that 'if a prisoner chooses to behave decently well, he may be in Siberia more comfortable than in many, and as comfortable as in most, of the prisons of the world'.⁶⁰ His intervention was thus largely responsible for public interest in Dostoevskii's memoir, which was read (somewhat perversely) as confirmation of his claims.⁶¹ Ironically, when Lansdell's two-volume travelogue Through Siberia appeared the following year, it included a chapter in which the author sought to apportion blame for the British public's distorted view of Siberian exile and took Dostoevskii to task for factual inaccuracies. Naturally, Sophie Cottin was at fault for drawing 'a picture of Siberian exile life very different from anything I ever heard, saw or read of in the country itself'. Cottin could be forgiven as a novelist, but no exception could be made for political agitators such as Piotrowski and Gertsen, whom Lansdell accused of plying the public with horror stories that 'they neither profess to have witnessed nor attempt to support by adequate

testimony'. Still worse were those who intentionally misrepresented the Tsarist penal system by presenting decades-old events as current, as he argued Dostoevskii did. Although Buried Alive, Lansdell ventured, 'might not have sold so well had readers been informed that it treats of a state of things more than a quarter of a century old', such a disclaimer would have 'prevented many from forming false opinions respecting the present state of Siberian prisons'.⁶²

Despite other such misapprehensions and the credulous tone in which it was written, Through Siberia was well received. Reviewers found 'the stamp of truth and moderation' upon the book, and declared it 'more entertaining, and certainly more readable, than many novels'.⁶³ Further approbation for Lansdell's study, however, was soon forthcoming from a more controversial direction. In an article commemorating the tercentenary of Ermak's conquest of Siberia, Ol'ga Novikova – the conservative émigré, Pall Mall Gazette columnist and self-styled 'MP for Russia' – enthusiastically recommended Through Siberia as 'the latest and best account anywhere of Siberian facts'.⁶⁴ Although Novikova attached no documentary weight to Dostoevskii's prison sketches, considering them merely of historical interest, her attempt to rehabilitate Siberian exile in the eyes of British readers found an improbable ally in the great novelist himself:

Alas, poor Dostoefsky! How well I remember the very last letter I had from him, and how pleased he was with the review I sent him of his Buried Alive, which appeared in the Pall Mall Gazette very shortly before his premature death [...] Self-sacrifice was part of his being, and his Siberian sufferings, which ruined his health, had built up a character and

consolidated a faith which Russia ill could lose. Siberia was to him what the prison was to John Bunyan.⁶⁵

Novikova was not alone in appropriating Dostoevskii's Siberian experiences for political ends. Responding to Lansdell the following year, Kropotkin cited Buried Alive as a 'remarkable psychological study' proving the debilitating effects of hard labour on Siberian convicts, and it is unlikely to be a coincidence that he later declared Zapiski iz mertvogo doma to be Dostoevskii's only 'truly artistic' work.⁶⁶ The contributions of Novikova and Kropotkin to the novel's reception in Britain during the early 1880s are noteworthy not only because both almost certainly realized that they were misrepresenting Dostoevskii, but also as a harbinger of the renewed political significance Siberian exile was to accrue over the coming decades. Novikova, as her editor and confidant W. T. Stead recalled years later, was fully aware that the negative image of the Tsarist penal system was detrimental to the Russian government's image overseas.⁶⁷ Lansdell's investigation thus represented a propaganda opportunity not to be missed, and it is likely that Novikova seized upon it safe in the knowledge that the Englishman was wholly on side: over a decade later, he was forced to concede that he had sent the proofs for Through Siberia to prison officials in Petersburg for correction, and had thus been less impartial than he had claimed.⁶⁸

These efforts to improve Siberia's image did not go unanswered for long. The assassination of Tsar Alexander II in March 1881 saw the revolutionary ferment of the late 1870s give way to reaction, with waves of arrests and exiles. Thus a steady stream of Russian political refugees, following in the footsteps of the Poles half a century earlier, arrived in London from the early 1880s

onwards.⁶⁹ As sympathy for their cause grew among the Victorian liberal and socialist avant-garde, Siberia, to which many of their former comrades had been banished,⁷⁰ was increasingly depicted as the battlefield upon which the contest between Russia's autocracy and revolutionaries, and by extension between its barbarous present and civilized future, was to be settled.

The 'Russian freedom movement' and the campaign against Siberian exile

Lansdell's attempt to absolve the Russian government of wrongdoing in its treatment of political exiles met with a number of disparaging yet insubstantial rejoinders from writers with little knowledge of the topic.⁷¹ A more formidable counter-attack, however, came from Kropotkin, a committed penal reformer who had served as a staff officer in Siberia in the 1860s and whose brother was then serving an administrative exile term in Tomsk.⁷² In 1883-1884, while himself imprisoned in France, Kropotkin contributed a series of authoritative articles on Russian prisons and exile to the London periodical Nineteenth Century, attacking Lansdell as a willing dupe who had neither inspected Siberia's prisons properly nor attempted to familiarize himself with Russian sources, and could 'only convey false ideas'.⁷³ To this onslaught Lansdell could muster only the most equivocal of replies. Protesting Kropotkin's claim that he had not seen a single major prison, he insisted that he had visited either the Peter-Paul or Shlissel'burg fortress, but could not recall which.⁷⁴ Yet his argument, much to the chagrin of London's fledgling Russian émigré colony, began to catch on. Thus Godfrey Bullen, the protagonist of George Alfred Henty's novel Condemned As A Nihilist (1893) who winds up in Siberia after inadvertently getting involved with a group of revolutionaries in St Petersburg, discovers the exile system to be a

model of humane efficiency, denouncing those who draw ‘terrible pictures of the sufferings of exiles simply for the purpose of exciting feeling throughout Europe against the Russian government’.⁷⁵

With Kropotkin’s enforced absence from London still ongoing, it fell to Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinskii to continue the revolution’s struggle for public support in Britain. A veteran of the 1870s Chaikovskii circle, Kravchinskii had joined the *Zemlia i volia* group before murdering a senior gendarme, General Nikolai Mezentsov, in 1878. Forced to flee overseas, he made his name three years later with a hugely successful series of revolutionary sketches published in a Milanese newspaper under the title La Russia Sotterranea (Underground Russia), whence he acquired the nom de plume Stepniak (‘man of the steppes’).⁷⁶ Constant police harassment and the risk of deportation to Russia forced him to move around the continent several times before he finally settled in London in June 1884. At the time of his arrival, Kravchinskii was already known to British readers thanks to Underground Russia, an English translation of which had come out the previous year. This edition was quickly followed by Russia Under The Tzars (1885), a lengthier study and his first written specifically for an Anglo-American audience.⁷⁷ Such was the impact of these two titles on the British reading public that Kropotkin, upon returning to London in 1886 after his release from prison in France, found Kravchinskii firmly established as ‘a central influence on English intellectual life’, widely respected amongst liberals and socialists alike.⁷⁸

