

# The Role of Russian Emigres in Anglo-Russian relations in late Victorian Britain



University of  
St Andrews



Cameron Coutts

cc406@st-andrews.ac.uk

Supervised by: Professor Frances Nethercott

## Introduction

The end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was marked by increasing tensions between the rival powers of Tsarist Russia and the vast British Empire. In Britain, there was considerable debate about what policies the government should adopt concerning Russia. To understand this debate, evaluating the role of influential Russian émigrés operating and living in Britain at that time is essential. On one side stood Madame Olga Novikoff (née Kireef) (1840-1925), a white émigré and aristocrat.<sup>1</sup> She was a keen supporter of Tsarist policy and a vital proponent of an Anglo-Russian alliance. Her close friendship with William Gladstone and the famous Russophile and journalist William Stead meant she had the potential to wield significant influence on the British public and, more importantly, its political class, particularly during the era of Bulgarian agitation in the 1870s. In contrast, revolutionary figures like radical author Sergei Stepniak (1851-1895) and his associate Pyotr Kropotkin (1842-1921) focussed on exposing Russian domestic abuses to the British public. They drew their support from the left of British society, including groups like the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom and built links with the Fabian society. These figures and their associates influenced public perception and government policy to varying degrees. To understand to what extent, examining their relationships and interactions with others and their role within the press and broader culture is crucial. I will thus begin by exploring the background of both figures and their British and émigré connections. I will then chart their role during critical junctures in Anglo-Russian relations, providing a picture of the influence of each as it emerges over time. A point of comparison will emerge by looking at similarities and differences to emigres today using information gathered through anonymous interviews.

## Background

The 'Great Eastern' crisis of 1875-78 raised what would come to be known as the 'Eastern question', an obsession for many in the English press, and it became the key news story of the day. It began with uprisings across the Ottoman Empire's Balkan provinces, drawing in international powers until the Ottoman's brutal suppression of Bulgarian Christians led Russia to declare war. This 1877-78 'Russo-Turkish' war would see Russia emerge victorious.

---

<sup>1</sup> She often published under the pseudonym O.K. there are alternate spellings of her surname, Novikov and the Victorian spelling Novikoff

During the crisis, there was genuine concern in Britain that under Prime Minister Lord Beaconsfield, the country might be drawn into the conflict against Russia; Britain, particularly under the Tories, had been a strong supporter of Ottoman interests in the region.<sup>2</sup> The press was split along party lines, with those supportive of the Tories encouraging a more jingoistic anti-Russian approach.

Madame Novikoff, whose brother had perished in the fighting, would play a crucial role in changing public opinion.<sup>3</sup> She worked 'hand in glove' alongside William Stead, the proprietor of the *Northern Echo* and later the *Pall Mall Gazette*.<sup>4</sup> The former organised 'a public meeting to express indignation' over the violence occurring in Bulgaria and together they began to shift public opinion against war with Russia and towards one of support in some cases.<sup>5</sup> William Stead himself became a considerable influence on Anglo-Russian relations, regularly travelling to Russia and interviewing Tsar Alexander III in 1888 (and later Nicholas II in 1898). He used these discussions to explore but also manipulate the Emperor('s) thoughts on Britain and took it upon himself to apologise for past British actions, 'begging your [the Tsar's] forgiveness'.<sup>6</sup> They marked the culmination of his role as a prominent Russophile, and his relationship with Novikoff secured these opportunities.

William Gladstone, with whom Novikoff regularly corresponded, became the figurehead of the anti-war movement in Britain and capitalised on this to destroy his pro-Turkish rival Beaconsfield in the election of 1880, steering Britain away from conflict following the Russo-Turkish war. This success earned Novikoff, much praise but also much indignation in Britain, particularly from the Tory press, with Beaconsfield famously saying, 'She is the Member for Russia'. Later, this led to her most prominent nickname, the 'M.P. for Russia'.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Lord Beaconsfield's actual name was Benjamin Disraeli.

