PERIODICAL PUBLISHING
BY RUSSIAN RADICAL ÉMIGRÉS
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MPhil BY
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ABSTRACT

This study is a comprehensive survey of the periodical titles which were published abroad between 1855 and 1900 under the control of members of the Russian political emigration. Various aspects of the émigré press are considered: first, émigré journalism is related to Russian journalism of the period, both legal and clandestine within the Empire. The perceived importance of printed organs for radical activists is considered, together with the type of material which was regarded as of sufficient importance to be published in emigration. The links between the émigré press and oppositional activists in Russia are examined. Next, the place of the press in the life of the émigré community is examined. Biographical material for a number of publicists is used, and connections with European radical movements are considered. The most prominent and influential émigré publishing house was the Free Russian Press (FRP) established by Aleksandr Gertsen in 1853, and continued by him with the collaboration of his cousin Nikolai Ogarev until his death. Therefore the contribution of the FRP is discussed in relation to émigré publishing by contemporaries, and its influence on later publicists is also examined.

Geographically, the study covers Western Europe and North America. Politically, a broad range of oppositional opinions is represented; 'pseudo-revolutionary' titles are also included. The analysis concentrates on the journals published between 1855 and 1895. Among the questions considered are: what relevance the press had to the oppositional movement; whether events in Russia had an influence on the activities of the émigré publicists; what were reasons for the clear change in the pattern of publishing in the last years of the century. The titles studied are listed in a 'catalogue raisonné', which includes full bibliographic details and description of the contents.
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NOTE ON CONVENTIONS

The transliteration scheme followed is that of the Library of Congress, with one exception: in names, the suffix '-ii' has been changed to '-y' throughout.

The titles of periodicals and radical groups have been left in the transliterated Russian form throughout: translations of the titles are given in Appendix 1. In the text, foreign words are signalled by the use of italic, and titles of books and periodicals by the use of bold: for example the group Zemlia i volia and the periodical title Kolokol. Where spelling in the titles of Russian-language periodicals differs from the modern usage, the form used in the periodical itself is followed, although hard signs at the end of words have been dropped in all cases. 'Letuchii listok' has been rendered 'Flying newsletter': there is no completely satisfactory translation for the range of periodicals which appear under this and similar titles, so a literal approach has been taken.

Each appearance of an émigré periodical title is followed by the years in which it began and ceased publication, as in Vestnik Narodnoi voli (1883-1886). For some titles which are used more than once this is necessary to distinguish the separate publications, and it is often useful for any title. The dates have been added on each appearance in the interests of consistency, even when the same title appears more than once on the same page.

Dates are given as found in the source, usually a periodical title. Such titles are usually not specific about whether they are dated according to the Julian or the Gregorian calendar. Some titles give both dates, but most do not: many give no more than month and year, some only the year. The majority of titles were published irregularly and publication was not 'time-critical': news was old by the time it had appeared in an émigré title.

References to bibliographic sources are given by item number or year, depending on which is the most appropriate way to trace the information.

All translations are my own, unless stated.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

During the nineteenth century, the periodical press became a mass phenomenon: increased literacy, advances in technology and changes in the legal framework within which the press operated all contributed. The Russian Empire was subject to the same influences and its periodical press also grew significantly during the second half of the nineteenth century. The country remained overwhelmingly rural despite growing literacy and the progress of industrialisation and urbanisation were all increasing. However, the legal position of the press in Russia was more precarious than in most other European countries: despite the reforms of 1865, censorship remained and the penalties for contravention of the regulations were severe. The growth of the periodical press paralleled the development of radicalism during the reign of Aleksandr II, but although a few legally printed journals with obvious radical sympathies survived for a time, most overtly oppositional titles were published clandestinely or abroad. Many were ephemeral, particularly those published on underground presses as the activity surrounding such presses was difficult to conceal: some had to be abandoned or hidden (often buried) as the police closed in, others were impounded or destroyed when their operators were arrested. In these circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that publication abroad was an attractive option: many titles were also short-lived, as is common for a significant proportion of all periodical titles, but some lasted for a number of years.

The Russian press had great responsibilities: the 'mobilization of the emotions through the press helped create an almost religious conception of journalism' and a 'belief in the priestly function of radical journalism led to feelings of saintly succession among journals'. Periodicals 'became the rallying point and organizational center for a desperate and alienated constituency'. Life in the political emigration offered few opportunities to maintain involvement with radical currents in Russia beyond the pen and the printing press. Some émigrés wrote for European radical journals, but writing for the Russian-language press and publishing periodicals allowed a continuing commitment to specifically Russian radicalism. Authorship had clear attractions for radical activists the majority of whom were members of the educated elite.

A vast body of literature in Russian was published in emigration in the nineteenth century, representing many subjects and viewpoints: monographs, pamphlets, broadsides, leaflets and periodicals poured from the presses. The periodical press forms a more or less identifiable subset of the whole, and their editors
and/or publishers often explain their reasons for undertaking publication at some length, in programmatic articles or other editorial matter. Although there are studies of aspects of the press in the nineteenth century, these concentrate on legal titles and particular individuals. There has been no detailed and comprehensive study of the radical émigré press in the period up to 1905. Existing bibliographies are limited to particular areas or collections, and most have no information on what the journals actually contain: a few provide detailed descriptions of a subset of the titles published. Individual titles such as Kolokol (1857-1868) and Vpered! (1873-1877), and groups such as the Russian Free Press Fund group, have received attention. The press has been discussed in some studies of radical activism, or of émigré life of the period, but partially or incidentally to a larger picture.

An activity undertaken by figures of the stature of Gertsen, Ogarev, Lavrov, Plekhanov, Tkachev, Tikhomirov in the nineteenth century, and Lenin, Martov or Struve in the twentieth, does not deserve this relative neglect. It is not only relevant to the history of radicalism in Russia, but also relates to the development of the press. The printed word was regarded as very important by radical activists and officials alike, a view certainly shared by émigré publicists. However, contemporaries were sometimes highly critical of their efforts, and one of the aims of this study is to consider whether this contemporary criticism and relative neglect of press was well-founded. Appendix 1 is a detailed descriptive catalogue of all titles which could be traced, including not only bibliographic details but a description of the contents and of the specific aims of the publishers or editors.

The technology of printing did not reach Russia until 1564, more than a century after Gutenberg's press in Mainz, and by the end of the seventeenth century there were still no more than a handful of presses in existence. Petr I is said to have considered printed matter to be 'useful only where it in some way advanced what he believed to be the interests of his realm, and where it could be kept under strict supervision: otherwise it was dangerous and not to be tolerated', a view which remained current in official circles for the next two centuries, and beyond. Government sanction for a press outside official control was not granted until 1771, and general approval for such presses followed twelve years later, at which time the police were invested with censorship powers. Although restrictions were tightened after the French Revolution, this was sufficiently delayed for the Sankt-Peterburgiskie vedomosti to publish the full text of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. In 1801, Aleksandr I reinstated the statutes of 1783, and again permitted the operation of private presses: by 1807, there were still only 66 presses in the country, 54 of which were government controlled.

The first periodical in the modern sense to appear in Russia was the official gazette, Vedomosti, established by Petr I in 1702, and its supplement, entitled
Pribavlenie, was the first magazine-type publication in Russian. Other developments followed, including academic periodicals, for example Sammlung russischer Geschichte, first issued in 1733 by the Academy of Sciences, presumably aimed at the largely foreign academic community. Ezhemesiachnye sochinenia was also published by the Academy between 1728 and 1742: it contained sections for subjects including literature, history, geography and statistics and foreshadowed the 'thick journals' of the nineteenth century. The first title independent of government or academic institutions was Sumarokov's literary journal Poleznoe uveselenie, established in 1760. Nine years later Ekaterina II herself launched a satirical weekly journal Vsiakaia vsiachina, on the model of The Spectator, then very fashionable throughout Europe. The mocking tone and exposure of abuses in these eighteenth-century satirical journals were later echoed in Kolokol (1857-1868) and other émigré titles.

Literacy rates remained low, and the periodical press in Russia grew slowly: by 1801 there were only eleven titles in progress although six years later there were 39. Others had come and gone in the meantime, many lasting no more than twelve months. As the size of the educated public grew, periodicals became less ephemeral: Syn otechestva, for example, continued for four decades. The requirement for pre-publication censorship scrutiny continued to inhibit the development of a daily news press, although the 'serious' press began to play a significant role in intellectual life. Vestnik Evropy, edited by Karamzin from 1802, aimed to enlighten and entertain, and included some serious discussion of social issues. A further encouragement was the first copyright law of 1828, which made it feasible for authors to make a living from their writing. From then on, journalism was one of few careers outside government service available to the educated.

Eighteenth-century controls were directed mainly against religious rather than political dissent. It was Aleksandr I who, despite easing the restrictions on the ownership of presses, formally established the institution of censorship. Although official approval was required for the establishment of any new periodical title, Poliarnaiia zvezda was published legally from 1823 to 1825 edited by the Decembrists A A Bestuzhev and K F Ryleev, and enjoyed striking success, each issue being more overtly political than the last. The first two issues sold out (the second, with an edition size of 1500 copies, in only three weeks) allowing the contributors to the third issue to be paid in advance for the first time in the history of Russian journalism. After the Decembrist rising, the censorship regulations were tightened, and Nikolai I announced in 1832 that his personal approval would be necessary for any new periodical title. Despite this and the censorship, the 1830s and 1840s were a period of intense intellectual activity, reflected in the growth of the periodical press. The pages of the encyclopaedic or 'thick' journals of the period provided a forum for
debate as educated Russians absorbed and disputed aspects of German idealism and French socialism.

The censorship statutes were amended in 1865, theoretically as a temporary measure pending a full revision, but with a few further amendments this version remained in force until 1905. One of its most significant features was the introduction of post-publication scrutiny for some categories of periodical, which made the existence of daily newspapers viable. The economics of periodical publishing also changed: paid advertising and street sales (in contrast to the previous total reliance on subscriptions) were permitted. Prices could be reduced, as journals were brought to the attention of the wider public. The official attitude to the press remained one of suspicion: a police report dated 1869 comments that 'the law of 6 April 1865 granted to the press not rights, but only privileges'. The approach of the British government was different: it has been suggested that the Advertisement and Stamp Taxes were intended not only to raise revenue, but to 'suppress libels', and that their steep rise in the early nineteenth century occurred 'in direct relation to the growth of radical opinion'.

The starting date for this study is set by the publication of the second Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868): from that time on there was no year without at least one émigré title in progress, although there were nine years in which none were established: 1861, 1863, 1865, 1871, 1874, 1884-1886, 1895. Until the last few years of the century (1895 onwards), the number of titles in progress in any one year was subject to fluctuation both up and down: for example, in 1862 eleven titles were in progress, but three years later there were only two. From 1895 the number of titles, both new and in progress, began to grow, and from 1897 until 1905 there was a massive increase in the number of titles established in emigration, most of which were ephemeral. Titles first published after the year 1900 (unless related to periodicals established before then) have not been included in this study.

A total of 93 émigré titles are known to have been initiated during the period 1855-1900: Chart I shows the number of new titles established and other titles in progress for each year from 1855 to 1900. The years 1859-1862 were especially active: from one title in 1855 the number of titles in progress rose to eleven in 1862 (a total not surpassed until 1897) of which four were already in progress and seven were new. Between 1855 and 1862 a total of sixteen new titles were established, but there were fewer titles published in the next two years.

The years 1865-1874 were much less busy, although there were seven titles in progress in 1868: these included Kolokol (1857-1868) and Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868), the only periodicals established in the early 1860s which survived beyond 1864. Eleven new titles were initiated between 1866 and 1874, of which Sergei Nechaev was responsible for three, and four of the others, including Narodnoe delo
(1868-1870), involved Mikhail Elpidin. Only two new titles were initiated 1871-1874, one of which was Vpered! (1873-1877), and only one or two were in progress in each year, but after the debacle of the khozhdienie v narod, émigré journalism regained popularity and from 1875 to 1883 there were at least four current periodicals in most years and eight in 1883. Two of the longest-lasting titles of the century were established during the 1870s: Vestnik pravdy (1876-1890) which lasted for fifteen years, and Obshchee delo (1877-1890) which lasted for fourteen, and there was at least one new title in each of the nine years from 1875 to 1883.

Four years then passed during which the émigré press passed through a quieter phase, concentrated in Geneva: from 1884 to 1887 only Obshchee delo (1877-1890), Vestnik pravdy (1876-1890) and Vestnik Narodnoi voli (1883-1886) remained in progress, and only Samoupravlenie (1887-1889) was established. Only one title established in the 1880s, Sotsial-demokrat (1888-1892), survived into the next decade. During an erratic period from 1888 to 1895, the numbers of titles in progress varied from nine (1889) down to two (1891) (one in Europe Sotsial'demokrat (1888-1892), and Progress (1891-1893) in New York), when relief work for victims of the famine and the cholera epidemic was absorbing the energies of activists.

Thereafter the total figure for titles in progress grew steadily through the last years of the century: eleven new periodicals were established between 1891 and 1895, three in 1892, five in 1893, but more of these titles were intended for a readership in emigration than in Russia. Only one periodical established in the early 1890s survived the century, Russko-frantsuzskii vestnik (1893-[1914]). Titles in European languages were published by Russian émigrés in an attempt to influence public opinion in the countries in which they had found asylum. There was a marked change in the pattern and scale of the émigré press early in the reign of Nikolai II which continued up to the revolution of 1905. By 1897 there were twelve titles, both new and in progress, and in each of the following two years a total of fifteen new and continuing titles appeared. In 1900 there were eleven new titles and a total of 21 appearing. This general trend continued until 1905, and between 1900 and 1905 there were never less than 24 titles current in any one year: in 1902 there were 38. Around 60 new titles in total were initiated between the beginning of 1901 and the end of 1905.

The change in pattern at the end of the century is also clear if new titles are considered over five-year periods, instead of individual years: see Table 2 and Chart 2. The number of new titles established in each period remains steady at about seven or eight (the most being nine in 1860-1864) with the exception of 1870 to 1874, when there were only four new periodicals. Between 1890 and 1894 eleven new titles appeared, but between 1895 and 1899, nineteen new journals were established. In the first years of the twentieth century, this growth continued: at least 26 titles were in
progress in each year during 1901-1903; in 1904 there were twelve new titles, and seventeen continuing, and in 1905 a total of 35 titles appeared at least once, eighteen of which were new. With only four exceptions, none of the titles published for the first time before or during the revolutionary year of 1905 survived that year, and of those four, only two lasted beyond 1906. The relaxation of censorship controls which was amongst the changes in 1905 deprived publication abroad of its main attraction as the 'safe' option, and the advantage of timeliness could not be ignored. Some periodicals were re-established in Russia, for example Byloe (1900-1904), but many merely ceased publication. Between 1905 and 1917, as restrictions on the freedom of the press increased again, the attractions of émigré publication reasserted themselves, and new titles were established abroad. Originally this study was to have covered the émigré periodical publications up to 1905, but initial work showed that this period fell naturally into two unequal halves, with a clear difference between the pattern of activity during the reigns of Aleksandr II and Aleksandr III and that of the reign of Nikolai II. Of the 150 titles established in emigration from 1855 to 1905, approximately 40% appeared between 1855 and 1894, and the remainder were initiated between 1895 and 1905.

The definition of 'émigration' in the context of this study is 'anywhere other than the Russian Empire'. The term 'exile' is avoided because of its common use to describe banishment, imprisonment or forcible resettlement in Russia, often in Siberia. The Russian political emigration in this period was concentrated mainly in Western Europe and in North America: all extant émigré periodicals of the time have proved to be published in these areas. This does not preclude the possibility of Russian periodicals being published elsewhere, but none have been located in the published listings of the major collections.

The definition of what constitutes a periodical is notoriously complex: some serial publications which are numbered as periodicals, may in fact be monographs published in a series. For this study the definition of a serial is:

A publication [...] issued in successive parts bearing numerical or chronological designations and intended to be continued indefinitely. Serials include periodicals; newspapers; annuals (reports/yearbooks, etc.); the journals, memoirs, proceedings, transactions, etc., of societies.

Monographic works, including pamphlets and monographic series under collective titles of the type Biblioteka sovremennago sotsializma, are excluded. The reports of party conferences would have been included, but none were published in the nineteenth-century emigration, although some did appear in the years up to 1905: this was presumably because such congresses were only held after the establishment of formal political parties. Titles previously published either clandestinely or in
emigration, and published abroad as reprints are not included. Only titles published in the Russian language have been included: periodicals published in other languages of the Russian Empire, for example Georgian, Polish, Ukrainian and Yiddish are excluded. Titles published partly clandestinely and partly in emigration, for example, Sankt-Peterburgskii rabochii listok (1897), have been included. These parameters are intended to establish a coherent body of material for study, but such decisions cannot escape an element of arbitrariness. Some titles were published by Russian radical émigrés in European languages: there are examples in English, French and German. An exhaustive survey of these titles has not been attempted but some, mainly with a close relationship to Russian titles, have been included. A selective list of non-Russian titles can be found in Appendix 3.

Many of the difficulties of dealing with the émigré press are those common to all periodicals: change of place, duplication of title, change of publisher or printer, inconsistent numeration. Also, it is in the nature of the conditions under which émigré publicists worked that some of these details are obscured, sometimes deliberately: the two issues of Narodnaia rasprava (1869-1870) did not originate as stated in Moscow and St Petersburg respectively, but in Geneva. Kolokol (1857-1868) and Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) changed place of publication from London to Geneva in 1865. Letuchie listki is the title of three periodicals (published in Heidelberg in 1862, in Geneva in 1868, and in London 1893-1899). Other difficulties include the relationship between Pravdivyi (1862), established by P V Dolgorukov in Brussels, and Pravdolubivy (1862-1863), published by the printer Gerhard of Leipzig, as an apparent continuation. Rabochee delo (1899-1902) was a continuation of Rabotnik (1896-1898). Changing political allegiances were not unknown: Bakunin was a member of the editorial board of Narodnoe delo (1868-1870) for the first issue, but he and his supporters were then ejected and the title later became the official journal of his Russian opponents within the First International. Its publisher also changed: Mikhail Elpidin published and printed the first issue, Anton Trusov issues two to six, and it was printed at the more anonymous Tipografiia Narodnago dela thereafter. Revoliutsionnaia Rossiia (1900-1905) was published in five different towns both in Russia and abroad, has three series of supplements (i.e. three distinct titles related to the parent). All available information is provided in Appendix 1.

Although this study concentrates on the oppositional press, some titles can be difficult to define in these terms. Trade journals such as Trubner's advertising sheet and Anglo-russkii torgovyi zhurnal (1884-1885) have been excluded, but any title publishing oppositional views or clear criticism of the government has been included as the terms 'radical' and 'revolutionary' are susceptible of a variety of interpretations: 'words and actions that are revolutionary in one historical context do not seem very brave or unusual in another'. In the context of the rémigré press, problems of
definition include the followers of Tolstoy, opposed to some aspects of government policy, but not strictly revolutionary. Pravda (1882-1883) received police funding and was therefore not genuinely revolutionary, but has been included as it reflects contemporary radicalism. The range of opinions represented in the émigré press, from support for reform from above to the advocacy by the anarchists of total destruction, defies exact definition, hence there have been few exclusions on the grounds of subject matter.

It is usually simple to note the start of a new periodical title, although there are exceptions. There is an untitled first issue of Nashe vremia (1896-1898) published in 1896: its first article is entitled 'Nashe vremia'. Bibliographic sources give the first issue as that dated 1897, which does bear the title Nashe vremia. Defining the final date of issue for a periodical title is notoriously difficult: like old soldiers, they never (or only rarely) die, but frequently fade away. Periodicals merged, titles were changed, publication can become gradually more infrequent and irregular before it ceases altogether, for example, Letuchie listki (1893-1899) published by the Russian Free Press Fund in London. After the first issue, dated 25 December 1893, it appeared once or twice a month from February 1894 (excluding August) until issue 35 in September 1896: it then became both less frequent and less regular until its final issue, number 46 dated August 1899 (only the second to appear in that year).

There is also the abrupt unannounced demise, which was more of a difficulty to contemporaries than today although the possibility of the existence of other issues not in bibliographic records cannot be discounted. There are gaps in publication several years in length: Poliarinaia zvezda was issued annually between 1855 and 1862, and then again in 1868. This last known issue contains the announcement of the planned contents of the next issue. Appeals for funds and contributors are frequent, announcements of the end of publication less so, but they did sometimes appear. Vestnik Narodnoi voli (1883-1886) has a note in its last issue thanking contributors and distributors, and announcing that publication will cease. Given the precarious nature of the émigré press and its clandestine purpose, it remains possible that more titles were published than are extant or have been recorded.

Some general comments on the longevity of the periodicals can be made. Many were short-lived, as is common for all periodicals: some titles were published no more than once in any one calendar year and many were issued no more than once or twice overall. Some of those which appeared in two calendar years appeared only twice, for example Narodnaia rasprava (1869-1870). Of the 93 titles established between 1855 and 1900, only nine (or less than 10%) lasted for seven years or more, and some of these had large gaps in publication. 63 titles or about 67% lasted for no more than three years, with 33 (35%) appearing in only one year. About 15% have only one recorded issue. Full information on the number of issues per title per year
for many titles was not available: some periodicals are inconsistently numbered; not all issues have survived; not all surviving issues were available for study. Assumptions cannot be made on the basis of bibliographic sources alone, therefore although I have recorded as much detail as possible in the catalogue in Appendix I, I have not attempted to draw conclusions from them.

The émigré press did not exist apart from the norms of the legal Russian periodical press. Censorship had significant effects on both the legal and non-legal press in Russia, and émigré publicists habitually put freedom of expression among their main demands. The importance of propaganda was debated among radical activists throughout the second half of the century, and particularly during the 1870s. Activism in Russia was often concentrated in the areas of education and propaganda: a natural result of the fact that, despite frequently expressed interest in the industrial proletariat and the peasantry, most radical activists originated among the better educated sections of society. Printed matter directed at the less educated was regarded with particular suspicion by government given its perennial fear of popular unrest. The Decembrists are frequently seen as the first Russian revolutionaries, and included a number of writers: the link with them was made explicit in the first title, Poliarrnaia zvezda (1855-1868). These early years of the émigré press coincided with the ideological 'ferment' in Russia in the mid-century.

Not all periodicals published in emigration were aimed exclusively at a readership among the disaffected in Russia: some addressed the political emigration, and others, those travelling abroad temporarily. Throughout the nineteenth century the Russian political emigration was mainly one of choice, not expulsion (in contrast to, for example, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in 1974). The press had an important place in the life of the Russian, as in every political emigration. It served as a social focus (some titles were produced collectively), as a source of work, and as a link with radicals in Russia. These links were nevertheless often tenuous and subject to frequent misunderstandings, and differences of emphasis between activists in Russia and abroad significantly undermined the potential influence of the émigré press. Some émigrés became involved in local political life, or turned to non-political activity, but a number remained committed to Russian radicalism for the rest of their lives. Of those who returned to Russia, some continued their involvement in radical activity and suffered the consequences, some returned unobtrusively and lived on the right side of the law. A few publicly renounced radicalism.

The first Russian publishing enterprise abroad was the Free Russian Press, established in 1853 by Aleksandr Gertsen. It is also one of the best documented, both by participants, and by contemporaries. It is thus possible to examine various aspects of its existence in some detail as a form of case-history to explore some of the issues which are relevant to the émigré press as a whole. These include the organisation of
the press, arrangements for correspondence and distribution, relations with supporters in Russia and with other members of the political emigration.
NOTES


2 See 'Note on conventions' for the citation of the periodical titles covered in this study.

3 See, for example, F Venturi, Roots of revolution: a history of populist and socialist movements in nineteenth century Russia, trans F Haskell, Chicago, 1983; M A Miller, Russian revolutionary émigrés, 1825-1870, Baltimore, 1986; W McClellan, Revolutionary exiles: the Russians in the First International and the Commune, London, 1979. For bibliographic sources, see notes at the beginning of Appendix 1.

4 C A Ruud, Fighting words: imperial censorship and the Russian press, 1804-1906, Toronto, 1982, p16, on the early years of printing in Russia. Presses in the rest of Europe were mainly found in commercial rather than academic centres. S H Steinberg, Five hundred years of printing, 3rd ed, Harmondsworth, 1974, pp18 and 44-45.


6 I De Madariaga, Russia in the age of Catherine the Great, New Haven, Conn, 1981, pp540-541.

7 M T Choldin, A fence around the Empire: Russian censorship of Western ideas under the Tsars, Durham NC, 1985, p20; Ruud, Fighting words, pp24-26, and p28.

8 Vedomosti lasted until 1727, then was re-established the following year as Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti (retaining its official character) by the Academy of Sciences, and appeared continuously thereafter until 1917. G Marker, Publishing, printing and the origins of intellectual life in Russia, 1700-1800, Princeton, 1985, pp27, 48-49. In comparison, the first genuine newspaper was published in Great Britain in 1695. G A Cranfield, The press and society: from Caxton to Northcliffe, London, 1978, chapter 1.

9 J L Black G.-F. Muller and the Imperial Russian Academy, Kingston, 1986, pp30, 42, 196. The Academy of Science also established Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae in 1728, in editions of between 150 and 600 copies, most of which were exported. Marker, Publishing and printing, pp47-48.

10 Contents included some articles from Sammlung published in Russian translation. Marker, Publishing and printing, p49.


13 N V Riasanovsky, A parting of the ways: government and the educated public in Russia, 1801-1855, Oxford, 1976, p278. Between 1801 and 1806 a total of 83 new titles had appeared: Ruud, Fighting words, p29. In Great Britain at the same period there were eighteen Sunday newspapers in London, with sales ranging from 1,000 to 12,000 copies, as well as daily newspapers, weekly journals and an active provincial press. Cranfield, Press and Society, p86.

14 Published 1812-1852, under various editors; A Boyer, 'A description of selected periodicals in the first half of the nineteenth century' Russian literature triquarterly (1972) 3, p465-6.


16 Boyer, 'Description of selected periodicals', p465.

17 Ruud, Fighting words, p56.

18 Berezina, Istoriia russkoi zhurnalistikl, pp146 and 152.

19 Ruud, Fighting words, pp53-54, and 69.

20 Newspapers could choose pre-publication scrutiny or punitive action post-publication, enforced through the courts. Administrative measures remained, such as suspension of publication, banning street sales or advertising, and the exclusion of editors and journalists from their profession. Responsibility for censorship was transferred from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of the Interior. McReynolds, News under Russia's old regime, pp23-29; D Balmuth 'Origins of the Russian press reform of 1865' Slavonic and East European review (1969) 47, pp369-388.

21 The emergence of the modern Russian state, 1855-1881 : selected documents, ed M
The figures for 1901-1905 are approximate, and few of the titles first appearing after 1900 have been examined. However, these approximations give a guide to the order of magnitude of the émigré press in these years.

See entry in Appendix 1 for full details.

See bibliographic sources listed in Appendix 1.

Sixteen volumes of this series were issued in Geneva between 1885 and 1900. Another example is the series of nine pamphlets Rabochaia biblioteka which was published between 1884 and 1896, with further titles issued up to 1902 without the series title and numeration. Many were written by the members of Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda'.

For example, Zemlia i volia, published clandestinely in Russia 1878-1879, and reprinted several times in emigration thereafter: Ossorguine-Bakounine, L'émigration russe, items numbered 82, 83; Narodnaia volia (originally published in St Petersburg 1879-1885) was also reprinted: see Ossorguine-Bakounine, L'émigration russe, items numbered 154-156.

Both were published in London. See Ossorguine-Bakounine, L'émigration russe, item 183 for Ob'явленie o russkikh knigakh N Trubnera i K-nil.

P Pomper, The Russian revolutionary intelligentsia, New York, 1970, pp2-3. He also comments: 'One can hardly imagine a variety of revolutionary expression that does not appear and reappear in the course of Russia's revolutionary history.'

See 'Note on conventions' for an explanation of the citation of dates.

This press, Vo'lnaia russkaia tipografiia, will be referred to as the Free Russian Press throughout.
CHAPTER TWO

ÉMIGRÉ JOURNALISM

In the Russian context, radical activists regarded the periodical press as important. Oppositional writers did not ignore the legal press, but the censorship regulations inhibited free expression, and journals with known radical sympathies were liable to interference from the authorities. Banned works such as Belinsky's letter to Gogol were circulated as manuscripts, analogous to samizdat' circulation of dissident literature in the late Soviet period. From the early 1860s, underground presses offered another alternative: the earliest clandestine printed matter seems to have been the three 'Velikorus' leaflets which appeared in 1861, and 'newsheets' and proclamations formed a considerable proportion of the output of the illegal presses. It was some time before the first printed clandestine journal appeared: four issues of Nachalo were published in St Petersburg between March and May 1878. Other titles soon followed, but most were short-lived because of the difficulties of concealment.

Publication abroad was the remaining alternative, an option considered mainly by publicists rather than by literary authors, after the Free Russian Press had provided an example. It posed different problems, particularly the extended physical distance which divided the writers and publishers from their readership. The consequent lack of timeliness and the dissociation from the concerns of the movement in Russia caused friction: the press abroad was at times castigated for its irrelevance to activists within the Empire, but this did not prevent émigrés from establishing new titles. Not all were directed at readers in Russia: some sought their readership among travellers in Western Europe, or among the émigré community itself. This community included political activists and sympathisers but also, particularly towards the end of the century, emigrants with no intention of returning to their homeland. Many émigré titles were short-lived, in which they were no different from any other group of periodicals, but in some cases a sustained relationship between readers and editors was established.

JOURNAL TYPES

There were a variety of formats and a range of descriptive subtitles among the periodicals: such terms as letuchii listok (flying newsletter), sbornik (collection/anthology), obozrenie (review) were all common, but titles can generally be grouped into three main categories. The first group took the form of 'thick' journals, many of which were subtitled sbornik and obozrenie. They were usually infrequent,
irregular and fairly bulky, which cannot have helped illicit transport into Russia. The contents were typically a mixture of articles, often on political and economic theory, book reviews, biographical sketches and memoirs. Some contained chronological surveys of the revolutionary movement but usually contained little or no news. In some cases these titles fall into the grey area between periodical titles, and the monographic series which are excluded from this study. The two issues of Podpol'noe slovo (1866), for example, are each given over almost entirely to single very long items: in the first issue an article entitled 'Karakozov i Murav'ev' occupies 46 and a half out of 48 pages, and in the second the article 'Kazan' v osadnom polozhenii (1863-1865)' fills 36 out of 40 pages. The aim of the publisher, Mikhail Elpidin, was to issue 'a range of brochures and people's books'. This and the single issue of his later title Letuchie listki (1868) have been included, as Elpidin clearly intended them to be, and to be seen as, periodical publications. S rodiny i na rodine (1893-1896) is included although the associated pamphlet series Materialy dlia istorii russkago sotsial'no-revoliutsionnago dvizheniia is not. Pamphlets published in the series included works such as Lavrov's Narodniki-propagandisty, published in two parts in 1895 and 1896.

The first émigré title of all, Poliarina zvezda (1855-1868), was of this first type. Other examples include Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (1858-1862) which was divided into a number of tetradi, each of which contained a single item, mostly anonymous, covering a broad range of topics: examples include 'Zhurnal Sevastopolia' (V/ii, 1858) and 'Vopros osvobozhdenia i vopros upravlenia krest'ian' (III/i, 1861). I P. Turgenev was a contributor to this title: issues V/i and V/ii, published in 1861 and 1862 respectively, both consist entirely of items he wrote: 'O novom ustroistve krest'ian' and 'Vzgliad' na dela Rossii'. Another of his works was published as issue number V/iii in 1866: 'O raznoplemennosti naseleniia v russkom gosudarstve'. Vpered! (1873-1877) was similar, and later in the century the three issues of Sovremennik (1897) each consisted of two large articles.

The second category is composed of journals of an entirely opposite type: they contain little apart from news, and often have the words listok/listki or gazeta in their titles or subtitles. Some, such as Listok Rabotnika (1896-1898) are linked to journals of the sbornik/obozrenie type, as a supplement to publish news which would not normally be published in the parent title: Listok Sotsial'-demokrata (1890) was established, as a supplement to Sotsial'-demokrat (1888-1892), in response to a specific news story: it contains a report of the unrest that followed the punishment of a political prisoner named Koval'skaia by Governor-General Korf of Lakutsk, because she had refused to stand up in his presence. A statement from the editor promises further issues (never published) to report news of similar significance, and explains that the intended readers of this journal are Russian workers. Individual issues of other periodicals of other formats sometimes have supplements (often entitled prilozhenie)
which are not separate titles. Some news-orientated titles were independent, for example Listok Krasnago Kresta (1900), which published news and the financial accounts of the Krasnyi krest organisation and of the political exiles in Siberia to which it gave assistance. Some were fairly long-lived: Listok izdavaemyi P V Dolgorukovym (1862-1864) was issued 22 times. Letuchie listki (1893-1899) was the newspaper of the Russian Free Press Fund, edited by Feliks Volkovksy. Its 46 issues contained miscellaneous short items: articles, news, some secret official documents, correspondence. Titles of this type seem particularly common at the end of the century and include the supplements to Rabochee delo (1899-1902) and Revoliutsionnaia Rossiia (1900-1905): the 35 issues of Biuletens iz materialov Rabochago dela (1900-1902) contained news. Four issues of Letuchii listok Revoliutsionnoi Rossii (1901-1904) appeared containing news and proclamations, and Prilozenie k Revoliutsionnoi Rossii (1900-1905) was issued 75 times, and consisted largely of responses to items which had appeared in Iskra (1900-1905).6 Iskra (1900-1905) itself had a number of supplementary titles which contained news from Russia and party matters.7 Listki Svobodnago slova (1898-1902) was attached to the Tolstoyan title Svobodnoe slovo (1898-1905), and its 25 issues contained news of the Dukhobor sect and of Tolstoy himself, and reports of events in Western Europe.

A third group of journals consists of those which contain a mixture of substantial articles, correspondence and news items, but are not dominated by any of these elements. The format is more often similar to a newspaper, rather than to the 'thick' journals. The best-known is Kolokol (1857-1868) itself, but there are others, including the newspaper version of Vpered! (1875-1877) and Obshchee delo (1877-1890). The contents of Rabochaia mysli (1897-1902) are a mixture of news, letters and a feuilon. Iskra (1900-1905) has no letters section, but contents include secret documents, news of the radical movement, of events abroad, and of the party. Some titles do not conveniently fit into any of these categories, for example Vestnik pravdy (1876-1890), a strange mixture of religious mysticism and radicalism, described in a contemporary police report as 'a curiosity', and apparently the sole responsibility of Dr A M Korobov.8 Nigilist (1883) contains news of oppositional activities, but is mostly devoted to a description of the radical career of its editor, Vasily Sidoratsky. The contents of his other title, Svobodnaia mysli (1888), were a mixture of poems, short biographical pieces and comment, most of which were written by Sidoratsky. Svoboda (1868-1873) was edited by Agapius Goncharenko, and published in San Francisco as a supplement to the English-language title Alaska Herald. Russkaia vysshaia shkola (1900-?) is the annual report of a college holding political courses.

There are a number of duplicated or similar titles: Letuchie listki was used three times, and a further seven titles beginning with the word listok or listki; two each
entitled Svoboda, Svobodnoe slovo and Svobodnaia mys'il. The title Vpered! represents two different periodicals, was later reused by Lenin in 1904-1905, and used twice more in the years up to 1917. Despite the reputation of the Free Russian Press, its titles were not reused by other émigré publicists during the nineteenth century, with the sole exception of Nechaev's ephemeral attempt to exploit the reputation of the original Kolokol (1857-1868). Although it was often referred to by later publicists, it would appear that no-one dared to claim direct descent by re-using the titles.

EDITORIAL AIMS

Many titles begin their first issue with an editorial statement of aims, also a common feature of the legal Russian periodical press, which took its responsibilities seriously, as described in the first editorial of the legally published newspaper Golos:

What a responsibility lies on the newspaper, charged with acquainting the public with contemporary social questions, and working with that public to solve them. The obligation of a newspaper is to speak honestly, to serve truth and action, not people, parties, or reigning theories.

The programme for a new 'monthly, literary journal' for women, printed in 1866, was clearly concerned with the 'woman question', rather than trivial or merely housekeeping concerns, and includes a statement of the profound importance of the printed word:

in order to have a thorough and detailed discussion of the question of women's condition and the improvement of their condition, we need a literary organ directly aimed at addressing this question. It is necessary to have intelligent, systematic propaganda by means of the written word, which - more reliably than any other means - can exert an influence upon public consciousness.