With the destruction of *Narodnaia volia* after 1881, Kravchinskii had become convinced of the necessity of uniting Russia’s scattered opposition forces in a ‘national front against autocracy’.⁷⁹ Yet unlike those who merely argued for

an alliance between liberals and socialists to force political concessions from the government, Kravchinskii emphasized the importance of cultivating overseas public opinion as well. In a letter to the Narodnaia volia executive committee in 1882, he argued that Russian émigrés should ‘acquaint Europe not with our political programme, but rather with the current state of the revolutionary struggle’.⁸⁰ Several years later, in an interview with an American magazine, he described his ambition to ‘conquer the world for the Russian revolution; to throw upon the scales the huge weight of the public opinion of civilized nations’.⁸¹ His agitational writings of the 1880s reflected this aim. Written in a journalistic style and devoid of the ideological particularism common to other émigré publicists, both Underground Russia and Russia Under The Tzars painted a romantic image of the revolutionary movement designed to appeal to a wide audience. Exhibiting a gift for self-caricature, Kravchinskii seized upon the cartoonish aspects of Russian life that appealed to fevered Western imaginations and exaggerated them for political advantage, willingly embracing the term ‘nihilist’ and cultivating his own image as an enigmatic, daring revolutionary.⁸²

The now-traditional image of Siberia as a snowbound prison served these purposes perfectly. In Underground Russia, Siberia signifies the revolutionary’s tragic fate. ‘What to him are exile, Siberia, death?’, Kravchinskii writes of the archetypal narodnik of the 1870s, ‘full of his sublime idea, clear, splendid, vivifying as the midday sun’; later he laments the passing of that generation, now ‘dead; in prison; fallen by their own hands; entombed in the mines of Siberia’.⁸³ Recounting the story of his contemporary, Ol’ga Liubatovich, who had escaped from exile in Tobol’sk in 1878, he draws on the tropes of earlier Polish émigré propaganda, portraying her as a European lost in an Asiatic wilderness inhabited

by wolves and vagrants and emphasising that ‘those who succeed in overcoming all difficulties and in escaping from Siberia itself may be counted on the fingers’.⁸⁴ Introducing the subject in Russia Under The Tzars, he writes:

Siberia! The word sends a thrill of cold through our very bones, and when we think of the unfortunate exiles lost in icy wastes and condemned to lifelong servitude in chains, our hearts are moved to pity and compassion. Yet [...] this word of horror is to some people suggestive of consolation and hope. To them it is a promised land, a place of security and rest. We know, too, that thither are sent men and women who, though reduced to the last extremity, their gaolers do not as yet want quite ‘to finish’. What then is this paradise of the lost, this enigmatical Siberian place of punishment, converted by a strange evolution into a Nihilist kurort, a revolutionary sanitorium?⁸⁵

Known to his comrades as ‘fortune’s favourite’ (baloven’ sud’by),⁸⁶ Kravchinskii had made a habit of evading arrest during his active revolutionary career. He thus wrote from no personal experience, relying instead on the recollections of other émigrés and whatever Russian publications he could obtain in the Reading Room of the British Museum. His bloodcurdling descriptions nevertheless made a powerful impact upon British readers. Reviewing Russia Under The Tzars, the Athenaeum cautioned that some distrust was due in the case of a writer who was ‘apparently in sympathy with the Russian dynamitards’, but feared that there was ‘only too much truth in the more sensational part of the work, that devoted to the horrors of Russian captivity and exile’.⁸⁷ The socialist writer Annie Besant hailed

the book as a new departure in British perceptions of Russia. ‘Never’, she wrote, ‘has Western Europe been able to gaze on Russia’s thousand Golgothas as it can do today, now that Sergius Stepniak has torn down the curtain which veiled the crucifixion of a nation and has bidden all men behold the tragedy of the Russian Passion.’⁸⁸

Such was Besant’s zeal for the revolutionary cause that her London home provided the venue for the first meeting of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, held in August 1885.⁸⁹ Although the SFRF would later become the principal forum for contacts between Russian revolutionary émigrés and their British sympathizers for over two decades prior to the outbreak of the First World War, its importance for the time being was primarily symbolic: despite some sympathetic coverage in the press, a call for subscriptions failed to generate any, and the project was quickly shelved. Across the Atlantic, however, a series of events was unfolding that would soon transform the émigrés’ campaign against Siberian exile into one of the greatest causes célèbres of the era. Some years earlier, in 1882, a controversy similar to the Lansdell affair had erupted around the globetrotting American journalist George Kennan. A former telegraph engineer who had spent the years 1864-1866 in Siberia and later acquired a reputation as a Russia expert, Kennan had spent the 1870s defending the Tsarist government from the charges levelled against it by (in his view) foreign provocateurs.⁹⁰ In an address to the American Geographical Society in New York, Kennan turned his attention to the Anglophone public’s taste for Siberian horror, complaining that it had been ‘almost impossible, since the Crimean War, to take up a newspaper or a magazine in England or America which, if it mentioned Russia at all, did not make some reference to Siberian exile’.⁹¹ The

Tsarist penal system, he argued, was no worse than its British or American counterparts, and if ‘abuses of authority in English colonies and in America do not prove that the government under which they occur is a brutal and half-barbarous one, neither do similar abuses in Russia prove that the government of that country is brutal and semi-barbarous.’⁹²

Kennan’s intervention, like Lansdell’s, elicited a number of published rejoinders attacking his reputation and personal integrity.⁹³ In an effort to settle the matter, he decided to return to Siberia to investigate the exile system at close quarters, and in early 1885 he duly signed a contract with the liberal New York monthly Century Magazine for a series of articles on the topic. He arrived in St Petersburg in May and crossed the Urals the following month after receiving accreditation from the central prison authorities, as well as letters of introduction to eminent Siberians from the famous geographer and regionalist Nikolai Iadrintsev.⁹⁴ From then until March 1886, he traversed a route across Siberia from Tiumen’ in the West to Nerchinsk in the east, during which time he visited thirty prisons and exile settlements and met over one hundred political exiles of various sorts. Kennan’s return to Siberia produced a remarkable effect on him. Disabused of his former ideas about wild-eyed nihilists and impressed by their high level of refinement, patriotism and idealism – all of which he measured by an American yardstick – he left Russia a devoted evangelist for their cause, convinced that the Siberian exile system was irredeemably cruel and a damning indictment of Russia’s system of government. As he wrote to a friend shortly after his return home:

I am not sure that I shall not have to call my forthcoming book How I Became a Nihilist [...] What I saw, heard and learned in Siberia stirred me to the very depths of my soul and raised, in some respects, all my moral standards. I made the intimate acquaintance of characters as truly heroic in mould – characters of as high a type – as any outlined in history, and saw them showing courage, fortitude, self sacrifice and devotion to an ideal beyond anything of which I could believe myself capable.⁹⁵