<sup>3</sup> Stewart J Brown, *W.T. Stead, Nonconformist and Newspaper Prophet* (Oxford, 2019), p.28

<sup>4</sup> Cambridge, Churchill Archives Centre, The Papers of William T. Stead, Transcript and typed notes of interviews conducted in Russia, notably with Tsar Nicholas II, 1898-10 - 1899-05, GBR/0014/STED 9/1. P.29

<sup>5</sup> Frederic Whyte, *The Life of W.T. Stead, Frederic, Vol. 1* (London, 1925) p.43

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p.260

<sup>7</sup> William Thomas Stead, *The M.P. For Russia, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Madame Olga Novikoff*, (London, 1909) p.1

During this period, crucially, a separate group of Russian exiles began to arrive on British shores due to its 'tradition of political asylum'.<sup>8</sup> Many of these men had been forced to flee Russia due to increasing repression under Tsar Alexander III following the assassination of his father. Alexander intended to 'let them [Nihilists] see that we mean to have an eye for an eye', and this led to rapidly expanding repression across Russia with desperate radicals and opposition figures fleeing abroad to escape.<sup>9</sup> An émigré network sprung up across Europe with critical figures based in Paris, Geneva and, notably in this case, London. Unlike the refined, eminent world in which Madame Novikoff operated, with easy access to influential people, these emigres faced significant challenges. Where Novikoff could publish her enlightening works with relative ease, the various revolutionaries (in particular Stepniak) struggled to widely disseminate a 'true picture of Russian conditions'.<sup>10</sup> Working closely with William Westall, who translated his work *Russia under the Tzars* into English, Stepniak's writing aimed 'to reveal to the outside world the iniquities of his government'. He sought to raise awareness of the true conditions inside Russia and the inequities therein.<sup>11</sup> His later contact with Edward Pease from 1884 and his links to the nascent Fabian Society provided an opportunity to expand his revolutionary audience to a British one. The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom (SFRF) emerged from this connection with eleven M.P.s and two Cabinet Ministers represented on its general committee.<sup>12</sup> However, it was Stepniak's role as editor of 'Free Russia' where his influence on public opinion peaked. A journal affiliated with the SFRF, it sold 14,482 copies in 1892. Alongside his deputy editor, Feliks Volkhovsky, a crucial ally, he spread his message of revolution, drawing inspiration and support from figures such as Prince Kropotkin, who was by far the most famous of the Anarchist figures. Stepniak's untimely death in 1895 marked the end of his influence, though many of the emigres with whom he met would play influential roles in fomenting the mounting discontent within Russia.

---

<sup>8</sup> Walter Kendall, 'Russian Emigration and British Marxist Socialism', *International Review of Social History*, 8:3, (December 1963), p. 351

<sup>9</sup> Sergei Stepniak, *Russia Under the Tzars, Vol. 1*, trans. William Westall, (London, 1885) p.149

<sup>10</sup> Donald Senese, S.M. *Stepniak-Kravchinskii: The London Years*, (Newtonville, Mass., 1987), p.24

<sup>11</sup> 'Russia Under The Tzars', *Leicester Chronicle*, Leicester, 27 June 1885, p.8

<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000173/18850627/002/0008>> [accessed 20 June 2024]

<sup>12</sup> Senese, S.M. *Stepniak-Kravchinskii*: , p.48

## Olga Novikoff

At her base at Claridge's and later at No. 4 Portman Mansions, Olga Novikoff moved easily in high society. Part propagandist, part self-appointed diplomat, she was highly regarded culturally and politically, with few women having 'attained so notable a position'.<sup>13</sup> The key to her influence was what one discerning journalist noted as 'you hav(ing) indeed been fortunate in the matter of your friendships'.<sup>14</sup> Arriving in 1876, her early relationships with Lord Clarendon and Thomas Carlyle proved crucial in expanding her influence. The former 'urged that she interpret Russia to England', something she fully embraced.<sup>15</sup> An understanding of her influence becomes apparent by exploring her relationships with Stead and Gladstone. However, despite advocating for the Russian State, at times, she angered it; her advocacy for the Zemsky Sobor had 'given offence to the bureaucracy in her own land'.<sup>16</sup> However, even her critics would note that 'whenever Madame Novikoff came to London something interesting is always likely to happen'.<sup>17</sup>

## William Stead

Novikoff's relationship with Stead gave her views a voice and encouraged his strong advocacy for Russia. Stead's intense admiration for Russia, particularly the Tsar, can be seen in his diary, where he noted his plan to 'greet him [Nicholas II] as one who has given new hope to the world'.<sup>18</sup> His strong words highlight how William Stead had, over time, transformed into perhaps the greatest advocate for Anglo-Russian détente and how, as a 'resourceful and unorthodox journalist', he could shape the narrative in the public sphere, particularly in opposition to the Tory press.<sup>19</sup> The strength and closeness of their relationship