In some titles the editorial statement was a repetition of an advance notice or proposal for publication: two of the periodicals published by the Free Russian Press were preceded by advertising notices. The eight-page prospectus for Poltarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) was reprinted as the 'Vvedenie' to the first issue itself. The advance notice for Kolokol (1857-1868) was dated April 1857 and, apart from the title and publisher's details, consisted of the programmatic statement which was published with additions, in the first issue of the title.

Nechaev also published an advance notice of his resurrection of the title Kolokol (1870). It was printed in Russian, French and German, and is addressed 'To Russian youth'. Written contributions (for example articles, letters and news from Russia), as well as financial assistance, are requested from all people who truly desire
to change the existing order in Russia' but there is no political statement, and the sheet contains little more than a collection of bibliographic details and advertising matter.14 In contrast, an undated sheet advertising Russkii rabochii (1894-1899) is more explicit:

The aim of Russkii rabochii is propaganda of revolutionary socialism among the masses of workers living in Russia.
We write mainly for the masses of workers. We therefore do not demand of our readers any other knowledge save that of literacy. Indirectly even the masses of illiterate workers may manage to use our newspaper.15

Although associated specifically with the Union of Socialist-Revolutionaries, the editors promise to eschew polemics, and announce that they aim to involve workers in the organised struggle against their oppressors. They also appeal for both monetary and written contributions to the title. While the statements of principle are echoed in the first issue, the editorial is not a copy of this advertisement.

Not all émigré journals had programmatic statements in their first issue: occasionally a statement appears in a subsequent one, in the case of Blagonamerennyi (1859-1862) in the tenth issue. The aims of this journal are somewhat vague: it 'desires the general good, not that of the individual, freedom in order and order in freedom, of which is also composed the harmony of the state' and rejects republicanism, while remaining vague about the preferred form of government for the Russian Empire.16 The first issue of Rabochaia mysli (1897-1902) was not available for this study, but the seventh issue contains a note from the editors describing the title as devoted to the consideration of the improvement of the lot of the working class.17

The presence or absence of an editorial statement cannot be confirmed for all the journals which were inspected, as the first issue was not always available. Some titles for which all known issues were available have little or no editorial comment and no formal statement of aims at all, among them news-orientated titles, for example Vest' (1862); the three periodicals with the title Letuchie listki (1862, 1868 and 1894-1899); and the supplements, published between 1900 and 1905, to Iskra (1900-1905), Rabochee delo (1899-1902) and Revoliutsionnaia Rossii (1900-1905). This may be because the contents are a selection from those of the parent title and they are without editorial comment. Pod sud! (1859-1861) has the distinction of being the only Free Russian Press title without an editorial statement, presumably because it was so closely related to Kolokol (1857-1868).

Those titles which most resemble monographic series are often without overall statement of aims or articles of editorial comment. They include the two issues of Podpol'noe slovo (1866) published by Mikhail Elpidin; Iz zapisnoi knigi sotsial-demokrata (1900) the first issue of which is a critique of the sixth issue of the émigré title Rabochee delo (1899-1902); in Kalendar' Narodnoi voli (1883), apart from the
affiliation implicit in the title, the only statement is a brief preface requesting contributions and hoping it will 'provide a small service in the cause of the development of the party consciousness of Russian socialist revolutionaries'. Nashe vremia (1896-1898) was published by Obshchestvo Narodnago prava in London and consisted of a review of the previous year's events in Russia without any statement of the aims of either the group or the title. Others without editorial statement of any kind are: Listok Krasnogo Kresta (1900), and Vasily Sidoratsky's Nigilist (1883) and Svobodnaia mysl' (1888). When Prince P V Dolgorukov lost control of his journal Pravdivyi (1862) the title was changed to Pravdoliubivyi (1862-1863) but the pagination remained continuous for the next twelve issues and there was no new statement of editorial aims. Kolokol (1857-1868), and the newspaper form of Vpered! (1875-1877) had editorial articles in each issue. However, this extreme is rare, as was the regularity with which these two titles were published.

Many editorial statements include two distinct elements: a sketch of policies and/or political allegiance; and a statement of intended contents, sometimes confined to a list of the sort of written contributions the editors would like from their readers. An explicit refusal to discuss policies, other than in the context of an appeal for unity, is rare. The first issue of Revoliutsionnaia Rossiiia (1900-1905), which was published by Partiia sotsialistov-revolutsionerov, is an exception: the editors demand 'Political freedom - freedom of speech, association, unions, participation in legislation and the government of the country' while 'decisions on basic questions of the reconstruction of our social life' are relegated to the background as 'inessential'. This apparently caused some criticism which was cited by its recipients:

The editors [...] 'are consciously avoiding the theoretical elaboration of questions of programme', and even more 'all philosophising, leading only to conflicts in the living revolutionary cause'. In view of the necessity 'to live and work, and not just to philosophise' the editors prefer 'to respond to reality'.

This attack was specifically directed at the editors of the theoretical journal of the RSDRP, Zaria (1901-1902).

OTHER CONTENTS

Some elements appear regularly throughout the century: the two most common are accounts of events in the Russian Empire (such as trials of radical activists, demonstrations, strikes and of the treatment of political prisoners) and accounts of radical (and particularly socialist) activities in Western Europe. Kolokol (1857-1868) was established to report news from Russia at a time when 'events in Russia are moving
fast', as were early rivals such as Vest' (1862), Pravdivyi (1862) and Evropeets (1864). Obshchee delo (1877-1890) was deliberately modelled on Kolokol (1857-1868), and contained a similar mixture of material. Some periodicals printed news for distribution in Russia because it could not be legally printed there, such as Listok Sotsial'-demokrata (1890). Others printed news for the benefit of the émigrés, to maintain their contact with events in their homeland, as in Na rodine (1882-1883).

Vpered! (1875-1877) was established to supersede the news section of the irregularly published sbornik of the same title and included sections entitled 'Chto delaetsia na rodine' and 'Letopis' rabochago dvizheniia'. Obshchina (1878) has a section entitled 'Kronika: Rossii'; in Rabotnik (1896-1899) there is 'Vesti iz Rossii'. This title was supplemented by Listok Rabotnika (1896-1898) which was specifically for news, both from Russia and Europe. Rabochee delo (1899-1902) and its supplements and Sankt-Peterburgskii rabochii listok (1897), for example, were both published partly in Russia and partly in emigration and concentrated on events within Russia: other examples include Samoupravlenie (1887-1889) and Chernyi peredel (1880-1881). Annuals might contain a 'news-review': Kalendar' Narodnoi voli (1883) has a section of news entitled Spravochnyi otdel', and Nashe vremia (1896-1898) is a digest of noteworthy events in Russia (in radical terms) of the previous year. At the end of the century, some titles were established by the newly-formed political parties, to report and interpret events in Russia. The best known of these is Iskra (1900-1905) and its supplements. Others include: Rabochaia mysli' (1897-1902), published partly clandestinely and partly in emigration and also associated with RSDRP; Revoliutsionnaia Rossiia (1900-1905) and its supplements, published by Partitia sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov; and Rabotnik (1896-1899) and its successor Rabochee delo (1899-1902), both published by Soiuz russkih sotsial'-demokrata.

Accounts of political activity in Europe were also common. Such items appeared in early titles, beginning with Kolokol (1857-1868) itself, and soon after the title of Evropeets (1864) was chosen by its editor Leonid Blummer to reflect its focus on the 'lessons and experiences of Western Europe'. A little later Narodnoe delo (1868-1870) and the first Vpered! (1873-1877) both reported on the affairs of the First International: the former as the official organ of its Russian Section. Rabotnik (1875-1876), published specifically for the workers in Russia and written in simpler language than many émigré titles, reports the activities of the First International and news of worker action, such as strikes, in Russia. Listok Rabotnika (1896-1898) and its parent title Rabotnik (1896-1899) covered news both from Russia and Western Europe: issue nine of Rabochaia mysli' (dated September 1900) had a supplement entirely devoted to the proceedings of the fifth International Socialist Congress. Maiskii listok Revoliutsionnoi Rossii (1897-1900) was published to spread the news of the May Day celebrations in Western Europe, which had begun under the auspices of the Second
International at the beginning of the decade. Some of the titles published in New York towards the end of the period, such as Russkaia zhizn' v Amerike (1898-1899) and Russkii listok (1892) were published for emigrants intending to assimilate into the society of their new country, and reported on events there while continuing to support radical activism in Russia.

Some titles have sections which are more akin to gossip, and often include accusations of wrong-doing. They consist of tiny items, often no more than a sentence or two, and may be entitled 'Smes' or 'Vesti i slukhi'. In Kolokol (1857-1868) this element was so popular that the supplement, Pod sud! (1859-1861), was established to provide more space for it. Svoboda (1868-1873) and Listok, izdavaemyi Kn Petrom Dolgorukovym (1862-1864) had 'Smes' sections; Svobodnoe slovo (1862) had a section entitled 'Slukhi'. Svoboda (1888-1889) copied Kolokol (1857-1868) in having a section of small items each beginning 'Pravda-li?' and Letuchie listki (1893-1899) had a 'Vesti i slukhi' section. The 'pseudo-radical' title Pravda (1882-1883) also had a section entitled 'Smes'. Other titles devoted part of each issue to items of news or rumour under the description of 'letters' from various towns in Russia, for example one issue of Nabat (1875-1881) contains letters from a number of towns including St Petersburg, Odessa, Perm, Tobolsk, Arkhangelsk, Kazan and Warsaw.

Inevitably, appeals for financial assistance make frequent appearances in émigré journals. There were exceptions: Gertsen was able to support the press until it paid its way. Vpered!, sbornik (1873-1877) and gazeta (1875-1877), received financial support from collections made in Russia by supporters and distributors including the 'Chaikovtsy' group. Vladimir Chertkov possessed substantial personal resources, and established the New Age Press in the south of England to publish the works of Tolstoy in English. The income from the English language publishing provided a subsidy for the Russian-language material including the periodical titles. Despite the subsidy the final issue Svobodnoe slovo (1898-1905) has an announcement of a 'temporary' break in publication because of financial difficulties, although the supplementary title Listki Svobodnago slova (1898-1902) is to continue. An announcement of its likely demise, because of a lack of funds, was made in issue 23, dated 1901: only two more issues appeared. N A Belogolovy provided financial support for Obshchee delo (1877-1890) as well as editorial assistance to A Kh Khristoforov. Although Russian Free Press Fund publications were supported through money raised from British sympathisers, Letuchie listki (1893-1899) requested financial support from its readers because 'Half of our publications are distributed free, and transport to Russia swallows vast sums'. In Nakanune (1899-1902) an appeal for funds appeared in the two final issues, stating that 'the reserve fund is coming to an end, and from now on everything will depend how much readers and subscribers ease the editors' task of seeking the means to continue publication'. Znamia (1889) provided a statement of its finances in
its sixteenth issue: the bulk of its income came from subscriptions, sales and advertisements and from donations from its publishers, but 'private donations' were exceeded as a source of income by the proceeds of 'Concerts of the Russian Socialist Club'. The financial accounts of émigré organisations appear in a number of journals: prominent among them were the accounts of the Krasnyi krest organisation in Narodine (1882-1883), Nakanune (1899-1902) and Listok Krasnago Kresta (1900). A number of issues of Kolokol (1857-1868) contained accounts of funds received.

As well as money, there were also numerous appeals for written contributions either in the form of documents, articles, or smaller items: early titles containing such requests included Golosa iz Rossii (1856-1860), Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (1858-1862), Budushchnost' (1860-1861) and Narodnoe delo (1868-1870). In the 1870s and 1880s, the titles published in emigration made no appeals for written contributions, possibly reflecting the bewilderment felt by oppositional activists at the time, and the lack of contact between the emigration and Russia. For example, Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda' had few, patchy links with Russia until the 1890s. The group remained limited to its original members, involved in the polemics and concentrating their efforts on Russian students abroad. The exception to this was Vol'noe slovo (1881-1883), which was supposed to be related to zemstvo activism. Requests for written contributions were made again towards the end of the century, for example in Sotsial'-demokrat (1888-1892), Progress (1891-1893), S rodiny i na rodine (1893-1896), in the prospectus for its publication Russkii rabochii (1894-1899), Narodovolets (1897-1903), Rabochaia mysli' (1897-1902), Nakanune (1899-1902) and Byloe (1900-1904)

Correspondence from readers was often published, including some critical letters. The second issue of Poliarnaya zvezda (1855-1868) contains a letter which criticises, among other things, typographical errors. The ironic reply is from Iskander: he comments 'I am very annoyed that despite our efforts we have no fewer typographical errors than in Petersburg and Moscow publications'. In issue nine of Blagonamerennyi (1859-1862) there is a short item 'O pogreshnostiah': 'We have been asked why they print accurately in London, but full of errors in Germany'. Golovin writes that the reason is that 'Iskander has many helpers, but I am alone' on the rather obscure grounds that he had studied at Dorpat University. Prince P V Dolgorukov published correspondence in Listok izdavaemyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym (1862-1864) including letters from Iaroslavl', the Ukraine, Moscow, Odessa and Siberia. Titles throughout the period published letters from readers: examples include Obschchee delo (1877-1890), Na rodine (1882-1883), Svooboda (1888-1889), Letuchie listki (1893-1899) and Nakanune (1899-1902). Issue 8 of Rabochaia mysli' (1897-1902) contains a letter criticising its language as too complex for its intended worker readership: the editorial response is dismissive, commenting that
the language of the writer of the letter is no more accessible than their own. Some 'letters' were an authorial device: Pravdivyi (1862) has a number of anonymous articles entitled 'Pis'mo iz Peterburga', later published in book form as Peterburgskie ocherki under Dolgorukov's own name.

By the 1880s, there was a radical past to look back on. The chronology in Kalendar' Narodnoi voli (1883) begins with the Decembrist rising. Sotsialist (1889) also includes a chronology in its single issue, and the first article in the first issue of Progress (1891-1893), entitled 'Russkaia gazeta na Amerikanskoipochve', begins with a survey of the previous ten years of the 'liberation movement'. The editors of Nakanune (1899-1902) make a number of requests for reminiscences of 'Russian revolutionary life' from their readers. Issue 24 dated December 1900 has an editorial entitled '14 dekabria 1825g. i 14 dekabria 1900g.', hailing the Decembrists as forerunners and quoting Gertsen; it contains an advertisement for the celebrations organised by the London emigration in December 1900 in honour of the anniversary.

Vladimir Burtsev, acknowledged as the first historian of the Russian radical movement, edited two titles at the end of the century: Narodovolets (1897-1903), subtitled 'sotsial'no-politicheskoe obozrenie', but in fact consisting mainly of articles on historical themes; Byloe (1900-1904) was dedicated to acquainting current activists in 'the struggle' with the history of radicalism, so that mistakes will not be repeated.

Some émigré titles include advertising, often for other publications of its editor or the political group responsible for publication: examples include Blagonamerennyi (1859-1862) and Sotsial'-Demokrat (1888-1892). The Free Russian Press titles were so efficiently distributed that an advertising supplement (Ob"iavlenie o russkikh knigakh P Triubner i K-ii), listing periodical and monograph titles of potential interest, was published to accompany Kolokol (1857-1868). Inside the back cover of the first issue of Pologiarniaia zvezda (1855-1868) there is a list of publications from the Free Russian Press, at the bottom of which is a note in Russian and English 'To every purchaser of the Polar Star a copy of the "National meeting of 27 February" will be presented gratis'. Svoboda (1868-1873) has some advertisements in English, including one for the firm of Trubner. Svobodnaia mysl' (1888), controlled by Vasily Sidoratsky, includes a number of advertisements, all of which were for Sidoratsky's other activities such as mathematics lessons. Russkaia vysshaia shkola (1900-?) contains advertisements for the college's own courses.

CENSORSHIP AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

One of the most commonly-stated motives for the establishment of émigré periodicals was a desire for a free press. Penalties for infringements of the censorship
regulations could be harsh, and administrative measures offered no possibility of appeal. Even after the judicial reforms of the 1860s, the threat of such measures, for example the banning of street sales, could force writers and editors to conform to the regulations without the government risking court action. The 1845 Criminal Code imposed harsh penalties on

Persons guilty of writing and spreading written and printed works or representations intended to arouse disrespect for Sovereign Authority, or for the personal qualities of the Sovereign, or for his government and for the publication and distribution of printed matter

in which, without there being direct and clear incitement to rebellion against Sovereign Authority, there is an effort to dispute or raise doubts about the inviolability of its rights or impudently to censure the system of administration established by state laws.

The effects of this legislation on the activities of writers and publishers are open to varying interpretations: Richard Pipes states that 'the Imperial censorship was more of a nuisance than a barrier to the free flow of ideas' on the grounds that official records show that only a small proportion of works submitted to the censorship were rejected, and relatively few penalties meted out. However Daniel Balmuth emphasises the role of self-censorship in the face of potential penalties, and writes that if 'only a few writers felt the full and harsh impact of the censorship, all were impeded in the expression of their ideas.' He acknowledges that despite this, it was possible to express critical ideas: the 'obvious call to revolt was impossible but the harping on the discontents of Russians and the undermining, in a cautious way, of traditional beliefs could appear.' Balmuth further maintains that while educated Russians were allowed to read some doubtful items (the translation of Marx's Kapital being the most notorious), the government felt that the people needed more protection from dangerous ideas: the censorship was stricter for shorter and cheaper works which were more accessible to the poor and the barely literate. Much might depend on the wording: according to I P Foote the use of 'suitably discreet terms' might enable an item to pass through censorship which would be banned if it included more direct statements. Foote concludes that 'authors enjoyed fair success in their efforts to combat censorship' and that 'the record of what was published is an impressive testimony to the resourcefulness and pertinacity of authors.' However, he also acknowledges that there are unanswerable questions of 'what might have been' without the interference of the censorship.

Some journals of known radical sympathies were allowed to publish legally, albeit under supervision: Sovremennik, closed in 1866 for pursuing 'pernicious
policies', was the best known. Chernyshevsky's readers understood the 'subtext' to his writings, despite the restrictions, and they were aware that he was more radical than Gertsen and Ogarev. Examples from the 1870s are Delo, Nedelia and Otechestvennye zapiski: the first of these was subject to detailed scrutiny from the censorship committee itself: it was accused of 'propagating negativistic ideas' and 'harmful socialistic tendencies'. In 1867 Delo survived a recommendation from the Third Section that it be banned. Nedelia was described by the censor in 1870 as 'an organ of nihilism, extremely hostile to the whole order' but it was permitted to continue and its circulation increased during the 1870s. A newspaper was published in St Petersburg from January 1881 to 1883 with the title Glasnost', addressed to the 'intelligent proletariat', supporting 'scientific socialism' in contrast to 'revolutionary populism'. In 1881 Plekhanov, writing in emigration in Geneva, published articles on economic theory in Otechestvennye zapiski and Lavrov also retained contacts with the legal press. Balmuth suggests that these journals escaped because the government wished to avoid driving all radical writing underground: legal publication provided some control over both the content and the distribution. Others have suggested that bribery of the censors also played a part, particularly in the case of journals with known radical sympathies, for example the 'legal Marxist' title Zhizn'. However, despite the loophole and sympathetic advice from censors such as Aleksandr Nikitenko, many issues of contemporary concern remained taboo.

Aleksandr II's press reforms did not result in an increase in support from a grateful press and its readers, but in louder and more vociferous criticism, although an editorial in Strela (1858-1859) stated that 'from glasnost' Russia must expect a recovery from all ailments'. This state of affairs was mirrored under Gorbachev's policy of glasnost': censorship was reduced, but not abolished, and in the early stages of the policy 'the media had a disruptive effect on public opinion'. The concept of glasnost', defined as openness for public comment/criticism within government defined limits, can be distinguished from 'freedom of expression', that is almost complete freedom from control, as demanded by the radicals of the period, a distinction which has been apparent more recently. The period of glasnost' in the late 1980s turned within a few years, whatever the official intention, into freedom of expression as understood in western Europe.

Under the conditions prevailing in nineteenth century Russia, to publish any item in emigration was a statement about the lack of free speech. Press restrictions were cited throughout the century to justify émigré publication, and 'freedom of expression' was usually among the political demands made in the journals themselves. It was Aleksandr Gertsen's primary aim in establishing the Free Russian Press, and it continued to be the fundamental rationale for its existence, although he acknowledged 'the easing of the censorship'. Others continued this theme: the programmatic article
in the first issue of Vpered! (1873-1877) begins with an acknowledgement of the difficulties of émigré publishing, but continues: 'The increase of constraints on the Russian press by the latest orders of the Russian government have made our task a little easier.' Three years later the editor of Vestnik pravdy (1876-1890) described the censorship as 'the senseless limits of the vampire-like Russian government'. Svobodnaia Rossia (1889) demanded free speech and its first issue contains 'Neskol'ko slov o svobodnoi pechati'. In 1898, the editorial aims of Listki Svobodnago slova (1898-1902) were to bring to its readers 'news of events in Russia, which, because of the conditions of censorship, cannot be spread openly in Russia', and two months later the editor of Nakanune (1899-1902) wrote that the function of the press abroad was to provide a forum for those with something to say on the 'struggle of all factions with tsarism'. The editors of Rabotnik (1875-1876) attacked the inadequacies of the legal press from a different viewpoint, asserting that

All newspapers appearing in Russia are concerned with the affairs of the satisfied and are printed for the tsar, for landowners, for merchants, for bureaucrats [...] Is it possible that in the whole of Russia there is no-one who is concerned with the affairs of the working people? This is not possible, there are such people; but the tsar, the landowners and merchants will not permit anything to be printed in the cause of the workers.

In Vestnik Narodnoi voli (1883-1886), the editors contrast the 'duty' of 'organs abroad' ('mainly to group events together and explain them' and to link them to socialism) with those of internal publications (which publish news and 'guidance' in the 'daily struggle'). The former should relate events to 'the general principles of socialism' in order to

illuminate contemporary life as a whole from the point of view of Russian socialism and to give members of the party guidance for the understanding and control of its activities, in the way that leaflets published in Russia serve them as guidance in the frequent occurrences of the daily struggle.

OTHER POLITICAL DEMANDS

Freedom of the press was only one of many demands which recur throughout the period almost independently of the political bias of the publishing groups. Other recurring demands include electoral reform and the broadening of spheres of political activity. In some titles a particular form of government is proposed: Dolgorukov recommended constitutional monarchy in both Budushchnost' (1860-1861) and in Listok, izdavaemyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym (1862-1864). In the former he
described two futures, the first, 'peaceful and splendid', which depended on the establishment of a constitutional monarchy:

this change achieved by the Sovereign himself, if, taking the enlightened monarchs of Europe in the nineteenth century for his example, he gave Russia freedom (a constitution) by sovereign deed. The second way is stormy, full of alarms and dangers: if the Sovereign does not wish, or does not understand how, to save his dynasty, and does not give freedom by sovereign deed; then reform will be achieved in Russia by the revolutionary road, from which God deliver us!76

He also called for the election of a 'Duma zemskia' in the programme of Budushchnost' (1860-1861) and repeated the suggestion in Pravdivyi (1862).77 Such proposals appeared rarely in titles from the later 1860s up to the mid-1880s but Samoupravlenie (1887-1889) proposed a permanent legislative assembly of people's representatives elected by universal suffrage and Svobodnaia Rossia (1889) called for an elected Zemskii sobor, as did Russkii rabochii (1894-1899) and Avtonomno-demokraticheskaia konstitutsiia (1897). Another of the demands put forward in Samoupravlenie (1887-1889), universal suffrage, also appeared in Russkii rabochii (1894-1899): the term used in the latter is 'popular sovereignty' (narodnaia volia).78 Sotsialist (1889) demanded a democratic constitution under which universal electoral rights would ensure 'government by the people for the people'.79 Other recurrent demands include: freedom of conscience and association, factory legislation and the right to strike, and agrarian reform, all of which appear in, among others, Narodnoe delo (1868-1870), Samoupravlenie (1887-1889) and Sotsialist (1889). The majority of titles declare their support for change and discuss how it is to be achieved, rarely venturing into the organisation of life after the revolution, although some tried, for example in the first issue of Narodnoe delo (1868-1870).80

Many editors of the émigré journals described themselves as 'socialist', but their views were not necessarily stated explicitly in the programmatic articles. Some editorial statements are concerned with the intended contents and frequency of publication, rather than policy and some avoided being too specific, because of the aim to unite a variety of oppositional trends in their pages. Examples include Kolokol (1857-1868), Obshchee delo (1877-1890) and Nakanune (1899-1902). The editors of Sovremennik (1897) defend themselves against accusations of a lack of specific policy, on the grounds that they wish to keep the title non-partisan, above faction and schism.81 For titles supported by particular groups, the publishing organisation may have been sufficient to inform readers of the policies of the editors, and in some titles the motto 'Proletarii vsekh stran', soediniates!' clearly signals Marxist or social-democratic allegiance. Articles on political theory could also demonstrate to which radical
'tendency' a title was affiliated: Vpered! (1873-1877) called for unity, but its editor was opposed to terrorist methods. This opposition became explicit in the polemic with Tkachev, whose own view was stated explicitly in the first issue of Nabat (1875-1881).

**CIRCULATION AND DISTRIBUTION**

It is in the nature of illegal publications that their actual circulation and readership should be almost impossible to quantify. Only rarely are there any data, and even in the case of the relatively well-documented Free Russian Press, actual readership can only be estimated.\(^3\) In the nineteenth century the potential readership in Russia was in any case small, largely because the educated elite was tiny in relation to the size of the population as a whole. Jeffrey Brooks estimates that in the 1860s only about 6% of the rural population were literate.\(^4\) Until the reforms of the 1860s, legally published journals were distributed solely on subscription and were only allowed to accept a limited amount of advertising: the government used the right to print its notices as a form of subsidy to favoured titles.\(^5\) There is a contrast with Great Britain, where the Reading Mercury had stated as early as 1797 that 'The profits of a newspaper arise only from Advertisements'.\(^6\)

The edition size (that is, the number of copies printed of any issue) remains unclear for the vast majority of émigré periodical titles: estimating actual circulation (that is, the people who saw, let alone those who read) of even the best-known and longest-lasting titles is almost impossible. Actual readership for any periodical title is always assumed to be higher than the number of copies distributed, but estimating this additional readership is an inexact science and various means have been suggested. For example, for the legal press there could be 'five to ten readers estimated to have access to each paper'\(^7\) or we may estimate 'that each copy of a subscribed periodical is read by one or two or three people' and assume that if 'a student-run library stocked the Bell, it seems plausible that scores of students might read all or part of a single copy'.

Copies were frequently passed from hand to hand, and on numerous occasions individual articles and even entire issues were reproduced and distributed, usually by students - even in provincial cities like Voronezh. [...] Thus, [...] one must assume that at least in the major cities of the empire, anyone who was willing to make a serious effort could get hold of a copy of the Bell without much difficulty.\(^8\)

It was often said that the tsar himself read Kolokol (1857-1868). Even for this title, it is not possible to estimate accurately the readership and influence, little can be deduced
about the impact of the émigré press on the oppositional movement as a whole.

Some figures are known. Kolokol (1857-1868) in its heyday had a first edition of 2,500, and many issues running to a second edition. Although the edition size of many émigré titles remains obscure, the details are known for some journals. According to E E Kluge the two issues of Podpol'noe slovo (1866) were each published in editions of 1,000 copies. In his article on the history of Obshchee delo (1877-1890), A Kh Khristoforov writes of 'a few hundreds of copies', and towards the end of the century, the second issue of Rabochee znamia (1898-1901) states that 800 copies of the first issue were printed and 3000 of the second. In the United States, the edition size of Znamia (1889) has been estimated at about 800 copies for its first six months, although claims have been made for a higher figure than this, and Russkiia novosti (1893) was published in an edition of 2,000 copies. The edition size of Letuchie listki (1893-1896) averaged about 4,000 copies, but some issues were produced in larger editions, up to 10,000 copies. The potential for influence was reduced by the fact that many copies never reached Russia, and the proportion of the population to whom they were available was tiny. As a comparison, in 1877 in St Petersburg, the daily street sales of all newspapers totalled 12,716 copies. The circulation of Golos was 10,000 during the 1860s, and 25,000 by 1882.

A Kh Khristoforov wrote of Obshchee delo (1877-1890), the journal which he edited, that it 'did not pay its way: this is the usual fate of our press abroad'. Among the nine émigré titles which lasted seven years or more, only half reached an average of more than five issues per annum, and only three appeared more than 100 times: Kolokol (1857-1868) with an average of more than 22 issues a year, and a total of 245; Obshchee delo (1877-1890) with an average of eight issues a year and a total of 112; Russko-frantsuzsldi vestnik (1893-[1914]), average of 21 issues per year, and a total of 461. Whatever the stated intention of publishers and editors, publication was usually both irregular and infrequent, with the exceptions of Kolokol (1857-1868) and Vpered! (1875-1876). Some of the titles which appeared at the end of the century appeared more regularly, such as Revoliutsionnaia Rossila (1900-1905) which managed fortnightly issues in 1903, though it was otherwise irregular. Those 'thicker' journals which survived beyond the first issue were often very infrequent: they might appear no more than annually as with Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) or in some cases, such as Rabotnik (1896-1899), even less often. The intended frequency stated in the first issue was often no more than a pious hope, and very few émigré journals appeared more frequently than fortnightly.

A number of short-lived titles managed a relatively high number of issues in relation to their longevity: in the early years, Evropeets (1864) appeared in only one calendar year, but there were ten issues. Vpered! (1875-1876) managed 48 issues in two calendar years. In the United States, some titles were published relatively
frequently in a short period: Znamia (1889) 22 issues; Progress (1891-1893) 29 issues in three years; Russkiia novosti (1893) 37 issues. Some titles published around the turn of the century had a large number of issues: 112 issues of Iskra (1900-1905); more than 70 each for Revoliutsionnaia Rossiia (1900-1905) and its supplement Prilozhenie (Revoliutsionnaia Rossia) (1900-1905) and a further 84 for the supplement Iz materialov Revoliutsionnoi Rossii (1902-1903); 101 issues of the daily Parizhskaiia gazeta (1900); and 92 issues of Slavianstki vek (1900-1904). A greater level of financial support than usual meant that Vol'noe slovo (1881-1883) appeared 62 times and Pravda (1882-1883) was issued 20 times over a period of five months, spread over two calendar years.100

Outside the Russian Empire, émigré publications were distributed through normal commercial channels: some contain advertisements for the bookshops at which they are available. The link between Trubner and Co and the Free Russian Press is the best known of such connections, but other titles also had some association with a commercial printing or publishing firm.101 This was not very successful in some cases, Blumber and Dolgorukov were both involved in disputes with their publishers/printers.102 Such connections are far less common after the mid-1860s: most titles were published by émigré groups using their own or other Russian-controlled presses. The Russian Free Press Fund functioned as book suppliers and although Mikhail Elpidin had abandoned his own printing activities, he continued as a publisher and bookseller in Geneva.103 A Ia Kiperman describes bookshops in Romanian towns from the late 1870s onwards, particularly after the end of the Russo-Turkish War: 600 copies of Obshchee delo (1877-1890) were sold in a bookshop in Bucharest in 1878.104 Travellers returning to Russia with printed matter bought for their own use and for friends and family were an important route for the import of émigré publications. The authorities in European countries in which Russian émigré publications were sold did on occasion put barriers in the way: Dolgorukov proudly announced that his publications were banned in France,105 and Free Russian Press publications were banned from sale in a number of countries.

Those organising the distribution of émigré titles directed at readers in Russia had also to surmount the hurdle of smuggling publications to them. There were a number of routes: through Scandinavia, through Poland, across some European borders, in ships of various nationalities (including Russian), and via Far Eastern trading routes through Constantinople and Hong Kong, as well as the Baltic and the Mediterranean. Some routes were apparently shared by the Free Russian Press and its contemporaries: N N Murav'ev wrote that 'We are so ordered that Kolokol and Budushchnost' are freely available through the whole of Russia'.106

The first issue of Narodnoe delo (1868-1870) reached student radicals in St Petersburg where Sergei Nechaev was one of its readers: he later described it with a
measure of approval in the first issue of Narodnaia rasprava (1869-1870), but 'its
moderate tone, with its literary forms and in general with all abstract-theoretical
conditions' are rejected. Elpidin had gone to Stockholm to arrange transport for
Narodnoe delo (1868-1870) after the publication of its first issue, and returned to find
that Bakunin and Zhukovsky had been ejected from its editorial board, whereupon he
also resigned. The route through Scandinavia was apparently also used by the
Russian Free Press Fund activists, and by the publishers of Iskra (1900-1905). In
his memoirs, Prince Petr Kropotkin praises the honesty of Jewish smugglers in Cracow
both in the transport of printed matter and assistance to 'revolutionists and refugees'.
As well as the Scandinavian route, there was an alternative 'northern route' through
Prussia: Vpered! (1873-1877, 1875-1876) used a 'central transport agency' through
Königsberg and Memel, and also Russian sailors with radical sympathies. There was a
less successful 'southern route' through Jassy and across the border with Bessarabia
and, in a very limited way, through Constantinople. In the early 1890s, the
publications of Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda' were imported into Russia through the
Jewish social-democratic organisation in Vilna. Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich wrote that
in the late 1890s, links with Latvian social democrats in Zurich and Germany enabled
the transport of printed matter (and equipment) to Moscow, St Petersburg, Saratov and
Nizhny Novgorod. A route through Constantinople to Tiflis was organised by an
Armenian group, despite their populist and nationalist leanings. Nadezhda Krupskaia
wrote in her memoirs of the difficulties of arranging the transport of illegal literature at
the turn of the century: she also estimated that only 10% of material despatched from
abroad reached its intended destination in Russia.
Publications were concealed in many ways. Michael Futrell has described false
bottoms in luggage, clothing with concealed pockets, and boxes constructed of the
printed matter itself held together with a special glue which could later be dissolved in
warm water. One load of social-democratic literature, in the early years of this
century, came to grief when a barrel of 'salt fish' burst open during loading and exposed
its true contents. Some publications were merely sent through the post often
unsolicited, by both the Free Russian Press and the Russian Free Press Fund although this was not secure: during the Polish rising of 1863, and no doubt also at
other times, parcels of books were searched for copies of works which had already
been banned by the censorship.
From the very earliest days popular émigré publications were no doubt
reproduced by hand-copying, as was common for material which had failed to pass the
Russian censorship, or had been refused a second edition. This practice still
continued into the twentieth century: some of the early issues of Biulleten' iz
materialov Rabochago dela (1900-1902) have been preserved in hand-written form,
and at least one issue (the second) of Revoliutsionnaia Rossia (1900-1902) was also
copied by 'a circle of revolutionary youth'. Other early issues of Biulleten' iz materialov Rabochago dela (1900-1902) were typewritten. In the Soviet era, samizdat material continued this tradition of copying, as photocopiers were too tightly controlled for them to have much impact. Some use was also made of the actual reprinting of émigré titles, but again this was confined to the end of the century: Nadezhda Krupskaya wrote of presses reproducing Iskra (1900-1905) in Kishinev and Baku, and another in the north of Russia although only that in Baku seems to have been successful. Ju G Ivanov has identified the northern press in Nizhny Novgorod, and also suggests that of the 8,000 copies of the first issue of Iskra (1990-1905) that were printed, 6,472 were seized by the police.

It is significant that these examples are all from the later period when the amount of printed matter in circulation had increased overall, and the émigré press was particularly active. Literacy rates were improving, and the more literate younger generation was more willing than its elders to question the existing order, and more likely to aspire to a different lifestyle. The spread of propaganda was also facilitated by increasing population density, itself a combination of a general increase in the size of the population as a whole, and of the process of industrialisation and consequent urbanisation although change was uneven.

LINKS WITH RUSSIA

The difficulty of maintaining links with Russia and with developments there is acknowledged by some publicists: the editors of Letuchie listki (1862) wanted to make the 'Velikorus' leaflets more widely available to Russians abroad, because of their significance 'for the current state of affairs in Russia'. This is the first acknowledgement in print of the distance between the émigré community and developments in the oppositional movement within the Empire. Podpol'noe slovo (1866) was established because since 'we consider the establishment of secret presses in Russia to be completely impossible, the publication of similar books abroad becomes an affair of the first importance'.