After leaving Russia in the summer of 1886, Kennan stopped in London in order to seek out the leading representatives of the revolutionary emigration and apprise them of his findings. Kravchinskii, Kropotkin and Chaikovskii, whom he met at a hotel near Charing Cross station, were initially sceptical: Kropotkin later recalled having felt ‘no excess of confidence in enterprising Englishmen who had previously taken to learn all about the Siberian prisons without even learning a word of Russian’.⁹⁶ Nonetheless, with his detailed knowledge of the exile system, command of their language and convert’s zeal for their cause, Kennan won their confidence, and they accepted his services as a propagandist. Kravchinskii, who instantly recognized the importance of Kennan’s findings for his own aim of turning foreign public opinion against the Russian government, was delighted. As he wrote to one London friend, the Fabian socialist Edward Pease, several days later:

What Kennan saw [in Siberia] entirely overturned every single one of his previous convictions. His views have changed root and branch and he now completely and utterly confirms everything we previously said –

only his facts are still newer and more numerous than those we were able to deploy [...] His book will represent an epoch in the conquest of European and American public opinion in support of our cause.⁹⁷

This prediction was soon vindicated. Kennan's investigation initially appeared as a series of twenty-three articles in Century Magazine that ran from November 1887 to November 1889. In February 1889, he embarked upon the first of several successful and lucrative nationwide lecture tours, regaling his audience with dubious stories of Russian political prisoners singing the American national anthem on 4 July and disappearing from the stage only to reappear dressed in Siberian convict garb.⁹⁸ The humourist Mark Twain, who attended one of Kennan's lectures in Boston, allegedly interrupted proceedings to exclaim that if conditions in Russia could not be changed 'otherwise than by dynamite, then thank God for dynamite'.⁹⁹ A protest meeting in Philadelphia in November 1889 at which Kennan spoke produced two groups, the Siberian Exile Petition Association and the Russian Exile Relief Committee,¹⁰⁰ while a poetic tribute written for Century by the critic Nathan Haskell Dole declared Kennan the 'unflinching Dante of a later day'.¹⁰¹ By the end of 1888, Kennan was able to report to Kravchinskii that, were he to visit the United States by the end of the following year, he would find nobody with a word to say for the Tsar and millions 'passionately and actively sympathetic to the Russian revolutionaries'.¹⁰² Five years later, with the lectures still going strong, an Okhrana agent who witnessed first hand the impact of Kennan's antics on his audience concluded that 'the threat posed to the interests of the Russian government is enormous'.¹⁰³

The impact made by Kennan's investigations in Britain was initially less pronounced. Through late 1887 and most of 1888 the Century articles were noted in passing by certain periodicals, but elicited no other response.¹⁰⁴ In October 1888, however, the annual report of the Howard Association referred to Kennan's work on Siberia, congratulating the author (by then a corresponding member of the Association) for having rendered 'an important service to humanity'.¹⁰⁵ In a series of letters to the London papers, the Association's directors, Francis Peek and William Tallack, protested vehemently on behalf of Russian exiles, declaring the exile system 'a disgrace to humanity' that placed Russia 'outside the pale of respectable civilisation' and appealing to 'the public opinion of Christendom' to ameliorate the situation.¹⁰⁶ Their intervention drew a response from Novikova, who reiterated that 'our prisons of today bear no resemblance to those described by Dostoevsky some twenty years ago'.¹⁰⁷ Her assurances went unheeded, with even Stead's Pall Mall Gazette (traditionally Novikova's favoured outlet in the London press) conceding that Kennan had 'conferred a great benefit upon Russia'.¹⁰⁸ By late 1889, the Association could report that Kennan's revelations had received 'worldwide publicity'.¹⁰⁹ Questions were again asked in Parliament, where supporters of Irish Home Rule likened British policy in Ireland to the Siberian penal regime.¹¹⁰ Among them was the former Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone, whose repeated insistence that Britain should not condemn in Russia what it practiced in Ireland drew accusations of hypocrisy from those who remembered his agitation against Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria a decade earlier.¹¹¹

Within a month of the final instalment of Kennan's Century series in November 1889, news from Siberia supplied a gruesome epilogue. Several

months earlier, in March, a party of around thirty administrative exiles had arrived in Yakutsk, the last major town in the Siberian northwest, only to be promptly ordered onwards to a series of remote settlements beyond the Arctic Circle and denied the opportunity to rest or gather provisions for their journeys. As an act of protest, on the night of 21 March, a number of the exiles armed themselves, barricaded themselves in the house they had been billeted in and refused to move. The next morning, the local governor ordered the building stormed: in the ensuing firefight, six exiles were killed, with the remainder promptly arraigned before a military court. The ringleaders – Al'bert Gausman, Lev Kogan-Bernshtein and Nikolai Zotov – were sentenced to death and belatedly executed on 7 August, while the others received lengthy katorga terms.¹¹² In a letter written to another revolutionary shortly before his execution, Zotov urged that the story be brought to international attention ('Write of all this to every corner of the motherland and overseas, to every Kennan: it is the one thing we can do to end all this barbarity').¹¹³

This appeal did not go unanswered. By April, details of the firefight in Yakutsk had reached Geneva, where they were published by the émigré journalist and Siberian escapee Vladimir Burtsev in his newspaper Svobodnaia Rossiia (Free Russia).¹¹⁴ Shortly after this, the Marxist émigrés Georgii Plekhanov and Vera Zasulich received a letter from their contact in Siberia, Lev Deich (then serving a katorga term in Nerchinsk) describing the same events and requesting that both Kennan and 'as many of the great foreign newspapers and journals as possible' be informed post-haste.¹¹⁵ Rumours quickly began to circulate in the British press. In June, Kropotkin gave a detailed account of the latest 'Russian atrocities' in a letter to the Newcastle Daily Chronicle (edited by the veteran

Polonophile radical Joseph Cowen), with a shortened version appearing in the Howard Association's annual report two months later.¹¹⁶ Finally Kravchinskii, utilising his formidable contacts on Fleet Street, convinced The Times to run the story on 16 December.¹¹⁷

When the news broke, it provoked a storm. In an editorial, The Times invoked the 'outraged conscience of humanity' in calling for justice, while the Manchester Guardian opined that publicity would 'kill the Siberian exile system, as it killed slavery and many another evil thing'.¹¹⁸ Across the Atlantic, Kennan hastened to write his own condemnation of the Russian prison authorities in his Century column, having been forwarded copies of the executed ringleaders' final letters and other documentary materials by Feliks Volkhovskii, a political exile whom he had befriended several years earlier in Tomsk.¹¹⁹ 'If I live', Kennan wrote, 'the whole English-speaking world [...] shall know all the details of this most atrocious crime.'¹²⁰ Yet still worse was to come: in February 1890, newspapers carried details of a second tragedy that had occurred three months previously in the Kara katorga prison near Nerchinsk, where a series of hunger strikes by political prisoners had culminated in the flogging of one inmate, Nadezhda Sigida, and, thereafter, a mass suicide by way of protest.¹²¹ As before, the details reached Europe through the concerted efforts of exiles and émigrés alike, with Kravchinskii, Volkhovskii, Plekhanov and the veteran narodnik Petr Lavrov (then living in semi-retirement in Paris) acting as intermediaries.¹²² When the news broke overseas, the effect on public opinion was immediate: if earlier events in Yakutsk had been shocking enough, the floggings and suicides in Kara were still more so, since they represented an explicitly gendered act of violence that intersected the familiar plotlines of Cottin's Elisabeth and the darker recesses

of the Victorian melodramatic imagination. Sigida's story dominated headlines on both sides of the Atlantic, with much of the American press indulging readers' appetites for Siberian horror with bloodcurdling headlines and titillating details verging on the pornographic. In Britain, The Times again led the charge, proclaiming that 'such infamies were not perpetrated on ladies of rank and position even in the time of the Emperor Nicholas.'¹²³