---

<sup>13</sup> 'A chat with Madame Olga Novikoff', *The Sketch*, London, 11 March 1896, p. 309  
<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001860/18960311/039/0037> [accessed 15 June 2024]

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Baylen, 'Madame Olga Novikoff, Propagandist' *American Slavic and East European Review*, 10:4 (1951), p.258

<sup>16</sup> A.P. Irby, 'A Russians Lady's Book', *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. XXI, (1880), p. 618

<sup>17</sup> Stead, *The M.P. For Russia*, p. 43

<sup>18</sup> Churchill Archives Centre, The Papers of William T. Stead, Transcript and typed notes of interviews conducted in Russia, notably with Tsar Nicholas II, 1898-10 - 1899-05, GBR/0014/STED 9/1, p. 46

<sup>19</sup> W.T. Stead as publisher and editor of the review of reviews p.70

is attested to in his diary entries where he wrote the 'least I can do to try and be another brother to her'.<sup>20</sup> His newspapers and periodicals amplified the voices of pro-Russian parties, with the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1883 arguing Russia be allowed 'to resume the position she has a right to occupy among the nations of the world'.<sup>21</sup> Stead also opposed other emigrés, like Stepniak, who intended to influence British opinion. Nevertheless, he remained somewhat more accepting of their radical politics than Novikoff ever was. The *Pall Mall Gazette* argued, 'If it be not attended to, Nihilism runs the risk of becoming incurable.'<sup>22</sup> Yet Stead, despite being close to Novikoff, did allow debate in his papers, which at points challenged Novikoff, with Stepniak arguing 'a certain part of the press directed by Mdme. Novikoff's political friends' had unfairly attacked him.<sup>23</sup> Stead's appreciation of the radicals sometimes angered Novikoff; she deemed his book *The Truth about Russia* a 'monstrous ingratitude'.<sup>24</sup> Regardless of these disputes, their alliance proved invaluable. As a powerful journalist who held much sway in the public sphere, Stead aided Novikoff. Moreover, he assisted her other great collaborator, Gladstone, endorsing the latter via his widely read newspapers 'because he was the great advocate of good relations with Russia'.<sup>25</sup>

## William Gladstone

When Gladstone made the acquaintance of Madame Novikoff, he had been out of office for a considerable amount of time. Yet his re-entry into the political arena and return to power in 1880 were in many ways stimulated by his relationship with Novikoff and their mutual anger over the Bulgarian crisis; she 'nurtured Gladstone's disgust at the Ottoman Empire'.<sup>26</sup> His first major foray into the crisis was his pamphlet of 1876, in which he attacked Disraeli

---

<sup>20</sup> Churchill Archives Centre, The Papers of William T. Stead, Transcript and typed notes of interviews conducted in Russia, notably with Tsar Nicholas II, 1898-10 - 1899-05, GBR/0014/STED 9/1, p. 29

<sup>21</sup>'Russia 1881-1883', *Pall Mall Gazette*, London, 1 March 1883, p.2, <  
<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000098/18830301/002/0001?browse=true>>, [accessed 20 June 2024]

<sup>22</sup>'Secret Societies in Russia', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 April 1883, p.5, <  
<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000098/18830409/006/0005?browse=true>>, [accessed 20 June 2024]

<sup>23</sup> Sergei Stepniak, 'Correspondence Protesting Too Much', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 January 1885, p.2, <  
<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000098/18850123/002/0002?browse=true>> [accessed 20 June 2024]

<sup>24</sup> Brown, *W.T. Stead, Nonconformist and Newspaper Prophet* p.96

<sup>25</sup> Cambridge, Churchill Archives Centre, The Papers of William T. Stead, Transcript and typed notes of interviews conducted in Russia, notably with Tsar Nicholas II, 1898-10 - 1899-05, GBR/0014/STED 9/1. p.56

<sup>26</sup> Stead, *The M.P. For Russia*, p.463

and said the 'House of Commons has in the main been ousted' from influencing policy.<sup>27</sup> This marked a turning point in the agitation for a policy change, culminating in the St James's Hall Conference of December 1876, during which Gladstone and his liberal allies represented the key figures and speakers. Despite political infighting, particularly amongst the liberals and more radical Fabian figures like Annie Besant, the conference 'embodied the hope of peace', marking the success of the anti-war campaign that was so closely tied to the actions of Novikoff.<sup>28</sup> The conference marked the high point of her fame and influence; later, her influence declined, but she remained a prominent and well-respected voice.