In Paris in March 1872, Petr Lavrov was asked by visitors who he believed to be 'delegates from Russia' to establish an émigré journal. Although they were in fact acting on their own responsibility, there is evidence that from 'different quarters, various groups and individuals in a number of places took steps that all led in one and the same direction'. Lavrov wrote a programme for the new title, but after discovering that his visitors were not representatives of a group, he abandoned it. After moving to Zurich at the end of 1872, he wrote a new programme as an attempt to establish a title which could unite oppositional activists, but the attempt collapsed in the conflict within the
Zurich student colony. Lavrov wrote a third programme which became the programme of the sbornik version of the journal which was also intended to relate closely to the needs of a particular group in Russia, and to voice its concerns. The preface to the first issue, typeset with the assistance of students, offers the following explanation for the undertaking:

This is not a matter of individuals, nor a matter of circles, this is a matter for all Russians who are conscious that the current political order is leading Russia to the tomb, that the current social structure is powerless to heal her wounds.

According to Lavrov's account, there had originally been two 'different (though allied) groups distributing the journal inside Russia, one in the north and one in the south. However, the southern group 'made a mess of things' and Vpered! (1873-1877) became solely reliant on the northern group, based in St Petersburg. It provided financial support, collected material for inclusion and arranged distribution. Ultimately the whole enterprise collapsed because of tensions within the group publishing both Vpered! journals and disagreements with their supporters in Russia: Lavrov resigned as editor at the end of 1876. The author of the article entitled 'Rol' periodicheskoi pressy v sotsial'no-revolutsionnoi propagande' in Vpered! (1875-1876) discusses the disadvantages of the illegal press but admits that irregularity and lack of timeliness are unavoidable, particularly for the émigré titles.

After the arrest, extradition and trial of Sergei Nechaev, the break-up of the Zurich colony and the destruction of the First International, activity in emigration decreased in the years preceding the khozhdenie v narod. Later, Lavrov, together with Lev Tikhomirov, edited Vestnik Narodnoi voli (1883-1886), which aspired to unite 'all Russian socialist-revolutionaries': as noted previously, the editors defined the different purposes of émigré and clandestine publication. At the same period, Na rodine (1882-1883) was published in London and later Geneva, in aid of Krasnyi krest Narodnoi voli, an organisation which raised funds to support political exiles in Siberia. It printed news of interest to the émigré community, including items from the clandestine journal Narodnaia volia, which only found its way abroad in limited numbers, a reversal of the situation in which émigré journals only found their way into the Empire in small numbers. Narodnaia volia was published clandestinely in St Petersburg between 1879 and 1885, but was reprinted abroad thereafter.

Rabotnik (1875-1876) was intended to serve a less well-educated readership in Russia: it was written in uncomplicated language, for propaganda among the workers, and attempted to speak in their language and concentrate on their real concerns: a difficult task from Switzerland. According to A Kh Khristoforov the founders of Obshchee delo (1877-1890) had
placed their hopes on active participation from within Russia and [...] had expected to create an organ of the free press which would have had wide circulation there. These hopes were not realised. [...] Therefore the links between Obshchee delo and Russia were very limited. It reached there only by chance and in such an insignificant quantity of copies that many there scarcely knew of its existence.\textsuperscript{140}

Its circulation, mainly among the small émigré community, amounted to no more than a few hundred copies: in common with most émigré titles it failed to pay its way, but unlike most was fortunate in having a wealthy backer. At the end of the century, the publishers of Letuchie listki (1893-1899) described their own success:

The development of our little organ to the proportions and significance of a fighting organ of the Russian opposition against autocracy is our dream and the reason for our efforts and concerns from the very beginning of our undertaking.\textsuperscript{141}

However, many copies were distributed unsolicited and subscriptions therefore did not cover the costs, which had to be met from other sources.\textsuperscript{142}

THE INFLUENCE OF RADICAL PROPAGANDA

Propaganda can be defined as 'the product of intellectual work' which 'aims at persuading large masses of people about the virtues of some organization, cause or person',\textsuperscript{143} and as 'the attempt to transmit social and political values in the hope of affecting people's thinking, emotions and, thereby behaviour'.\textsuperscript{144} It has also been noted that whereas the 'inculcation of traditional value attitudes is generally called education', propaganda refers to 'the spreading of subversive, debatable or merely novel attitudes'.\textsuperscript{145} The primary purpose of many émigré publications was propaganda, and the generally held belief in the efficacy of the printed word, current in official as well as revolutionary circles, underlay the devotion of radical activists to their printing presses.

The narod, and especially the peasantry, were thought to view printed matter almost with reverence: Jeffrey Brooks writes that 'because books were held in such high esteem, their content was supposed to be serious and true', whether on secular or religious subjects.\textsuperscript{146} Illiterate peasant elders impressed by official-looking papers are often described, and it was generally thought that even those peasants who could read were barely literate and often misunderstood what they did read.\textsuperscript{147} The best-known attempt to exploit this was the use of a purported charter from the tsar to establish a secret society in Chigirin: it was printed because it was thought that the peasants would
not accept a manuscript version as genuine. Respect for papers of no relevance whatever were reported at the end of the nineteenth century, for example when Iakov Priluker was arrested by peasants in a village near Odessa. Even if attitudes were changing with increasing literacy, old habits were tenacious: a study of peasant attitudes to printed matter published in 1914 states that 'Printed means it is true', and later examples can also be found. This view, although particularly strong in Russia, was not unique to that country: contemporary British 'Conservatives feared that the growth of a 'pauper press' would inflame untutored minds with dangerous notions'. Since the French Revolution of 1789, journalism had been an accepted weapon in the revolutionary armoury and it was inevitable that the press should be important to political émigrés of all nationalities.

The propaganda efforts of the khozhdenie v narod show that in many ways the government had little to fear from radical propaganda: in 1869 Nechaev wrote:

Bakunin is right to persuade us to abandon the academies, universities and schools and go to the people. The point is HOW DO YOU GO TO THE PEOPLE, AND WHAT DO YOU DO THERE? [...] This is now the main concern of all honest revolutionaries in Russia, who are not satisfied with words and, demanding deeds, require not vague, but precise definite advice.

There is irony in the demand for 'deeds not words', which is also made elsewhere: in the first issue of Budushchnost' (1860-1861), Dolgorukov writes that 'Russia needs a new structure, reform in deeds not words'.

The relative merits of study and propaganda versus violent action now, debated among radical intellectuals throughout the 1870s, were discussed in the pages of the émigré press. An early contribution came from Nikolai Utin in 'Propaganda i organizatsiia: deloproshloe i delo nyneshnee': he asserts that although

not one step on the road to light and freedom is achieved peacefully, and each step which leads to a new beginning in the world is drenched in warm blood [...] We suggest that a free Russian journal may have significance only when it is AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY propaganda, aiming to serve the interests of the Russian revolutionary movement.

He condemns terrorism and, despite his disagreements with Gertsen, supports the latter's view that attempts such as that of Karakozov are counter-productive. He concludes with a statement that 'Organisation and propaganda are inseparable, and one without the other is without strength', and that the purpose of propaganda is to elucidate 'revolutionary consciousness and its relationship with the old and the new world, the necessity, the inevitability of true revolution, whatever the price of its purchase'. Utin acknowledges that the cause and the people are in Russia itself and must 'lay the
cornerstone of social Revolution', but at the moment 'the business of propaganda is served with greater convenience by an organ published abroad, rather than in Russia' and asks for support.156

The 1870s were the period of the khozhdenie v narod, the development of the Zemlia i volia movement and its split over this very issue. Despite the failures of the summer of 1874, the editorial article of the first issue of Vpered! (1875-1876) contains the exhortation to prepare for revolution,

amongst the people, who alone can sustain it. Prepare yourselves for it mentally and morally, in understanding and in your habits of life, speech, thought, action. Organise yourselves for propaganda amongst the people. Organise yourselves with the help of propaganda. Organise yourselves among the people, together with the people. Carry further [...] the great news of social revolution.157

In the following year, the editor wrote that as well as the periodical press being pre-eminent in Russia, in

all the countries of the contemporary 'civilised' world, if any kind of group of people intends to recruit adherents to its theoretical and practical opinions, it immediately establishes a newspaper or review (the latter only in rare circumstances).158

The functions of the press are defined as the constant advocacy of 'workers' socialism' and the constant display of 'a banner around which the adherents of workers' socialism and social revolution' can gather. There is also a strong emphasis on the collective nature of periodical publication, as a defence against domination by individuals.

Lavrov's views on the preparation for revolution by means of thorough education were rejected by his one-time collaborator Petr Tkachev, whose pamphlet Zadachi revoliutsionnoi propagandy v Rossii, published in 1874, was a highly critical open letter to the editorial group of Vpered! (1873-1877, 1875-1876). He did 'not attribute great significance to journalistic propaganda' because, although it cannot be ignored, 'it is inappropriate to waste too much revolutionary strength' on it.159 He condemned Lavrov's view of revolution as merely peaceful progress, and his propaganda as harmful to the cause of revolution.160 In the first issue of Nabat (1875-1881) he again rejected Lavrov's emphasis on preparation:

Preparing for revolution is not a revolutionary's job. Those who prepare for it are: exploiters, capitalist-landowners, priests, the police, officials, conservatives, liberals, progressives etc.

[...]
Revolutionaries do not prepare, but 'make' revolution.
Make it!161
Later he recommended the only course for revolutionaries:

Organisation as a means, terrorism, disorganisation and the destruction of existing government power, as the closest, urgent aim - such must be at this moment the sole programme of action for all revolutionaries (without discrimination between factions).\(^\text{162}\)

The debate did not end here: the first issue of Obshchina (1878) discusses the khozhdenie \(v\) narod, and the lessons to be learnt from it. Despite the failure of that movement, the author asserts that the labours of the propagandists who went to the people maintained a channel for social-revolutionary propaganda among the Russian working population.\(^\text{163}\) For the émigrés, the production of propaganda was the most active, if not the only, contribution they could make to 'the cause', although specific aims could be vague: A Kh Khristoforov summed up his as 'the freedom of Russia from her oppressive life and the development of autocracy'.\(^\text{164}\)

Some radical émigré journalists were responsible for the publication of monographs (both books and pamphlets) as well as for periodical titles. The first titles from the Free Russian Press were pamphlets; Mikhail Elpidin continued as a book publisher long after his withdrawal from the periodical press; Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda' were prolific publishers of pamphlets and books, some under the series title Biblioteka sovremennago sotsializma. In the article 'Rol' periodicheskoi pressy \(v\) sotsial'no-revoliutsionnoi propagande' in Vpered! (1875-1876) it is noted that although party propaganda can be carried out through pamphlets,

many slip away out of sight, either pass entirely unnoticed, or disappear too fast from circulation and then, with the arrival of a periodical publication, completely lose their place in a polemic.\(^\text{165}\)

The periodical press is more appropriate for an immediate response and polemics conducted in the periodical press can deal with lesser points as well as fundamental aspects of policy. This potential for a continuing relationship, even a dialogue, with the readership forms the fundamental attraction of the periodical press.

Despite the rigorous religious censorship, few periodicals representing religious dissent were published in emigration: Obschhee veche (1862-1864), although published for the Old Believers, eschewed religious questions. The periodical titles published by the Free Age Press round the turn of the century were mainly devoted to news with some articles on moral and political themes and some of Tolstoy's shorter writings. It has been suggested that the publication of his works illegally or abroad, preaching non-violence, was to the advantage of the authorities because they were of
more interest to the disaffected in this form.\textsuperscript{166} Bratskii listok (1898) was intended for anyone who felt alone 'when his soul wakes' despite the 'thousands - hundreds of thousands - of newspapers and journals' and 'millions of books'.\textsuperscript{167} This complaint has been echoed more recently: Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn wrote of 'an unendurable stream of information, much of it excessive and trivial' published in the newspapers which 'proliferate in today's world, each of them keeps swelling, and all vie with each other in their effort to overload us with more information'.\textsuperscript{168}

PUBLIC OPINION

Although concerned about 'public opinion' and without sufficient confidence to relax the censorship on the press, the government did attempt to use the influence of the press, and in September 1880, M T Loris-Melikov wrote of the importance and difficulty of creating 'a press which would express only the needs and desires of the rational and sensible section of society and [...] be a faithful interpreter of the intentions of the government'.\textsuperscript{169} Apart from the official gazettes at national level, there was the innovation of Gubernskie vedomosti in the 1830s and individual ministries also produced journals. In the aftermath of the assassination of Aleksandr II, the Ministry of Internal Affairs established its own journal in September 1881, aimed at the rural population and entitled Sel'skii vestnik. It was originally intended to counter radical propaganda, and later acquired some educational functions.\textsuperscript{170} Its subsidised publication continued until October 1917, when its printing offices and equipment were taken over for the publication of Pravda.\textsuperscript{171} The existence of nominally independent titles in Russia which received direct or indirect subsidy is also well known.

Some Russian officials showed an awareness of the possibilities of using the press in Europe to influence opinion there in favour of their government. In the eighteenth century the Russian ambassador to Britain, Semen Vorontsov, made use of English newspapers to promote Russian interests during the 'Ochakov crisis' during the Russo-Turkish War in 1791.\textsuperscript{172} The Journal du nord, edited by Czartoryzski from 1805-1813 and printed on the Senate press, was specifically opposed to Napoleon and his journal Moniteur. It was succeeded by Journal de St-Pétersbourg politique et littéraire published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 1825 and 1918. The Journal de Frankfort, published between 1830 and 1839, was subsidised by the Third Section to oppose criticism of the Russian government and extreme liberal views in the French press, and other agents of the Third Section offered bribes or subsidies to other journals and journalists.\textsuperscript{173} In the fifth issue of his polyglot newspaper Russia and the United States correspondent, Ivan Golovin wrote that his 'paper is not the paper of the Russian government, as Le Nord is, it is that of the Russian liberal party'.\textsuperscript{174} Le
Nord was established in Belgium soon after Aleksandr II's accession, and some official announcements appeared in its pages before they were made public in Russia. Russian influence on the European press appears to have continued throughout the century. In 1892 P I Rachkovsky, head of Zagranichnaia okhrana in Paris, distributed a pamphlet discrediting the revolutionary movement to journals in Europe and the United States. Ten years later the Russian government was providing subsidies to Le Figaro in Paris, and in 1904 La Revue Russe, was published from the offices of the same newspaper, praising the Russian government.

Although the émigré press could not be controlled directly, some attempts to undermine it were made. Gertsen's case is discussed in chapter 4. In the first issue of Listok, izdavaemyi kn. Petrom Dolgorukovym (1862-1864), the editor described his press in Brussels as 'belonging to me, and consequently beyond the influence of the golden eloquence of the Petersburg government'. Dolgorukov also attributes the demise of Pravdivyi (1862) to the 'sudden sympathy towards the St Petersburg government' produced by this 'golden eloquence'. Petr Kropotkin's attempt to found an English-language anti-Tsarist periodical in 1880 failed when he discovered that his financial backer was an agent of the Russian police. It seems likely, although not suggested explicitly by the journal's editors, that the three unknown men who wrecked the typesetting shop used by Vestnik Narodnoi voli (1883-1886) were government agents. Accusations of official connections were inevitable and frequent in the quarrelsome conditions of émigré life: in 1881 Obshchee delo (1877-1890) published an article accusing the newly established Vol'noe slovo (1881-1883) of connections with the Ministry of the Interior.

The stated aim of Vol'noe slovo (1881-1883) in its first issue was 'to express the just desires and persistent hopes of the depersonalised and broken population of Russia', because free speech was not possible in Russia, and independent local government is hailed as 'the nursery of political freedom'. The first editor was A P Mal'shinsky and he was succeeded by Mikhail Dragomanov. The accusations levelled at the former had some justification: he was the author of a report entitled Obzor sotsial'no-revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossiia for the Third Section in 1880, and there were rumours of backing from the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, or from Sviashchennaya druzhina. Mal'shinsky gained Dragomanov's support by claiming to represent a 'Zemstvo Union' of liberal constitutionalists: in his memoirs Dragomanov stated that this was the origin of funds but archives show that the Druzhina was the financial backer. Pavel Aksel'rod also contributed to the early issues of Vol'nno slovo (1881-1883) as he needed the income. His associates in the Gruppa 'Osvobozhdienie truda' tried to dissuade him and ultimately succeeded. They were mainly concerned with the views held by Dragomanov (pro-constitution, anti-terror) rather than the source of funding. When Dragomanov himself became editor for the
last four months of publication, the journal did become more overtly constitutionalist but as a result, its conservative financial supporters withdrew, and the paper closed. Although some liberals had written for it, and to some extent viewed it as 'their voice', no material support was forthcoming. It has also been suggested that whatever the contents, few copies were distributed: Shmuel Galai notes that 'Its ineffectiveness was partly caused by the preventive measures taken by its own sponsors, the Holy Brotherhood. Together with the secret police, the Brotherhood was able to lay its hands on most issues of the paper which were sent to Russia'.

Another more obvious attempt to undermine the émigré press was made through the establishment of Pravda (1882-1883), edited by I Klimov also in Geneva. It published extreme opinions and attacks on Vol'noe slovo (1881-1883) which Elpidin described as 'the war of the chief spy with the lesser policeman from the same kitchen'. Police origins were immediately suspected and it was ignored. An announcement was published in Na rodine (1882-1883), which stated that Pravda (1882-1883) had nothing to do with 'any social-revolutionary circle in Russia and abroad' and 'the ideas which it disseminates are not shared by the Geneva émigrés'. Although Vasily Sidoratsky was a frequent contributor to Pravda (1882-1883), accusations of collaboration with the authorities do not appear to have been made in print about him, or the two publications which he published in Paris: Nigilist' (1883) and Svobodnaia mys'l' (1888).

In Great Britain, Madame Olga Novikova, a friend of Gladstone, was known in some circles at the end of the nineteenth century as 'the MP for Russia'. Her books, originally published as letters to the Northern echo, aimed to draw attention to 'real and important facts' and correct errors: she alleged that 'the Emperor Nicholas I, has very often been misunderstood by Englishmen, thanks to a very mischievous and lying propaganda' which 'was obviously supported by German money'. Her efforts were independent of the Russian government, but her Slavophile propaganda during the Balkan crises in the late 1870s and later was not disowned by the embassy. The ambassador apparently considered purchasing a newspaper himself, but was refused permission.

Ivan Golovin felt it necessary to repudiate the suggestion of official sponsorship for Russia and US Correspondent (1856):

there are people who insinuate that we edit a paper for the support of the Russian government. We shall certainly approve of every honest tendency and beneficial reform of the present Emperor, and suggest [sic] every progressive step, despite all blockheads.

This journal itself is an example of another aspect of émigré publication: journals in European languages, often aimed at influencing opinion in their host countries. Two
titles connected with Kolokol (1857-1868), both entitled La Cloche, were published with the aim of bringing the contents of the Russian-language title to a wider audience. Contemporary with them was Le Véridique, which played a similar role in relation to Dolgorukov's publications Pravdivyi (1862) and Listok (1862-1864).

At the end of the century the Russo-Jewish Committee published Darkest Russia, a journal of persecution. The first issue appeared on 15 July 1891 'with the object of bringing to the knowledge of the civilised world authentic facts relating to Russia's persecution of her Jewish and other Non-conformist subjects.' In The Anglo-Russian, Iakov Priluker promised to 'advocate freedom of conscience and encourage all legal and legitimate schemes and practical means tending to raise the Russian people from their terrible state of ignorance, degradation and poverty.' Priluker was opposed to what he saw as the atheistic tendencies of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, who operated the Russian Free Press Fund, publishers of monographs and the periodicals Letuchie listki (1893-1899) and Sovremennik (1897) in Russian, and Free Russia (1890-1915) in London and (1890-1894) in America. Feliks Volkovskiy was the editor of both periodicals.

Svoboda (1868-1873) was published as a supplement to the Alaska Herald, established on 1 March 1868: the masthead of the latter linked Siberia and Alaska, recently sold to the United States by Russia, and contained news and some stories in English, as well as a few items in Russian. In Paris, Vasily Sidoratsky published, and wrote the entire contents of Le Nihilisme in parallel with the Russian-language title Nihilist' (1883). The French title was as ephemeral as the Russian one, and its rather hysterical first item ends:

*Il y a en Russie 100 millions de bêtes au lieu de 100 millions de citoyens!!!!
La Russie est la tache du monde!!!!!!*

L Gartman had proposed the establishment of a polyglot journal, also entitled Nihilist or Nihilist in 1880: the aim was to unite populist groups, and to inform the European public about Russian affairs. It was said to have the approval of Karl Marx, but apparently nothing was published.

CONCLUSION

The origins of the émigré press lay in the desire of radical thinkers and activists for freedom of expression. The government's fears were mocked by Dolgorukov in Listok, izdavaemyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym (1862-1864), in an open letter to Aleksandr II:
why are the works of emigrants forbidden in Russia? If lies are printed in them, no-one will read them; [...] the same would follow if Your government really makes use of the true sympathy and goodness of the Russian people. [...] But [...] in these works the truth is reflected absolutely; these works correspond with the aspirations and desires of the Russian people: this is precisely what frightens You, Sovereign! You reign over seventy million people, and tremble before a few printed sheets of paper!199

He continued the attack in a later issue:

censorship exists to guard neither the government from banned journals, nor publishers against individual persecution by the government. Justice in publishing matters does not exist: absolute rule is complete and limitless.200

Despite this, interest in questions of political significance could not be entirely suppressed, even in the legal press, particularly during times when hopes of reform were high. 'Public opinion' found a voice at this time partly through the émigré press, for despite the relaxation of control, glasnost' had limits. Although few later titles achieved the same prominence as Kolokol (1857-1868), journalism retained its popularity amongst émigrés, particularly among those who rejected terrorism.

A Kh Khristoforov described the feature which unified the role of the 'Russian free press' as the aim of liberating 'Russia from the oppressive influence of autocracy on her life and development' and asserted that despite their differences 'all organs, at different periods, specified the attitude of aspiration to political freedom and to the transformation of Russian life on socialist principles'.201 He does not seem to have been aware of the titles recommending alternatives such as constitutional monarchy, for example Pravdivyi (1862).

Émigré journalism was subject to criticism from activists in Russia, but the effectiveness or popularity of any title, or indeed of the émigré press as a whole, can only be estimated: it was perceived as important, particularly among the less educated and was regarded as a highly significant activity by government and radicals alike. This attitude has remained sufficiently strong to be the subject of comment in the Soviet era. In 1985, a British journalist wrote that Russian 'official thinking has long regarded the press as the most important, certainly the most authoritative, medium' reflecting 'the age-old attitude that only what is written down is official, a record that can be quoted in evidence'.202 In November 1917, the Bolsheviks recognised the importance of the press by immediately assuming control of printing plants and supplies of paper 'for the checking of counter-revolutionary action'.203
NOTES

1 The first populist newspaper in Russia' subtitled 'organ russkikh revoliutsionerov' for the first issue, and 'organ russkikh sotsialistov' thereafter. A G Demen'tev, Ocherki po istorii russkoi zhurnalistiki, 1840-1850gg, Moscow, 1951, p587.


3 Podpol'noe slovo, issue 1, dated July 1866, p1.

4 The plans for the series were printed in 1893, covering 23 items in three groups, some on subjects such as Sotsializm i epokha reform, as well as pamphlets devoted to individual thinkers such as Gertsen, Chernyshhevsky and Bakunin.

5 Listok Sotsial'-demokrata, issue 1, 1890, 'Novaia drama v Sibiri'. It was published in Geneva.

6 Iz materialov 'Revolutsionnaiia Rossii' also appeared 1902-1903.

7 Iz materialov Iskry (1905), Listok Iskry (1905), and Prilozhenie (1905).

8 [N I Shebeko], Chronique du mouvement socialistes en Russie, 1878-1887, 1890, p407.


11 Text from G Freeze, From supplication to revolution: a documentary social history of Imperial Russia, New York, 1988, p195 (his translation).

12 The prospectus was dated 25 March/6 April 1855. The layout of the pages is identical except for the page numbering: 1-8 in the prospectus, iii-x in Poliarrnaia zvezda (1855-1868), issue 1.

13 The section in the advertisement ends with the invitation to sympathisers in Russia to 'ring the bell themselves'.

14 Printed in Geneva by Cziemecki, on behalf of Vsesvesnyi revoliutionnyoi soiz sotsial'noi demokrati: russkoe otdelel'no, no date.

15 'Ob"iavenie ob izdani gazety Russkii rabochii', p1. The sheet is folded to provide four pages, three of which are printed.

16 Blagonamerennyi, issue 10, dated 1861, pv.

17 Rabochaia mysli, issue 7, dated July 1899, p1.

18 Kalendar' Narodnoi voli, issue 1, 1883, p iii. This title was re-issued in 1898 without the introduction: see Appendix 1.

19 The original statement of aims is the article 'K chitateliam' in Pravdivyi, issue 1, dated 27 March 1862, pp1-2.

20 See for example the request in Byloe, issue 1, dated [1900], p60; Kalendar' Narodnoi voli, issue 1, dated 1883, piii.

21 Revolutsionnaiia Rossii, issue 1, dated 1900, p1.

22 Revolutsionnaiia Rossii, issue 4, dated 1902, p4.

23 Four issues of Zaria (1901-1902) edited by Plekhanov, Zasulich and Aksel'rod, were published in Stuttgart.

24 Kolokol, issue 1, dated 1 July 1857, p1.

25 Listok Sotsial'-demokrata, issue 1, dated 2 April 1890, 'Ot redaktsii', p1.

26 Na rodine, issue 1, dated 1882, 'Ot izdatie', p2.

27 See Vpered!, issue 1, dated 15 January 1875, p1.

28 Biulieten' iz materialov Rabochago dela (1900-1902), Listok Rabochago dela (1900-1901) and Maiskii listok Rabochago dela (1897-1900).

29 Iz materialov Iskry, Listok Iskry, and Prilozhenie all published in 1905.

30 Iz materialov "Revolutsionnii Rossi", (1902-1903), Letuchii listok Revolutsionnii Rossi (1904), Prilozhenie k Revolutsionnii Rossi (1900-1905).

31 There was a supplement entitled Listok Rabotnika (1896-1898).

32 Evropeets, issue 1, dated 7 February 1864, p1.


34 Nabat, issue dated 1878, pp34-37.

35 Chertkov had been allowed to emigrate in 1897 rather than be subject to internal exile: he

36 *Svobodnnoe slovo*, issue 17/18, dated May-September 1905, col 47; *Listki Svobodnago slova*, issue 23, dated 1901, p63


38 *Letuchie listki*, issue 14, dated 26 January 1895, p1.

39 *Nakanune*, issue 36, dated December 1901, p440; issue 37, dated February 1902, p452.


42 See section on 'Public opinion', below, for an discussion of this title.


47 *Rabocheia mysl*, issue 8, dated February 1900, p7.


49 *Nakanune*, issue 24, dated December 1900, pp277ff.

50 Advertisement: *Nakanune*, issue 24, dated December 1900, p288: festivities reported published in issue 25, dated January 1901.

51 *Byloe*, issue 1, dated [1900], pp58-62.

52 71 issues were published in London from 1858 to 1864. Ossorguine-Bakounine, *L'émigration russe*, item 183.

53 This is the law which was in force throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Cited R Pipes, *Russia under the old regime*, Harmondsworth, 1987, p294, his translation. Pipes also cites the Soviet Criminal Codes of 1927 and 1960 as 'an instructive demonstration of the continuity of the police mentality in Russia irrespective of the nature of the regime', pp294-295.

54 Pipes, *Russia under the old regime*, p292.


56 Foote, 'Counter-censorship', p68.

57 Foote, 'Counter-censorship', p105.


59 Balmuth, *Censorship in Russia*, p65. Delo is described by Zaleski as 'édité par Blagosvetlov à l'étranger. *Mensuel* 1867-1883' (p40).

60 Cited Balmuth, *Censorship in Russia*, p69, his translation.


62 Baron, *Plekhanov*, p64.

63 Balmuth, *Censorship in Russia*, p65.

64 Foote, 'Counter-censorship', p89.

65 *Strela*, issue 1, dated 1858, p1.


67 *Istoricheskii sbornik*, issue 1, dated 1859, p iii; see also *Kolokol*, issue 1, dated 1 July 1857, p3.


69 *Vestnik pravdy*, issue 1, dated 1 June 1876, col 2.
Svobodnala Rossia, issue 1, dated 1889.

Listki Svobodnago slova, issue 1, dated November 1898, 'Obrashchenie k chitateliam', by V Chertkov, p61.

Nakanune, issue 1, dated January 1889, 'Nakanune'. Other titles containing explicit demands for freedom of expression are: Budushchnost' (1860-1861), Narodnoe delo (1868-1870), Obshchee delo (1877-1890), Maiski listok Rabochago dela (1897-1900), Russkii rabochii (1894-1899), Samoupravlenie (1887-1889), Svobodnala mysl' (1899-1901), Sotsialist (1889).

Rabotnik, issue 1, dated January 1875, p1.

Vestnik Narodnoi voii, issue 1, dated November 1883, ppvii.

Peter Kenez commented 'Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, and Bolsheviks alike paid great attention to the press, and they operated in more or less the same environment'. The birth of the propaganda state: Soviet methods of mass mobilization 1917-1929, Cambridge, 1985, p25.

Budushchnost', issue 1, dated 15 September 1860, p2.

Budushchnost', issue 1, dated 15 September 1860, pp2-3; Pravdivyi, issue 1, dated 27 March 1862, p1.

Samoupravlenie, issue 1, dated December 1887, p4: Svobodnala Rossia, issue 1, dated February 1889; Russkii rabochii, issue 1, dated January 1894, p3; Avtonomo-demokraticheskala konstitutsiia, issue 1, dated [August] 1897, p1.

Sotsialist, issue 1, dated June 1889, pp2-3.

Narodnoe delo, issue 1, dated 1 September 1868, pp6-8. See also R Stites, Revolutionary dreams: utopian vision and experimental life in the Russian revolution, Oxford, 1989, chapter 1 on 'Social daydreaming before the revolution'.

Sovremennik, issue 3, dated June 1897, p20.

Nabat, issue 1, dated November/December 1875, p2.

See chapter 4, section on circulation and distribution.


McReynolds, The news under Russia's old regime, p25.


McReynolds, News under Russia's old regime, pp71-72.

A Gleason, Young Russia: the genesis of Russian radicalism in the 1860s, New York, 1980, p95.

The figures for the other titles which lasted seven years or more: Nabat (1875-1881) - seven years, 35 issues; Letuchie listki (1893-1899) - seven years, 46 issues; Narodovolts (1897-1903) - seven years, four issues; Svobodnoe slovo (1898-1905) - seven years, twenty issues; Pollararna zvezda (1855-1868) - fourteen years, eight issues; Vesti n Nk pravy (1876-1890) - fifteen years, 36 issues.

Rabotnik's three issues were dated 1896, 1897 and 1899. Pollararna zvezda was more or less annual until 1862, and than appeared once more in 1868.

The first issue was dated 1 October 1882, and the twentieth and final issue was dated 13 February 1883. See Appendix I.
The other connections were: Blagonamerennyi (1859-1862) published by Ascher & Co; Budushchnost' (1860-1861) published by Gustav Bar; Vest' (1862) and Svoedobnoe slovo (1862-1863) published by Ferdinand Schneider; Evropeets (1864) published by Bruno Weinecke; Letuchie listki (1862) published by Bangel & Schmidt; Listok, izdavaemyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym (1862-1864) published by Sigismund Gerstman; Pravdivyi (1862) and Pravdolubivyi (1862-1863) published by Gerhard; Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (1858-1862) published by A Frank, Ascher & Co, and Trubner; Svobodnoe slovo (1862-1863) published by Ferdinand Schneider; Evropeets (1864) published by Bruno Weinecke; Listok, izdavaemyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym (1862-1864) published by Sigismund Gerstman; Pravdivyi (1862) and Pravdolubivyi (1862-1863) published by Gerhard; Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (1858-1862) published by A Frank, Ascher & Co, and Trubner; Sreata (1858-1859) published by H Hubner.

See Listok, izdavaemyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym, and Evropeets in Appendix 1.

See for example, Listok, izdavaemyi kn P V Dolgorukovym, issue 7, dated 19 May 1863, title page.


Narodnata rasprava, issue 1, dated Summer 1869, p2. For the reaction of St Petersburg students see Venturi, Roots of revolution, p352 and p359.


V D Bonch-Bruevich, Kak pechatalis' za granitsei i taino dostavialis' v Rossiiu zapreshchennyie izdaniia nashiei partii, Moscow, 1924, pp5-6.


Futrell, Northern underground, pp39-40.

Futrell, Northern underground, p48.


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Futrell, Northern underground, pp39-40.

Futrell, Northern underground, p48.

Senese, 'S M Kravchinskii amd the National Front against Autocracy', p514; A E Senn, 'M K Elpidin: revolutionary publisher' Russian review (1982) 41, p20. See chapter 3, particularly the section on 'Making a living' for Elpidin.


See for example, Listok, izdavaemyi kn P V Dolgorukovym, issue 7, dated 19 May 1863, title page.


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V D Bonch-Bruevich, Kak pechatalis' za granitsei i taino dostavialis' v Rossiiu zapreshchennyie izdaniia nashiei partii, Moscow, 1924, pp5-6.
See Meijer, *Knowledge and revolution*, pp. 115ff, for a full account of the dispute. B. Sapir, 'Unknown chapters in the history of *Vpered!*' *International review of Social History* (1957) 2, 52-77 discusses in detail the relationship of the various programmes to each other.


[Vpered! (sbornik), issue 1, dated 1873, piii.](#)


[Vpered! 1873-1877, v1, pp. 345ff on collapse of *Vpered!*](#)

[Vpered! (1875-1876), issue 40, dated 1 September/20 August 1876, cols 521-532](#)

[Vestnik Narodnoi voss, issue 1, dated November 1883, p. vii.](#)

[Vpered! 1873-1877, vl, pp. 345ff on collapse of *Vpered!*](#)

[Vestnik Narodnoi voss, issue 1, dated November 1883, p. vii.](#)

132 *Veteri, Roots of revolution*, pp. 529-531 for the origins and influence of this title.

133 Khristoforov *Obshchee delo: istoria i kharakteristika izdaniia*, p. 51.

134 Letuchie listki, issue 14, dated 26 January 1895, p. 1.


142 K. G. Robbins, *The freedom of the press: journalists, editors, owners and politicians in Edwardian Britain*, p. 127 and p. 129 in *To mighty to be free: censorship and the press in Britain and the Netherlands*, Zutphen, 1978, writes that 'From its beginning printed news had been associated with the lower orders' and 'there was the conviction that news was only safe as long as it was kept out of the hands of the general public.' (p. 17)

143 Narodnaia rasprava, issue 1, dated 1869, p. 3.

144 Budushchnost', issue 1, dated 15 September 1860, p. 2.


146 Literaturnoe nasledstvo, 87, p. 392.

147 Vpered! (1875-1876), issue 1, dated 15 January 1875, col. 2.

148 Vpered! (1875-1876), issue 40, dated 1 September/20 August 1876, col. 521.


151 Nabat, issue 1, dated November/December 1875, p. 2.

152 Nabat, issue 3/4/5 of year 4, dated 1879, p. 10.

153 Obshchina, issue 1, dated January 1878, p. 6.


155 Vpered! (1875-1876), issue 40, dated 1 September/20 August 1876, col. 526.

156 Fodor, *Quest for a non-violent Russia*, pp. 71-76.

157 Bratskii listok, issue 1, no date [1898], p. vii.


Knikones, *To the people*, pp245-250.


Russia and the United States correspondent, issue 5, dated Saturday 13 September 1856, p2. The article is written in English and is addressed 'To the English press'.


Ruud, *Fighting words* p215.

Ruud, *Fighting words*, p216.

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See J Slatter, 'The Kropotkin papers' *The geographical magazine* (November 1981), 917-922, for an account of this episode.

Vestnik Narodnyi, vol, issue 5, dated 15 December, 1886, p186.

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Vol'noe slovo, issue 1, dated 8 August/27 July 1881, pl.


Galai, 'Early Russian constitutionalism', p36.


Na rodine, issue 3, dated 1883, p72.

'Madame Novikoff "unmasked" ' by 'English Slavophil' in *More searchlights on Russia*, Asiatic Review series, [1918?]. See also Kiperman 'Glavnye tsentry russkoi revoliutsionnoi emigratsii', p280.


Russia and the US correspondent, issue 5, dated September 13 1856, p2.

Darkest Russia, issue 1, dated 15 July 1891, pl.

The Anglo-Russian, issue 1, dated 1 July 1897, pl.

The Anglo-Russian, issue 1, dated 1 July 1897, pl16.

Le Nihilisme, issue 1, dated 1883, pl.

Kiperman, 'Glavnye tsentry russkoi revoliutsionnoi emigratsii', p278.

Listok, izdavaemyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym, issue 11, dated 27 August 1863, pl82.

Listok, izdavaemyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym, issue 19, dated 28 April 1864, 'O nyneshnem polozheni del', p146.