From this point onwards the story becomes a more familiar one: with the Yakutsk and Kara tragedies, the Russian revolutionary movement began for the first time to attract support from broad swathes of the international public. On 9 March 1890, less than a month after news of events in Kara appeared in the London press, a crowd of thousands descended upon Hyde Park to express their solidarity with Russia's political prisoners. Three weeks later, in a room near Trafalgar Square, the SFRF was formally revived under the leadership of Kravchinskii and Robert Spence Watson, the head of the National Liberal Federation. Among the Society's first actions was to publish a series of pamphlets with titles such as The Slaughter of Political Prisoners in Siberia and The Flogging of Political Exiles in Russia alongside its influential monthly newspaper, Free Russia, the first issue of which was largely written by Kravchinskii and devoted almost entirely to news of the 'Siberian horrors'.¹²⁴ Although the campaign against Siberian exile ultimately yielded little in terms of reforms or official protests, it deeply unsettled the autocracy's overseas representatives,¹²⁵ captured the public imagination, and cemented the status of Russian political prisoners as international celebrities. In later years, a litany of high-profile revolutionaries would thrill Western audiences and readers with their own stories of arrest, prison and exile.¹²⁶

The British public's fascination with Siberian exile during the nineteenth century helped shape, in no small measure, eventual Western responses to the Russian Revolution. Despite the efforts of writers such as Lansdell and Harry de Windt,¹²⁷ Siberia remained, in the eyes of the majority, inseparable from its Ruritanian literary double. Depicted in journalism, popular literature and émigré propaganda as a snowbound penal colony, a romantic topos on which exiled Polish patriots and Russian revolutionaries confronted their autocratic gaolers and performed heroic feats of derring-do and self-sacrifice in the cause of freedom, the region gradually emerged – to borrow Lynn Ellen Patyk's apt description of Kravchinskii's 'underground Russia' – as 'a new topos in the European imagination, suspended between Western ideas of political liberty and Eastern despotism'.¹²⁸ Through the juxtaposition of the heroic figure of the revolutionary exile with an autocratic government that banished the flower of its youth to the far side of the world, Siberia became not only a synecdoche of and metonym for the revolutionary struggle with Tsarism, but a means of mediating and problematising Russia's status as a European, or non-European, nation – it was, after all, through the proliferation of Siberian melodrama that many Western readers initially became acquainted with the liminal figure of the Russian nihilist, at once recognisably European and unknowably exotic. The association of Siberian exile with an anodyne, universalized struggle for liberty ensured that, when the Russian revolution became global news in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many who rallied to the cause of 'Russian freedom' were predisposed to interpret that cause in simplistic moral terms and to envisage the Russian revolutionary hero as a projection of the modern Western self. From 1917, this vision became unsustainable. It is this, above all else, that accounts for

the bitter disillusionment experienced by many foreign observers during the early years of Soviet rule.

¹ On the reception given to Russian revolutionaries abroad see E. A. Taratuta, S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii: revoliutsioner i pisatel', Moscow, 1973; Donald Senese, S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii: The London Years, Newtonville, MA, 1987; idem., 'Felix Volkhovsky in London, 1890–1914', in John Slatter (ed.), From the Other Shore: Russian Political Emigrants in Britain, 1880-1917, London, 1984, pp. 67-78; Haia Shpayer-Makov, 'The Reception of Peter Kropotkin in Britain, 1886-1917', Albion 19, 1987, 3, pp. 373-90; John Slatter, 'Bears in the Lion's Den: The Figure of the Russian Revolutionary Emigrant in English Fiction, 1880-1914', Slavonic and East European Review 77, 1999, 1, pp. 30-55 and Robert Henderson, Vladimir Burtsev and the Struggle for a Free Russia: A Revolutionary in the Time of Tsarism and Bolshevism, London, 2017. On the 'Russian freedom' campaigns see N. V. Ivanova, 'Russkaia revoliutsionnaia emigratsiia i razvitie russko-angliiskikh obshchestvennykh svyazei v 80-90-e gody XIX veka', Uchennye zapiski Kurskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo instituta xliii, 1967, pp. 81-113; Barry Hollingsworth, 'The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom: English Liberals and Russian Socialists, 1890-1917', Oxford Slavonic Papers, n.s. 3, 1970, pp. 45-64; Ron Grant, 'The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom 1890-1917: A Case Study in Internationalism', Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society, 3, 1970, pp. 3-24 and (on the Society's American branch) David S. Foglesong, The American Mission and the Evil Empire: The Crusade for a 'Free Russia' since 1881, New York, 2007, pp. 26-27. On international responses to revolutionary violence see Michael J. Hughes, 'British Opinion and Russian Terrorism in the 1880s', European History Quarterly, 41, 2011, 2, pp. 255-77.

² Kravchinskii to Edward Pease, c. 10 August 1886 in S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii v londonskoi emigratsii: publitsistika i perepiska (hereafter V londonskoi emigratsii), ed. M. E. Ermasheva and V. F. Zakharina, Moscow, 1968, p. 201.

³ Robert Henderson, 'The Hyde Park Rally of 9 March 1890: A British Response to Russian Atrocities', European Review of History, 21, 2014, 4, pp. 451-66.

⁴ Robert Underwood Johnson, Remembered Yesterdays, Boston, MA, 1923, pp. 224-25; Foglesong, The American Mission and the Evil Empire, p. 19.

⁵ For one illuminating case in point, see Choi Chatterjee, 'Imperial Incarcerations: Ekaterina Breshko-Breshkovskaia, Vinayak Savarkar and the Original Sins of Modernity', Slavic Review, 74, 2015, 4, pp. 850-72.

⁶ For recent studies of Siberian exile in the imperial period see Andrew A. Gentes, Exile to Siberia, 1590-1822: Corporeal Commodification and Administrative Systematization in Russia, New York, 2008; idem., Exile, Murder and Madness in Siberia, 1823-1861, New York, 2010; Sarah Badcock, A Prison Without Walls? Eastern Siberian Exile in the Last Years of Tsarism, Oxford, 2016 and Daniel Beer, The House of the Dead: Siberian Exile Under the Tsars, London, 2017. For comparative studies see Jonathan W. Daly, 'Criminal Punishment and Europeanization in Late Imperial Russia', Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, 48, 2000, 3, pp. 341-62 and idem., 'Political Crime in Late Imperial Russia', Journal of Modern History, 74, 2000, 1, pp. 62-100.