After the conference, Gladstone continued to maintain a lively and deeply personal relationship with Novikoff for years to come. However, this relationship remained controversial in sectors of British society where Novikoff was viewed to have undue influence on parts of Gladstone's policies. A prominent example was her use of Gladstone and his reputation for defending Russia from attack, most famously regarding the book *Turkistan* (1877) by the American Eugene Schuyler.<sup>29</sup> This travelogue attacked Russia's actions in its conquests of Central Asia, reducing large swathes of territory to 'a desolated waste'.<sup>30</sup> Gladstone, who wrote a book review, disputed these claims using information from Novikoff and General Gorloff, the Russian Military Attaché in London. Despite using the pseudonym 'a Russian', Gladstone gave a voice to this denial, which was predicated on, at best, questionable evidence. This led to much concern that he was 'ensnared by the flimsy articles of a Russian emissary of either sex'.<sup>31</sup> The backlash received from this event impacted their relationship, which, alongside the tensions in Afghanistan, drove disagreement between the two even further as the crisis almost escalated to war. Despite the occasional tensions, this shows the prominence of Russian émigrés and their ability to influence the policy directions of senior British political figures through duplicitous and more vague means.

---

<sup>27</sup> William Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, (London, 1876), pp. 8-9

<sup>28</sup> Richard Shannon *Gladstone and the Bulgarian agitation*, (Sussex, 1975) p.261

<sup>29</sup> Eugene Schuyler had been the consul general of the U.S. to Constantinople during the Bulgarian crisis.

<sup>30</sup> Eugene Schuyler, *Turkistan, Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, (1877, New York) p.269

<sup>31</sup> 'Russian Intrigues in England', *The Belfast News Letter*, 6 February 1877, p.3

<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000038/18770206/013/0003>>, [accessed 20 June 2024]

## Stepniak and Kropotkin

Sergei Stepniak Kravchinsky was, like many Russian revolutionaries of his time, a man with 'contempt for the efficacy of political instruments'.<sup>32</sup> This was made clear by his assassination of Nikolai Mezentsov in August 1878, which led to him fleeing Russia and arriving in England.<sup>33</sup> His aim became 'to acquaint the western societies with Russian life'.<sup>34</sup> His first book focused on Western Europe, particularly England, which came in the form of *Russia under the Tzars* (1885), which drew attention to the challenges and conditions within Russia. He aimed to 'tell only the plain unvarnished truth' and highlight the 'crooked ways of bureaucratic despotism'.<sup>35</sup> Though translated from his native Russian, the final chapter of the book was written in English by Stepniak with his call for England to treat conditions 'no more a question of humanity only, but of general safety and common interest'. It highlights how his focus on driving revolution had turned towards the British audience.<sup>36</sup> The success with which this work was greeted in the English press and social circles increased Stepniak's influence and, at times, turned him into an infamous figure. He was an influential figure among the left-wing groups of London and, despite his past, was 'not a terrorist by theory'.<sup>37</sup> His first lecture on Russia and his social beliefs, one of many he would give, was held in 1886 with the help of William Morris, the famed designer and socialist, a former member of the SDF.<sup>38</sup> This organisation was the 'most congenial political home for eastern European immigrants'.<sup>39</sup>

His editorship of *Free Russia with Volkhovskii*, which emerged from the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, led to the 'halcyon days [of] 1891-1894'.<sup>40</sup> Although it never became a widely read publication, it was widely cited amongst varied and numerous papers. For example, in its issue of 23 September 1890, the *Nottingham Journal* cautioned against the

---

<sup>32</sup> Senese, S.M. *Stepniak-Kravchinskii: The London Years*, p.10

<sup>33</sup> General Nikolai Mezentsov was the chief of Russia's Gendarmery and political surveillance department.