CHAPTER THREE

THE LIFE OF ÉMIGRÉ PUBLICISTS

At the beginning of the reign of Aleksandr II, there were very few Russians abroad but thereafter restrictions were fewer, and they travelled for a change, or for their health, or to study. Many radical activists also spent some time in Europe or America to escape arrest, internal exile, or to make contact with radical circles. Naturally, the activists played the largest part in the émigré periodical press, although some other travellers had a role, for example, as couriers for correspondence and publications. The main appeal of émigré life to radical publicists, compared with clandestine activity in Russia, lay in its relative freedom from interference from the authorities. The periodical press linked émigrés and oppositional activists in Russia, and provided a forum for free speech and for political propaganda. It also served a social function: writing could provide an income, and the production of each issue was sometimes a collective activity. However the Russian émigré community was no exception to the first rule of political emigration, that much time and energy is expended on internecine feuding, irrespective of any desire for unity and all efforts to co-operate. The variety of experiences within the political emigration will be illustrated by reference to the lives of some of its members.

REASONS FOR EMIGRATION

Some early émigré publicists, for example Aleksandr Gertsen, left with permission to travel. Nikolai Turgenev was abroad at the time of the Decembrist rising and remained in Europe after the arrest of his co-conspirators. In the early years of the émigré press he wrote articles published in Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (1858-1862) and for the Free Russian Press. Gertsen and Turgenev, together with Nikolai Sazonov, Ivan Golovin and Mikhail Bakunin formed the original, tiny nucleus of the political emigration. Ivan Golovin had also travelled originally as a 'tourist' and refused to return when requested. Although the journals he published post-dated those of the Free Russian Press, he had published critical monographs in French during the 1840s (for example, La Russie sous Nicolas Ier, 1845, and Le catechisme du peuple russe, 1849, both in Paris). N I Turgenev had also published monographs during the same period, the earliest and best-known of which, La Russie et les Russes, appeared in three volumes in Paris in 1847. In contrast, P V Dolgorukov obeyed a summons to return to Russia after the publication of Notices sur les principales familles de la
Russia in Brussels and Paris in 1843 under the pseudonym Comte d'Almagro. He was placed under police supervision, and on his release, continued his genealogical research, which was published legally. He finally left Russia in 1859: most likely because he was unable to publish freely his ideas on the emancipation of the serfs and other reforms. Freedom of the press certainly figured in the political demands made in the columns of the various periodicals he established in emigration: Budushchnost' (1860-1861), Pravdivyi (1862) and Listok, Izdavaemyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym (1862).

For many émigré journalists, freedom of expression was not the original motive for their journey abroad. Nikolai Utin went abroad in 1863: he had been a member of Zemlia i volia and was tried and sentenced to death in his absence. His contemporary Mikhail Elpidin was arrested in the village of Bezdna in 1861 but was released without trial. He was arrested again in 1863 and escaped to Europe after serving two of the five years of his sentence of hard labour. Petr Lavrov was sent into internal exile in the mid-1860s, and fled to Europe in 1870 with the assistance of German Lopatin partly to continue his scholarly work: he had been sent to the town of Kadnikov in Vologda province, where he was the only 'political' and had only part of his library. Lev Tikhomirov 'left to rest, to look about': he wrote 'in 1879-1881 it was seen as stupid, even contemptible and dishonourable for revolutionaries to be occupied with publishing'. Feliks Volkhovsky was arrested in 1874 and convicted at the 'trial of the 193': he escaped in 1889 on a British ship sailing out of Vladivostok after twelve years of Siberian exile, using letters from George Kennan and a signed photograph as 'proofs of his trustworthiness'. He arrived in London the following year, after a brief period in Canada, to join Sergei Stepanak-Kravchinsky. The latter had himself returned to Russia from a period in emigration in order to assassinate N V Mezentsev in 1878, and escaped abroad again to avoid arrest. Others who sought asylum abroad included Sergei Nechaev after the Ivanov murder, Petr Kropotkin in 1876 after his escape from prison, and Vera Zasulich after her acquittal. Georgy Plekhanov left in January 1880, after being persuaded that the risk of arrest was too great.

Some activists moved between Russia and Europe, to organise funds, to arrange smuggling and distribution routes for the publications and to maintain contacts between the émigré and clandestine groups. In the early 1860s, Vasily Kel'siev was involved in organising distribution for the Free Russian Press publications through European borders. Sergei Podolinsky attempted to do the same for Vpered! (1873-1877) at the start of its existence, although he soon began to distance himself from the journal, a process completed when he fell ill in 1874. In 1896 Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich was sent abroad by the Social-Democratic organisation in Russia with the aim of repairing links with the Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda'. Another motive for travelling abroad was study. Heidelberg and Zurich were both centres for Russian students in the 1860s and 1870s: the latter student colony in particular has been studied in depth.
Bakunin initially went abroad in 1840 to study in Berlin, but from 1842 devoted himself to political activity in emigration. He was arrested in Dresden in 1849, forcibly returned to Russia in 1851 and returned to the West after escaping from Siberian exile ten years later. Although the main reason for Plekhanov's journey in 1880 was to avoid arrest, he also welcomed the opportunity to study.¹⁴

Few religious emigrants became involved in the émigré press, with the main exception of those associated with Vladimir Chertkov and the New Age Press. Some titles in the 1860s and 1870s called for the abolition of religion or of the church: Dolgorukov called, in the first issue of Pravdivyi (1862), for the disestablishment of the church, and the programmatic article in the first issue of Narodnoe delo (1868-1873) supported atheism because religious beliefs were instruments of oppression and demoralisation of the people.¹⁵ Nechaev called for the abolition of religious institutions in Obshchina (1870).¹⁶ Later émigré publicists mainly confined themselves to calling for freedom of conscience and freedom of worship. Only in Vestnik pravdy (1876-1890) was there an attempt to fuse radical politics with religious teaching, in articles so peppered with references to the Bible that they are almost unreadable.¹⁷ Iakov Priluker's attempts to reconcile the Christian and Jewish traditions met with disapproval and he emigrated to Great Britain where he published the English-language title The Anglo-Russian (1897-1914).¹⁸

COUNTRIES OF SETTLEMENT

Whatever the reason for going abroad and wherever the émigré publicists settled, the majority of the journals were published in one of three places: Switzerland (most often Geneva), London and, in the 1890s, New York. Other places of publication included Paris, Brussels and some German cities. The four titles published in the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were all apparently related to the pan-Slav movement. Three were published in Vienna:¹⁹ the fourth was Slavianskii mir (1872), published in Prague in Czech and Russian. Most Russian émigré publications were banned in Hapsburg territory in the 1870s, and activists were arrested:²⁰ after establishing a Hebrew-language periodical which was smuggled into the Pale of Settlement, Aron Liberman was arrested in 1878 in Vienna for living under a false name. After some months in prison, he was expelled from Austria across the border into Prussia.²¹

All the Russian-language titles recorded as published in North America were published in the United States: none has been recorded in Canada. Although most were published in the 1890s, beginning with Znamia (1889-1890) in New York, intended 'not for Russia but for foreign workers who read Russian, in order to develop
in them ideas of socialism',²² Svoboda (1867-1873) was published in San Francisco after the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867. In the last two decades of the century, emigration from the Russian Empire increased markedly, although much earlier Ivan Golovin's polyglot title Russia and US correspondent (1856) named a distributor in Liverpool, the busiest emigrant port in Europe. A large proportion were Jews, who left the Pale of Settlement to escape pogroms and the legal and economic disadvantage to which they were subject, and had little or no intention of returning. Many went to the United States, and although many spoke (or read) Yiddish rather than Russian, a Russian-language press appeared in America in the 1890s intended for this community, while still supporting the ideals and aspirations of the Russian opposition.²³ Poles, Lithuanians and Finns also emigrated, but very few Russians left, possibly because of encouragement for the non-penal settlement of Siberia: emigration by ethnic Russians was officially discouraged.²⁴ In September 1892, there were an estimated 200,000 'Russian' immigrants in New York: the term Russian included all ethnic groups from within the Empire.²⁵

Although the main centres of political emigration were in Geneva, Paris and London, the émigrés did not ignore the potential of the United States as a source of sympathy and funds: Stepniak-Kravchinsky undertook a lecture tour there in 1890-1891 to exploit both. Bakunin and Volkhovsky escaped from Siberia through North America but settled in Europe. Some activists based in Europe did contribute to North American publications: there is an article by Pavel Aksel'yod in Ezhegodnik (1898/1899), and there had been earlier links with Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda',²⁶ Most American titles seem to have favoured Marxist and social-democratic views. Progress (1891-1893), for example, was published for sympathisers with the radical movement 'in such a typical capitalist country as America, among sixty million' people.²⁷ Some issues contain a statement in English falsely claiming that it was 'the only Russian paper without the dominions of the Czar': other titles in Europe and America were published during its existence, and later issues claim that this is the 'only Russian publication in Chicago'.²⁸ It claimed to be an independent socialist organ 'serving ideas, not circles and personalities', open to all who want to be free of Russian censorship.²⁹

There was a scattering of titles published in German cities between 1858 and 1864. Ivan Golovin and P V Dolgorukov both published titles in Leipzig: Strela (1858-1859) and Budushchnost' (1860-1861), and Pravdoliubivyi (1862-1863), was also published there. Leonid Blummer published Vest' (1862) and Svobodnoe slovo (1862-1863) in Berlin: the latter title moved to Brussels, and Blummer also published Evropeets (1864) in Dresden. V I Bakst published Letuchie listki (1862) in Heidelberg. Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (1858-1862) was published simultaneously in Berlin, Paris and London. Although Germany remained a popular place of study for
Russians, émigré publicists may have been dissuaded by fighting over German unification from the late 1860s, and by the perception (especially after the 'blood and iron' speech by Bismarck in 1862) of the country as reactionary. The anti-socialist laws enacted in 1878, and in place until 1890, had some impact: Liberman, expelled from Austria across the border into Prussia, was promptly arrested in January 1879 and tried in Berlin for socialist agitation. He was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and expelled from Prussia on the expiry of his sentence. After the repeal of the anti-socialist laws Russian periodicals were published there: some issues of Rabochaia mysli (1897-1902) were published in Berlin and some issues of Iskra (1900-1905), in Leipzig and Munich. By this time, as well as the students, there also were communities of Jews from Russia in Berlin, Darmstadt, Freiburg and Karlsruhe among other places.

A few titles were published in Belgium. Blummer had moved to Brussels in order to join P V Dolgorukov, who published Pravdivyi (1862) and Listok, izdavaemyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym, (1862-1864) there: the latter moved to London in 1863. Aleksandr Gertsen's attempt to move his press to Brussels failed but the independent journal La Cloche (1862-1864) which publicised the ideas expressed in Kolokol (1855-1867) was also published in Brussels, as was at least one issue of Nabat (1875-1881).

There were hardly any Russian periodical publications based in France until the final years of the century, despite the size of the Russian émigré community there: estimated as 60% of the political emigration in 1881. There were also students, artists and other travellers there, and there may have been more alternative occupations than elsewhere. Paris was one of the places of publication of Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (1858-1862), but it was another twenty years before another Russian-language title was published there, possibly reflecting the relatively restrictive French press laws before 1881. The upheavals of the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune in 1870, although exciting for radical activists, had not provided the settled background which was one of the main advantages of émigré over clandestine publication. Petr Lavrov lived in Paris, before moving to Zurich, and returned there after leaving Vpered! (1873-1877). His apartment became a social centre for the emigration, but he admitted that it was difficult 'to follow the real mood of the Russian public from Paris'. In the 1880s Vasily Sidoratsky's two ephemeral titles appeared: Nigilist' (1883) and Svobodnaia mysli (1888). An office of the Zagranichnaiia agentura was established in Paris in 1885, from which payments were made to influence coverage of Russian affairs in the press, and its presence may have discouraged other efforts at establishing journals. An active Russian-language press finally appeared in Paris by the end of the century. Russkii rabochii (1894-1899) and Revoliutsionnaia Rossiiia (1900-1905), both socialist-revolutionary in orientation, and Svobodnaia mysli (1899-
1901), published by the Tolstoyans, were all partly published there. In the 1890s the Russian-language newspapers, Russkii Parizhanin (1892-1893) and Soiuiz (1893) were published in Paris. In Nice, long a centre for Russian travellers, there was a weekly newspaper, Russko-frantsuzskii vestnik (1893-1914) with text in both Russian and French. It was intended for the 'Russian colony in the south of France', and was one of the few titles which did not cease when censorship was reduced after the 1905 revolution. This may have been because its main concern was the social life of the visitors to the resort in which it was based, although it was subtitled 'gazeta ezhenedeln'naia politicheskaiia obshchestvennaia i literaturnaia'.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Great Britain formed a favoured refuge, although the English were regarded with little enthusiasm by some political emigrants. In 1856, Ivan Golovin wrote that 'Englishmen are not precisely linguists', and that his journal expected 'very little from England; yet, what greater compliment could it pay to the country than coming out in London in three languages?' Gertsen wrote of England with little affection, and Petr Kropotkin described the year he spent in England in 1881 as

a year of real exile. For I who held advanced socialist opinions, there was no atmosphere to breathe in. There was no sign of that animated socialist movement which I found so largely developed on my return in 1886.

Confident Victorian Britain provided a safe refuge, and Russians who left the country in general did so of their own accord, but this toleration had eroded somewhat by the end of the century: Vladimir Burtsev was tried for seditious libel over an article in Russian in Narodovolets (1897-1903), apparently because of Russian government pressure, although similar material, written by Sergei Stepaniak-Kravchinsky and published in English, had not been used as the basis of prosecution.

London was the first centre for émigré publishing because the Free Russian Press was based there, and some issues of Listok, izdavaemyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym (1862-1864) were also published there, as well as the joint publication Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (1858-1862). When the Free Russian Press moved to Geneva, this predominance changed, and the latter town became the most important centre of Russian publishing. Some later titles were published in London: Nechaev's Obshchina (1870); Lavrov moved Vpered! (1873-1877) there in 1874; part of Tkachev's journal Nabat (1875-1881) was published there after issues published in Geneva and Brussels. When the clandestine publication of Chernyi peredel (1880-1881) became impossible it moved to London, and Na rodine (1882) was also based there. This title echoed the Free Russian Press: it was printed at Vol'naia russkaia tipografii in London and later moved to Geneva. No more Russian-language titles
were published in London until the second issue of *Sotsial-demokrat* (1888-1893) in 1890, the year that Free Russia (1890-1915) was established by the Russian Free Press Fund, followed by *Letuchie listki* (1893-1899) and *Sovremennik* (1897). In the late 1890s, the growth of publishing activity in London reflected the general increase in the émigré press: eight titles were published wholly or in part in London. There were also three titles published outside London, by the Free Age Press. *Bratskii listok* (1898) was published in the village of Mundon, and *Svobodnoe slovo* (1898-1905) and *Listki Svobodnogo slova* (1898-1902) both appeared partly in the nearby village of Purleigh. Some issues of *Svobodnoe slovo* (1898-1905) were published at Geneva and, together with *Listki Svobodnogo slova* (1898-1902) it was published at Christchurch in Hampshire from 1900.

Switzerland had offered a refuge to political emigrants, and their publications from the late 1840s: by the 1880s 8% of the Swiss population were foreigners (both tourists and refugees). Not all were welcome: Sergei Nechaev was extradited from Switzerland as a common criminal in 1872; nine years later Petr Kropotkin was expelled; in 1886 'unknown men' wrecked the print-shop where *Vestnik Narodnoi voli* (1883-1886) was typeset. Part of Geneva's importance lay in its good communications (with both Russia and other European countries), its relative closeness to Russia compared with Britain, for example and also its relatively cheap cost of living. After Kolokol (1857-1868) transferred there in 1865, there were few years in which there was no Geneva-based title in progress: however, from 1871 to 1873 only Svoboda (1868-1873) in San Francisco and Slavianski mir (1872) in Prague were published. Mikhail Elpidin established his commercially successful publishing business and bookshop, much patronised by travellers with radical leanings, in Geneva. From the early 1880s, the publishing activities of the *Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda'* were based there as was the subversive title *Pravda* (1882-1883), even though the community of permanent and active Russian radicals apparently numbered no more than 50 members. Of the 93 titles initiated between 1855 and 1900, 46% were published wholly or partly in Switzerland, all but three in Geneva. The next most popular place of publication was London: 26% of titles were published wholly or partly in Great Britain, with all but three based in London.

**INSTITUTIONS**

Many of the institutions of émigré life bore a close resemblance to those of Russian student life: reading rooms, libraries, cafes and co-operative restaurants, which functioned in various places throughout the period. V I Bakst, who published *Letuchie listki* (1862) with his brother, was one of the organisers of the Russian reading room in
Heidelberg in the early 1860s: it served both as both a library and a political club. Ten years later, Russian men and women enrolled on courses in Zurich, and when Lavrov arrived in November 1872, there was already a student-organised library where meetings were held and he gave lectures on mathematics and philosophy. One subject of dispute between the followers of Bakunin and Lavrov, to which the principals were not party, was the organisation and control of this institution, which was eventually split into two. The library controlled by the Lavrovist group continued to be used by students who remained after the government recall. The other, smaller library was sold by Bakunin’s supporter Arman Ross to Mikhail Elpidin, who opened a reading room along with his bookshop and publishing business. It contained works in Russian, French and German, and served as a club for the Russian emigration. Whatever his differences with Nikolai Utin, in 1871 he opened a co-operative restaurant in association with him. Elpidin notes with disapproval the establishment of a rival free reading room in 1875, by a Pole, Kaspar Tursky, with ‘funds charmed from the emigrant Tkachev for the publication of the journal title Nabat’.

A Russian library, not specifically for radical literature, was established in Paris in 1875 with the assistance of Ivan Turgenev. It provided a meeting place and a refuge for the homeless among the émigrés, although the main social meeting place was Lavrov’s flat. The Bibliothèque russe Tourguènev continues to exist in Paris, now at rue de Valence rather than at its original address in the rue Berthollet nearby. A ‘Russian college’ existed in Paris from 1900: in the academic year 1901-1902, courses ran on subjects such as ‘Vseobshchaja istoriya i opisatel’naia sotsiologiia’, ‘Evolutziia ekonomicheskogo byta i ekonomicheskikh uchenii’, as well as on philosophy, chemistry, art and literature. There were also individual lectures on, for example, imprisonment on Sakhalin island, William Morris and co-operative unions.

Some of the earliest Russian settlements in North America were in Alaska, and when that territory was sold to the United States in 1867, the inhabitants could choose to resettle in Russia or remain as American citizens. There was still a Russian church and school in Alaska in the 1890s. It was this community that the former priest Agapius Goncharenko was addressing in Svoboda (1868-1873). He attacked the Russian church, diplomats and the activities of the Russian-American Company, and advertised the Russian Republican Benevolent Society, of which he was the secretary: it is strictly a secret organisation, and is intended for the propagation of Republican principles among Russians here, and in the Russian Empire. [...] Its benevolence is confined exclusively to political refugees. It does not in any way interfere with American politics.

Goncharenko apparently remained in California until his death in 1916. Other émigré organisations began to appear in the 1880s, many non-political, such as a co-operative
Russkoe obshchestvo in Brooklyn which made furniture. Some attempts at communal living were made, Bratstvo russikh pionerov in Missouri and Kommuna 'Novaia Odessa' in Oregon. The Russian colony in Chicago was large enough to support the establishment of an Orthodox church in 1893.

New York, where most emigrants arrived, was also where most of the organisations were based. In the 1870s a mutual aid society, Russkii kruzhok, not only held meetings for its members and possessed a printing press: its use for forging 50 cent notes led to its operators being imprisoned. In the 1890s in New York there were Russian musical and drama groups (Gogol's Revisor was among the plays performed) although the Yiddish groups seem to have lasted longer than the Russian. A library and reading room was established in 1895 for educational and social purposes, but did not fulfil the function of a political club. A 'Russian Labour Club' formed in New York in 1891 also had a library of works in Russian and English, and put on lectures and social events. At the end of that decade there was a 'Radical Library and Russian Labour Club' in Philadelphia. Some short-lived political societies existed in the late 1880s: many aimed at propaganda and 'self-development', and were not confined to New York. They were usually socialist, and sought to encourage moral and financial support for the Russian revolutionary movement. In the early 1890s, they also publicised the famine in Russia, and raised money to provide assistance. A Russian Social-Democratic Society, headed by Sergei Ingerman who had connections with the Gruppa Osvobozhdenie truda, was established in 1891 and survived into the twentieth century. Other mutual-aid or benevolent societies which helped the unemployed, the sick and the bereaved, and some held social meetings.

MAKING A LIVING

Once outside the Russian Empire, most emigrants had to earn their living. A few had private means, for example Aleksandr Gertsen and Vladimir Chertkov, and some, of whom Bakunin is the most notorious, managed on the generosity of others: he was supported by the Princess Obolenskaia in the mid 1860s, until his differences with another member of her circle, N I Utin. For the rest of his life he survived 'precariously on "loans" and subsidies from various sources'. A report to the Ministry of the Interior on the socialist movement commented on the great poverty among émigrés who were unable to live on their earnings from 'la vente de libelles et des pamphlets'. A significant proportion of the émigré community at all times was composed of students, though their stay would often be temporary, and not all students were radicals. Clearly any study of the émigré press will emphasise the importance of journalism and other forms of authorship as sources of income for political emigrants, but many political
emigrants, in common with the majority of radical activists, were members of the educated elite and writing had a natural attraction. The periodical press was not the only outlet for writings: whole libraries of books, pamphlets and proclamations were published, articles appeared in the Western European and American press, and in some cases for legal publication in Russia. Petr Kropotkin first arrived in Edinburgh, but soon moved to London where he found work writing on Russian geographical explorations for Nature and The Times, under the pseudonym Mr Levashoff. Émigré journalism did not provide an adequate income for most participants: exceptionally both Mikhail Elpidin and the activists of the Russian Free Press Fund group ran publishing and bookselling businesses.

The publishing of the two journals entitled Vpered! (1873-1877) and (1875-1876) in London was organised as a communal enterprise, described by one of its members N G Kuliabko-Koretsky, in his memoirs. Lavrov spent most of his time writing: items for both Vpered! titles (1873-1877, 1875-1876); pseudonymous articles for legal publication in Russia; correspondence; and continuing his great work, Istoriia mysli. Kuliabko-Koretsky and V Smirnov also wrote for the journals. The writers and the typesetters all lived together and were summoned to meals by the bell rung by the German housekeeper, Gertrude. Kuliabko-Koretsky noted that they led austere lives (they went to the theatre only twice during the two years), and that Lavrov in particular hardly ever left the house: he occasionally went to the reading room in the British Museum and once went to spend the evening at the home of Karl Marx. Contacts with emigrants of other political groups were rare.

Lavrov left the commune when he ceased to edit Vpered! (1873-1877) at the end of 1876, and supported himself by writing for legal publications such as Otechestvennye zapiski and Delo, as well as for the French socialist journal L'Égalité and for The Atheneum in England. He later assisted Georgy Plekhanov when the latter arrived in Switzerland, and encouraged him also to write for legal publication. Plekhanov in these years devoted a large part of his time to study. Although the Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda' was established in 1883 as primarily a political group, its members, Plekhanov himself, Pavel Aksel'rod and Vera Zasulich not only co-operated in their political life but helped each other materially. A fourth member, Lev Deich, was arrested in 1884 and deported to Russia; the fifth member of the Group, V I Ignatov, died in 1885 although his financial support had enabled the Group to buy its printing press. Although their publications more or less paid for themselves, they provided no income for the authors or editors, and in common with many others, they were poor and lived from hand to mouth. During the 1880s, Aksel'rod and his wife manufactured and sold kefir to the Russian community, and Plekhanov took on tutoring work. His wife was refused the award of a medical degree by the Russian authorities and had to repeat her studies in Switzerland, finally qualifying and starting to
practice in 1895. Tikhomirov commented on the poverty of Plekhanov and his family: he describes the five or six shelves of books as 'the only luxury' in their lodgings, and their utter lack of concern with housekeeping matters.74

There may have been competition as well as co-operation between the émigré presses. In 1866, Ludwig Cziemecki advertised the possession of new type, and the 'accuracy, elegance and cheapness' of work in Polish, Serbian, French and English as well as Russian at the Free Russian Press.75 It was presumably this type that was sold sometime around Cziemecki's death in 1872: the fate of the press itself is not certain.76 There was at one time a suggestion that the Free Russian Press combine with that of the Narodnoe delo (1868-1870) group, but nothing came of this proposal.77 Mikhail Elpidin arrived in Geneva in 1865 and set up his press a year later: he printed and published the journals which he edited himself, titles edited by others such as Sovremennost' (1868) and the first two issues of Narodnoe delo (1868-1870). He was also the printer of A Serno-Solov'evich's pamphlet, Nashi domashnie dela, although it was published by the firm of Benda in Vevey. When he abandoned the printing business to concentrate on publishing and bookselling, the equipment, including the type, was bought by Anton Trusov, his successor as printer of Narodnoe delo (1868-1870). Trusov later printed monographs and issues 3-50 of Obshchee delo (1877-1890), and jointly published them with Elpidin.78 Trusov had left Russia in the mid-1860s, and worked as a typesetter in Paris before joining Narodnoe delo (1868-1870): he, Elpidin, Lavrov and two of his associates, Lazar Gol'denberg and Valery Smirnov all refused to return when summoned by the Russian government in 1874. At some stage during the negotiations which preceded the establishment of Vpered! (1873-1877) there were discussions with Utin with a view to taking over the print-shop of the now defunct Narodnoe delo (1868-1870) and employing Trusov as a typesetter, but evidently these negotiations came to nothing.79 It was apparently Trusov's print-shop which Lev Deich and the Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda' bought in 1883: Trusov returned to Russia the following year.80 The Bakuninist group in Zurich had set up their own printing press, financed by sympathisers, contemporary with Vpered! (1873-1877), but it was short-lived and no periodicals were printed there.81

Mikhail Elpidin remained in business as a bookseller and publisher until the beginning of the twentieth century, becoming a Swiss citizen in 1876. He was closely involved in the publication of the moderate journal Obshchee delo (1877-1890), but his bookshop sold works representing all points of view, including those of Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda' and he assisted others, including both Lavrov and Tkachev, to obtain type for their periodicals. He published a large number of monographs including the works of Chernyshevsky, Tolstoy, Saltykov-Shchedrin and George Kennan,82 and reprints of clandestine publications, such as the original journal entitled Narodnnaia volia.83 Although a successful businessman, he was not universally popular: N A
Belogolovy, his collaborator on Obshchee delo (1877-1890) commented on his 'great tactlessness'.\textsuperscript{84} Lev Tikhomirov described him as 'mad about spies',\textsuperscript{85} but apparently Elpidin later accepted money himself to spy for the Zagranichnaia agentura. As the proprietor of the biggest Russian bookshop in Europe, his assistance should have been invaluable but, in a possible case of double-bluff, he was eventually dismissed for 'senility and uselessness'.\textsuperscript{86}

Given the poverty common among members of the political emigration, the success of the proprietors of Vol'noe slovo (1881-1883) and Pravda (1882-1883) in obtaining contributions from political émigrés is not surprising: both paid well. Mikhail Dragomanov, who needed the income, agreed to print Vol'noe slovo (1881-1883) on the press which he controlled and he later became its second editor. Dragomanov's opposition to the government was not questioned: he published the periodicals Gromada (1878-1882) and Listok Gromady (1878) and pamphlets in Ukrainian. Pavel Aksel'rod also wrote for Vol'noe slovo (1881-1883) at Lavrov's suggestion, despite the fact that his closest associates (Plekhanov and Zasulich) disapproved.\textsuperscript{87} Elpidin wrote in 1906 that the editor of Pravda (1882-1883), I Klimov, 'fished for collaborators where hunger and need were on the threshold'.\textsuperscript{88}

Vasily Sidoratsky, one of the most frequent contributors to Pravda (1882-1883), had impeccable radical credentials: Elpidin described him as a 'real revolutionary'.\textsuperscript{89} He had been imprisoned for his participation in the khozhdenie v narod, put on trial in 1875 on a charge of corresponding with Vpered! (1873-1877) from prison, and exiled to Arkhangelsk province (where he was in trouble for celebrating Mezentsev's assassination in 1878) and Siberia. In 1882 he was allowed to return to St Petersburg, and went abroad the same year. He was a prolific publisher of pamphlets, as well as two short-lived if eccentric journals: he referred to himself in his publications as 'Ambassadeur du Nihilisme auprès du Monde Civilisé'.\textsuperscript{90} In Svobodnaia mys' (1888), he advertised his own publications in French and in Russian, his services as a printer in a range of languages, and as a teacher of mathematics.\textsuperscript{91} There is a critical review of issue 49 of Vol'noe slovo (1881-1883) in Nigilist (1883): he wrote that 'it is fruitless to look for the forty-ninth time for anything of interest to the practical revolutionary', and invited Dragomanov to 'participate' in Nigilist (1883) on the sole condition that he write something witty.\textsuperscript{92}

Other sources of income included teaching: Gertsen's children were tutored by other political émigrés (not all Russians), and Plekhanov worked as a teacher. Public lectures in Great Britain, publicising conditions in Russia, were a source of income for a number of émigrés, including Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinsky, Iakov Priluker and Feliks Volkovsky.\textsuperscript{93} Lev Mechnikov, co-editor of Sovremennost' (1868), also contributed to legal journals. He settled in emigration and became a citizen of the United States in 1874 and he travelled to Japan for two years. On his return to Switzerland, he settled
at Neuchâtel University, lecturing on Oriental studies, becoming Professor of Comparative Geography at Neuchâtel: he died in 1888. By the mid-1870s Nikolai Utin had moved away from political activities, and trained as a civil engineer in England where he was elected to the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1876. He later worked as an engineer in Belgium and Romania. In 1874 Dmitri Klements participated in propaganda activities in Moscow and the provinces, and avoided arrest by going abroad in 1875, where he was 'occupied with scientific work in Berlin and Paris'. He returned to Russia briefly before going abroad again and was one of the editorial team of Obshchina (1878) before returning to Russia the following year. In 1870 Nechaev was working a twelve-hour day in Zurich as sign-writer for shops and businesses, while concealing his identity behind a Serbian passport.

LOCAL CONNECTIONS

Social and political links with European and American hosts did exist and the press played a role in connecting the Russian radical movement with developments in European political and social thought, but this aspect of émigré life has not been examined exhaustively here. Aleksandr Gertsen's friendships with European radicals, for example, Giuseppe Mazzini, Aurelio Saffi and the Polish emigration in London (especially Stanislas Worcell) are well known, and research has shown that his links with English radicals were stronger than would appear from his memoirs. Among his contemporaries Nikolai Sazonov wrote for the French radical press, including La Réforme in 1849. Ivan Golovin wrote for both the English and the American press before publishing his own Russian-language titles.

When he first arrived in Europe, Nikolai Utin lived in London for a while, organising the smuggling of the Free Russian Press publications before moving to Switzerland. After taking control of Narodnoe delo (1868-1870), he was active in the First International, being a member of the Slav Section in Zurich and secretary of the Russian Section in Geneva. In 1871 he was a delegate at the London Conference of the International, and collected evidence on Bakunin's activities to help Marx in his struggle for control. During 1870, Bakunin was a member of the editorial board of L'Egalité, a newspaper of the International but he resigned during the dispute with Marx, to be followed by Utin as editor of 'one of the biggest and best of all the Continental socialist newspapers'.

Some Russians were involved in the Paris Commune in some way, but few were also involved in the émigré press. Petr Lavrov arrived in Paris early in 1870 and remained there until May 1871 when he departed, leaving his flat in the possession of Arman Ross, until he returned in July. He was sympathetic to the ideals of the
Communards, and, at the invitation of Marx and H Jung, spoke to the General Council of the First International about the Commune. He wrote on the Commune in Vpered! (1875-1876), and published a history, 18 marta 1871 god, in Geneva in 1880. Kaspar Tursky was also said to have participated in the Commune, as an adjutant to a Colonel E Komansky, until joining Nechaev Zurich in May 1871. Tursky later worked with Tkachev on Nabat (1875-1881) and edited Svoboda (1888-1889) jointly with S Kniazhnin. By the 1890s he was distanced from the Russian radical circles and joined the Polish Socialist party, later becoming a Polish nationalist, joining the Polish Army in Warsaw in 1920.

Aron Liberman had gone abroad in 1875 and was one of those who worked for Vpered! (1873-1877) in London as a compositor. During 1876, with Lavrov's support and the help of Lazar Gol'denberg, he organised a 'Hebrew Socialist Union' among Jewish immigrant labour in the East End of London. It lasted eight months, but was not popular with the Anglo-Jewish establishment and did not survive Liberman's departure for the Continent at the end of the year. In 1882 Petr Kropotkin spoke, in broken English, before the Durham miners at their annual gathering: I delivered lectures at Newcastle, Glasgow and Edinburgh about the Russian movement and was received with enthusiasm, a crowd of workers giving hearty cheers for the Nihilists, after the meeting, in the street.

Plekhanov and other members of the Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda' participated in the Second International after its establishment in 1889. Plekhanov was especially active in the polemic with the German 'revisionists' during the 1890s.

Possibly the best known instance of co-operation of Russian and European radicals took place in London. The most important figure in this was Sergei Steptniak-Kravchinsky: Tikhomirov commented on the popularity of Steptniak-Kravchinsky's writings as a 'fashion for anarchism'. He arrived in England in 1884, and attended meetings of groups such as the Fabian Society and William Morris's Socialist League. Not long after this he was party to an attempt to establish a 'Society of Friends of Russia' which, although it involved some prominent socialists, was fairly short-lived. A more successful attempt was made in 1890, resulting in the formation of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom which survived Steptniak-Kravchinsky's death in a railway accident in 1895 and lasted until the First World War. The committee included MPs, and one of its earliest resolutions led to the establishment of Free Russia, to provide information on Russian conditions. A network of local branches existed and an American Society was formed after Steptniak-Kravchinsky's lecture tour there. Other Russian émigrés associated with the Society were Nikolai Chaikovsky, Feliks Volkovsky and Lazar Gol'denberg, who had gone to America after leaving Vpered! (1873-1877) but returned to London to help with the work of the Society of Friends of
Russian Freedom. Feliks Volkovsky also established the Russian Free Press Fund in 1891 which published numerous monographs, Letuchie listki (1893-1899) and Sovremennik (1897) and ran a well-stocked bookshop in London.116

RETURNING TO THE EMPIRE

Many radical activists spent some time in emigration, but some of those who described the life were unenthusiastic. Vasily Kel'siev wrote that he 'became an emigrant at the end of the autumn of 1859, without any external cause, without any aim' despite opposition from Gertsen and Ogarev.117 Later in a confession, written in prison, he wrote:

Emigration [...] is personal unhappiness. Some emigrate for significant reasons, others for trivial ones, but what shall a Russian emigrant do outside Russia? Western life bewilders him so much that he is forced to forget Russian life, it leads him to the possibility of ceasing to understand Russia.118

He also compares emigration to a funeral with no ceremony.119 His experience had been disastrous: he left London in 1863 to set up a colony, consisting of himself and his family, his brother and a couple of others, in Tulcea, in present-day Romania,120 from which he could organise propaganda amongst cossacks and raskolniki. After the death of his brother, wife and children he returned to Russia and asked to be arrested.121 He wrote his confession for the authorities, published in St Petersburg in 1868, and thus became one of the earliest returning émigrés to be branded a renegade. He received a pardon soon after, and worked as a journalist until his death in St Petersburg in 1872.122 Gertsen himself was reported by N A Belogolovy to have said in 1865 that 'emigration is a terrible thing for a Russian' and that he would have preferred Siberian exile to life in emigration.123 At the time, the Free Russian Press was in decline, the dispute with the younger generation of radicals was festering and his personal life was also a source of stress.