⁷ For a more fulsome exploration see Ben Phillips, Siberian Exile & The Transnational Mythologies of Russian Radicalism, London, forthcoming 2020. At the time of writing the subject is addressed explicitly only in Henderson, 'The Hyde Park Rally of 9 March 1890'; Frederick F. Travis, George Kennan and the American-Russian Relationship, 1865-1924, Athens, OH, 1990 and Thomas M. Barrett, 'Thrills of Horror: Siberia and the American Melodramatic Imagination', in Eva-Maria Stolberg (ed.), The Siberian Saga: A History of Russia's Wild East, Frankfurt-am-Main, 2005, pp. 131-44.

⁸ My focus is mainly on print culture and the reading public and (later) on the liberal and socialist avant-garde, since it was in these circles that support for Russian revolutionary émigrés was strongest.

⁹ The term is borrowed from Alexander Etkind, Internal Colonization: Russia's Imperial Experience, Cambridge, 2011.

¹⁰ See Larry Wolff, Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment, Stanford, CA, 1994; Maria Todorova, Imagining the Balkans, updated edn, New York, 2009; Martin Malia, Russia Under Western Eyes: From the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum, Cambridge, MA, 1999 and Ezequiel Adamovsky, Euro-Orientalism: Liberal Ideology and the Image of Russia in France, c. 1740-1880, Oxford, 2006.

¹¹ Mark Bassin, 'Inventing Siberia: Visions of the Russian East in the Early Nineteenth Century', American Historical Review, 96, 1991, 3, pp. 763-94; Galya Diment and Yuri Slezkine (eds.), Between Heaven and Hell: The Myth of Siberia in Russian Culture, New York, 1993; Valerii Tiupa, 'The Mythologeme of Siberia: On the Concept of a Siberian Motif in Russian Literature', trans. Elena McDonnell, Orbis Litterarum, 61, 2006, 6, pp. 443-60.

¹² The classic study remains John Howes Gleason, The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain: A Study of the Interaction of Policy and Opinion, Cambridge, MA, 1950.

¹³ See Iwona Sakowicz, 'Russia and the Russians: Opinions of the British Press during the Reign of Alexander II (Dailies and Weeklies)', Journal of European Studies, 35, 2005, 3, pp. 272-73 and Gilbert Phelps, 'The Early Phases of British Interest in Russian Literature', Slavonic and East European Review, 36, 1958, 87, pp. 418-33. See more generally A People Passing Rude: British Responses to Russian Culture, ed. Anthony Cross, Cambridge, 2012.

¹⁴ Phelps, 'The Early Phases of British Interest in Russian Literature', p. 420. For a bibliography of English-language accounts of Russia during this period see Anthony Cross, In the Lands of the Romanovs: An Annotated Bibliography of First-Hand English-Language Accounts of the Russian Empire, 1613-1917, Cambridge, 2014.

¹⁵ Sophie Cottin, Elizabeth; or, The Exiles of Siberia: A Tale Founded Upon Facts, trans. W. R. Bowles, London, 1824.

¹⁶ Hilde Hoogenboom, 'Sentimental Novels and Pushkin: European Literary Markets and Russian Readers', Slavic Review, 74, 2015, 3, pp. 553-74 (p. 563).

¹⁷ Cottin, Elizabeth; or, The Exiles of Siberia, p. 4.

¹⁸ 'Madam Cottin', Ladies' Monthly Museum, 1 July 1817, p. 17.

¹⁹ 'All About the Wedding', Punch, 24 January 1874, p. 37.

²⁰ J. F. Hodgetts, 'Ivan Dobroff: A Russian Story', Boy's Own Paper, 23 May 1885, p. 539.

²¹ W. D. Howells, 'Editor's Easy Chair', Harper's New Monthly Magazine, August 1888, p. 474.

²² The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell, Philadelphia, PA, 1845, p. 40.

²³ Amongst those who met Kosciuszko in London was Porter's brother, Robert, later an artist-in-residence at the court of Alexander I. On Polonophilism in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century English literature see L. R. Lewitter, 'The Polish Cause as Seen in Great Britain, 1830-1863', Oxford Slavonic Papers, n.s. 28, 1995, pp. 35-61 and Gleason, The Genesis of Russophobia, p. 14.

²⁴ Memoirs and Travels of Mauritius Augustus, Count de Benyowsky, trans. William Nicholson, London, 1790. On Beniowski's time in exile see Gentes, Exile to Siberia, pp. 118-20.

²⁵ 'Curious Blunder', The Age, 27 January 1828, p. 27.

²⁶ The precise number of Poles exiled to Siberia after 1830 remains unclear. Piotr S. Wandycz, The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795-1918, Seattle, WA, 1974, pp. 125-26 suggests an overall figure of 54,000 deported from Poland and the empire's western provinces between 1832-1849. The exiled Decembrist M. S. Lunin believed that around

20,000 of these ended up in Siberia: see Lunin, Pis'ma iz Sibiri, ed. I. A. Zhelvakova and N. Ia. Eidel'man, Moscow, 1988, p. 390. More conservative estimates are given in Gentes, Exile, Murder and Madness in Siberia, pp. 131-134; A. I. Shinkovoi, 'Dokumenty Gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Irkutskoi oblasti o ssyl'nykh poliakakh v vostochnoi Sibiri', in Ssyl'nye poliaki v Sibiri XVII-XIX vv., ed. F. F. Bolonev, A. A. Liutsidarskaia and A. I. Shinkovoi, Novosibirsk, 2007, pp. 54-155 and S. V. Kodan and B. S. Shostakovich, 'Pol'skaia ssylka v Sibir' vo vnutrennei politike samodержaviiia (1830-1850-e gody)', Slavianovedenie, 6, 1992, pp. 3-14.

²⁷ Between 9-10,000 Poles emigrated in the aftermath of the 1830 uprising. Approximately 500 were resident in Britain between 1830 and 1848, with the figure increasing to 800 by the early 1860s. See Lubomir Gadon, Wielka emigracja w pierwszych latach po powstaniu listopadowym, 2nd ed, Paris, 1960, Peter Brock, 'Polish Democrats and English Radicals 1832-1862: A Chapter in the History of Anglo-Polish Relations', Journal of Modern History, 25, 1953, 2, p. 139-56 and idem., 'The Polish Revolutionary Commune in London', Slavonic and East European Review, 35, 1956, 84, pp. 116-28.

²⁸ The history of the LAFP cannot easily be separated from the career of Lord Dudley Stuart (1803-1854), the most enthusiastic supporter of Polish sovereignty in mid-Victorian Britain. See Krzysztof Marchlewicz, Polonofil doskonały: propolska działalność charytatywna i polityczna lorda Dudleya Couttsa Stuarta 1803-1854, Poznan, 2001.

²⁹ On working-class support for the Poles see Henry G. Weisser, 'Polonophilism and the British Working Class, 1830 to 1845', Polish Review, 12, 1967, 2, pp. 78-96. Although the discussion that follows covers both liberal and radical Polonophilism, the two should be distinguished. See Margot Finn, '“A Vent Which Has Conveyed Our Principles”: English Radical Patriotism in the Aftermath of 1848', Journal of Modern History, 64, 1992, 4, pp. 637-59.