<sup>34</sup> James Hulse, *Revolutionists in London A Study of Five Unorthodox Socialists*, (Oxford, 1970) p. 48

<sup>35</sup> Stepniak, *Russia Under the Tzars*, pp. vii, 207

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid* p.283

<sup>37</sup> 'Sergius Stepniak and the Russian Movement', *Justice*, 4 January 1896, p.6, <

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0002533/18960104/023/0006>> [Accessed 21 June 2024]

<sup>38</sup> Hulse, *Revolutionists in London*, p.40

<sup>39</sup> Kendall, 'Russian Emigration' p.354

<sup>40</sup> Senese, S.M. *Stepniak-Kravchinskii: The London Years*, p.49

Tzar taking 'so reactionary a step'.<sup>41</sup> This highlights how Stepniak, by embodying a place of influence amongst the British left, began to have a major influence in British culture on the prevailing views of Russia, particularly in contrast to the overwhelmingly positive narrative that William Stead laid out. This newsletter and the society did not remain unchallenged. Madame Novikoff forced the removal of two of Gladstone's ministers from their roles within the society as 'they have withdrawn their names from the society'.<sup>42</sup> Stepniak also had a close relationship with Constance Garnett, who acted as a translator of Russian works into English, and he assisted her with this task. Yet Stepniak was always limited by his abilities in English, and despite being acknowledged as 'an excellent writer, he does not always write intelligible English'.<sup>43</sup> Ultimately, he was a figure of great interest amongst the press in Britain and was well-known across society. It is also clear he was a highly compelling personality; for example, his evening with a self-confessed 'tory' journalist from The Fife Journal saw the latter concerned 'perhaps he would blow me up' at the start but concluded with him arguing against 'denouncing Nihilism under the impression that the British Monarchy and the Russian Autocrat are akin'.<sup>44</sup> Ultimately, Stepniak's tragic early death led to his image becoming more of a mythic revolutionary rather than the more nuanced émigré who struggled within the British political scene to encourage change. The other crucial figure who did not like Stepniak 'personify the Terror' was Kropotkin, a man who became a great theoretician for the anarchist cause.<sup>45</sup>

Peter Kropotkin moved to London in 1886 and held the position of perhaps 'the most accessible anarchist', and at times became seen as a figure akin to a 'sage' or a 'saint'.<sup>46</sup> He became 'one of the founders of British Anarchism' with an immense influence on the shape of the far left in Britain.<sup>47</sup> Kropotkin, as a theorist, despite his methods differing from

---

<sup>41</sup> 'Free Russia', *Nottingham Journal*, 23 September 1890, <<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001896/18900923/112/0006>>, [Accessed 21 June 2024]

<sup>42</sup> Stead, *The M.P. For Russia*, p.318

<sup>43</sup> 'The Russian Storm Cloud', *St James Gazette*, 1 July 1886, <<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001485/18860701/040/0007>> [Accessed 21 June 2024]

<sup>44</sup> 'A Night with a Nihilist' *The Fife Journal*, 14 January 1886, p.2 <<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0002741/18860114/034/0002>> [accessed 19 June 2024]

<sup>45</sup> Hulse, *Revolutionists in London*, p.30

<sup>46</sup> Ruth Kinna, *Kropotkin Reviewing the Classical Anarchist Tradition*, (Edinburgh, 2016) pp.1, 9, 15

<sup>47</sup> Kendall, 'Russian Emigration', p.353

Stepniak's, proved a crucial ally and key figure amongst the Russian political exiles in Britain and held large sway due to the respect he garnered.

## **Modern Parallels and Differences**

Through anonymous interviews, an opportunity to compare with Victorian emigres emerged. The parallels drawn were that both communities were 'searching for the future of Russia, ' with this being central to the diaspora. Furthermore, there were genuine 'fears about physical security', whether it was the Tsarist Okhrana operating in London or today elements of the Russian security Service.<sup>48</sup> Yet differences do exist as well, with one of the largest being 'less of a stricter control over crossing the border', as many emigres in the Victorian era would travel back to Russia for periods of time. Also highlighted was how censorship today, particularly through social media, impacted the ability of emigres to influence discourse within Russia in a way that was previously not the case in the Victorian era.<sup>49</sup> The decline of the European aristocratic class, including figures such as Madame Novikoff, highlighted how those who moved between the two societies with ease, rarely exist in the modern day.

## **Conclusion**

The end of the Victorian era in Britain saw a great influx of émigrés from Russia to Britain; despite representing varied causes and often opposing each other's aims, it remains clear that they exerted considerable influence over British public opinion regarding Russia. Through her friendships with Prime Minister William Gladstone and one of the most influential pro-Russian journalists of the time, William Stead, Mme Novikoff managed to genuinely shape British foreign policy, particularly during the years surrounding the Bulgarian agitation. Though branded with the derogatory title 'M.P. for Russia', this moniker appears fitting as she assumed the role of standard bearer of Russian interests within Britain for much of her life. However, her influence waned after her great initial success, and other