Some prominent émigré publicists, particularly those active in the 1860s and 1870s, remained abroad until the end of their lives. Gertsen, Ogarev and their contemporaries, Lavrov, Bakunin's associate Nikolai Zhukovsky, Mikhail Elpidin, Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinsky and Feliks Volkovsky all died in emigration. After a period on the Continent, spent partly in prison, Aron Liberman returned to London in 1879. He went from there to New York, following a married woman with whom he had fallen in love (he had left his wife and children in Vilno). When she rejected his advances for the second time he shot himself in New York in 1880.124

Others were affected by the instability, poverty and isolation of émigré life.
Aleksandr Serno-Solov'evich worked with Vasily Kel'siev on the transport of Free Russian Press publications, although he later attacked Gertsen bitterly. He remained isolated both within the Geneva group of emigrants and, because of his nationality, among the Swiss labour movement in which he became involved. In 1869 he shot himself on learning that he was incurably mentally ill. When Nabat (1875-1881) ceased Tkachev moved to Paris but soon after became mentally ill and spent the last five years of his life in an asylum. Others were more robust, but disliked living abroad and returned of their own free will, although Bakunin, Nechaev and Deich were returned forcibly under extradition treaties. For those who returned voluntarily, motives often remain obscure although 'toska po rodine' may have been a powerful influence. Petr Alexeevich Martianov, a former serf who had written for the Free Russian Press, returned voluntarily to Russia in 1863, and was exiled to Siberia where he died two years later. Leonid Blummer responded to a summons home the year after his last journal, Evropeets (1864) ceased. He was arrested, imprisoned and exiled to Siberia, but was freed from all restrictions in 1870 and continued to work as a journalist until his death in 1884. Nikolai Utin submitted a petition for pardon in 1877, while based in Bucharest. Despite the earlier death sentence, his request was granted and at the end of that year he and his wife returned to Russia, where he continued to work as an engineer. They spent another period abroad, in Belgium between 1878 and 1881, before returning again to Russia; Utin worked as a mining engineer in the Urals until his death at the end of 1883. Some of those who returned did so in order to undertake further oppositional activity. The first issue of Sergei Nechaev's Narodnaia rasprava (1869-1870) was dated 'Summer 1869' and the second appeared in 'Winter 1870': the murder of I Ivanov intervened. Both Petr Kropotkin and Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinsky had visited Europe and returned to Russia before settling in emigration. Dmitri Klements contributed a few articles to Vpered! (1873-1877) and was later a member of the editorial board of the populist émigré journal Obshchina (1878). By the end of 1878 he was back in Russia, editing the clandestine journal Zemlia i volia and writing for legal publication, for example in Otechestvennye zapiski. In 1879 he was arrested and exiled to Eastern Siberia for five years by administrative order, arriving in Minusinsk in 1881, where he found work in the museum and wrote for Sibirskia gazeta, as did his fellow exile and contemporary Feliks Volkhovsky. Two years later he took part in a range of scientific expeditions in Siberia and Mongolia, and from 1888 he was based in Irkutsk where he became curator of the local museum and the head of the Eastern Siberian section of the Russian Geographical Society. In 1894 he organised the 'Jakutsk Siberian Expedition' in which most of the participants were political exiles. Three years later he returned to St Petersburg, and became the senior ethnographer of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences, and later the head of the Ethnography
department of the Aleksandr III Russian Museum, retiring in 1910 four years before his death.\footnote{130}

The most notorious renegade from the revolutionary cause among those who returned to Russia was Lev Tikhomirov. He disliked the chaotic nature of émigré life, and its quarrelsomeness,\footnote{131} and the discovery of the treachery of Sergei Degaev helped to undermine his convictions. A religious conversion after his son's near-fatal illness also played some part in the change, and he petitioned for pardon in 1887 after five years in emigration. The sincerity of his views was generally accepted, and he was never accused of any financial gain as a result of his change of loyalties, or of betraying his former comrades.\footnote{132} After his return, Lev Tikhomirov wrote prolifically in support of the monarchy, including Pochemu ia perestal byt' revoliutsionerom, edited Moskovskie vedomosti for a time and served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He died, in extreme poverty, in 1923.\footnote{133}

Some political emigrants remained abroad until 1917, but after their return even prominent Marxists among them were not necessarily honoured by the new regime. Plekhanov returned after the February revolution and died the following year from tuberculosis, from which he had suffered for some years. Having long opposed Lenin, he continued to attack the Bolsheviks both before and after the October revolution, and his home was raided by Red Guards.\footnote{134} Plekhanov's colleague Pavel Aksel'rod also returned in 1917, but went abroad again before the October Revolution: he died in Berlin in 1918. Vladimir Burtsev edited an anti-Bolshevik paper, Nashe obschee delo, and was arrested when that paper was closed in October 1917.\footnote{135}

AFFILIATIONS

Most of the early émigré titles were aimed at a wide readership: Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) was addressed to 'all literate people'\footnote{136} and in the first editorial in Kolokol (1857-1868), Gertsen and Ogarev famously appealed to 'all our fellow countrymen [...] not only to listen to our bell but to ring it themselves'.\footnote{137} In the 1850s and early 1860s radical publicists were united in their opposition despite differing convictions: Golovin the monarchist, Dolgorukov the constitutional monarchist, and Gertsen and Ogarev the socialists announced each others' publications, and noticed each others' activities.\footnote{138} Some early titles claimed to exist 'for all', for example Strela (1858-1859), Budushchnost' (1860-1861) and Evropeets (1864).\footnote{139}

A desire to unite the radical emigration was often expressed in the periodicals, but never achieved permanently. Vpered! (1873-1877) was to be 'an organ uniting in itself all shades of Russian radical-socialist opinion',\footnote{140} and soon after its demise Obshchee delo (1877-1890) attempted to unite moderate and radical elements of the
opposition: it was edited by A Kh Khristoforov, published by Mikhail Elpidin in Geneva, and others involved included N A Belogolovy and V A Zaitsev: Tkachev refused an invitation to participate. Its programmatic article criticised other journals:

> despite all our respect for the convictions and selflessness of their editors and collaborators, we must say all the same, that these organs do not represent society, but separate parties and circles, and have been generated sometimes even by individual personalities.

When Obshchee delo (1877-1890) was founded Vpered! (1873-1877) had just come to the end of its life, and the only two Russian émigré periodicals in progress were Vestnik pravdy (1876-1890) and Tkachev's Nabat (1875-1881). Later, Svobodnaia Rossilia (1889) edited by Vladimir Burtsev and V K Debogory-Mokrievich called upon society, liberals and revolutionaries to 'unite in one solid anti-government party and amicably work for the general cause', although they also specifically supported the aims of Narodnaia volia. The same aspiration, with an acknowledgement of the problems, was repeated in the editorial statement of Narodovolets (1897-1903):

> We are for the union of all opposition and revolutionary parties, but [...] it is impossible to attain until the relations between existing revolutionary and opposition factions lose their present character of enmity, and the representatives of these tendencies more quickly recognise their closeness to each other.'

With the formation of political parties, the opposition became if anything less united.

The fragmentation of the emigration is illustrated by A Ia Kiperman's work on groups in Geneva: he identified 'at least' six groups at the end of the 1870s and the early 1880s: adherents of Chernyi peredel and of Narodnaia volia, 'Ukrainian federalists' who included Mikhail Dragomanov, anarchist-Bakuninists including Nikolai Zhukovsky, Polish socialists and constitutionalists (Mikhail Elpidin and A Kh Khristoforov). He names fewer than thirty individuals, and also notes that there was not even full agreement within the groupings. The editorial board of Obshchina (1878) attempted to unite activists of a range of opinions: it included the Bakuninists Ralli and Zhukovsky; Dragomanov who supported federalism; the Marxist Aksel'rod; Stepniak-Kravchinsky and others. It was subtitled 'sotsial'no-revoliutsionnoe obozrenie': this appears to be the earliest use of the label social-revolutionary within the émigré press. The use of such labels remained confused for a number of years.

In the 1880s, there were still no formal political parties to which titles could be affiliated, but allegiance to a group might be indicated: Nabat (1875-1881) was 'organ russkikh revoluiutsionerov'. Some titles claimed a connection with Narodnaia volia, particularly in the years following its collapse as a movement in Russia: Na rodine
(1882-1883) was connected with the prisoners relief organisation *Krasnyi krest*, *Vestnik Narodnoi voli* (1883-1886) was subtitled 'revoliutsionnoe sotsial'no-politicheskoе obozrenie'; there was also *Kalendar' Narodnoi voli* (1883). Much later *S rodiny i na rodine* (1893-1896) was published by *Gruppa starykh narodovol'tsev* to link supporters in Russia and those in emigration. it also contains a plea for material for a planned second issue of *Kalendar' Narodnoi voli* (1883), although when it was finally reprinted in 1898, it contained no new material.

Titles associated specifically with the RSDRP include, of course, *Iskra* (1900-1905) but there were seven others, all published first between 1896 and 1900 with the motto 'Proletarii vsekh stran, soediniaties'. There were other titles associated with social-democrats: the earliest was *Sotsial-demokrat* (1888-1892), published by *Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda'* and there were two titles published partly in St Petersburg: *Rabocheaia mysli* (1897-1902) and *Sankt-Peterburgskii rabochii listok* (1897) were both published by *Soiuz bor'by za osvobozhdenie rabochago klassa*.

*Ezhegodnik: zhurnal russkago sots.-demokraticheskago obshchestva v N'iu-Iorke* (1898/1899) was associated more with the social-democratic movement in the United States than in Russia, but drew inspiration from the latter.

In the years preceding the establishment of the RSDRP, the social-democratic press abroad had been dominated by titles associated with *Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda'* that is, Plekhanov, Aksel'rod and Zasulich. The last of these, *Rabotnik* (1896-1899), was officially published by *Soiuz russkikh sotsial-demokratov* for the working class, 'feverishly striving for education': the editors did not intend to be instructors, but were sure that their readers 'will stand under the banner of social democracy'. Frank Ortmann describes this title as 'a capillary between the intelligentsia and the workers' movement within the Empire', despite its small circulation and infrequent appearance. It was succeeded by *Rabochee delo* (1899-1902), 'a fighting social-democratic organ which satisfies the demands of the Russian workers' movement', which had numerous supplements.

*Obshchina* (1878) was subtitled 'sotsial'no-revoliutsionnoe obozrenie' and edited by Zemfir Ralli, Sergei Stepiak-Kravchinsky, Mikhail Dragomanov and Dmitrii Klements. *Samoupravlenie* (1887-1889) claimed to speak for the 'socialist-revolutionaries' and the editors themselves claimed to be socialist-federalists. *Sotsialist* (1889) was subtitled 'politicheskoе sotsial'no-revoliutsionnoе obozrenie' although it has been described as the first Marxist periodical. *Russkii rabochii* (1894-1899) was published by *Soiuz russkikh sotsialistov-revolutusionerov* and printed at the press of *Gruppa Starykh Narodovol'tsev* and one issue at least (the second) was distributed through the offices of the Russian Free Press Fund in London. *Nakanune* (1899-1902), published by the Fund itself, was also subtitled *sotsial'no-revoliutsionnoe obozrenie*. Issues three to five of the historical journal *Byloe* (1900-
1904) were published by Partiia sotsialistov-revolutsionerov, of which Revolutsionnaia Rossia (1900-1905) became the official journal from its third issue: its contents included polemics with Zaria (1901-1902) and other social democratic titles.  

FEUDS

It was not long before feuds divided the political emigration: Agapius Goncharenko described life in 1860:

I met some Russian emigrants in London; two or three barely managed to live in a friendly fashion, - the rest could not unite in one family. They acted meanly towards each other; the lazy envied the hard-working, and they derided each other.  

He also expresses his disgust for those liberals in London who 'pretend to undertake socialist propaganda', presumably a reference to Gertsen, Ogarev and their contemporaries. Some disagreements are well-known: that between Gertsen and the younger generation of émigrés in the 1860s; between the supporters of Karl Marx and Bakunin in the First International; between the followers of Bakunin and Lavrov in the 1870s; the polemic between Lavrov and Tkachev. The division of the RSDRP into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in 1903 was essentially a difference between two groups of émigrés: activists in Russia continued to co-operate until well after the February Revolution.

The political emigration was haunted by both the fear and the reality of police infiltration: accusations of spying were made, although evidence to support the allegations might be unclear. In 1864, Dolgorukov published an article of vague accusations entitled 'Leonid Blummer, agent russkoi tainoi politsii'. For reasons that remain obscure, Blummer reprinted the allegations in the final issue of his own journal Evropeets (1864), not long before his return to Russia and arrest. Dolgorukov also accused the newly arrived Elpidin of illicitly printing 'abominations' and 'loathsome' proclamations on a secret press in Geneva. Dolgorukov himself was the victim of the attentions of a spy named Postnikov who obtained some of his papers. The Free Russian Press was also affected by informers: a Polish assistant in Trubner's shop was later identified as a spy, and G G Peretts, an agent of the Third Section, arranged for the arrest of P A Vetoshnikov while he was carrying the letter which led to the arrest of both Nikolai Serno-Solovievich and Chernyshevsky. Nechaev's arrest and extradition were organised by a Polish agent of the Russian police, Adolf Stempkowski. The two journals which were funded though official or loyalist sources, Vol'noe slovo
(1881-1883) and Pravda (1882-1883), were both regarded with suspicion and the
former was soon denounced. P Alisov, a major contributor to Obshchee delo (1877-
1890), expressed his doubts about the 'very very suspicious people' behind Vol'noe
slovo (1881-1883) in a pamphlet, despite the fact that 'I have never allowed myself to
enter into polemics with an organ published abroad'.

One source of conflict lay in the fact that each new group of emigrants rejected
those who had already spent some time abroad, as out of touch or old-fashioned. This
'generation gap' was a contributory factor to the conflict between, for example, Gertsen
and Ogarev, and the 'men of the sixties'. However, an ephemeral journal produced by
students in Heidelberg, À tout venant je crache, is variously described as a journal of
Gertsen's supporters, and as that of 'the young supporters of Zemlia i volia' who
rejected government policy in Poland.

Although the differences were real and could be profound, socially the émigrés
were drawn together despite the quarrels and, given the size of the community, this
must have been the case, or the libraries and restaurants could not have existed.
Sovremennost' (1868), apparently critical of both the liberal and anarchist viewpoints,
criticised the first issue of Narodnoe delo (1868-1870): Elpidin published both titles.

Meetings on matters of general interest took place, such as that on the nature of the
journal Pravda (1882-1883): in this case, those attending included Plekhanov and
Nikolai Zhukovsky (an associate of Bakunin). The government commentator N I
Shebeko described a meeting in the Café Gaulois in 1883 organised by Plekhanov,
which broke up after a rowdy argument between Mikhail Dragomanov and Nikolai
Zhukovsky.

In the early 1880s the relations between the populist and Marxist groupings had
not yet polarised into two irreconcilable camps. When he first arrived in Switzerland,
Tikhomirov, prominent in Narodnaia volia, was invited to join Gruppa
'Osvobozhdenie truda' by Aksel'rod: he refused, not on political grounds, but because
he 'did not at all want to be involved in any revolutionary propaganda whatsoever'.
Lavrov later wanted Plekhanov to work with Tikhomirov and himself on Vestnik
Narodnoi voli (1883-1886), although the arrangements did not prove acceptable.

Relations between the Russian Free Press Fund in London and the Gruppa
'Osvobozhdenie truda' on the Continent did not deteriorate disastrously until after the
death of Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinsky. Vera Zasulich had moved to London and
became a close friend of Stepniak-Kravchinsky, but was rejected by his associates after
his death. Members of the Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda' also attacked the position
of the 'Fundists'. Iakov Priluker wrote of the Russian emigration in England at this
time that:

As might have been expected, I have met in my work with both friends and
foes, the latter as usual more energetic in their destructive activity than the former in constructive. Some believe themselves to have a monopoly in reporting Russian grievances, others find my views not quite in accordance with their own shibboleths, unconscious that they are manifesting something of the same spirit of intolerance condemned in the oppressors of Russia.¹⁷⁴

His experience had much in common with that of other members of the Russian political emigration, which was in any case no more quarrelsome than that of any other nation.

CONCLUSION

Soon after a Russian political emigration came into existence, its first publications appeared and the press soon became an essential part of the life of the political emigration, providing activity compatible with the aspirations of the émigrés, and a tenuous link with their homeland. The political emigration developed an independent life of its own, inevitably somewhat divorced from oppositional activists in Russia. There were attempts to remedy this, but arrests among couriers and activists and the difficulty of making long-term and efficient arrangements with smugglers undermined them. There was inevitably a vast gulf between the way of life for émigrés and the life of those engaged in clandestine activity in Russia.

In spite of the small size of the political emigration, the numerous calls for unity ultimately bore no fruit: despite attempts at co-operation, and personal friendships between those of different convictions, the feuding was never eliminated and was sometimes vicious and embittered. Reminders about the benefits of uniting to defeat the existing order were ignored, as the émigrés took the lead in developing the theoretical positions of what became the political parties in the years preceding the 1905 revolution. To some extent, the events of greatest significance to the political emigration took place within the emigration itself, for example, the activities of the Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda', Lev Tikhomirov's public reconciliation with the government in 1887 and the foundation of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom in London.
NOTES


3. See the entry for N Utin in V I Vilensky-Sibiriakov [et al], Delateli revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii, vol 1, Moscow, 1927.


15. Pravdivyi issue 1, dated 27 March 1862, p2; Narodnoe delo issue 1, dated 1 Sept 1868, p6.

16. Obshchina, issue 1, dated 1 September 1870, p5.

17. Vestnik pravyd, issue 1, col 2.

18. See Priluker's own account, Under the Czar and Queen Victoria, London, [1896], and J Slatter, 'Jaakoff Prelooker and the Anglo-Russian' in From the other shore, pp49-66.

19. They were Slavianskaia zarja (1867-1868), Slavianskii al'manakh (1879) and Slavianskii vei (1900-1904).


23. In 1851-1860 there were an estimated 200,000 emigrants from the Russian Empire, in 1891-1900 there were 1,591,426. Figures from Emigration from Europe 1815-1914: selected documents, ed C Erickson, London, 1976, pp27 and 29. See also S Cassedy, 'Chernyshevsky goes West: how Jewish immigration helped bring Russian radicalism to America' Russian history (1994) 21 no 1, p3.

24. Pearson, National minorities in Eastern Europe, pp77-78. Pobedonostsev expected a third of the Jewish population of the Empire to emigrate, and a third to convert to Orthodoxy.

25. See Karlowich, We fall and rise, p53. During 1889-1914 41% of the emigrants were Jews, 29% were Poles and the other 30% represented a mixture of Russians, Finns, Germans, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians. N L Tudorianu, Ocherki rossiskoi trudovoi emigratsii perioda imperializma (v Germaniit, Skandinavskie strany i SSHA, Kishinev, 1986, p278.


27. Progress, issue 1, dated 6 December 1891, p1.

28. In the heading, from issue 16/17, dated 7/22 May 1893 onwards. Spravochnyi listok (1892-1893), Russkii listok (1892) and its continuation Russkia novostii (1893) all appeared in New York. At least one issue of each of five titles appeared in Europe in 1892-1893.
Progress, issue 16/17, dated 7-22 May 1893, p24. This recalls a comment in Obshchee delo (issue 1, dated 9 May 1877, p4) referring to other émigré titles: '[... these organs do not represent "society" but individual parties and circles, representing sometimes even individual personalities.'

Kiperman, 'Glavnye tsentry', p287.

Fishman, East End Jewish radicals, pp128ff.


Listok, izdavamyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym, issue 1, dated November 1862, p2.


Kiperman, 'Glavnye tsentry*, pp271ff. He estimates that there were about 50 active Russian emigrants in Paris in the early 1880s. (p272)

Communards were amnestied in 1880. For Russian involvement, see W McClellan,


There was also a French version of the earlier title, Le Nigilisme (1883).


Narodovolents, issue 4, dated August 1903, p1.


Both these places are near Maldon in Essex.

Kiperman, 'Glavnye tsentry', p259.


Kiperman, 'Glavnye tsentry', p259.

Kiperman, 'Glavnye tsentry', pp261-262.

Literaturnoe nasledstvo, 63 (1956) p107.

Meijer, Knowledge and revolution, pp119-120.

Meijer, Knowledge and revolution, p151. Arman Ross was the pseudonum of M P Sazhin.

Kiperman, 'Glavnye tsentry', p264.

Senn, 'M K Elpidin, pp17-18.


Kiperman, 'Glavnye tsentry', p272.


Okuntsov, Russkaia emigratsiia v Severnoi i Izuzhnoi Amerike, pp79-81.

Svoboda, issue 5, dated 1 June 1873, p4.

Okuntsov, Russkaia emigratsiia v Severnoi i Izuzhnoi Amerike, p78.

Okuntsov, Russkaia emigratsiia v Severnoi i Izuzhnoi Amerike, pp205ff.

Okuntsov, Russkaia emigratsiia v Severnoi i Izuzhnoi Amerike, p236.

Okuntsov, Russkaia emigratsiia v Severnoi i Izuzhnoi Amerike, p205. A periodical Golos may have been published by this group.

R A Karlowich describes the activities of these and other similar societies in some detail (We


2. [V I Shebeko], Chronique du mouvement socialiste en Russie 1878-1887, 1890, p587. He is referring to the year 1885.


7. Baron, Plekhanov, p124 and 130.


See McClellan, *Revolutionary exiles*, especially chapters 3 and 5 for a detailed study of this.

McClellan, *Revolutionary exiles*, p57.

McClellan, *Revolutionary exiles*, p85.

Sazhin, *Vospominanlia*, pp36-37

Vpered!, issue 3, dated 15 (3) February 1875.


Pomper, *Peter Lavrov*, p175.


Baron, *Plekhanov*, pp169ff, and Chapter 11.

Tikhomirov, *Neizdannye zapiski*, p153


See *Katalog knig, nakhotlashchikhsia v knizhnom skладe Fon'da Vol'nol Russkol Pressy 1900g*, London, 1900.


Kel'siev, *Perezhizoe i peredumnnoe*, pp319-320. See also Gertsen's account in *My past and thoughts*, v3 (Part 7, Chapter2).

Kel'siev, *Perezhizoe i peredumnnoe*, p436.

It was then in the Ottoman Empire.


N A Belogolovy, *Vospominanlia i drugiia stat'i*, 3-e izd, Moscow, 1898, p541.


D Hardy, 'The lonely émigré: Petr Tkachev and the Russian colony in Switzerland' *Russian review* (1976) 35, pp400-416, gives an account of Tkachev's relations with other émigrés, but there are some inaccuracies in her article. Tkachev died on 25 December 1885/4 January 1886.


Miller, *Russian revolutionary émigrés*, p194; also entry in Vilensky-Sibriakov [et al], *Delateli revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, v1.


Entry in Vilensky-Sibriakov [et al], *Delateli revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, v2.

Tikhomirov, *Neizdannye zapiski*, pp143-144.

See for example the unsigned article 'Soiuz ili borba? (L Tikhomirov Pochemu ia perestal byt' revoliutsionerom)' published in *Samoupravlenie*, issue 4, dated April 1889.

K Tidmarsh, 'Lev Tikhomirov and a crisis in Russian radicalism' p59


Poliarniaia zvezda issue 1 dated 1855, pix.

Kolokol issue 1 dated 1 July 1857, p1.

See, for example, Kolokol, issue 140, dated 1 August 1862, p1164; Listok, izdavaemyi kn Petrom Dolgorukovym, issue 5, dated 5 January 1863, pp38-39.


Evropeets, issue 1, dated 7 February 1864, p2.

Vpered!, issue 1, dated 1873, p12.

Oshchee delo, issue 1, dated 9 May 1777, p4. See also Zaleski, *Mouvements ouvriers et socialistes*, p42.
A Kh Khristoforov, 'Obshchee delo: istoria i kharakteristika izdaniia. (Pis'mo k redaktoru Osvobozhdeniia) Osvobozhdenie (1903) 1, pp26-27.

Obshchee delo, issue 1, dated 9 May 1877, p1, 'Nashe proschedshee i nastoiashchee'.

Svoboda Rossii, issue 1, dated February 1889, p1.

Narodovletes, issue 3, dated 22 October 1897, p81. Others include: Progress, issue 16/17, dated 7-22 May 1893 - an independent socialist organ 'serving ideas, not circles and personalities' (p24). Other US-based titles had similar aspirations. Sovremennik (1897), issue 1, dated April 1897: 'we open our pages to all those who suffer, in whatever way, from the autocracy'. (p6)

Kiperman, 'Glanvrye tsentry', p263.

S rodiny i na rodine, issue 1, dated January 1893, p1. Others using the same motto were: Rabotnik (1896-1899), Listok Rabotnika (1896-1898, Rabochee delo (1899-1902), Bluleten' iz materialov Rabochago dela (1900-1902), Listok Rabochee delo (1900-1901), Malskii listok Rabochago dela (1897-1900), Rabochee znamia (1898-1901). Also Znamia (1889-1890) had the motto 'Proletarii vykh stran, soediniates', and contained the Manifesto of the Communist Party among the items in its first issue.

Revolutionare im Exil. Der 'Auslandsbund russischer Sozialdemokraten' zwischen autoritarem Fuhrungsspruch und politischer Ohnmacht (1888-1903), Stuttgart, 1994, pp75-78.

Svoboda, no 5 (June 1, 1873) p1, article title 'Pochemu russkie ne ob"ediniaiutsia na chuzhbine?'.

Samoupravlenie, issue 1, dated december 1887, p1.

Carpenter, Russian revolutionary literature, p99.


Svoboda, no 5 (June 1, 1873) p1, article title 'Pochernu russkie ne ob"ediniaiutsia na chuzhbine?'.

Partridge, Collected studies, p208.

Gertsen, Past and thoughts, v3, pp1325-1326.

Alisov, 'Vol'noe slovo', 1881, p3.


Miller, Russian revolutionary émigrés, pp193ff. He does not mention Elpidin in his discussion of Sovremennost'. Senn, 'M K Elpidin', p14 mentions Elpidin as publisher of both titles. See Elpidin, Bibliograficheskii katalog, pp19-21, for his own account of Narodnoe delo.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE FREE RUSSIAN PRESS

Until the Free Russian Press was founded in 1853 there was no Russian-language press outside Russia. A serving Russian diplomat, Petr Dubrovsky, had tried to publish his own works in Paris in 1790 and there were some attempts by the Old Believer community to print devotional material outside the control of the censorship by making misleading statements about places of publication. In any survey of the oppositional press of the period, the Press stands out for the quantity of its output: monographs, pamphlets and proclamations, and six periodical titles, all of which lasted for at least three years. To put this achievement in perspective, only 40% of all émigré titles published during the nineteenth century appeared in three or more calendar years, and more than a third of all titles were issued in only one year. The Free Russian Press is relatively well-documented in comparison to other nineteenth-century émigré presses, and is used here as a case study of some of the issues affecting its contemporaries and successors. This chapter examines the background which led to the success of the Press: Monica Partridge has rightly described this as an 'important question', and considers that while Gertsen's financial circumstances and 'established reputation as a writer and publicist' were important, his administrative ability also mattered. The causes of the Press's ultimate decline will also be considered: it is usually ascribed to support for the 1863 Polish rising, combined with Gertsen's refusal to compromise with the younger Russian émigrés of the middle and late 1860s. At the time of Gertsen's death the Press had not altogether ceased work, although it was by then under the control of Ludwig Cziemecki. Some later émigré publishers looked to Gertsen, Ogarev and the Free Russian Press for inspiration and as a form of justification for their own efforts.

GERTSEN: RADICALISM BEFORE 1853

From boyhood, Gertsen had harboured revolutionary convictions, maintaining that the company of his father's domestic serfs 'awakened in me from my earliest years an invincible hatred for every form of slavery and every form of tyranny'. The Decembrist revolt awakened an interest in politics, strengthened by his friendship with his distant cousin Nikolai Ogarev: together they swore 'to devote our lives to the struggle we had undertaken'. As a student, Gertsen participated in the academic and intellectual life of Moscow and in 1834 the circle of which he and Ogarev were
members drew up detailed but abortive plans for their own journal.\textsuperscript{6} Gertsen and other members of the circle were arrested the same year, and it was another eight years, after two periods of internal exile, before he participated again in Moscow's intellectual life, then dominated by the increasingly acrimonious debates between the so-called 'Slavophiles' and 'Westerners'. Although not completely divorced from the former, Gertsen became a leading figure in the latter group.\textsuperscript{7} He soon retired from government service, and a few months after his father's death in 1846 he and his wife Natalie obtained permission to travel abroad for six months, together with their children and his mother, ostensibly for the sake of Natalie's health.\textsuperscript{8} They left Russia in January 1847 and never returned. They travelled through Germany to Paris, and later on into Italy, witnessing there the beginning of the uprisings of 1848, before returning to Paris. In September 1850 Gertsen burned his boats by rejecting a formal request to return to Russia immediately.\textsuperscript{9} Justifying his decision not to return to Russia, Gertsen wrote:

I remain here not only because I should find it abhorrent after crossing the frontier to wear handcuffs again, but because I want to work. To sit with hands folded is possible anywhere; here I have no other task but OURS.\textsuperscript{10}

It was, however, some time before he defined this work more exactly.

Before his departure, several of Gertsen's works had appeared in print, for example, \textit{Diletantizm v nauke} and the novel \textit{Kto vinovat?} which were published in the 'thick' journal \textit{Otechestvennye zapiski}, as well as numerous shorter pieces.\textsuperscript{11} While in exile in Viatka and Vladimir in the 1830s, his duties had included editing the official provincial gazettes: in his memoirs he credits himself with establishing an 'unofficial section' of Viatskie vedomosti.\textsuperscript{12} After his departure for the West, he continued to write for a time for legal publication in Russia: \textit{'Pis'ma iz Avenue Marigny'} appeared in \textit{Sovremennik} in October 1847. \textit{'Pis'ma iz Avenue del Corso'}, written the following year, was rejected by the censor: this and later works were first published in the West.\textsuperscript{13} After his refusal to return in 1850, all mention in print of his name and the pseudonym 'Iskander' was banned in Russia. Towards the end of his life, he succeeded in arranging for the legal publication of three articles in a series called \textit{'Skuki radi'}, which appeared in \textit{Nedelia} in 1868 and 1869 under the pseudonym 'Nionsky'.\textsuperscript{14}

Even before he established the press, Gertsen emphasises the importance of free speech and of freedom of the press in his writings. Despite his disillusionment with Europe after the failure of revolution in 1848, he acknowledged that he remained there because

I have lived too long as a free man to allow myself to be chained again [...] I have become accustomed to free speech and I cannot accept serfdom again, not even for the sake of suffering with you.\textsuperscript{13}
He offered himself to his friends as the 'uncensored voice, your free press, your chance representative'; emphasising that

the printed word, the professorial chair - everything has become impossible in Russia. All that remains is individual work in retirement or individual protest from afar.\textsuperscript{16}

It was in Paris in the early months of 1849 that he first considered establishing a Russian press.\textsuperscript{17} In May 1849 he wrote that he considered 'free Russian speech' necessary:

however weak it might be at the first attempt, it will have special significance, and you will see; my attempt will have successors.

[...] But for whom will we publish in Russian? I know that not only are books banned in Russia, but they have established a special ad hoc cordon at the border and a new department for the prevention and suppression of the import of subversive books - and all the same I am printing for RUSSIANS IN RUSSIA.\textsuperscript{18}

This intention, which never became a workable plan, was shelved when he left Paris for Geneva in June 1849. In July, Gertsen enlisted the help of Georg Herwegh and Adolf Kolatschek in an attempt to set up a Russian press (\textquoteleft eine kleine russische Druckerei zu errichten\textquoteright) in south west Germany, in order to publish uncensored Russian material, but the attempt failed because of increased political repression.\textsuperscript{19} However, he wrote again to his Moscow friends in September 1849 that 'There was never a better time to raise a Russian voice'.\textsuperscript{20}

After the revolutions of 1848, political emigrants of various nationalities found shelter in Switzerland. Excluded from active politics and lacking other appropriate occupations, they found themselves in a situation long familiar to Russians, and took to journalism in a manner not dissimilar to that of the Russian intelligentsia in the 1830s. It has been suggested that 'the deluge of political journals and newspapers' appearing in Paris in 1848 influenced Gertsen's opinion of the effectiveness of printed propaganda,\textsuperscript{21} although there is little evidence for this in his memoirs. Despite Gertsen's own emphasis on the importance of free speech and a free press, the efforts of the émigrés in 1849 did not impress him favourably:

The publishing of papers was at that time an epidemic disease: every two or three weeks new schemes were started, specimen copies appeared, prospectuses were sent about, then two or three numbers would come out - and it would all disappear without a trace.\textsuperscript{22}

Gertsen was no longer an outsider and, possessed of considerable personal wealth, his collaboration was sought for various publishing projects. Early in 1849 he had refused
to assist Adam Mickiewicz with his journal *La Tribune des peuples* because of differences with Mickiewicz himself. Gustav Struve tried to interest Gertsen in a trilingual journal, which the latter regarded as futile and which never appeared. Gertsen did make a small financial contribution to a multi-lingual journal proposed by Mazzini, but took no other part in the project.

At the same time as considering the possibility of establishing a Russian-language press, Gertsen also saw another responsibility: to educate Europeans about Russia. He wrote that 'Russians abroad have yet another task. It is really time to acquaint Europe with Russia. Europe does not know us, it knows our government, our façade - and nothing else'. In his open letter to Jules Michelet, published in 1851, Gertsen explicitly took upon himself both roles, because

> it is time that Europe was made to realise that nowadays speaking about Russia is no longer a matter of speaking about a country that is absent, distant, mute. For we are present, we who have left our country only so that free Russian speech may be heard in Europe.

Proudhon's need for a wealthy backer for the journal which he was planning from his prison cell provided Gertsen with a suitable outlet for his attempts to educate European radicals. Gertsen admired Proudhon, who was in prison for sedition throughout this period, and the journal was intended to be a commercial proposition, covering its costs through subscription sales. Gertsen entered willingly into negotiations when approached, and agreed to guarantee the 24,000 franc bond necessary to establish *La voix du peuple* on a legal basis, though without persuading Proudhon to agree to all his terms. The first, somewhat disappointing, issue appeared in September 1849, and Gertsen himself was actively involved in running the paper and writing articles for it from his return to Paris at the end of the year until the paper was suppressed by the French government in May 1850, after which he left for Nice. Although his influence on editorial policy was less than he had hoped, the collaboration with Proudhon increased his prestige in radical circles and established his authority as a representative of Russian revolution. In the next three years events in his personal life took precedence over public activities.

**THE FREE RUSSIAN PRESS: ESTABLISHMENT**

Gertsen wrote of the time following his move to London in 1852, after the death of his wife: 'Though I had made up my mind to work, for a long time I did nothing, or did not do what I wanted to do'. The dispute with Georg Herwegh over Natalie's memory disturbed his relations with European radical circles, and perhaps
encouraged him to focus again on Russia and specifically Russian problems, especially serfdom. The first results of this re-orientation were the early sections of his memoirs, begun partly to justify himself among his fellow radicals. It reminded him of earlier close friendships, and he began to consider re-establishing contact:

Letters were not allowed in, but books would get through of themselves; writing letters was impossible: I would print; and little by little I set to work upon My Past and Thoughts, and upon setting up a Russian printing-press.

These comments were written later: his correspondence implies greater uncertainty: on 11 February 1853, he wrote to Maria Reichel, 'I tell you that it is so foul here, that if it were not for the children, really, I would go to New York' but on 19 February, he wrote to her that he had decided to establish a Russian press and five days later he wrote that he was writing an announcement: 'Volnoe russkoe knigopechatanie v Londone: Brat’iam na Rusi'. It opened:

Why are we silent? Do we really have nothing to say? Or are we really silent because we do not dare to speak? [...] Open, free speech is a great matter; without free speech, man is not free. [...] It seems to us that the time to publish in Russian outside Russia has come. You will show us if we are mistaken or not.

He requested contributions, both new and works circulating in manuscript form, to be printed at the press:

If we receive nothing from Russia, it will not be our fault. If peace is dearer to you than free speech - be silent. But I do not believe this: until now no-one has printed anything in Russian abroad, because there was no free press. [...] To be your organ, your free uncensored voice: this is my whole aim. It is not so much that I wish new things of my own to say to you, more to use my position in order to give glasnost' to your unspoken thoughts, to your secret aspirations, and to communicate them to brothers and friends lost in the mute distance of the Russian empire.

The output of the Press was to be the servant of the Russian opposition, not to be its master or teacher, but the latter role ultimately overtook the former.

Gertsen drew heavily on the practical assistance and experience of the Polish exiles in London, some of whom had been in exile since the 1830 insurrection. Stanislaus Worcell arranged for the Russian press to share the premises of the already established Polish Press near St Pancras Station, and introduced Gertsen to Ludwig
Czerniecki, who supervised the Press throughout its existence in London and Geneva. The Cyrillic type was obtained from a letter-foundry in Paris, where it had been cast to an order from Russia but not claimed, and it arrived in May 1853. The original arrangement was that Gertsen was to pay for the printing and publishing of the Russian material which the Poles would distribute through their network of smugglers, but the collaboration failed, and the Free Russian Press moved to its own premises at the end of 1854. In the early years, the bulk of the work was done by Gertsen and Czernecki with the later addition of Ogarev: the typesetters were Polish and did not understand Russian. In 1856 Gertsen considered trying to find a Russian student willing to undertake typesetting, but was advised not to reveal his secrets to a larger circle. Russian-speaking typesetters, including Agapius Goncharenko, were employed later.