³⁰ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series (hereafter Hansard), vol. 12, cols. 651-58, HC Deb 18 April 1832.

³¹ Hansard, vol. 13, col. 1134, HC Deb 28 June 1832.

³² Address of the Polish Literary Association to the People of Great Britain, London, 1832, pp. 9-10.

³³ The Political Writings of Richard Cobden, ed. F. W. Chesson, 2 vols, London, 1903, 2.1, p. 32. Cobden's invective was directed mainly at Dudley Stuart and David Urquhart, the diplomat, publicist and (from 1855) editor of the Russophobic Free Press.

³⁴ Polonia; or, Monthly Reports on Polish Affairs, 2, September 1832, p. 104.

³⁵ See, for instance, the enthusiastic review of the Scottish painter William Allan's 1834 'Polish Exiles on their Way to Siberia' in 'Noctes Ambrosianae', Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 35, May 1834, p. 878.

³⁶ Cited in Lewitter, 'The Polish Cause as Seen in Great Britain', p. 47.

³⁷ See Gilbert Phelps, 'The Early Phases of British Interest in Russian Literature', Slavonic and East European Review, 38, 1960, 91, pp. 415-30 (p. 419). The most famous case was Home Life in Russia, ed. Krystyn Lach-Szyrma, 2 vols, London, 1854, a piracy of Gogol's Mertvye dushi that caused a minor scandal in the press.

³⁸ Ewa Felinska, Revelations of Siberia: By A Banished Lady, ed. Krystyn Lach-Szyrma, London, 1852, v-vii, xvi.

³⁹ 'Revelations of Siberia', Morning Chronicle, 9 September 1853, p. 1; 'Literature', John Bull, 30 October 1852, p. 699.

⁴⁰ Alexander Herzen, My Exile, London, 1855. The title was quickly changed after Gertsen, whose 1830s exile had taken him only as far as the Urals, complained to his publishers. On this episode see Gertsen to Liugi Pianciani, 15 October 1855 in A. I. Gertsen, Sobranie sochinenii v tridtsati tomakh, Moscow, 1954-1966, 25, pp. 227-28 and L. R. Lanski, 'Gazetnye i zhurnal'nye vyrezki v arkhive Gertsena', Literaturnoe nasledstvo, 63, 1956, pp. 793-830 (p. 806).

- ⁴¹ 'My Exile in Siberia', Athenaeum 1460, 20 October 1855, p. 1210.
- ⁴² See Andrew A. Gentes, 'Siberian Exile and the 1863 Polish Insurrectionists According to Russian Sources', Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, 51, 2003, 2, p. 197-217 and Beata Gruszczynska and Elżbieta Kaczynska, 'Poles in the Russian Penal System and Siberia as a Penal Colony (1815-1914): A Quantitative Examination', Historical Social Research, 15, 1990, 4, pp. 95-120.
- ⁴³ On the resurgence of popular support for the Poles in the early 1860s see Peter Brock, 'Joseph Cowen and the Polish Exiles', Slavonic and East European Review, 32, 1953, 78, pp. 52-69 and John F. Kutolowski, 'Polish Exiles and British Public Opinion: A Case Study of 1861-2', Canadian Slavonic Papers, 21, 1979, 1, pp. 45-65. For the broader historical context see Basil Kingsley Martin, The Triumph of Lord Palmerston: A Study of Public Opinion in England before the Crimean War, revised ed, London, 1963 and Jonathan Parry, The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830-1886, Cambridge, 2006.
- ⁴⁴ Hansard, vol. 170, col. 1375, HL Deb 8 May 1863. See also the Earl of Ellenborough's comments in *ibid.*, vol. 176, col. 2093, HL Deb 26 July 1864.
- ⁴⁵ 'The Story of a Siberian Exile', London Quarterly Review 20.40, July 1863, pp. 523-25.
- ⁴⁶ 'My Escape from Siberia', Fun, 15 August 1863, p. 212.
- ⁴⁷ Rufin Piotrowski, The Story of a Siberian Exile, London, 1862. His escape was noted by several British newspapers at the time: see 'The Polish Prisoners in Siberia', The Times, 21 December 1846, p. 8 and 'Democratic Committee for Poland's Regeneration', Northern Star, 23 January 1847, p. 6.
- ⁴⁸ 'The Story of a Siberian Exile', The Times, 8 October 1862, p. 5; 'An Escape from Siberia', All The Year Round, 19 July 1862, pp. 448-56.
- ⁴⁹ 'Starting for Siberia', All The Year Round, 28 November 1863, pp. 329-30.
- ⁵⁰ The best overview of Anglo-Russian relations in the later nineteenth century is Keith Neilson, Britain and the Last Tsar: British Policy and Russia 1894-1917, Oxford, 1995, pp. 51-109. On the decline of British support for the Poles after 1863 see Brock, 'Polish Democrats and English Radicals', pp. 154-56.
- ⁵¹ 'Obituary', Academy, 19 February 1881, p. 136.
- ⁵² F. M. Dostoevskii, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v tridsati tomakh (Moscow-Leningrad, 1974-1990), 4, pp. 5-232. Although the question of genre in Zapiski iz mertvogo doma remains a contentious one amongst Dostoevskii scholars, it will suffice here to note that none consider it merely a documentary account of katorga, as it was assumed to be in Britain during the period in question. For a comprehensive overview of the text see Joseph Frank, Dostoevsky: The Stir of Liberation, 1860-1865, Princeton, NJ, 1986, pp. 217-220 and Robert Louis Jackson, The Art of Dostoevsky: Deliriums and Nocturnes, Princeton, NJ, 1981, pp. 33-170.
- ⁵³ Literary scholars have generally held that early British interest in Dostoevskii owed most to contemporary debates over realism. See Helen Muchnic, Dostoevsky's English Reputation 1881-1936, Northampton, MA, 1939, pp. 6-30 and Lucia Aiello, After Reception Theory: Fedor Dostoevskii in Britain, 1869-1935, London, 2013, pp. 36-40.
- ⁵⁴ Fedor Dostoyeffsky, Buried Alive; or, Ten Years' Penal Servitude in Siberia, trans. Marie von Thilo, London, 1881.
- ⁵⁵ This chapter, entitled 'Tovarishchi' (Comrades) was intended for publication in May 1862, but was not approved by the censorship until December. It was included in the 1865 edition of Dostoevskii's collected works, but removed again a decade later. See Nina Perlina, 'Dostoevsky and His Polish Fellow Prisoners from the House of the Dead', in Polish Encounters, Russian Identity, ed. David Ransel and Bozena Shallcross, Bloomington, IN, 2005, pp. 100-09.
- ⁵⁶ 'Siberia', Athenaeum 2788, 2 April 1881, pp. 455-56.
- ⁵⁷ W. R. S. Ralston, 'Buried Alive; or, Ten Years of Penal Servitude in Siberia', Academy, 16 April 1881, pp. 273-74.