---

<sup>48</sup> Participant 1, anonymous interview, 21 August 2024

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*

voices filled the political and cultural space. It is also worth remembering that despite being a friend of Russia, she never completely followed the Russian government's line. In opposition to her, figures such as Stepniak and Kropotkin influenced primarily the left with their vision. Stepniak, in particular, managed to raise large-scale publicity about conditions within Russia, and Kropotkin managed to influence the early beginnings of British anarchism. Nevertheless, they were seen as figures of fear amongst vast swathes of the British public. Ultimately, though, via their alliances with figures such as Shaw, Morris and many more, they began to reshape the narrative around Russia from one of mystery and fear to one of humanitarian concern for the oppressed peoples under the Tsarist thumb. This period marks the point wherein dynamic émigrés from varied backgrounds could rise to prominence in British society and genuinely influence how the British people and government would act and react to Russia. Through looking at the modern-day situation, points of divergence and similarity emerge, with similarities centred around similar goals for emigres today but differences in how easy it is to spread influence within Russia.

### **Acknowledgements:**

I would like to thank my supervisor Frances Nethercott for all of her support during my summer research project. I would also like to express my immense gratitude to Lord Laidlaw and the Laidlaw Foundation for their support and making my research possible.

## Bibliography:

'A Night with a Nihilist' *The Fifehire Journal*, 14 January 1886, p.2 <h  
<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0002741/18860114/034/0002>>  
[accessed 19 June 2024]

Anonymous interview 21 August 2024

'A chat with Madame Olga Novikoff', *The Sketch*, London, 11 March 1896, p. 309  
<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001860/18960311/039/0037>  
[Accessed 15 June 2024]

Baylen, Joseph 'Madame Olga Novikoff, Propagandist' *American Slavic and East European Review*, 10:4 (1951), pp. 255-271

Brown, Stewart J, *W.T.Stead, Nonconformist and Newspaper Prophet* (Oxford, 2019)

Cambridge, Churchill Archives Centre, The Papers of William T. Stead, Transcript and typed notes of interviews conducted in Russia, notably with Tsar Nicholas II, 1898-10 - 1899-05, GBR/0014/STED 9/1

Gladstone, William, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, (London, 1876)

Hulse, James, *Revolutionists in London a Study of Five Unorthodox Socialists*, (Oxford, 1970)

Irby, A.P. 'A Russians Lady's book', *Fraser's magazine*, Vol. XXI, (1880), pp. 612-618

Kendall, William, 'Russian Emigration and British Marxist Socialism', *International Review of Social History*, 8:3, (December 1963), pp. 351-378

Kinna, Ruth, *Kropotkin Reviewing the Classical Anarchist Tradition*, (Edinburgh,2016)

‘Russian Intrigues in England’, *The Belfast News Letter*, 6 February 1877, p.3

<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000038/18770206/013/0003>>,

[accessed 20 June 2024]

‘The Russian Storm Cloud’, *St James Gazette*, 1 July 1886, <h

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001485/18860701/040/0007>>

[Accessed 21 June 2024]

‘Russia Under The Tzars’, *Leicester Chronicle*, Leicester, 27 June 1885, p.8

<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000173/18850627/002/0008>>

[accessed 20 June 2024]

‘Russia 1881-1883’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, London, 1 March 1883, pp.1-2, <

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000098/18830301/002/0001?browse=true>>, [accessed 20 June 2024]

Schuyler, Eugene, *Turkistan, Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, (1877, New York

Senese, Donald, *S.M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii: The London Years*, (Newtonville, Mass., 1987)

‘Secret Societies in Russia’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 April 1883, pp.3-5, <

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000098/18830409/006/0005?browse=true>>, [accessed 20 June 2024]

Shannon, Richard , *Gladstone and the Bulgarian agitation*, (Sussex,1975)

Stead, William Thomas, *The M.P. For Russia, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Madame Olga Novikoff*, (London, 1909) p.1,

Stepniak, Sergei, 'Correspondence Protesting Too Much', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 January 1885, p.2,

<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000098/18850123/002/0002?brose=true>> [accessed 20 June 2024]

Stepniak, Sergei , *Russia Under the Tzars, Vol.1*, trans. William Westall, (London, 1885)

'Sergius Stepniak and the Russian Movement', *Justice*, 4 January 1896, p.6, <

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0002533/18960104/023/0006>>

[Accessed 21 June 2024]

Whyte, Frederic, *The Life of W.T. Stead, Frederic, Vol.1* (London, 1925) p.43