In a letter to Maria Reichel dated 25 June 1853, Gertsen wrote of a 'pervyi listok', presumably Iur'ev den'Iur'ev den! russkomu dvorianstvu, which begins with the words 'Let the first free Russian word from abroad be addressed to you.' Gertsen wrote a month later that it was 'sent to senior civil servants in Petersburg through the post - may it drive them mad'. It and the pamphlet, presumably Kreshchennaia sobstvennost', mentioned in the same letter as being at the press, are both devoted to the abject state of the Russian peasantry. Gertsen's friends in Moscow were horrified and begged him to stop: Russia was still in the grip of Nikolai's post-1848 reaction. Two years earlier Gertsen had complained that in Russia, free speech is found shocking, terrifying. I tried to lift a small corner of the thick veil that hides us from the gaze of Europe: I confined myself to certain general intellectual tendencies, certain long-term aspirations, certain organic developments that the future holds in store: and yet, for all that, my pamphlet [...] made a painful impression in Russia. Friends, people whom I respect, raised their voices in condemnation.

Little had changed by the time the Free Russian Press was established:

The news that we were printing in Russian in London was frightening. The free Russian word confused and filled with terror not only those far away but also people close to us; it was too harsh for the ears of those accustomed to whispers and silence; uncensored speech produced pain, seemed imprudent, was almost denunciation... Many advised [me] to stop and to print nothing; one friend came to London to do this.

This friend was Mikhail Shchepkin who visited England in the autumn of 1853 with a request to Gertsen from his friends to abandon the press and go to America. Gertsen later recalled his friend saying:

What good can there be from your press? With the one or two sheets, which
you have slipped in, you will do nothing, but the Third Section will read everything and note them, you will ruin the mass of the people, you will ruin your friends ...

Gertsen's reply was prophetic:

I WILL NOT SHUT THE PRESS; there will come a time when they will see the machine, maintained by me on English soil, in a different light. [...] If our friends do not value my work, that will pain me greatly, but it will not stop me, others will value it, a young generation, the future generation.49

Saddened by this visit, Gertsen wrote to Maria Reichel that 'For him even free speech seems to be too bold'.50

Gertsen had already made contact with booksellers in Europe, but with the failure of the Polish smugglers there was little market for the Press's publications:51

For three years we printed, not only not selling even one copy, but having almost no opportunity to send copies to Russia, apart from the first leaflets sent by Worcell and his friends to Warsaw: all that we printed remained in our hands or in the booksellers' basements in 'pious' Paternoster Row.

... When a bookseller in Berners Street sent to buy ten shillings' worth of Kreshchennaiia sobstvennost', I took this for success, gave his boy a shilling as a tip and with bourgeois joy, put in a special place this FIRST half-sovereign earned by the Russian press.52

There was some encouragement: Malwida von Meysenbug reported the incognito visit of a friend who described being woken up one night by an acquaintance bringing Gertsen's 'first printed pamphlet':

They had sat down immediately to read it through the same night, then it had gone secretly from hand to hand and they had copied it as they dared not hope to get many of the pamphlets. Every further product of the Free London press was welcomed with ever-increasing enthusiasm.53

Throughout this period the output of the Free Russian Press consisted mainly of Gertsen's own writings: for example, the pamphlets Kreshchennaiia sobstvennost' and Iurev den'! Iurev' den'!, and early sections of Byloe i dumy.

Although the Press remained in London until 1865, Gertsen did make attempts to move the business to the Continent: as early as May 1855, he was corresponding with C Vogt about the possibility of moving the press to Switzerland.54 Gertsen also reports a meeting with a Belgian official on the subject of moving the Press to Belgium: he was told that he would not be welcome, even though he had no intention of interfering in Belgian affairs. He suspected that the influence of the Russian
government was to blame: the Russian government-inspired newspaper Le Nord had been established in Belgium in 1855.\(^5\)

THE PERIODICALS

Two unrelated events in 1855 gave Gertsen his great opportunity: in March Nikolai I of Russia died and the new reign brought to life a belief that reforms were both necessary and imminent; in June the British government abolished stamp duty on periodicals, stimulating the growth of the press in the United Kingdom.\(^6\) Gertsen's enthusiasm was renewed and the first issue of Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) was published in August. His contacts with booksellers in Europe became more effective.\(^7\)

In the editorial introduction Gertsen wrote:

>- Russia has been greatly shaken by recent events. Whatever happens, she cannot return to stagnation; thought will be more active, new questions will arise - must they really be lost, decay? - We do not think so. Bureaucratic Russia has a tongue and is finding defenders even in London. But young Russia, the Russia of the future cannot even hope for a single journal. We offer it to her.\(^8\)

Copies now reached Russia and the reception accorded to the first issue was described by a correspondent:

> Your Polar Star has appeared on the Petersburg horizon, and we welcome it, as once the shepherds of Bethlehem welcomed the bright star which glowed above the cradle of new-born freedom. If you had seen with what enthusiasm they read it, copy out articles, paraphrase its contents, repeat your very expressions, it would have given you more than one sweet moment in your sad exile, far from your beloved Russia. All the noble hearts of the young generation, greedily feeling the need for free speech, sympathise with you.\(^9\)

A proportion of the contents (poems by Ryleev and Pushkin, and Belinsky's Letter to Gogol, for example) would have been familiar to readers from clandestine manuscript circulation, but there were also original articles.\(^10\) The significance of the format and title would have been clear to its readers: as Natan Eidel'man has pointed out, 'Journals and almanacs were the world of Novikov, Krylov, Karamzin, the Decembrists, Pushkin, Belinsky'.\(^11\) Gertsen was placing himself firmly in the traditions of the Russian press, but free from censorship. In the editorial statement in the first issue of Kolokol (1857-1868) Gertsen wrote of the success of the earlier title that 'our labours were not in vain. Our speech, free Russian speech resounded in Russia, awakening some, frightening others, threatening others with exposure'.\(^12\) Sales of the Press's publications
now increased rapidly.\footnote{63}

Additional impetus was given to the activities of the Free Russian Press by Nikolai Ogarev's arrival in London in April 1856. The next title to appear from the Press was Golosa iz Rossii (1856-1860), established to publish manuscripts deemed inappropriate for inclusion in Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868): they were 'the first experiences, still timid and unaccustomed, of Russian speech on the subject of Russian social affairs - appearing after a thirty-year silence'.\footnote{64} Contributions came from a broad range of oppositional writers; Boris Chicherin and Konstantin Kavelin both contributed to the early issues; three items by Lavrov appeared in the fourth issue; the sixth contained an article by Nikolai Turgenev, and the eighth 'Proekt deistvitel'nogo osvobozhdeniia krest'ian. 15 iunia 1860g.' by Nikolai Serno-Solov'evich.\footnote{65}

Golosa iz Rossii (1856-1860) appeared nine times but along with Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) it was largely superseded by the next title from the Press. This was Kolokol (1857-1868), first published on 1 July 1857 and transferred from London to Geneva in 1865. Having successfully created a readership for a free press in Russia, Gertsen and Ogarev wished to exploit it more effectively with a more news-orientated publication. Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) was too infrequent: Gertsen commented that 'without a fairly close periodicity there is no real bond between a publication and its readership'.\footnote{66} Nominally Kolokol (1857-1868) remained a supplement for three and a half years: it was published with the subtitle 'pribavochnyi listok k Poliarnoi zvezde' until issue number 177 (dated 22 December 1861), but the supplement overtook the almanac in influence much earlier, although the latter continued to appear until 1862 and was later revived for one issue in Geneva in 1868. In a letter to C Vogt Gertsen wrote: 'Le succès est immense. Des éditions entières sont vendues en trois, quatre mois, etc, etc.'\footnote{67} and Gertsen later wrote:

From half-way through 1857, the expenses of the press covered themselves, towards the end of 1858 there was a small surplus, and about that time, two or three Russian presses opened in Germany.

Our printing press considered itself to be a grandfather.\footnote{68}

The success was two-fold, both commercial and in establishing an example for others to follow.

Although circumstances had changed, in Gertsen's view the importance of free speech had not diminished, and in its first issue Kolokol (1857-1868) restated the editorial policy of the parent title:

Freedom of speech - without censorship!
Emancipation of the serfs from the landowners!
Freedom of the tax-paying estates from corporal punishment!\footnote{69}
The success of the original title is emphasised: free speech resounds amongst the young generation, to whom we pass our work. [...] Theirs are the joyful holidays of freedom to which, by the ringing of bells, we call the living to the funeral of all that is decrepit, obsolete, disgraceful, servile, ignorant in Russia! In Kolokol (1857-1868), all Russians were invited both to listen to the bell and to 'ring it themselves', and for the next ten years many did so: in its first fifteen months, 130 contributions from correspondents appeared in Kolokol (1857-1868), although only 30 of these appeared as independent items, the rest being incorporated into articles written by the two editors. 

Kolokol (1857-1868) was read in Russia by those interested in the prospects of reform, who welcomed open discussion, and by other émigrés, for example, N I Turgenev. In Russia, the influence of Kolokol (1857-1868) was alleged to reach the Tsar himself, and Ogarev's proposal on emancipation was put before the committee considering the project. The political views of the editors of Kolokol (1857-1868) have been much discussed and a detailed examination lies outside the scope of this study. Whether or not they agreed with the policies and viewpoints expressed in Kolokol (1857-1868), radicals of the sixties could not ignore it and it provided inspiration for some who later rejected Gertsen and Ogarev.

Political articles were only a part of the contents. Reprints of official documents were of particular concern to the authorities, especially as the Free Russian Press apparently had a connection to secret committees. Nikitenko recorded in his diary an incident described to him by Count Bludov:

The government wanted to lithograph some memo on the Peasant Committee so its members might have easier access to it. The emperor would not permit it, saying that 'no sooner is something lithographed, than it appears in the Bell'.

Some of the official documents published in Kolokol (1857-1868) could not be found when the Imperial archives were made public: ironically a radical émigré newspaper remains the sole source for some government papers. Kolokol (1857-1868) was also feared in official circles because it 'named names'. Some allegations were printed in the section at the end of the paper headed Smes', in brief paragraphs beginning 'Ne pravdali?', for example:

Is it not true that Finance Minister Bok has become such an obvious opponent of the emancipation of the peasants since acquiring, with the speedy assistance of tax-farmers, more than a thousand living souls?

Public exposure of abuse and injustice became so popular that thirteen issues of an
additional supplement Pod sud! (1859-1862), warmly greeted by the readers of Kolokol (1857-1868), were published to provide more space. Some cases were discussed partly in each title: thus issue 73/74 of Kolokol (1857-1868) contained an item in response to two letters published in the second issue of Pod sud! (1859-1862) about a duel which had taken place in Irkutsk. As well as attacking public servants and others for the abuse of their position, the editors were also prepared to print the other side of the story: Kolokol (1857-1868) issue 65/66, dated 15 March 1860, contains an apology under the heading 'Popravka' for describing Professor Maikov as a defender of serfdom, when he had in fact supported 'the side of the peasants'. The note continues 'We hurry to bring this to the attention of our readers, while at the same time we must once more request our correspondents to be more careful.' Issue 165 of Kolokol (1857-1868) contains a letter from an M Khotinsky, denying that he is the Khodinsky or Khotynsky named as a spy in the previous issue. Other small items in Kolokol (1858-1867) include messages to anonymous contributors in Russia: thanking them for information (for example that two spies are travelling to London) or rejecting some contributions on the grounds that 'Such matters are perhaps of interest to the embassy, the consulate or the police BUT NOT US OF COURSE: it is a clear mistake in the address'. Kolokol (1857-1868) also acted as a post-box, passing messages from Russians in Europe to readers in Russia, thanking friends, or giving news of a safe arrival: there is one such from Nikolai Utin in August 1863.

Two other periodical titles were published by the Free Russian Press during the 1860s. Twenty-nine issues of Obshchee veche (1862-1864) were published as a supplement to Kolokol (1857-1868), specifically for 'Old Believers', particularly among the peasants, and edited by Ogarev and Vasily Kel'siev. The latter had made a special study of the raskolniki, and was responsible for arranging distribution through the Dobrudja region of the Ottoman Empire. The publishers invited everyone to the General Assembly: Old Believers, traders and artisans, peasants and merchants, house servants, soldiers and raznochintsy. Shower [on us] your complaints, declare your thoughts, needs, hopes and desires.

Articles specifically on matters of faith were excluded: the aim of the journal being to propagandise Old Believer peasants on the social and political evils of their situation, the editors had no wish to embroil themselves in religious controversy. The Old Believer hierarchy refused to become involved with this journal, but Kel'siev obtained financial support for Obshchee veche (1862-1864) from an Old Believer bookseller, K T Soldatenkov. Soviet writers praised this title as a praiseworthy attempt to propagandise 'the people': it is written in simpler language than other Free Russian Press periodicals. Industrial workers were no part of the intended readership: not only were
they few in relation to the peasant population, but they were also outside the experience of Gertsen and Ogarev, for whom the term 'the people' referred mainly to the peasantry. The remaining Russian-language title published by the Free Russian Press was Istoricheskii sbornik Vol'noi russkoi tipografii (1859-1861), issued only twice. It contained historical documents on post-Petriine Russia: earlier history was left to 'its true owners - the Slavophiles and their learned rivals'.

Two French-language periodicals associated with the Free Russian Press, both named La Cloche, were published in the 1860s. The earlier of the two was published in Brussels between 1862 and 1865, edited by Leon Fontaine, to present items from Kolokol (1857-1868) to a European audience. It has been suggested that Gertsen himself was responsible for the publication of this title, but although he and Ogarev presumably approved as they announced its appearance Kolokol (1857-1868), it was described as 'completely independent'. La Cloche ceased publication in 1865 when Kolokol (1857-1868) itself was declining in popularity, but the main reason for its expiry was probably the involvement of Fontaine in the Belgian journal La rive gauche, launched in 1865. Kolokol (1857-1868) continued until May 1868 (the Press had moved to Geneva in 1865), and a parallel journal entitled La Cloche was published by the Press itself from January to December 1868 (with a supplement published in February 1869) to address European misconceptions about Russia. The change in language reflects a return to the role of commentator on Russia which Gertsen had earlier adopted.

OGAREV'S CONTRIBUTION

Gertsen was solely responsible for the establishment of the Free Russian Press, and was the founding publisher and editor of Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868), and thus of Russian-language émigré journalism, before his collaborator, Ogarev, arrived in London. However, the latter's contribution to the success of the Press from this point on has often been underestimated. Martin A Miller, for example, in discussing the popularity and influence of Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) and Kolokol (1857-1868), barely mentions Ogarev, and in general works covering the period Ogarev is often not mentioned at all in connection with the Press. However, this does not reflect the actual scale of his contribution: not only did he write articles and poems for publication, but 'the renewed friendship and partnership' stimulated an increase in output from the Press although Gertsen remained solely responsible for the business dealings. A less frequent, but opposite, error is to regard Gertsen and Ogarev as the joint founders of the Press itself.

Ogarev's public obscurity in relation to the Press has several causes: he arrived
in Europe after Gertsen, and wrote for nearly two years under the pseudonym 'russkii chelovek'. By the end of the 1860s, Ogarev's health, undermined by epilepsy and alcohol, left him unable to undertake much work, and although Ogarev survived Gertsen by seven years, he took little further active part in émigré journalism, with one exception. Sergei Nechaev made use of Ogarev's name for his own journal Kolokol (1870) a few months after Gertsen's death in January 1870, thereby lending the enterprise a measure of prestige and authority it otherwise lacked. Under the influence of his old friend Mikhail Bakunin, Ogarev connived at the transfer of the remains of the so-called 'Bakhmetev fund' to Nechaev, providing the younger man with funds for his publications. This money had been entrusted to Gertsen by P A Bakhmetev in 1857 for the purposes of printing propaganda, before the latter had left Europe for the Marquesas Islands. He was never heard of again. Ogarev requested and received half the money in 1869 and passed it to Nechaev, and the other half was handed over by Gertsen's heirs after his death.

Ogarev was also party to the pressure put on Gertsen's daughter Natalie ('Tata') to assist with the revival. However, Natalie had sufficient of her father's shrewdness to arrive at a correct estimate of the project, and refused to be involved: 'They only wanted my name, and I would not give them my name, especially for God knows what "multi-coloured" journal'. The statement 'K russkoi publike ot redaktsii' at the beginning of the first of Nechaev's issues of Kolokol (1870) expresses the hope 'that Kolokol should become again a point of junction for all honourable people, who truly desire the reform and emancipation of Russia' and for all who believe 'that Russia does not need words, but deeds'. A letter in the third issue, from 'a correspondent of the old Kolokol', warns the editors of the revival that 'The Russian public expects a great deal from the revived publication'. The result was that the final issue contains a statement from Czirskel repudiating editorial responsibility, and referring readers to the account of his involvement with the Free Russian Press in Desiatiletie Vol'nol Russkoi tipografii v Londone.

According to both Gertsen and Natalie Tuchkova-Ogareva Kolokol (1857-1868) was in fact established at Ogarev's suggestion, in order to enter into a dialogue with readers in Russia. Gertsen and Ogarev were joint editors of Kolokol (1857-1868) throughout its existence, and joint publishers of Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) from the fourth issue (1858). Seven articles by Ogarev were published in Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868), as well as numerous poems. Ogarev's articles included the project for the emancipation of the serfs, published in Kolokol (1857-1868) which 'lay on the table at Rostovtsev's to be referred to about the peasant question'. Ogarev also took overall editorial responsibility for Obshchee veche (1862-1864). Michael Futrell has described Ogarev's importance in the attempt to establish a northern smuggling route through Scandinavia: although his plans were unsuccessful for the
distribution of Free Russian Press publications, they were later achieved by others. He writes more generally of Ogarev that 'the usual estimate of him as merely a weak second string to Gertsen is mistaken'. Ogarev also had more sympathy for Bakunin's activities than his more cynical friend.

Ogarev took the lead in the attempts to link the Free Russian Press with the Zemlia i volia movement, and he and Gertsen did not agree on this point: according to Monica Partridge:

From the outset Ogaryov seems to have envisaged the newspaper as eventually serving as the organ of a secret political organization in Russian, whereas Herzen saw its function of forum for polemical argument as its essential role and a more effective weapon than conspiracy for moving history towards socialism.

However, it has also been noted that 'The close relationship between Herzen and Ogarev makes it necessary to approach with caution the problem of pinpointing their differences.'

DISTRIBUTION

The circulation which Kolokol (1857-1868) achieved at the height of its popularity has been described as 'stupendous' for a journal produced and circulated by two exiles in a country where not one man in ten had the faintest understanding of the subjects which it treated or of the language in which it was issued.

According to Natan Eidel'man Kolokol (1857-1868) at its peak reached tens of thousands of readers, with an edition size of 2,500 copies. Eidel'man extrapolates from this an additional circulation of 4,500-5,000. He compares this with its intellectual rival, Sovremennik, which had an edition size of 6,000 copies, and that of the largest legally published newspaper between 10,000 and 12,000 copies. Some of the émigré titles published towards the end of the century had similar edition sizes to that of Kolokol (1857-1868), but most of these were short-lived. A Kh Khristoforov, editor of Obshchee delo (1877-1890), commented that whereas the sixties were 'the spring' for the radical émigré press during 'the awakening of Russia from a long sleep', the period of his own activity resembled the muddy depths of autumn.

The relative efficiency with which the copies were distributed to the readers was another factor in the success of the Free Russian Press: Gertsen ensured that the Press was run as a business. The arrangements with the Polish smugglers, contacts with
booksellers, particularly the firm of Trubner & Co, have been mentioned and other methods were used: he even attempted to approach Russian delegates to the Paris Peace Conference in 1856 for assistance. Soon the publications were widely available in book shops throughout Europe, as well as smuggled by various routes into the Empire. Some unsolicited copies were simply posted to influential bureaucrats and ministers through the postal service.

The relationship with the firm of Trubner has been analysed in detail: its most important advantage was the access to a Europe-wide distribution network, through the German Börsenverein. Trubner also assumed responsibility for publishing a second edition of those issue of those titles for which there was sufficient demand, allowing the editors to work on the next issue or on new publications. Although during 1857 and 1858 some continental governments bowed to pressure and banned the sale of Free Russian Press publications, the publicity had already had its effect and there was an established market for the Press's output. In any case, the publications remained on sale: Aleksandr Nikitenko reported that in 1862 Prince Iusupov, while buying German books in Berlin, was offered Free Russian Press publications. He refused them on the grounds that they would be confiscated at the border: this was dismissed by the salesman, who offered to 'deliver as many as you want to St Petersburg, directly to your home, in fact right to your study'. The students of Moscow and St Petersburg were among the Press's most avid readers and its publications were available from several St Petersburg and Moscow booksellers.

Individual travellers bought works and carried them home in their luggage for their own use or for their friends, and some were part of a distribution network: N A de Traverse acted as a channel for correspondence from Gertsen, carried into Russia by those returning from abroad. Letters came to Traverse in his wife's name, and he would then send them on to their recipients. He may have also acted as a correspondent (and a co-ordinator for material from others) for Kolokol (1857-1868) from the Pskov province where he was a frequent visitor on estate business: after his arrest in 1862 (as a consequence of the arrest of the courier Vetoshnikov) items from the Pskov province ceased. Traverse was never released but died insane in prison in 1865.

Printed matter was also transported as contraband through Scandinavia, the Polish provinces, Turkey and China. Methods varied, from false compartments in trunks to falsely recorded cargo in merchant ships. Gertsen established contact with English radicals amongst whom was the younger Joseph Cowen, a partner in his father's shipping business based in Newcastle-upon-Tyne: there is some evidence that Gertsen may have exported revolutionary literature concealed amongst the cargo. Charles Wentworth Dilke, who met Gertsen in 1869, apparently took books to Russia under the diplomatic immunity of the British Member of Parliament. In 1863,
Aleksandr Gertsen junior and Bakunin were both in Stockholm, the former apparently with a mission to organise a route through Sweden and Finland, into European Russia. Some literature was apparently sent, but it did not all arrive: in 1881 copies of Kolokol (1857-1868), dated 1863 and intended for the crews of Russian ships calling at the port, were discovered in Hammerfest in Norway, being used by a grocer to wrap his goods and as insulation in the windows. The Scandinavian route was used again by émigré publicists later in the century.

There were other routes, through Vil'no and the port of Odessa. The ill-fated settlement organised by V I Kel'siev in Tulcea played its part and a permanent agency in the Ottoman Empire was proposed. Poliar'naia zvezda (1855-1868) reached towns in Siberia such as Chita, Irkutsk, Kiakhta and Nerchinsk soon after publication began, and later Kolokol (1857-1868) included items from correspondents and readers in Siberia. B G Kubalov studied the Siberian connection in detail and describes various routes by which the Free Russian Press communicated with readers in Asia: some correspondence was carried on through the Decembrists and their relatives, but trading routes were again part of the network: publications passed through Constantinople to Chita in the Far East and through Chinese ports, including Hong Kong.

The Free Russian Press also required safe routes for correspondence and contributions from within Russia. Natan Eidel'man identified nine main channels through which material reached the editors: they included Gertsen's bankers, Rothschild; other Russian émigrés; the various associated publishers' addresses (the Free Russian Press itself, Trubner, Tchorzewski, the booksellers A Frank in Paris, Schneider in Berlin and Hofman und Kampe in Hamburg) and Gertsen's own address, though this last was very risky. The most important was through Maria Reichel in Dresden, which remained unknown until revealed in the ninth issue of Kolokol (1857-1868). Although some aspects of the links between the Free Russian Press and its correspondents within Russia have been elucidated (particularly by Natan Eidel'man) many individual contributors and many details about the distribution network remain obscure because the whereabouts of the archives of the Free Russian Press themselves are unknown.

THE FREE RUSSIAN PRESS AND THE RADICAL MOVEMENT

Although he emphasised the importance of free speech, Gertsen implies that the original motive force behind the foundation of the Free Russian Press was his own desire to re-establish contact with Russia and his friends. He wrote 'I had at all costs to get into communication with my own people'. However strong the personal motives,
such an undertaking could not be without political connotations although when the Free Russian Press was established it would have been premature to describe a 'revolutionary movement', and it was not until after the death of Nikolai I that the Free Russian Press came into its own. The younger generation on whom Gertsen relied were particularly avid readers. Within months of the first issue of Kolokol (1857-1868), Aleksandr Nikitenko reported a hand-written journal with the same title circulating among students. Petr Kropotkin recalled reading Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) with his cousin: 'The beauty of the style of Herzen [...] the breadth of his ideas, and his deep love of Russia took possession of me'. S Mel'gunov recorded the reactions of others: Dobroliubov was said to have read one issue of Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) 'ecstatically'; and Shevchenko to have greeted the journal 'reverentially'. P D Boborykin wrote for an English readership that it was Gertsen 'who gave the chief impulse to political and social radicalism in Russia'. Gertsen himself recalled that

The Bell was accepted in Russia as an answer to the demand for a magazine not mutilated by the censorship. We were fervently greeted by the younger generation [...] But it was not only the young generation that supported us ... 'The Bell is an authority,' I was told by, horribile dictu, Katkov.

Although the prevailing demand for reform was important to the success of the Free Russian Press, the careful preservation of the anonymity of correspondents meant that those in Russia were able to write without fear of exposure.

As a radical movement came into existence, opposition to the existing regime was no longer sufficient to maintain unity: no single organ or group was able to unite the opposition in the same way, or ever again to act as an outlet for a broad spectrum of views with success comparable to that of Kolokol (1857-1868) in its first years. S D Lishchiner has emphasised Gertsen's desire to retain the appeal of Kolokol (1857-1868) to a broad range of oppositional opinion and to avoid identification with any one individual group. The London publications and the legally published journal Sovremennik provided alternative and opposing focal points for radical opinion. The meeting which took place during Chernyshevsky's visit to London in 1859 failed to resolve differences, which later spilled over into the disputes within the political emigration, particularly with the circle of Nikolai Utin and his associates. Bakunin joined Gertsen and Ogarev in London after his escape from Siberia in 1862. He 'first of all set about revolutionising The Bell [...] Propaganda was not enough; there ought to be immediate action' and he thought his old friends 'too moderate, unable to take advantage of the situation of the moment, insufficiently fond of resolute measures.

Kolokol (1857-1868) also gave encouragement to the development of clandestine presses, which appeared in Russia in the early 1860s: the first 'Velikorus' proclamation appeared in 1861 and it was followed by others.
reprinted all the 'Velikorus' texts and the responses to them. In issue number 105, dated 15 August 1861, readers were told

We realise with delight that at home they have begun to print secretly, **NOT TROUBLING** the censor, we have even seen one leaflet 'Velikorus'. [...] But as soon as ideas printed abroad begin to be realised, they need the soil of home, the proximity, the inspiration of the day. Print with hand-operated presses, print anyhow, you do not have to have Elzevier's standards, have letters by the half-page, so that it is possible at the same time to hide from the **LONG ARMS** and **SHORT BRAINS** of the secret police. [...] **ESTABLISH PRESSES!**

The editors recognised that the clandestine press would play a different role from that of émigré publications. In January 1868 they wrote that 'One of our greatest rewards consists precisely in the fact that we are less necessary'.

The efficiency of the distribution network gave the Free Russian Press added significance beyond the status of a 'revolutionary centre'. Some of the younger generation of émigrés wanted to make use of its resources while taking no financial responsibility. Although the role of Kolokol (1857-1868) in the Zemlia i volia movement was an element in the disagreement between Gertsen and the so-called 'young emigration', and Gertsen's well-known antipathy to Marx may have also contributed, the question of the use of influence and resources was very important. Ogarev and Bakunin were more sympathetic to the younger men than Gertsen, who regarded their demands, particularly the financial ones, as excessive:

Knowing absolutely nothing of my resources nor of my sacrifices, they made demands upon me which I did not think it right to satisfy. [...] My new acquaintances considered that all I was doing was not enough, and looked with indignation at a man who gave himself out for a socialist and did not distribute his property in equal shares among people who wanted money without working.

Gertsen's three conditions for transferring control of Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) to Utin and his associates were not accepted: no financial support from Gertsen and Ogarev; Utin to be responsible for proof-reading; the responsibility of the new editors to be acknowledged. With the publication of A Serno-Solovevich's pamphlet, Nashi domashnie zadachi, the disagreement was irrevocable.

**THE OFFICIAL RESPONSE**

When he established the Free Russian Press, the publication of Gertsen's writing
was already banned in Russia. When the Press's output began to arrive, the government requested the British government through diplomatic channels that the Free Russian Press be closed down, and Gertsen himself extradited. The request was refused both on this occasion, and when it was repeated after Kolokol (1857-1868) began to appear. The attempt to achieve a total ban on Kolokol (1857-1868) throughout Western Europe has been noted. Despite government's efforts, Kolokol (1857-1868) was circulating freely in Moscow in the winter of 1860-1861, and the periodicals reached Decembrists still living in Siberia.

Concern about the influence of Kolokol (1857-1868) related not only to the ideas: officials feared the revelations of incompetence and abuse of position, partly because of the widespread belief that the Tsar himself read it. In 1858, Aleksandr Nikitenko, while acknowledging Gertsen's influence, criticised Kolokol (1857-1868) for 'invective' and commented that 'as a result of his excesses, those who considered him to be one of our most useful social activists are losing respect for him, so that little by little he might lose all his influence in Russia'. Kolokol (1857-1868) was then only at the beginning of the period of its greatest fame and influence: these 'excesses' did not apparently alienate his potential readership and more active measures were undertaken.

Criticism of Gertsen in the legal press tended to fall foul of the censorship regulations: in 1859 Censor Elagin arranged for the printing of a critique of Gertsen's views in Berlin but the censorship committee did not approve its distribution, and three-quarters of the 4,000 copies remained in store three years later. In 1861, Fedor Firks, a Russian agent based in Brussels, published Lettre à Monsieur Herzen in Berlin under the pseudonym D K Schédo-Ferroti. Although Ogarev's role was known by this time, the pamphlet is addressed to Gertsen alone, dismissing the publications, asserting that Kolokol (1857-1868) is no longer read by the influential, and describing it and Gertsen as the enemies of progress. Its distribution within Russia was allowed in March of the same year.

The editors of Severnaia pchela tried to use a potentially embarrassing statement, made by Gertsen in a speech in 1837 when in internal exile: 'Tsars, for example Petr the Great, stand ahead of their people and lead them towards enlightenment'. Viatskie gubernskie vedomosti was able to publish this statement early in 1862, under the rules governing provincial journals, but the editors of Severnaia pchela had to obtain special permission to reprint it in May of that year in the context of an attack on Gertsen. It was then reprinted in Syn otechestva and Moskovskie vedomosti, and Katkov, editor of the latter, was thus able to initiate a polemic with Kolokol (1857-1868), which was seen as an effective means of fighting its influence. Other articles critical of Gertsen's opinions were placed by officials in legally published journals supportive of government policies. Gertsen wrote in his memoirs that there was a proposal to 'buy him off' by the award of a Civil Service post.
DECLINE

In the early 1860s, in 'the period of our bloom and prosperity', Gertsen's household became a tourist attraction, for emigrants and travelling Russians:

Neither the fearful distance which I lived from the West End [...] nor the door that was permanently shut in the mornings - nothing helped. We were the fashion.

[...] [I]n a tourist's guide-book I was mentioned as one of the curiosities of Putney.
So it was from 1857 to 1863.139

The decline in the popularity of the Free Russian Press is often attributed to the support for the Polish rising expressed in Kolokol (1857-1868) in 1863, despite Gertsen's reservations about the small likelihood of its success: his position was seen as unpatriotic in the light of the strongly nationalistic response in Russia. Gertsen himself apparently believed that this was the main cause of the decline and recorded that P A Martianov's warning that 'to meddle in Polish affairs' would be disastrous for Kolokol (1857-1868).160 In a reversal of the Press's early history, a Polish activist, Roger Raczynski, wrote to Gertsen from Paris, welcoming the support of the Free Russian Press and expressing his admiration for its work and suggested the establishment of a Polish title alongside Kolokol (1857-1868).161 Gertsen described the loss of support in his memoirs: 'Towards the end of 1863 the circulation of The Bell dropped from two thousand or two thousand five hundred to five hundred, and never rose again above one thousand copies.162

Despite the fall in circulation and influence, the editors had no intention of changing their outlook: in the first issue of 1865 the editorial stated

Kolokol remains as it was - the organ of social development in Russia.

[...]
Propaganda is clearly divided into two parts. On the one hand there is the word, advice, analysis, clarification, theory; on the other the education of circles, the organisation of means, internal and external relations. We have consecrated all our activity, all our devotion to the first. It is not possible to do the second abroad. This is the work for which we wait in the near future.163

Three years later, the editorial statement for the first issue of 1868 Kolokol (1857-1868) is less optimistic in tone:

As far as our Russian speech is concerned, we have said nearly all we wished to
say, and our words have not passed without bearing fruit. We know how to recognize the echo and reverberation, into whatever sounds they are distorted. [...] We considered our activity necessary, not only when we first undertook free Russian speech and were met with general applause, but also when society's ideas became confused - we stood firm. We did not fall silent because we did not lose faith.\textsuperscript{164}

When Ogarev, among others, made the suggestion that Kolokol (1857-1868) should be revived again the following year, Gertsen's view was that it was not possible without the correspondents within Russia who had played such a fundamentally important role in its success.\textsuperscript{165}

The move to Geneva is often regarded as an attempt to revive the flagging fortunes of Kolokol (1857-1868) and to improve relations between the Press's editors and the 'young emigration'.\textsuperscript{166} However, there were various reasons behind it: E H Carr emphasises personal motive, in particular Natalie Tuchkova-Ogareva's demands, and the presence of Gertsen's older children in Italy.\textsuperscript{167} The Press had not been wholly settled in London in its early years and Gertsen had several times considered moving to the Continent. With the addition of personal pressures, there was little reason to stay, and the move from London to Geneva finally took place in 1865. Ludwig Czierniecki took over the running of the Press during the late 1860s, operating it until his death in 1872.

Although the loss of popularity by Kolokol (1857-1868) dated from 1863, support for the Polish rebellion was not the only factor affecting its circulation. From 1858 there had been competing émigré titles, offering alternative outlets for oppositional writers; changes to the censorship regulations had stimulated the growth of the legal periodical press; illegal presses had begun to operate in Russia; renewed repression also affected the readership of Kolokol (1857-1868) - in 1862 Chernyshevsky and leading figures in the Zemlia i volia movement were among those arrested. Apart from increasing the nervousness of radical sympathisers, this also had the practical effect of silencing some correspondents of the Free Russian Press and removing members of its distribution network, for example N A de Traverse.\textsuperscript{168} By 1863 Gertsen had been abroad for sixteen years and Ogarev for seven: as is common with political émigrés, with the passage of time they were less in touch with the current conditions in Russia, and with the current concerns of the oppositional movement. Interest in émigré publications may in any case have been reduced by growing disillusionment as the remaining reforms undertaken in the mid-1860s were combined with renewed repression.\textsuperscript{169} By 1865 Nikitenko's criticism acknowledges the scale of influence Gertsen had earlier wielded: 'how much good he could do, even now, by talking sensibly and calmly; by criticising boldly and energetically without resorting to
invective'. A further blow to the prestige of Kolokol (1857-1868) in radical circles, and a source of conflict with the younger generation in particular, may have been Gertsen's condemnation of Karakozov's attack on Aleksandr II, although Ogarev and Bakunin differed with him on this.

It is commonly held that towards the end of his life, Gertsen was often seen as an 'armchair revolutionary', and a 'spent force in the European revolutionary movement'. These views are to a large extent an ironical manifestation of the power of propaganda. For these were the views held and spread [...] by the so-called Young Generation of Russian revolutionaries in Geneva and by the propaganda concurrently being directed in Russia against Herzen by Katkov.

Gertsen's death in 1870 was unexpected and the ideas of the younger emigrants thereafter predominated, with the support of Bakunin and Ogarev. The 'generation gap' had become apparent by the mid- to late sixties: throughout the second half of the nineteenth century much of the student body was radicalised, and by the mid-1860s Gertsen and Ogarev were of the generation of 'fathers'. In addition, Gertsen's aristocratic contempt for some members of the political emigration and his comfortable lifestyle alienated younger and poorer idealists. The failure of attempts to collaborate with Chernyshevsky and Gertsen's lack of enthusiasm for Zemlia i volia were seen as a further grievance by some of the younger activists. It probably did not help that Gertsen and Ogarev's letter to N Serno-Solovevich about the possibility of printing Sovremennik had been used as the pretext for Chernyshevsky's arrest. The discussions about co-operation between the Free Russian Press and others (especially with those operating the press established in Berne) also failed, and the bitterness of the disagreement found expression in A Serno-Solovevich's pamphlet Nashi domashnie zadachi.