⁵⁸ Feodor Dostoevsky, Prison Life in Siberia, trans. H. Sutherland Edwards, London, 1887.

⁵⁹ E. A. Brayley-Hodgetts, 'In Russian and French Prisons', Academy, 1 October 1887, pp. 214-15.

⁶⁰ 'Siberian Prisons', The Times, 22 April 1880, p. 10. See also 'Through Siberia', The Times, 12 May 1880, p. 4. On Lansdell's visit to Siberia see James Y. Muckle, 'Henry Lansdell, Leskov and Tolstoy: The Russian Travels of a 'Missionary Prospector' between 1874 and 1888', Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft 34, 1978, 4, pp. 291-308.

⁶¹ See the review of Buried Alive published in Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art, 23 April 1881, 273-74 and 'Reminiscences of Prison Life', Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 130, July 1881, 789, pp. 21-35.

⁶² Henry Lansdell, Through Siberia, 2 vols, London, 1882, 2, pp. 384-86.

⁶³ E. A. Brayley-Hodgetts, 'Through Siberia', Academy, 11 February 1882, pp. 94-95; 'Through Siberia', Spectator, 8 April 1882, p. 469.

⁶⁴ O. K. [O. A. Novikova], 'The Tercentenary of Siberia', Fraser's Magazine, January 1882, pp 54-71 (p. 59).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54. Although Dostoevskii knew Novikova, whether or not she really alerted him to Buried Alive's publication is unclear, since his published letters do not record any correspondence with her in the months prior to his death. Given Dostoevskii's well-known remarks on his prison experiences in a letter to his brother written shortly after his release, the views Novikova ascribes to him seem implausible: see F. M. Dostoevskii to M. M. Dostoevskii, January-22 February 1854, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii, 28.1, pp. 169-70. Nonetheless, she appears to have repeated these remarks to friends in private: see W. T. Stead, The MP for Russia: Reminiscences and Correspondence of Madame Olga Novikoff, 2 vols, London, 1909, 2, p. 125.

⁶⁶ See P. Kropotkin, 'Outcast Russia', Nineteenth Century, December 1883, pp. 964-76 (p. 967) and Russian Literature: Ideals and Realities, London, 1905, pp. 179-80.

⁶⁷ Stead, The MP for Russia, 2, pp. 331-40.

⁶⁸ Senese, S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii, p. 92.

⁶⁹ This was part of a broader wave of migration from the Russian Empire. Between 1871 and 1911, the Russian population of England and Wales increased nearly tenfold from 9,569 to 94,204, the majority of whom were Jews displaced from the Pale of Settlement. See Colin Holmes, 'Immigrants, Refugees and Revolutionaries' in From The Other Shore, pp. 8-11.

⁷⁰ The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw around 300 revolutionaries sentenced to hard labour and 5,000 political suspects exiled to Siberia by administrative order. See A. D. Margolis, Tiur'ma i ssylka v imperatorskoi Rossii: issledovaniia i arkhivnye nakhodki, Moscow, 1995, pp. 115-16, 184 and P. A. Zaionchkovskii, Krizis samoderzhavii na rubezhe 1870-1880-kh godov, Moscow, 1964, pp. 182-86.

⁷¹ See, for instance, J. W. Buel, Russian Nihilism and Exile Life in Siberia, Philadelphia, PA, 1883 and Edmund Noble, The Russian Revolt: Its Causes, Conditions and Prospects, Boston, MA, 1885.

⁷² A. A. Kropotkin took his own life in July 1886. See the biographical sketch by George Kennan, who met him in Tomsk a year earlier, in Siberia and the Exile System, 2 vols, London, 1891, 1, pp. 325-33. This probably explains why his brother, despite remaining largely aloof from the London émigrés' propaganda campaigns in later years, played so energetic a role in the agitation against Siberian exile.

⁷³ P. Kropotkin, 'Russian Prisons', Nineteenth Century, January 1883, pp. 27-44 (p. 28). See also *idem.*, 'The Fortress Prison of St Petersburg', Nineteenth Century, June 1883, pp. 928-49; 'Outcast Russia'; 'The Exile in Siberia', Nineteenth Century, March 1884, pp. 475-93.

⁷⁴ Henry Lansdell, 'A Russian Prison', Contemporary Review, February 1883, pp. 275-288.

- ⁷⁵ G. A. Henty, Condemned As A Nihilist: A Story of Escape from Siberia, London, 1893, p. 105.
- ⁷⁶ S. Stepniak, Underground Russia: Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life, London, 1883.
- ⁷⁷ S. Stepniak, Russia Under The Tzars, trans. William Westall, London, 1885. Having yet to achieve his later English fluency, Kravchinskii wrote the book in Russian.
- ⁷⁸ P. A. Kropotkin, 'Vospominaniia' in S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii, Grozovaia tucha Rossii, Moscow, 2001, p. 383.
- ⁷⁹ Donald Senese, 'S. M. Kravchinskii and the National Front Against Autocracy', Slavic Review, 34, 1975, 3, pp. 506-22.
- ⁸⁰ 'Otvét S. M. Kravchinskogo na pis'mo ispolnitel'nogo komiteta Narodnoi voli' in Revoliutsionnoe narodnichestvo 70-kh godov XIX veka, ed. S. N. Valk, 2 vols, Moscow, 1964-1965, 2, p. 345.
- ⁸¹ S. Stepniak, 'What Americans Can Do For Russia', The North American Review, 153, 1891, 420, pp. 596-609 (p. 600).
- ⁸² In 1892, Lev Deich, who read Kravchinskii's novel The Career of a Nihilist (better known in Russian as Andrei Kozhukhov) while himself an exile in Siberia, described it as 'really weak, more like something from the pages of some 'petit journal' [...] Reading it, it's hard to believe it's our world he's describing.' See Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda': iz arkhivov G. V. Plekhanova, V. I. Zasluch i L. G. Deicha, ed. L. G. Deich, 5 vols, Moscow, 1924-1926, 5, p. 117. On Kravchinskii's personal image and its reflection in the English literary culture of the time see Thomas C. Moser, 'An English Context for Conrad's Russian Characters: Sergey Stepniak and the Diary of Olive Garnett', Journal of Modern Literature, 11, 1984, 1, pp. 3-44 and John Slatter, 'Bears in the Lion's Den: The Figure of the Russian Revolutionary Emigrant in English Fiction, 1880-1914', Slavonic and East European Review, 77, 1999, 1, pp. 30-55.
- ⁸³ Stepniak, Underground Russia, p. 12, 120.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 278-281.
- ⁸⁵ Stepniak, Russia Under The Tzars, p. 234.
- ⁸⁶ L. G. Deich, S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii: baloven' sud'by, Petrograd, 1919.
- ⁸⁷ 'Russia Under The Tzars', Athenaeum, 2 May 1885, pp. 561-62.
- ⁸⁸ Annie Besant, 'Russia Under The Tzars', Our Corner, October 1885, p. 218.
- ⁸⁹ Hollingsworth, 'The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom', pp. 49-50.
- ⁹⁰ Travis, George Kennan and the American-Russian Relationship, p. 73.
- ⁹¹ George Kennan, 'Siberia: The Exiles' Abode', Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York 14, 1882, pp. 13-68 (pp. 34-35).
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- ⁹³ W. J. Armstrong, Siberia and the Nihilists: Why Kennan Went to Siberia, Oakland, CA, 1890.
- ⁹⁴ These can be found in George Kennan Papers, Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress (hereafter LC MSS GK), Box 1.
- ⁹⁵ Kennan to Amanda Dawes, 15 December 1886, LC MSS GK Box 6.
- ⁹⁶ P. A. Kropotkin, Zapiski revoliutsionera, Moscow, 1988, p. 193. Neither Kropotkin nor Kravchinskii's correspondence (see n. 97) record the precise date of this meeting, but it probably took place at the very end of July. Kennan had initially established contact with the London émigrés in April: see A. L. Linev to Kennan, 8 April 1886, LC MSS GK Box 1.
- ⁹⁷ Kravchinskii to Edward Pease, c. 10 August 1886 in V londonskoi emigratsii, p. 201.
- ⁹⁸ Foglesong, The American Mission and the Evil Empire, pp. 16-17.
- ⁹⁹ V londonskoi emigratsii, p. 426.
- ¹⁰⁰ As reported in The Times, 28 November 1889, p. 5. See also Travis, George Kennan and the American-Russian Relationship, p. 197.