By the late 1860s, Ogarev was too unwell to undertake much active work, but Gertsen's reaction was to redirect his efforts: he renewed his interest in European radicalism and wrote pseudonymously for legal publication in Russia; despite the disputes, dialogue with other emigrants also continued. Although Gertsen was distracted by personal matters, with illness and death among his children, his interest in politics remained active, and the common view of Gertsen sadly contemplating the ruin of his life's work has been challenged. Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) was revived for a single issue at the end of 1868 under the names of both Gertsen and Ogarev, with the promise (unfulfilled in fact) of future issues. Natan Eidel'man has also noted that the titles published by the Free Russian Press, including Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868), Kolokol (1857-1868) and Byloe i dumy, did not formally end in Gertsen's lifetime, but could have been re-established if the circumstances warranted it.
CONTEMPORARIES AND SUCCESSORS

Martin A Miller has commented although 'the émigré press functioned in the shadow of Herzen's paper [...] it would be inaccurate to assume that Herzen's paper was the émigré press.' Although it was not until 1858 that a rival Russian-language title appeared, eighteen other émigré titles in total were established between 1855 and 1869. Ivan Golovin, Prince P V Dolgorukov and Leonid Blummer, figures whose activities are often ignored, were responsible for eight of these. In 1862, eleven titles were issued: Obshchee vecher (1862-1864) from the Free Russian Press was one of the seven new periodicals, and Kolokol (1857-1868) and Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) were among the four continuing titles. Despite the ten other titles published in 1862, Leonid Blummer wrote in Svobodnoe slovo (1862-1863) that, although recently 'a large number of works devoted exclusively to Russia have appeared abroad' still 'despite the variety of its organs, still not all of its nuances have independent expression'.

It is not possible to be absolutely certain which émigré journal was the first Russian-language competitor for the Free Russian Press. Two issues of Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (1858-1862), also printed in Leipzig, but published in Berlin, London and Paris, are dated 1858 but refer to other journals as already in progress: the 'Predislovie' to the first issue refers both to a 'publishing house [...] on the banks of the Thames' criticised for 'abuse and mockery', and to a newspaper 'appearing with much ado' in 'countries neighbouring to England and France' which was given to 'flattery and servility'. The first of these can be identified as the Free Russian Press, and the second might be Strela (1858-1859): its first issue was published in Leipzig in December 1858 edited by Ivan Golovin. However, Saxony did not border either France or Great Britain. The other possibility is the officially-controlled newspaper, Le Nord, in Belgium, first published in 1855. Reference to another unknown publication, or a proposal for a publication which has now disappeared without trace is also possible, if unlikely. Golovin also edited Blagonamerennyi (1859-1862), published in Berlin. According to the publication dates, Strela (1858-1859) was published first, but on the final page of its first issue there is a statement that the first issue of Blagonamerennyi (1859-1862) 'has appeared' edited by Prince Khovry, a pseudonym for Golovin himself.

According to E L Rudnitskaia, Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (1858-1862) itself was established as an 'overflow' publication for items for which there was not room in Golosa iz Rossii (1856-1860), by the Paris publisher Franck 'under the "protection" ' of G I Miklashevsky. There may indeed have been a connection: the London publisher of Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (1858-1862) was N Trubner & Co. Miklashevsky was a proof-reader for the printing firm of Gustav Bar in Leipzig, and was also responsible for the publication of the first two titles, published in 1857 and
1858, in a series of monographs in Russian with the collective title *Russkaia biblioteka*, continued until 1900. Nikolashvsky himself returned to Russia in 1858, and was arrested at Kronstadt with numerous émigré publications in his possession. According to his subsequent statement to the Third Section, *Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik* (1858-1862) was commercially rather than politically inspired.¹⁸⁵ Dolgorukov accused the publisher Gerhard, who took over the firm of Franck in 1862, of sympathy with the Russian government, which might explain why *Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik* (1858-1862) then ceased.¹⁸⁶ A press, on which propaganda leaflets were printed, was set up in Berne in 1862 by V I Bakst, with whom A A Serno-Solov'evich collaborated: a proposal to combine the presses came to nothing.¹⁸⁷

It is striking that there was less activity in the émigré press as a whole during the years in which the Free Russian Press was in decline. Three of the eleven titles in progress in 1862 came from the Press: *Kolokol* (1857-1868) and *Poliarnaya zvezda* (1855-1868) were the only two which appeared in the late 1860s. By 1865 and 1866 there were only two or three titles in progress over all. The final years of *Kolokol* (1857-1868) must be seen in perspective: although its pre-eminence and authority were reduced after 1863, it remained in progress for another five years, something that less than a quarter of all émigré titles achieved during the nineteenth century. If *Kolokol* (1857-1868) was affected by general reaction to the Polish rising, and against radicalism after Karakozov's actions, it was not alone. Overall, only six of the 24 titles published 1855-1869 lasted for more than three years, and three of those were published by the Free Russian Press. There were seven titles in progress in 1868: *Kolokol* (1857-1868) and *Poliarnaya zvezda* (1855-1868) were the only survivors from 1862. Among the European titles published in 1868, only *Narodnoe delo* (1868-1870) survived for more than a year: *Svoboda* (1868-1873), in San Francisco, and connected with an English-language title, lasted rather better. No contemporary, and few later titles approached the frequency or circulation of *Kolokol* (1857-1868).

Although later titles retained links with the oppositional movement in Russia, they were with specific groups rather than a general popularity within 'society'. To some extent *Vpered!* (1873-1877) also provided a focus for the emigration, but it was less marked than that of Gertsen and Ogarev at the height of their popularity. Many of the early publications were established by their contemporaries: for the men of the forties', oppositional activity was an individual matter in keeping with the spirit of romanticism which flourished during their upbringing. By 1870, the émigré publishers of that generation were no longer active: Dolgorukov died in 1868, Gertsen in 1870, Ogarev was infirm, and Golovin published no Russian-language titles after 1862. In February 1870, Bakunin wrote to Tata Gertsen and Natalie Tuchkova-Ogareva that 'Herzen was the last Russian to act in ISOLATION. The time has now come for CLEAR THINKING and COLLECTIVE ACTION. It is to this collectivity I summon you'.¹⁸⁸
EVALUATION

No other individual title achieved the influence of Kolokol (1857-1868). Part of the impact of Poliarnaia zvezda (1855-1868) and especially of Kolokol (1857-1868) was their sheer novelty, and the existence of a potential readership eager for open discussion. Gertsen did not regard the journals as an end in themselves, but as the means to the end of awakening others to the problems of their time and to potential solutions.\(^{189}\) His Free Russian Press established the émigré press as an outlet for oppositional writing, and formed the first of numerous attempts to unite the opposition. An element in this success was the policy of toleration which was stated explicitly in the first issue of Kolokol (1857-1868):

Everywhere, in everything, always to be on the side of freedom - against prejudice, on the side of knowledge - against barbarities, on the side of developing peoples - against backward governments.\(^{190}\)

In 1858 Gertsen wrote of the Press's success that it

\[
est\ une\ preuve,\ que\ les\ éléments\ d'une\ régénération\ sociale\ sont\ tout\ prêts.\]
\[
Moi\ -\ je\ ne\ suis\ que\ leur\ organe\ [...]\ si\ je\ n'étais\ soutenu\ par\ l'opinion\ publique\ en\ Russie,\ je\ ne\ pourrais\ rien\ faire\ de\ pratiquement\ utile.\(^{191}\)
\]

The success of the Free Russian Press can be judged from the fact that its output attracted criticism from liberal opinion (for example from Boris Chicherin) as well as in reactionary and government circles, for example, from Katkov. Russian official concern about the émigré press was a reflection of Gertsen's achievement.

Among its successors, the Free Russian Press's status was almost legendary: it and Gertsen retained this pre-eminence for the rest of the century, although estimations of their contribution to the revolutionary movement have varied. When Petr Lavrov escaped to the West from internal exile in Vologda province, one of his first goals was to meet Gertsen, but the latter died two months before Lavrov arrived in Paris. In the editorial in the first issue of Vpered! (1873-1877), before expounding the rationale behind the publication, Lavrov admits that 'the reader will look at our undertaking with disfavour: what can it say that is new and interesting? It is impossible that it should contain the irreplaceable talent of Gertsen'.\(^{192}\) Lavrov's use of Gertsen's name (and incidentally, ignoring Ogarev's contribution) is an early example of the use made by later publicists of the heritage of the Free Russian Press. There were further references by the editors of Svobodnaia Rossia (1889) and Vestnik Narodnoi voli (1883-1886). A A Khristoforov wrote in 1903 that he and his collaborators did not

intend to compare ourselves with Kolokol and ascribe to ourselves even a
hundredth part of the influence which it had on its contemporaries; for this we have neither the talent of our illustrious predecessor, nor his absorbing brilliance of expression and wit, and also the period in which we had to work was far less propitious for our cause than the beginning of the reign of Aleksandr II and the 60s, when Gertsen wrote.¹⁹³

The participants in the Free Russian Press Fund tried to establish a non-partisan émigré journalism, with some success until Stepanikh's death. However V D Smirnov, writing in 1897, commented that Gertsen's was merely one of many varying opinions on the 'peasant question': moreover 'Gertsen [...] greeted the government's undertaking [ie the Emancipation manifesto] with radiant enthusiasm in his Kolokol',¹⁹⁴ although it was later subjected to rigorous criticism once the details became known. Lenin gave qualified approval:

Poliarnaia zvezda took up the tradition of the Decembrists. Kolokol (1857-1867) stood through thick and thin for the emancipation of the peasants. The servile silence was broken.
But Gertsen belonged to the landowning, noble milieu.¹⁹⁵

A Soviet commentator claimed the Free Russian Press as an ancestor of social-democratic journalism.¹⁹⁶ Documents of historical significance, published both in Istoricheskii sbornik (1859-1861) and as monographs, 'played a part in establishing Russian radical tradition and iconography', according to Judith Zimmerman, and created for the Russian left the 'usable past that was still being used in recent times.¹⁹⁷

Because it was the first, and was outstandingly successful and influential by comparison with most émigré titles, the stature of the Free Russian Press tends to overshadow its quite numerous contemporaries and immediate successors. Martin A Miller, while asserting the importance of contemporary émigré periodicals (and ignoring Ogarev's contribution) states that 'Herzen founded émigré journalism. He was actively involved in journalism almost from the moment of his arrival in Western Europe'.¹⁹⁸

Other Western commentators have emphasised the policy of tolerance,¹⁹⁹ and the range of the opinions expressed in the publications.²⁰⁰ The example of the Press also influenced the émigré arm of the pan-Slav movement, particularly through Bakunin, who attempted to establish a pan-Slav 'revolutionary centre' based around a periodical entitled Svoboda vseslavianskaia. Like many of Bakunin's plans, this came to nothing and the periodical was never published.²⁰¹ Two Slovenian periodicals published in 1863 and 1870, the latter entitled Zvon, were also influenced by Kolokol (1857-1868).²⁰² The most comprehensive bibliography of the émigré press in Europe, that of Tatiana Ossorguine-Bakounine, is dedicated to the memory of Gertsen and Ogarev.²⁰³

Gertsen's combination of brilliance as a journalist and shrewdness as a businessman was rarely shared by his rivals or successors, and Ogarev's contribution
should not be dismissed. Their political opinions as expressed in the journals, especially Kolokol (1857-1868), were influential but the simple fact of the press's existence and wide distribution was possibly more so. Later publicists linked themselves less to the Kolokol (1857-1868)'s politics, than to the scale of its readership and influence. The number of titles published by the Press, their longevity and the regularity with which Kolokol (1857-1868) appeared were unique achievements in the nineteenth century. It fulfilled its founder's intention to be a Russian periodical press, issued without censorship, exclusively devoted to the question of Russian freedom and the dissemination in Russia of free views.
NOTES

1. M A Obolensky, 'Russkaia tipografiia v Parizhe v 1790-kh godakh.' Bibliograficheskie zapiski: periodicheskoie izdanie (1858) 1, cols 155-156. Dubrovsky appealed to Potemkin for financial help. It is not certain whether the project was completed, or what happened to the press. For the Old Believer activities, see I Kalugin, 'Neskot'ko slov o klintsovskoi tipografi.' Bibliograficheskaia zapiski (1858) 5, cols 157-159; Iu A Labyntsev, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi pis'mennosti v izdaniakh staroobriadcheskikh tipografiy XVII-XXVII.' Kniga: issledovanii i materialy: sbornik (1979) XXXIX, pp173-178; Vol'naia russkaia pechat' v rossii v rossiiskoi publichnoi biblioteke, [ed] V M Anderson, St Petersburg, 1920, pvi-viii.

2. Apart from Gertsen and Ogarev's own works, the Free Russian Press published pamphlets and monographs including: sections of Byloe i duny; other works of Gertsen (Pis'ma iz Frantsii i Italii, S togo berega etc); Zapiski Dekabristov; three volumes of Sbornik o raskolnikakh; the bible in Russian; Radishchev Puteshestvie iz Peterburga v Moskvu.


5. Malia, Alexander Herzen and the birth of Russian socialism, pp128-129. Three of the six participants, Gertsen, Ogarev, and Nikolai Sazonov were later active émigré journalists. Sazonov escaped arrest, and went abroad. See also E L Rudnitskaya 'A I Gertseina: nachalo revolutsionnoi propagandy (k 175-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniiu)' Istoricheskie zapiski (1988) 116, pp57-58.

6. P V Annenkov, The extraordinary decade: literary memoirs, trans I R Titunik, ed A P Mendel, Ann Arbor, 1968, pp86 and 87. There were other factors including: 'misunderstandings in the close relationships of the circle. [...] At that time it was hard for a free-thinking person to live in Russia [...] Gertsen wanted freedom; the West, in which he believed then, beckoned him.' M Reichel, 'Otryvki iz vospominanii' in Gertsen v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, ed N Bordsky et al, Moscow, 1956, pp82-83. Maria Kasparovna Reichel, née Ern, had been with the Gertsen family since their days of exile in Viatka and left Russia with them. She married Adolf Reichel in 1850, and lived in Paris and later in Dresden. See section on 'Distribution' for her role in the press.


8. Ch Vetrinsky, Gertsen, St Petersburg, 1908, pp470ff gives details of the first publication of all Gertsen's works. These were established in 1837. Vetrinsky, Gertsen, p496 describes Gertsen's role. See also Gertsen, My past and thoughts, vl, pp266-269.

9. The first publication in book form, of both series of letters, was in German in 1850 (Briefe aus Italien und Frankreich' (1848-1849) von einem Russen. Hamburg, 1850); the first Russian edition was published in London in 1855. Other works first published abroad include: in German Vom andern Ufer (S togo berega) in 1850; in French, Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie (K razvitiu revoljutsionnykh idei v Rossii) in 1851.

10. The journal was suspended after the publication of the third article in April 1869 once his disguise had been penetrated by the censorship. M Partridge, 'Alexander Herzen: his last phase' in Essays in honour of E H Carr, ed C Abramsky, London, 1974, pp44-45. See also section on 'Censorship and freedom of expression' in chapter 2.

11. Gertsen, From the other shore, tr Budberg, p11. The importance of free speech is reiterated again and again in this introduction: on the previous page he wrote 'it is here that suffering is painful, sharp, but articulate. [...] The violence inflicted is great, but the protest is loud; the fighters often march to the galleys, chained hand and foot, but with heads uplifted, with free speech. Where the word has not perished, neither has the deed. For the sake of this free speech, this right to be heard - I stay here' (p10).
This plan is also mentioned in the pamphlet 'Vol'noe russkoe knigoepischatanie v Londone: Brat'iam na Rus', dated 21 February 1853: 'Already in 1849 I thought of starting a printing press for Russian books in Paris; but, driven from country to country, pursued side by side with terrible poverty, I could not fulfil my intention.' Text in A Gertsen, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v 30-kh tomakh, Moscow, 1954-1965, XII, p65.

Article written in place of a preface to a proposed collection of his works, but not published at the time: see Literaturnoe nasledstvo, t39-40, 1941, pp169-170.


He continues: 'People who were incapable of anything nonetheless considered themselves competent to edit a paper, scraped together a 100 francs or so, and spent them on the first and last issue.' Gertsen, My past and thoughts, v2, pp692-693.

This was in Geneva. Gertsen, My past and thoughts, v2, pp691.

Zimmerman, Midpassage, p113.

E Acton, Alexander Herzen and the role of the intellectual revolutionary, Cambridge, 1979, pp62-69 for discussion of this aspect of Gertsen's activities.

Gertsen, From the other shore, tr Budberg, p15.

A Gertsen, 'The Russian people and socialism' in From the other shore, p165.


Negotiations carried on initially through Sazonov, and later through a Pole Charles Edmond Chojecki. Zimmerman, Midpassage, p118; and 'Herzen, Proudhon and La voix du peuple', pp436ff.

Zimmerman, 'Herzen, Proudhon and La voix du peuple', pp442-445. See Gertsen's criticism of the first issue in a letter to Emma Herwegh dated 24 October 1849, in E H Carr, 'Some unpublished letters of Alexander Herzen' Oxford Slavonic papers (1951) II, pp96-98. In his memoirs, he reported that a French official had explained that 'your connections, your association with ill-disposed journals [...] and finally the considerable subventions which you have given to the most pernicious enterprises, have compelled us to resort to a very unpleasant but necessary step'. [ie, expulsion] Gertsen, My past and thoughts, v2, p770. E H Carr, Romantic exiles: a nineteenth-century portrait gallery, Cambridge, Mass, 1981, concentrating on Gertsen's personal life, implies that his only reason for being in Paris was to arrange his mother's financial affairs through the firm of Rothschild (pp79-81).

His mother and younger son died in a boating accident, and his wife, after a passionate affair with Georg Herwegh, died in childbirth, together with the baby. Carr, Romantic exiles, chapters three and four ('A family tragedy' I and II); Gertsen's own account, 'A family drama' in Part V 'Paris-Italy-Paris, 1847-1852', Gertsen, My past and thoughts, v2.

See for example, Acton, Alexander Herzen and the role of the intellectual revolutionary, ch 6, Partridge, Alexander Herzen 1812-1870, p88.

Gertsen, My past and thoughts, v3, p1026.

Maria Reichel was looking after Gertsen's daughters, Natalie and Olga, at the time these letters were written.

Text from Polnoe sobranie sochinenii, XII, p62.

London was home to refugees of many nationalities: Zimmerman comments 'By 1850, Swiss pressure pushed the centre of émigré life to London' Midpassage, p171.

E Iaz'vinskaia, 'Liudvik Chernetskii' Slaviane (1958) 3, p38. Czerniacki also printed Kolokol (1870) for Nечаев: see Appendix I.

Ia E El'sberg, Gertsen: zhizn' i tvorchesto, 3rd ed, Moscow, 1956, p370 gives details. Also

42 See the letter from Worcell to Gertsen (text in *Autour d'Alexandre Herzen: documents inédits*, ed M Vuilleumier [et al], Geneva, 1973, pp259-262) in which the writer expresses his concern at the public damage which might be caused by this rift.

43 See letter in *Poliarnia zvezda*, issue 2, dated 1856, pp250-252, with complaints about typographic errors.


45 Text in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, XII, p80.

46 *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, XXV, p82. Letter to M Reichel dated 22 July 1853.

47 'The Russian people and socialism', in Gertsen, *From the other shore*, tr Wollheim, pp203-204. It was written in 1851, and the work in question was probably either *Vom andem Ufer*, published in 1850, or *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*, first published in 1851. For the reaction in Russia, see Annenkov, *The extraordinary decade*, pp250-251.


50 Letter dated 17 October 1853: *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, XXV, p123.

51 Partridge, *Collected studies*, pp200ff.

52 *Desiatiletii*, [p x]. In his memoirs Gertsen wrote 'I could not give up: the Russian printing press was my life's work [...] But [...] it were one out that one's work was never heard of [...] there was not one single word of sympathy from home.' Gertsen, *My past and thoughts*, v3, pp1296-1297.


54 *Autour d'Alexandre Herzen*, pp156-158.


57 See 'Distribution' section below for details of this and later distribution routes.

58 From the prospectus announcing the publication of *Poliarnia zvezda*, p1.

59 'Pis'ma 1', *Poliarnia zvezda*, issue 2, dated 1856, pp243. This account seems very close to Meysenbug's account, above.

60 Other contents of *Poliarnia zvezda* (1855-1868) include extracts of *Byloe i dumy*, and other of Gertsen's writings; Engel'son 'Chto takoe gosudarstvo' (issue 1); Sazonov 'Mesto Rossii na vsemirnoi Vystavke' (issue 2).


64 *Golosa iz Rossii*, issue 1, dated 1856, 'Ot izdatel'ia', p6.


67 Letter dated 6 April 1859 in *Autour d'Alexandre Herzen*, p205.

68 *Desiatiletii*, p xix. See also *Kolokol*, issue 1, dated 1 July 1857, p2. The 'two or three' presses may refer to the periodicals *Strela* (1858-1839) and *Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik* (1838-1862); and *Blagonamerennyi* (1859-1862).

69 *Kolokol*, issue 1, dated 1 July 1857, p1.

70 *Kolokol*, issue 1, dated 1 July 1857, p1.

and 6 (1974); also in the volume entitled *Epokha Chernyshevskogo* (1978); and 'Anonimnye korrrespondents' *Kolokola* in *Problem izuchenija Gertsa*, [ed] V P Volgin and Iu G Oksman, Moscow, 1963, pp251-279. In this last article, he states that 'the authors of the greater part of the articles sent to *Kolokol* and *Poliarnaia zvezda* continue even to this day to be anonymous. Many editorial secrets of Gertsen and Ogarev are still not uncovered.' (p252)


76 *Kolokol*, issue 1, dated 1 July 1857, p8.


79 *Kolokol*, issue 65/66, dated 15 March 1860, p554. Maikov was a professor at Moscow University and a member of the Vladimir committee on the emancipation of serfs.

80 *Kolokol*, issue 165, dated 10 June 1863, p1364.

81 *Kolokol*, issue 176, dated 1 January 1864, p1452, 'Shpiony'.

82 *Kolokol*, issue 163, dated 15 March 1863, p1348, 'Otvety'.

83 *Kolokol*, issue 169, dated 15 August 1863, p1396, 'Ot N Utina'.


85 *Obshchee veche*, issue 1, dated 15 July 1862, 'Ot izdatelye', p1.


87 Soldatenkov had 'only vague political convictions'. Venturi, *Roots of revolution*, 1983, p117.


89 ... *Istoricheski sbornik Vol'noi russkoi typografii*, issue 1, dated 1859, 'Predislovie', p.

90 La Cloche, 1, dated 20 September 1862, p1.


92 *Kolokol*, issue 146, dated 1 October 1862, p1212. See also letter to C Vogt dated 4 November 1862, in *Autour d'Alexandre Herzen*, p219.

93 Partridge, *Collected studies*, p179.

94 *Kolokol* (La Cloche): revue du développement social, politique et littéraire en Russie, issue 1, dated 1 January 1868, p1.


The first part of 'Russkie voprosy' appeared in Kolokol issue 8, dated 1 February 1858, but in the next issue, dated 15 February 1858 the identity of 'russkii chelovek' is revealed as Ogarev (p68).

See Carr, Romantic exiles, especially chapter 6 for an extended discussion of Ogarev's decline.

Bakhmetev fund: its origins are described by Gertsen in My past and thoughts, v3, pp1343-1348.

Daughter of a revolutionary: Natalie Herzen and the Bakunin-Nekhayev circle, ed and tr M Confino, London, 1974, p207. Other documents published in this collection relate to this incident, especially pp205ff. Natalie was asked to be the editor.

Kolokol, issue 1, dated 2 April 1870, p1.

Kolokol, issue 3, dated 16 April 1870, p22.


See Desiatiletie pxix; N A Tuchkova-Ogareva, 'Vospominaniiia' in Gertsen v vospominanialakh sovremennikov, p189.

Gertsen, My past and thoughts, v3, p1298. See also Eidel'man, Tainye korrespondenty, p259. See also Acton, Alexander Herzen and the role of the intellectual revolutionary, p128; Pirunova, Aleksandr Gertsen, p88, and Partridge, Alexander Herzen 1812-1870, p104.

Gertsen, My past and thoughts, v3, p1298; Eidel'man, Tainye korrespondenty, p100.


Partridge, Alexander Herzen 1812-1870, p105.

Acton, Alexander Herzen and the role of the intellectual revolutionary, p163.

Carr, Romantic exiles, p212.

Eidel'man, Tainye korrespondenty, p258.

See section entitled 'Circulation and distribution' in chapter 2.

A Kh Khristoforov, 'Obshchee delo: istoriia i kharkateristika izdaniia. (Pis'mo k redaktoru Osvobozhdenia)' Osvobozhdenie (1903) 1, p33.

A Gleason, Young Russia: the genesis of Russian radicalism in the 1860s, New York, 1980, p90.


Partridge, Collected studies, p206. See also the introduction to the facsimile edition of Kolokol (1857-1868) by Nechkhina, pxvii.

Nikitenko, Diary, entry dated 4 August 1862, p252, tr Jacobson.

B S Ginzburg, 'Rasprostranenie izdaniia vo'lnoi russkoi tipografii v kontse 1850-kh - nachale 1860-kh godov', in Revoliutsionnaiia situatsiia v Rossii, 1962, p341-344, 346-347. He also discusses other cases recorded in official archives.

G V Ozerov, 'N A de Traverse - korrespondent Kolokola i rasprostranitel' londonskikh izdani Gertsa' in Problemy izuchenia Gertsa, pp479-484. Ginzburg also discusses this aspect of distribution in 'Rasprostranenie izdaniia vo'lnoi russkoi tipografii', p339.

She cites Cowen's obituary from The Morning Post, dated 19 February 1900.

Partridge, 'Alexander Herzen and England' in Collected Studies, pp107. See also Eidel'man, Tainye korrespondenty, p96.

Futrell, Northern underground, pp30-33, for a description of the contacts between the Free Russian Press and Scandinavian radicals.

Ginzburg, 'Rasprostranenie izdaniia vo'lnoi russkoi tipografii', p344.

Tulcea is in north-east Romania, not far from the Moldavian and Ukrainian borders.

B G Kubalov, A I Gertsen i obshchestvennost' Sibiri, 1855-1862: 'Poliaralnaia zvezda', 'Golosa iz Rossii', 'Kolokol' i 'Pod sud' v Sibiri, Irkutsk, 1958, pp15 and 33ff; also Ginzburg 'Rasprostranenie izdaniia vo'lnoi russkoi tipografii', p345.

Kubalov, A I Gertsen i obshchestvennost' Sibiri, p155

Eidel'man, Tainye korrespondenty, pp92-96, on the means of communication with the Free
109

Russian Press. Also p99 on the roles of Reichel and Ogarev (1856-1858). See also Zimmerman, *Midpassage*, p38 on Reichel's role.

112 S Melgunov, 'Gertsen, Rossia i emigratsiya' *Golos minuvshego* (1926) 3/16, p264.
114 Gertsen, *My past and thoughts*, v3, p1298. He goes on: 'All that was wanting for a complete triumph was a sincere enemy. [...] The year 1858 was not yet over when there appeared the accusatory letter of Chicherin.'
117 Partridge, *Collected studies*, p177: 'Herzen failed to attract Utin and Chernyshevsky on to the editorial board of The Bell because of a disagreement over editorial policy. He refused to allow it to become a clandestine press, the organ of the secret 'Land and Liberty' movement, whereas Utin and Chernyshevsky refused to co-operate unless he did.' See section on 'Decline', below.
119 Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a revolutionist*, v1, pp148-149 describes writing out three copies of his own manuscript journal in 1858-1859.
120 Kolokol, issue 105, dated 15 August 1861, p877, 'Zavodite tipografii'. See also Kolokol, issue 107, dated 15 September 1861, pp895-897, 'Otvet Velikorusu'; issue 108, dated 1 October 1861, pp901-905, 'Otvet na otvet Velikorusu'.
121 Kolokol, issue 1, dated 1 January 1868, p1, editorial statement.
122 Acton commented that the 'Free Russian Press was important because of the large circulation of Kolokol and the sheer publicity resources of the Press'. *Alexander Herzen and the role of the intellectual revolutionary*, p160.
123 See section on Ogarev, above, and Acton, *Alexander Herzen and the role of the intellectual revolutionary*, pp160-163, on relations with Zemlia i volia.
124 Gertsen, *Past and thoughts*, v3, p1342-1343. He later describes his opponents as 'arrogant lads' whose 'systematic uncouthness, their rude and insolent talk, had nothing in common with the inoffensive and simple-hearted coarseness of the peasant, but a great deal in common with the manners of the low-class pettifogger, the shop-boy and the flunkey', pp1348-1350.
125 Letter to Ogarev dated February 1867, Gertsen, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, v29, pp29-30. See also Eidel'man, *Tainye korrespondenty*, p244. Gertsen and Ogarev republished Poliarnaia zvezda the following year.
127 See the introduction to the facsimile edition of Kolokol (1857-1868) by Nechkina, pxvii, for the full details.
130 Nikitenko, *Diary*, entry dated 30 October 1858, p179, tr Jacobson.
133 *Literaturnoe nasledstvo* 63 (1956) p678
134 Viatskie gubernskie vedomosti, no 16, 1862, 'Chast' neofitsial'naia', pp118-120, cited in V A Tsee, 'A V Golovin i ego otmoshenia k A I Gertsenu' *Russkaya starina* (1897) 92/11, pp273-277; provincial periodical titles were subject to different censorship regulations. While in internal exile,
Gertsen went through a period when he admired autocracy, on the grounds that it was the only way to get anything done.

See article in Literaturnoe nasledstvo 63 (1956) p677-694

Gertsen, My past and thoughts, v3, p1299.

Gertsen, My past and thoughts, v3, p1295. See also Carr, Romantic exiles, p213.

See also Acton, Alexander Herzen and the role of the intellectual revolutionary, pp159-160; Carr, Romantic exiles, pp245-246. The Soviet view was somewhat different: Pirumova, Aleksandr Gertsen, p174: 'Gertsen saved the honour of Russian democracy' by his support for the Polish rising; and El'sberg, Gertsen, p502: The events in Poland and Gertsen's position in relation to them undoubtedly assisted in the rallying/unity of the links of Kolokol and revolutionary organisations in Russia, consolidated the influence of the newspaper in the revolutionary environment. Gertsen, My past and thoughts, v3, p1371.

Autour d'Alexandre Herzen, pp277-285.

Gertsen, My past and thoughts, v3, p1371.

Kolokol, issue 193, dated 1 January 1865, p1581.

Editorial statement, Kolokol, issue 1, dated 1 January 1868, p1. The relaunched Kolokol appeared five times (issues five and six were combined) between January and May 1868.

Partridge, 'Alexander Herzen: his last phase' p42. Eidel'man Tainye korrespondenty, notes that the circulation of Kolokol (1857-1868) was low and mainly in emigration in the years 1867-1868. (p247).

For example, according to Partridge: 'Herzen moved with his press to Geneva in the hope of dissuading the group of younger Russian revolutionaries from involving themselves in the general European conspiratorial socialist movement.' Collected studies pp177-178.


Ginzburg 'Rasprostranenie izdaniii vol'noi russkoi tipografii v kontse 1850-kh-nachale 1860-kh godov' describes the fate of some of those arrested for possession of Free Russian Press publications; see for example, p340.

Eidel'man Gertsenovskii "Kolokol", pp88-89. He also comments, of the years 1864-1867, that the 'revoliutsionery-shestidesiatniki' had gone or were going, and the 'semdesiatniki' had not yet emerged, p89. See also Tainye korrespondenty, p243.

Nikitenko, Diary, entry for 5 October 1865, p303.

See, for example, Partridge Collected studies, p178.

Partridge Collected studies, p181

Gertsen, Past and thoughts, v3, p1324

Gertsen, Past and thoughts, v3, pp1325-1326.

Eidel'man, Gertsenovskii "Kolokol", pp97ff on the closure of Kolokol (1857-1868), and also pp100ff.

See, for example, Partridge 'Alexander Herzen: his last phase'.

The final volume of Poliarnaya zvezda (numbered eight) has 'Na 1869 god' on the cover, but is dated 1868 on the title-page.

Eidel'man, Tainye korrespondenty, p254.


Although Poliarnaya zvezda was not published in this year, it is counted as 'in progress' in the tables because another issue did appear at the end of 1868, thus giving rise to the discrepancy between the figures shown in the tables and those discussed.

Svobodnoe slovo, issue 1, dated 1862, pp1-2. 9 issues, published Berlin then Brussels, 1862-1863.

Russki zagranichnyi sbornik, issue 1, 1858, page iv.

Miller, Russian revolutionay emigrés, states that Blagonamerennyi was the first rival to the Free Russian Press (p181).

Rudnitskaia, 'Iz istorii revoliutsionnykh russkikh izdaniy', p360 and p362.

Listok, izdavaemyi kn P V Dolgorukov, issue 1, dated November 1862, p1. The statement is rather rambling and the exact sequence of events is unclear.

Venturi, *Roots of revolution*, p273; Eidel'man *Gertsenovskyi "Kolokol"*, pp62-63. Bakst, together with his brother, was responsible for the title *Letuchie listki* (1862). The output of the Berne press was mainly proclamations, some of which gave St Petersburg as the place of publication. See I Miller, 'Propagandistskaia deiatel'nost' N P Ogareva v 1863g i Bernskaia tipografiia' in *Slavianskoe istochnikovedenie*, [ed] S A Nikitin, Moscow, 1965, 53-81. See also *Literaturenoe nasledstvo* 41/42 (1941) pp8-14, 53-55 and 82-105.


For example: Partridge 'Herzen's last phase' p44.

Autour d'Alexandre Herzen, pp319ff. Gertsen's letter was addressed to Charles Cleland, and was dated July 1858.

Vpered! (sbornik), issue 1, dated 1873, p1, 'Vpered! Nasha programma'.


V D Smirnov, *Zhizn' i delatelnost' A I Gertseyn v Rossi i za granitsei*, St Petersburg, 1897, p146.


Miller, *Russian revolutionary émigrés*, pp177-178.

Acton, *Alexander Herzen and the role of the intellectual revolutionary*, p13 and also p130 for example.

P Pomper, *The Russian revolutionary intelligentsia*, New York, 1970, p69. He also comments: 'Herzen's wide connections with insiders and outsiders gave his publications, especially *The Bell*, an omniscient air.'

See M Kun 'Gertsen, Ogarev i Bakunin: novye materialy o deiatel'nosti russkoi revoliutsionnoi emigratsii v gody pervoi revoliutsionnoi situatsii v Rossi v in *Alexander Herzen and European culture. Svoboda vseislavianskaiَا* never went to press: some of its articles were published six years later in the Czech émigré organ *Blanik*. There were also negotiations with Chojeczk and activists from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Serbia, Bulgaria and Russia ready to establish 'Slav party' under Bakunin's leadership. (pp116-118)

*Zvon* was launched by a Slovenian, Josip Stritar: Partridge, 'Alexander Herzen and South Slav liberation' p365. *Napred* (1863) was edited by Fran Levstik.


From the prospectus announcing the publication of *Poliarnaia zvezda*, p1. This prospectus was reprinted as the article 'Vvedenie'in *Poliarnaia zvezda*, issue 1, dated 1855.
The nineteenth-century émigré press was far from homogeneous. The 93 titles represented a broad spectrum of opinions and periodical types: there is some justification for the Russian official view that 'a truly literary fever ruled our emigration'. The convictions expressed in these publications range from the extremes of anarchist destruction, to proposals for the establishment of a socialist republic, to recommendations to the dynasty to adapt to the model of a constitutional monarchy. The contents include cartoons; feu'etons; advertisements; personal attacks; 'leaked' official documents; articles on political and economic theory at every level from popular to academic; news and accounts of prison life, of police brutality, of arrests and trials; of strikes, unrest and terrorist attacks; of the persecution of religious dissent, and the reports of activities of radicals of other nationalities, and of Russians abroad. Physically, the periodical types ranged from four-page newsheets to thick almanacs, from newspapers to collections of academic articles. A recurring theme in editorial statements of new titles is the inadequacy of those already in progress to express the full range of opinions, as in the first issues of Svobodnoe slovo (1862-1863) and of Obshchee delo (1877-1890). There were also numerous appeals for unity in opposition, but although some may have succeeded for a time, all ultimately foundered on the rocks which littered the seas of émigré life. However, what all have in common is the freely expressed, uncensored criticism of aspects of the existing order.