- ¹⁰¹ Nathan Haskell Dole, 'To George Kennan', Century Magazine, September 1889, p. 707. On Kennan's status as a Russianist in the United States see Taylor Stults, 'George Kennan: Russian Specialist of the 1890s', Russian Review 29, 1970, 3, pp. 275-85.
- ¹⁰² Kennan to Kravchinskii, 15 October 1888 in V londonskoi emigratsii, p. 227.
- ¹⁰³ Cited in V. Kovalev and L. Ermolaeva, 'V Sibir' za pravdoi', Enisei 3, 1986, pp. 71-78 (p. 74). The original is in 'O pisatele i grazhdanine SShA Dzhordzhe Kennane', Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii f. 102, op. 120, d. 217.
- ¹⁰⁴ See, for example, comments in St James's Gazette, 1 January 1887, p. 13 and Sportsman, 17 December 1887, p. 7.
- ¹⁰⁵ Report of the Howard Association (hereafter RHA), London, 1888, pp. 14-15.
- ¹⁰⁶ 'Hypocritical Abolition of Capital Punishment', London Daily News, 15 September 1888, p. 6; 'Russian and Siberian Exiles', The Times, 8 January 1889, p. 10.
- ¹⁰⁷ 'Russian and Siberian Exiles', The Times, 12 January 1889, p. 6.
- ¹⁰⁸ 'Occasional Notes', Pall Mall Gazette, 12 January 1889, p. 2. See also Tallack's further response to Novikova in The Times, 18 January 1889, p. 13.
- ¹⁰⁹ RHA, 1889, p. 13.
- ¹¹⁰ See comments by J. P. Nolan, T. P. O'Connor and John Dillon in Hansard, vol. 330, col. 427, HC Deb 11 August 1888; vol. 344, col. 1785, HC Deb 2 June 1890 and vol. 345, col. 364, HC Deb 9 June 1890. Tory and Loyalist voices, by contrast, claimed that revelations about Siberia showed British rule in Ireland in a comparatively positive light.
- ¹¹¹ Gladstone's most noteworthy intervention on the subject came in May 1890: see 'Mr Gladstone in East Anglia: The Siberian Atrocities', Observer, 18 May 1890, p. 5. For criticisms of his stance see letters to The Times, 8 January 1890, p. 3 and 26 May 1890, p. 3.
- ¹¹² For first-hand accounts of the Yakutsk affair, see O. S. Minor, 'Iakutskaiia drama 22-go marta 1889 goda', Byloe 9, 1906, pp. 129-148 and Iakutskaiia tragediia 22 marta (3 april'ia) 1889 goda, ed. M. A. Braginskii and K. M. Tereshkovich, Moscow, 1925.
- ¹¹³ Zotov to M. P. Orlov, 5-6 August 1889, cited in O. S. Minor, 'Pis'ma osuzhdennykh iakutian', Byloe 9, 1906, p. 154.
- ¹¹⁴ 'Krovoprolitie v Iakutske', Svobodnaia Rossiia, May 1889, pp. 15-17. See also Henderson, 'The Hyde Park Rally of 9 March 1890', pp. 454-455.
- ¹¹⁵ G. V. Plekhanov, 'Novaia drama v Sibiri', in Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda', 3, p. 306.
- ¹¹⁶ 'The Russian Atrocities', Newcastle Daily Chronicle, 18 June 1889, p. 4; RHA, 1889, p. 13.
- ¹¹⁷ 'Reported Slaughter of Siberian Prisoners', The Times, 16 December 1889, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁸ See leaders in The Times, 26 December 1889, p. 7 and Manchester Guardian, 27 December 1889, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁹ Volkhovskii to Kennan, 2 February 1890, LC MSS GK Box 1.
- ¹²⁰ George Kennan, 'The Latest Siberian Tragedy', Century Magazine, April 1890, p. 892.
- ¹²¹ For a more detailed account, see V. V. Sukhomlin, 'Vospominaniia: zapiski o kariiskoi katorge', Voprosy istorii 4, 1966, pp. 97-110.
- ¹²² Lavrov to Kravchinskii, 15 February 1890 in V londonskoi emigratsii, pp. 273-74; Volkhovskii to Kennan, 15 February 1890 and Lavrov to Kennan, 8 March 1890, LC MSS GK Box 1.
- ¹²³ 'Flogging and Suicide of Female Political Prisoners in Siberia', The Times, 11 February 1890, p. 4.
- ¹²⁴ S. Stepniak, 'Our Plan of Action', Free Russia, June 1890, p. 3.
- ¹²⁵ In a letter to Lev Tikhomirov written in the summer of 1890, Novikova complained that 'the accursed Stepniak is stirring up everything and everyone in England against all that is dear to Russia: the situation is simply awful'. See L. A. Tikhomirov, Vospominaniia, ed. V. I. Alekseev, Moscow-Leningrad, 1927, p. 384.

¹²⁶ Leo Deutsch [L. G. Deich], Sixteen Years in Siberia, New York, 1905; Marie Sukloff [M. M. Shkol'nik], The Life Story of a Russian Exile, New York, 1914. See also Vera Figner's account of her lecture tours on behalf of Russian political prisoners after 1905 in V. N. Figner, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh, Moscow, 1928-1929, 3, pp. 335-420.

¹²⁷ Harry de Windt, Siberia As It Is, London, 1892, an apologia similar to Lansdell's and written at Novikova's behest.

¹²⁸ Lynn Ellen Patyk, 'Remembering 'The Terrorism': Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinskii's Underground Russia', Slavic Review, 68, 2009, 4, pp. 758-81 (p. 777).