Memoir literature affirms the influence, particularly, of Kolokol (1857-1868). Lavrov tried to ensure that Vpered! (1873-1877) met the needs and wishes of radicals in Russia but generally the agenda of the émigré press was set by the political emigration itself. Despite this wide range the relevance of the press to the oppositional movement in Russia was often questioned: Lev Tikhomirov wrote:

But, speaking in general, we - the Russian revolutionary youth - hardly knew of the émigré parties and from the time of the development of the populist movement, and even more the narodovol'cheskie ceased even to pay any attention to the parties abroad.

As noted, one of the difficulties of accurately estimating the effect of the émigré press either severally or as a whole is that it is effectively impossible to quantify actual circulation and readership. The wide circulation and acknowledged influence of the Free Russian Press may have led political émigrés to exaggerate the potential of the press abroad, and so encouraged the establishment of more titles, but given the
attachment of Russian intellectuals to the printed word, this encouragement may have been superfluous.

Contemporary criticism focused on the distance between the emigration and activists still in Russia, and on the differences in emphasis and policy between the two groups. This criticism was levelled at Vpered! (1873-1877), and was most obvious in the 1880s, when there was very little contact between the most active publicists and the opposition in Russia. The attempts to subvert and to counter the efforts of émigré publicists show the importance which the government at least attached to these efforts. There is irony in the fact that the Bolshevik, and later official USSR newspaper Pravda shared its title with a journal which was repudiated by the radical emigration because it was supported by government funds.

Two features of the émigré press became particularly obvious in the course of this study. Firstly, the majority of titles had little potential for influence on the oppositional movement, because they lasted only a short period measured by the calendar, and often for no more than half a dozen issues. The prominence of a group in the émigré press is no guide to its popularity within Russia: Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda' had few followers in Russia during the 1880s, despite their range of publications. Although it is almost impossible to quantify the influence of the émigré publications, and it seems likely that many titles did not reach propaganda circles in Russia, periodical publishing abroad cannot have been an entirely futile activity, if so many groups regarded the establishment of periodicals published abroad as vital. This is especially noticeable in the last years of the century when the newly founded political parties rushed into print. There are other possible factors which might account for the large number of such publications at the turn of the century: wider readership because of increased literacy and greater concentrations of population; improved communications between the emigration and Russia; the organisation of formal political parties; increasing radicalism and unrest; increasing size of the Russian emigration, political and other. Further investigation may illuminate some of these points.

One of the limitations on this study that has increased its scope while reducing its depth is the number of years covered. The journals published during the time-span of 45 years proved to be so numerous that comprehensive examination of each journal's context and contents was precluded. However, despite this, the second feature to emerge clearly is the fact that, in spite of the polemics, the apparent diversity of views expressed, and the diversity of the form in which they were published, there was considerable similarity among the titles in terms of their contents and demands. It can be quite difficult to distinguish the different points of view: the writers of programmatic articles make fundamentally the same political demands throughout the period (freedom of speech, conscience, assembly, movement, equality before the law, and some form of elected, legislative assembly). There is a remarkable consistency over time in the
political demands: none were granted until the promulgation of the October Manifesto in 1905 brought activity in the émigré press to a temporary halt. Only a handful of the titles established in emigration before or during 1905 continued there in the years which followed.

It is striking that the level of language used in the periodicals is basically similar in almost all titles, with few concessions to the barely literate. It is clear that the nineteenth century émigré press was aimed overwhelmingly at an educated and intellectual readership. The editors and writers for these publications were often highly educated intellectuals themselves. Less educated activists of worker origin were apparently very little represented in the émigré community, and there were few attempts to address the less literate. The few titles which did were not among the longest-lived: they included Obshchee veche (1862-1864), Rabotnik (1875-1876) and Zerno (1880-1881) which was subtitled 'rabochii listok'. The later journal also entitled Rabotnik (1896-1899) was controlled by Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda' and although directed at a 'worker' readership, it makes few concessions to limited levels of education.

There are other aspects of the subject which would benefit from further study, the most obvious being the nature of the émigré press in the years up to 1905. The activities of some émigré publicists have been examined in detail, for example the Free Russian Press, Petr Lavrov, the members of Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda', the Russian Free Press Fund, and aspects of the work of Mikhail Dragomanov and Mikhail Elpidin. However, study of some other longer-lived titles might cast further light on the life of the relatively small community, and the influence the publications had on events within it. Such titles include Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (1858-1862), Svoboda (1868-1873), Obshchee delo (1877-1890) and the publishing effort involved in the monographic series Materialy dlia istorii russkago sotsial'no-revolutsionnago dvizheniia and its periodical supplement S rodiny i na rodine (1893-1896). The titles which lasted longest were mainly those of a moderate tone.

Another area in which only limited evidence has emerged in the course of this study is the role of women: it would appear that few women played any role, let alone a leading one, in the émigré press. Tata Gertsen refused to be used as a puppet-editor by Nechaev; Vera Zasulich wrote for publication and was a member of the editorial board of several periodicals; Vladimir Chertkov's wife, A Chertkova, is named with him as the publisher of Svobodnoe slovo (1898-1905); the original editorial board of Narodnoe delo (1868-1870) included Olga Stepanova and funds for publication were provided by Nikolai Zhukovsky's sister-in-law, Olga Levasheva; women are known to have played a prominent role in the typesetting of the Zurich-based issues of Vpered! (1873-1877) as well as in the organisations of the colony there. The pro-government publications written by Olga Novikova are also familiar. This represents the sum of women's known involvement in the émigré press, although not the limit of their activity
in emigration. Russian women were involved in the Paris Commune; some publicists were married to radical women whose activism became submerged in the cares of family life, or in the need to make a living - Plekhanov’s common-law wife, Rosaliia Markovna, and Natalie Utina. Although women were active in the clandestine press, as in the émigré press, as typesetters, few of the articles they set were written by women. Maria Oshanina in the 1870s and later Vera Zasulich are the only prominent radical female writers on political theory. Women did write for legal publication in Russia, sometimes pseudonymously, and pseudonymous or anonymous contributions by women may also have been published in the émigré press. Despite the prominence of women in oppositional activity and although radical women were often treated with great respect by their male colleagues, attitudes to gender roles died hard even in radical circles: women still did the housework. One member of the Executive Committee of Narodnaia volia, Olga Liubatovich, noted with surprise that, because Mikhail Dragomanov’s wife was ill, he actually ‘changed the baby’ (aged eight months).

Studies of women in the oppositional movement have concentrated on activities in Russia, although the activities of women in the Zurich colony have been thoroughly examined. A comprehensive search of the memoir literature, published and unpublished, might clarify their role in the émigré press.

Although comparisons with other nationalities and other radical movements lie outside the scope of this study it is clear from a superficial examination of the literature that parallels exist. J D Popkin has noted of the pre-1789 French press that ‘Few prerevolutionary journalists made any attempt to adapt their language to a genuinely popular audience of people who could read but lacked formal education’. He also describes a situation of that period which offers a clear parallel with the impact of the early Russian émigré press and of Kolokol (1857-1868) in particular:

Kept in the dark by their domestic periodicals, the French reading public turned to a variety of other forms of journalism to find out what was really going on in the king’s antechambers and the bureaus of ministers. [...] The numerous newspapers and magazines published outside France’s borders, but written in the French language, served as an outlet for news and thoughts that were barred from the domestic press.

The changes in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century were also not unique to that country. European political organisations were becoming more sophisticated in the very years that the Russian oppositional movement was itself becoming more organised. Other countries were also subject to labour unrest: in Great Britain nation-wide trade unions appeared and nation-wide strikes followed; in France the trade unions had been growing since the mid-1880s; the Second Socialist International was established at the end of 1889; May Day demonstrations occurred during the 1890s; in 1891, the German
Social-Democratic party announced its allegiance to Marx.\textsuperscript{16} Hardship was common and there were yet no 'welfare states' to relieve it. Violent opposition was not confined to Russia: the Empress Elizabeth of Austria was assassinated by an anarchist in 1898.

Judith Zimmerman, discussing Gertsen's European contemporaries in emigration after the failure of the 1848 revolutions, noted the benefits of journalism conducted in 'safe havens': the support of émigrés' own beliefs; the opportunity to define political theories and consider tactics; and maintenance of a political presence through smuggling publications back into their home countries.\textsuperscript{17} These benefits, in the end, provide the main significance of the émigré press: its existence allowed those who participated to maintain a sense of continuing involvement in the struggle against the existing order in Russia. The thousands and thousands of words written and published abroad were undoubtedly less influential than most participants would have hoped or wished, and had greater significance for the life and intellectual activity within the political emigration, than for that of the radical movement as a whole.
NOTES


2 L Tikhomirov, 'Neizdannye zapiski L Tikhomirova'. Emigratsiia 80-kh godov. Peregovory so Sviashchennoi druzhnii (Degaevshchina) Krasnyi arkhiv (1928) 4 [29], p149.

3 Otchet knigoizdatel'stva 'Svobodnago slova' V I A Chertkovykh za 1901, Christchurch, Hants, 1902.


6 The library staff, for example, were women: J M Meijer, Knowledge and revolution: the Russian colony in Zuerich. A contribution to the study of Russian populism, Assen, 1955, p121.


9 Stites, Women's liberation movement in Russia, p69 describes a Women's Publishing Cooperative in the 1860s.

10 Engel, Mothers and daughters, pp125, 173 and 181.


13 By Meijer in Knowledge and revolution.


15 Popkin, Revolutionary news, p20.


NOTES

1 The figures given in the tables provide only an outline of the level of activity in the émigré press. They only show the number of titles which published at least one (and possibly no more than one) issue in a calendar year.

2 The tables give no indication of the frequency or regularity of publication. Many, but not all, titles appeared irregularly. This information was not available or not complete for a number of titles and it was not possible to provide meaningful figures. Where details of frequency and regularity are available, they are given in Appendix I.

3 Each new title in Table 1 may in fact represent only one issue.

4 Titles counted in Table 3 as having been published in two calendar years may in fact consist of only two issues.

5 Some titles counted as continuing for more than two calendar years may not have been published in all years: Poliarnaja zvezda, for example, listed as new in 1855 and in progress until 1868, was not published in the years 1863-1867. However, in these tables it has been counted as 'in progress' for every year between 1856 and 1868. These anomalies are pointed out in the description given in Appendix I.
### TITLES IN PROGRESS

#### TABLE 1

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<td>1887</td>
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<td>1891</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
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**Total**: 93
TITLES IN PROGRESS

CHART 1

1855
1858
1861
1864
1867
1870
1873
1876
1879
1882
1885
1888
1891
1894
1897
1900

In prog
New

0  5  10  15  20  25
NEW TITLES GROUPED IN FIVE YEAR PERIODS

TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
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<td>1860 - 1864</td>
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<tr>
<td>1865 - 1869</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1870 - 1874</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1880 - 1884</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1890 - 1894</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895 - 1899</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1900 only)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>93</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 2

![Bar chart showing new titles grouped in five-year periods from 1855 to 1900. The chart displays a peak in the number of titles in the period 1890-1899.]
### LENGTH OF PUBLICATION

**TABLE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in progress</th>
<th>Titles</th>
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<td>14+</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>93</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHART 3**

![Pie chart showing distribution of publication years]

- 1 year: 8%
- 2 years: 7%
- 3 years: 7%
- 4 years: 9%
- 5 years: 13%
- 6 years: 36%
- 7 years +: 20%
APPENDIX I

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF ÉMIGRÉ PERIODICALS IN RUSSIA, PUBLISHED 1855-1900

This list includes all titles traced: those considered to be dubious or unauthenticated in a separate list following the main sequence. Each entry includes bibliographic details and some description of the contents, concentrating on any programmatic elements which include the rationale for publication and/or the political demands. The bibliographic details given, as far as these can be ascertained, are: the first and last years of publication; place of publication; number of issues; details of the editors, printers and publishers. Some names and places are not explicitly stated, or those stated are misleading (see for example, Narodnaia rasprava) in which case as much information as possible is given. This first section is completed with a bibliographic source (and the item number, page number or, for Burtsev's Za sto let, the year), followed by a note of the location of the copy inspected. For example:

Svobodnaia mysli

A list of abbreviations for the bibliographic sources is given at the end of this introduction.

There are a large collection of émigré publications, overlapping to some extent, in: the British Library, some of which held in the Newspaper Library at Colindale; the Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine at Nanterre; the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam; some other western European libraries (for example the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris); in the United States (for example the New York Public Library and the Houghton Library at Harvard University); and collections within the former Soviet Union. As far as locations are concerned, I consulted periodicals at the British Library (some at Bloomsbury, some in the Newspaper Library at Colindale), and at the Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine at the Centre universitaire, Nanterre (visited in 1993). These are abbreviated as BL and BDIC respectively. If all or part of a title was made available through inter-library loan, I have noted whether the title was available as a microform or photocopy. It should also be noted that not all issues published were available: for some titles, only a single issue could be examined.
The description of the periodical is in the following order: subtitle; slogan or motto from the masthead or title-page; brief notes of the contents; description of any programmatic statement, or political programme. Titles which were not available for inspection (15% of the total) are marked with an asterisk and information available from bibliographic and other sources, is given. For example:

Russkiia novosti*
The aim was to provide news and comment from a non-partisan standpoint, with the guiding principles being 'truth and independence' (Karlowich p54).

NOTES

1 The order is that of the Cyrillic alphabet.
2 Where there is a change of title, the titles are listed separately, with a cross-reference after each title. See Rabotnik (1896-1898), and Rabochee delo.
3 Titles with long interruptions in publication are listed as a single title with a single date span, as long as they remain substantially the same publication: see Poliarrnaia zvezda which had a six-year gap between its penultimate (1862) issue and the final one (1868).
4 A change of editor and/or publisher does not merit treatment as two titles unless there is evidence that the nature of the journal has changed. See contrasting treatment of Kolokol (1870) and Narodnoe delo (1868-1870).
5 Titles issued as a supplement to another title are described under the main title, with a reference from the supplement's own title: see Biuleten' iz materialov Rabochago dela (1900-1902) and Rabochee delo (1899-1902).
6 Duplicate titles are listed in order of the year of first publication, with the earliest first: see Letuchie listki.
8 References to works other than those listed below are to short titles only: full details are given in the Bibliography.
9 The spelling of the Russian term for 'social-democrat' varies: sotsial'demokrat, sotsial'-demokrat, sotsial-demokrat. In this Appendix, I have followed the usage in the text under examination.
Abbreviations used in the Appendix are given in brackets.


Chernenko, A M, *Rossiiskaia revoliutsionnaia emigratsiia v Amerike (konets XIX-1917g)*. Kiev; 1989. (Chernenko)


Kluge, E E, *Die russische revolutionäre Presse in der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1855-1905*. Zurich; Artemis Verlag, 1948. (Kluge)


Unbegaun, Boris, *Russkaia periodicheskaia pechat' v Parizhe do 1918 goda' Vremennik Obshchestva druzei russkoi knigi III (1932), pp31-48. (Unbegaun)


The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books, and the catalogue of the British Library Newspaper Library were also important sources of information.
Avtonomno-demokraticheskaia konstitutsiia
(The Autonomous-democratic constitution)
1897[-?], Zürich, 1 issue, including 2 supplements. Published by Gruppa bor'by s absolutizm [sic], no named editor, published by Y Koulen, correspondence to be sent to Schmidli (Fur G A). Ossorguine-Bakounine: 1; BDIC.
Motto: La constitution de l'état russe sera autonome ou elle ne sera pas.
Contents include: theoretical article 'Sredstva politicheskoi bor'by'; news from Russia and abroad, items from other journals; list of political arrests.

There is a programmatic article entitled 'Nashe motto' which recommends 'the constitutional reconstruction of the Russian state, founded on the political autonomy of her separate parts' and resistance to 'the principle of centralisation of constitutional reform in Russia, providing only one Zemskii sobor in St Petersburg'. (p1). Kluge and Zaleski note a German title, Russischer Verfassungstaat, published by the same group, in London in 1896.

Blagonamerennyi (The Loyalist)
1859-1862, Berlin, 12 issues. Issues 1 and 2 edited by Prince Khovry (pseudonym for Ivan Golovin); from issue 3 edited by Golovin. Published by Ascher & Co, printed by K Schultz, both in Berlin. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 9; BL.
Contents include: articles; various small sections; advertisements. Each issue is devoted to a particular subject for example, history, literature, economics, geography, or art.

There is no programmatic article in the first issue, but the third issue contains the statement that 'Blagonamerennyi is not written for all'. (pv) In issue 10, an article entitled 'Predvedomienie' sets out the editor's principles:

Blagonamerennyi desires the general good, not that of an individual, freedom in order and order in freedom [...] But for some the general good lies in socialism, for others in radicalism, for still others in anarchism. We walk neither with Prince Paskevich, nor with Count Shuvalov, we do not desire an English aristocracy [...] We do not walk with Koshelev, asserting that all Russia is sure that only autocracy can strengthen order and prosperity. We are for the dignity of the people, but against conspiracy and violence. We wish the sovereign himself to be convinced of the need for a fundamental law and of the importance of opinions, so that none suffer for their convictions. We admit that for us a republic would be a kind of political dissipation, and we are therefore not at one with its advocates. We prefer fattened wolves to hungry ones.
If you wish, add the word Progressist to our title. (pv-vii)

**Bor'ba** (The Struggle)
1888-1889, Switzerland.
Subtitle: *Organ russkoii revoliutsionnoi emigratsii.*


**Bratskii listok** (The Fraternal newsletter)
Subtitle: *Dvukh nedel'noe obozrenie, posviashchennia voprosam bratskoi zhizni, kak ikh ob'iasnial liudiam Khristos i kak napominaet teper' L N Tolstoi.*
Contents include: news of Tolstoy himself, and of the Dukhobors and the Shtundists.

The programmatic article states that:

> there are thousands - hundreds of thousands - of newspapers and journals; there are millions of books describing the life of people, expounding religion, telling of humankind's dearest study - Christ - and all the same when a man's soul awakes - he finds himself in the position of a foreigner in an unfamiliar land. Where are my brothers? is his despairing question. (p1)

This is followed by an apology for the weak points in this issue, and the statement that the aim of the journal is to publish 'the news of fraternal life'. (p1)

**Budushchnost'** (The Future)
1860-1861, Leipzig, nominally 25 issues (actually 21), edited (nominally), published and printed by Gustav Bar at Leipzig. Actual editor was Prince P V Dolgorukov. Listed by Unbegaun (p43) as published in Paris: the first issue gives the firm of A Franck in Paris as commissioning editor; from the second issue the correspondence address is that of A Franck. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 13; ILL - microfilm.
Contents include: mainly political articles written by Dolgorukov, and small news items. Dolgorukov greeted the Emancipation manifesto with enthusiasm in issue 10/11. The text of the third 'Velikorus' proclamation, with a commentary are printed in issue 23.

The first issue includes the *Programma zhurnala*: there are two possible
futures for Russia, the first 'peaceful and splendid: change achieved by the Sovereign himself, if he [...] gave Russia freedom (a constitution) by sovereign deed.' The other is 'the revolutionary way, from which God deliver us! but to which, in the event of the obstinacy or error of the Sovereign, Russia will unavoidably be led by the logical, irresistible march of events.'

We do not love either revolution or revolutionaries, especially those who are defenders of old abuses, defenders of an outlived order of things and enemies of contemporary demands; these people are the worst of all revolutionaries because through their unreasonable actions, and their pernicious influence they make revolution unavoidable and inevitable [...] Russia needs a new structure, reform in deeds not words; reform for the general good [...] (p2)

Specific demands include: establishment of a Duma zemskaiia and a Duma boyarskaia, the former elected by the people of Russia, the latter chosen partly by the Duma zemskaiia and partly by the sovereign; public expenditure controlled by the Duma zemskaiia; ministers answerable to the Duma zemskaiia; abolition of corporal punishment; equality before the law; freedom of worship; public judicial processes; martial law confined to the military; local administration elected on a universal franchise; abolition of the censorship. All Russians are invited to contribute, anonymously if required, as only the participation of many will enable the journal 'to take the lead and benefit Russia.' (pp2-3)

Byloe (The Past)
Subtitle: istoriko-revoliutsionnyi sbornik.
Contents include: articles, memoirs and documents on historical themes.
Epigrams: Molodym liudiam - na pouchenie,
    Starym liudiam - na poslushenie. [sic]
    Iz narodnykh stikhov.
Brat'ia! Pominайте nastavnikov vashikh!
Apostol Pavel

The programmatic statement "Ot redaktsii zhurnala Byloe" dedicates the journal to the history of the radical movement. The editors call for assistance from their readers, to keep them in touch with developments in Russia, as well as supplying documents and memoirs for publication. The aim is to acquaint those currently active in 'the struggle' with earlier activities, so that mistakes are not repeated.

Motto: 'V bor'be obretesy ty pravo svoe'.

The programme is set out in an article entitled 'Zaiavlenie ot Partii Sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov': the aim of the publication is to provide current activists with an independent view of their past in order to assist them to understand the history of the radical movement. (p146). The fifth issue (dated May 1903) contains an announcement that Partiia sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov will no longer be involved with Byloe, but will place historical items in Vestnik Russkoi revoliutsii.

Issue 6 was published in London by Gruppa Narodovol'tsev, edited by Burtsev, February 1904.

Motto: Doloi tsaria! Da zdravstvuet Narodnaia Volia!

Contents include: similar material. They include an account of Burtsev's arrest and his trial in 1898 on a charge of incitement to murder the Tsar, as a result of opinions published in a pamphlet Doloi tsaria! and the fourth issue of Narodovolets.

This title was re-established in St Petersburg 1906-1907: 22 issues were published by N E Paramonov and edited by V La Bogucharsky, P E Shchegolev, 'with the participation of Vladimir Burtsev'. It was banned in 1907, and reappeared under the title Minuvshie gody in 1908. It was re-established, as Byloe, by Burtsev in Paris in 1908 (issue numbers 7-14, together with 1 issue in 1910). The title was used again July 1917-1926 (edited by Burtsev, Shchegolev and Vodovozov) but was 'freed from Burtsev's counter-revolutionary influence' after October 1917: Shchegolev remained as editor. (Demen'tev, tII, p36)

Biulleten' iz materialov Rabochago dela
See Rabochee delо

Biulleten' iz materialov redaktsii Rabochago dela
See Rabochee delо

Biulleten' Soiuza russkikh sotsial'demokratov
See Rabochee delо

Velikorus
See Letuchie listki (1862)
Vestnik

See Spravochnyi listok

Vestnik Narodnoi voli (The Herald of the People's Will)
1883-1886, Geneva, 5 issues, edited by Petr Lavrov and Lev Tikhomirov, printed at the 'Vol'naia russkaia tipografiia'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 38; BL.
Subtitle: Revoliutsionnoe sotsial'no-politicheskoe obozrenie.

Contents include: articles by the editors and others, including Aksel'rod, Riazanov, Tarasov and others, on political themes and biography (including material on Nechaev), history and literature associated with the radical movement. Issues three to five are each divided into three sections the first of which consists of articles, and 'Sovremennoe obozrenie' and 'Vnutrennee obozrenie' (both containing news).

The programmatic article in first issue is entitled 'Ob"iavlenie ob izdanii Vestnik Narodnoi voli': the periodical is intended to be 'the émigré organ of Russian socialism, as expressed in the party of Narodnaia volia' and to further the aims of the party through developing socialist thought in general (pi). The journal also 'has as its aim the affirmation, dissemination and final triumph of the principles of revolutionary socialism' (pii). The editors acknowledge the lack of timeliness inherent in émigré publication but state that, unlike internal publications which can report on day to day events, the 'duty' of an 'organ abroad' is

to group events together and explain them, showing their links both amongst themselves and with the general principles of socialism. Its duty is to illuminate contemporary life as a whole from the point of view of Russian socialism and to give the members of the party guidance for the understanding and control of its activities, in the way that leaflets published in Russia serve them as guidance in the frequent occurrences of the daily struggle. (pvii)

The journal is intended to unify all Russian socialist-revolutionaries (pvi). A note from the editors in the fifth issue, dated 15 December 1886, announces that it will be the last. It is followed by an account, written by Lev Tikhomirov, of the wrecking of the typesetting shop by three men in November.

See Baron, Plekhanov, p84 on the ultimately unsuccessful negotiations over the editorship.

Vestnik pravdy (The Herald of Truth)
1876-1890, Geneva, 36 issues, published and edited by Dr Aleksandr Mikhailovich Korobov (a medical doctor). Zaleski gives the dates as 1876-1887 (p40). Ossorguine-
Bakounine: 40; BDIC (seven issues available, dated June-December 1876).

Subtitle: Zhurnal politiko-religioznyi.

Contents include: articles, most of which are liberally sprinkled with scriptural quotations, some responding to items published elsewhere.

The programmatic article in first issue 'Vsledstvii chego i dlia chego predpriniato izdanie zhurnala Vestnik Pravdy' states that there is no room for progressive thought in Russia, because there is no freedom of expression and 'the printed word' there is totally dependent on the government. Dr Korobov's many attempts 'to express my true thoughts, which, I was certain, would serve for the good of the people [...] almost never succeeded, because in my views I did not keep to the senseless limits of the vampire-like Russian government' (col 2). In order to avoid the persecution of others, he states that he has no party of supporters within Russia (col 3).

A police report published in 1880 describes Dr Korobov's work as 'a curiosity' and the man as having 'une tête détraquée par les théories socialistes' ([Shebeko], Chronique du mouvement socialiste, p407).

Vest' (News)
Subtitle: Russkii politicheskii listok.

Contents include: news from Russia, with some comment. The first article is entitled '26 avgusta ne budet', on the sufferings of the Russian people at the hands of the government.

There is a note that Svobodnoe slovo (1862-1863) will continue to be published as before, but no statement of a programme.

Vol'noe slovo (Free Word)
1881-1883, Geneva, 62 issues, edited by A P Mal'shinsky and M Dragomanov, printed at 'Tipografiia Rabotnika i Gromady'.
Ossorguine-Bakounine: 46; BL.
Subtitle: Ezheredel'noe izdanie.

Contents include: news from within Russia; news of events within the socialist movement in Europe; reports from Western newspapers.

The programmatic statement in first issue, entitled 'Tsel' izdaniia gazety Vol'noe slovo', opens with a statement that free speech is not possible in Russia. Thus the editors are taking the 'extreme measure' of making
use of the hospitality of another country, away from the pressure of the clutches of the censorship, in order to establish an independent organ to express the just desires and persistent hopes of the depersonalised and broken population of Russia. (p1)

There is no specific political programme, but an emphasis on personal freedom, and the assertion that independent local government is 'the nursery of political freedom'. Anonymous contributions from 'all our countrymen' are invited. This title was funded by the Sviashchennaiia druzhina and has also been linked with 'zemstvo liberalism'. Elpidin describes the aims of the journal as to oppose the terrorists, to expose abuses and to acquaint readers with other systems of government. Contributors were particularly well paid: at a rate of 500-800 francs per month (pp14-15).

See: Alisov "Vol'noe slovo"; Butler 'Vol'noe slovo and the 'Zemstvo Union'; Galai 'Early Russian constitutionalism'; Sadikov 'Obshchestvo "Sviashchennoi Druzhiny"'. Carpenter: p100.

Vpered! (Forward!)
1873-1877, Zurich then London, 5 issues, edited by P L Lavrov. Ossorguiene-Bakounine: 52; BL.
Subtitle: Neperiodicheskoe obozrenie.
Contents include: articles on political theory with a socialist bias; history of radicalism in Russia and elsewhere; discussion of events in Russia; reports of the affairs of the First International.

The first issue contains a preface which states that

We have no name. We are all Russians who demand for Russia sovereignty of the people, the real people; we are all Russians aware that this sovereignty can only be attained by the people's uprising and who have decided to prepare this rising, explaining to the people its rights, its strength, its duty. (piii)

It is followed by an introductory article entitled 'Vpered! - Nasha programma' which begins with an acknowledgement of the inadequacies of émigré publication, necessary because of the conditions within Russia, and continues 'Very probably, the reader will look at our undertaking with disfavour: what can it say that is new and interesting? It is impossible that it should match the irreplaceable talent of Gertsen' (p1). The most important questions are defined as the 'struggle of science against religion' and 'the struggle for the establishment of a just form of society'. (p3) The social and economic needs of the workers have a higher priority than political demands, and nationalism is
expected to fade away once other aims are realised. Vpered! is intended to be 'an organ uniting in itself all shades of Russian radical-socialist opinion, since the absence of other organs of the Russian press abroad does not allow even one shade of Russian opinion to express itself' (p12). The article ends with the exhortation: 'And now we summon all, sympathetic to our programme, with us - FORWARD!' (p26)

See also: Vpered! 1873-1877, 2 vols, ed Sapir; Lavrov - gody emigratsii, 2 vols, ed Sapir; Meijer, Russian colony in Zuerich; Pomper, Peter Lavrov, and others.

**Vpered!** (Forward!)
1875-1876, London, 48 issues, edited by P L Lavrov and printed at the 'Nabornia zhurnala Vpered!'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 51; BL.

Subtitle: Dvukhnedel'noe obozrenie.

Contents include: regular sections entitled 'Chto delaetsia na rodine?' and 'Letopis' rabochago dvizhenia', and an editorial article in each issue.

The statement 'Ot redaktsii' in the first issue explains that the newspaper will replace news-related elements of the 'kniga zhurnala Vpered!', which will continue to appear. The editorial article is entitled 'Novyi 1875 god', and exhorts the reader to

prepare for social, mass revolution. Prepare for it amongst the people, who alone can sustain it. Prepare yourselves for it mentally and morally, in understanding and in your habits of life, speech, thought, action.

Organise yourselves for the great, the only operation. Organise yourselves for propaganda amongst the people. Organise yourselves with the help of propaganda. Organise yourselves among the people, together with the people.

Carry further and further the great news, the great news of social revolution.

The writer goes on to reflect on the gloomy situation within Russia, and on the suffering of the working classes in other countries. The final issue, number 48, contains an announcement that the title is entering a new phase.

**Vselslavianskii vek**

See Slavianskii vek

**Golosa iz Rossii** (Voices from Russia)
Contents include: articles. Contributors included Boris Chicherin, Konstantin Kavelin, Petr Lavrov, Nikolai Turgenev and Nikolai Serno-Solov'evich.

The first issue contains a statement of aims 'Ot izdatelia', signed Iskander. The articles are printed without alteration: they are especially important because they belong to the written literature which developed with unusual strength during the recent war and after the death of Nikolai I. These are the first expressions, still timid and unaccustomed, of Russian speech on the subject of Russian social affairs, - appearing after a thirty year silence. (p6)

Iskander asks his readers to remember that he is 'only the printer [...] ready to print anything useful to our general cause' (p6). There is an extract from the programme of Poliarnaia zvezda, inviting participation from all shades of opinion, and rejecting only those who aim to 'strengthen the contemporary order in Russia' (p7). Authors with whom he disagrees over means will be published as long as they share the same ends, on the grounds that 'the role of the censor is repugnant to us' (p7).

Evropeets (The European)
Subtitle: politiko-literaturnaia gazeta.
Contents include: articles by Blummer; news from Russia and of Russian emigrants. The final issue contains a reprint of Dolgorukov's article accusing Blummer of spying, and a note from the publisher, stating that 'As a consequence of the non-fulfilment by Mr Leonid Blummer of his contractual obligations, I am discontinuing the publication of the journal Evropeets' (p40).

The first item in the first issue is untitled: it states that the journal will focus on the 'lessons and experiences of Western Europe' (p1, col 1). The editors are all strangers to any kind of exclusive position. [...] They sincerely wish to serve the general development of the Russian people, of whom they consider themselves to be servants, not teachers. They do not intend to go down the road of threats, insults and mob law, but they want to assist with the understanding of the inadequacies and needs of their homeland. Their organ is to be a simple organ of free opinion [...] (p2, col 2)

The title was chosen in honour of Kireevsky's Evropeets of thirty years earlier and the editors comment that 'If we are in fact now closer to Europe than formerly, so much the
better' although they seem doubtful as to whether this is in fact the case.

See also Miller, Russian revolutionary émigrés, p190 (he gives the date as 1863).

Ezhegodnik  (Year-book)
1898, New York, 1 issue, printed at 'Tipografiia V B Sotkina'. The date on the title page is 1898, and that on the cover is 1899. Zaleski p129; Morozov: 2479: BDIC.
Full title: Ezhegodnik: zhurnal russkago sots.-demokraticheskago obshchestva v N'iu-Iorke.
Contents include: articles on politics, including one by Pavel Aksel'rod, and one or two literary items.

The first item, 'Ot izdatelia', begins with a description of the foundation of the Russian Social-Democratic movement, and asserting that

social-democracy has become the ruling - if not the only - [political] stream among Russian revolutionaries and has penetrated not only into the bosom of working people, where capitalism has already succeeded in showing its claws. (p3)

The article goes on to describe the 'Russkoe Sotsial'-Demokraticheskoe Obshchestvo' as 'the only Russian revolutionary organisation in America', with an eight-year history and an increasing membership. The yearbook is intended to help the society 'to act according to the outlined programme and [spread] it by whatever means possible' (p4), although the programme itself is not published. The yearbook claims to be 'the first attempt at the publication of a social-democratic work in America' and promises an enlarged version if the reception of this issue is favourable.

Zerno  (The Seed)
1880-1881, Geneva, 6 issues, published by Obshchestvo 'Zemlia i volia', edited by Plekhanov and Aksel'rod. No place of publication: first issue was published in Geneva, the second 'hectographed' in Russia, issues 3-6 published in Minsk on the underground press of the Chernyi peredel group (Demen'tev, tI, p610). Ossorguine-Bakounine; 84: BDIC (first issue)
Subtitle: Rabochii listok.

The first untitled item is dated St Petersburg 25 October 1880, and occupies half the issue. It discusses the growth of the urban working class, and the hardships endured by the workers and peasants. It concludes that:
all workers have a single common interest, a single common cause and one hope - themselves alone, one strong union. [...] Only those people who understand their own human dignity boldly join the struggle against evil. May this 'Seed' fall on good ground, alive, responsive to the truth of the spirit and may it give us a rich harvest of intelligent and brave heroes - fighters for the workers cause. This workers' newsheet for its part will try to aid this cause, to interpret it and to show the example of other countries because

TRUTH EVERYWHERE IS ONE AND THE SAME.

The other article is entitled 'Khoziaiskaia pribyn' [sic] i barshchina'. The journal began life as populist propaganda in accessible language, directed at urban workers, but drifted away from this towards a 'recognition of the inevitability of the political struggle' (Dement'ev, tl, p610).

Znamia* (The Banner)
1889-1890, New York, 22 issues, edited by Louis Miller and Vladimir Stoleshnikov. Burtsev; Chernenko p20; Karlowich p303; Kluge p176 and 204; Morozov: 2484; Zaleski p139. Said to be held at BDIC, but not traceable.
Subtitle: Rabochaia gazeta.
Motto: Proletarii vsekh stran soediniates'! (Chernenko p20; Morozov).

Karlowich: 'founded by revolutionaries recently arrived in America' who 'still maintained a conspiratorial frame of mind, had close ties to or sympathy for the revolutionary movement' (p39); the first issue contained a 'long Marxist statement' asserting that the 'liberation of workers must be the concern of the workers themselves' (p40). He cites from the programmatic article 'To support this banner with strength, straightforwardness, honesty and from on high is the goal of our struggle, the means of its existence'. (p41, translated by Karlowich) There was a break in publication between June 1889 and February 1890. In the first issue of 1890, Znamia is described as 'published not for Russia, but for workers who read Russian in order to develop in them ideas of socialism, as this is done by all other socialist newspapers published in America in various languages' (p41). Karlowich also describes the financial organisation and circulation for Znamia (pp63-66), and the biographies of its editors (pp100-110).

Chernenko p20: a Russian newspaper was established by a group of social-democrats in 1889. The first issue was published on 5 January and it appeared weekly to begin with, but from issue 13 (dated 4 May) it became fortnightly. The title ceased after about six issues in 1890.
Iz zapisnoi knigi sotsial'-demokrata  (The Notebook of a Social-Democrat)
1900, Geneva, 2 issues, printed at 'Tipografiia revoliutsionnoi organizatsii Sotsial'demokrat'. Second issue is dated 23 June 1900. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 86; Carpenter (p89): ILL - photocopy (issue 1); microfilm - Harvard collection (issue 2). The 'social-democrat' is Plekhanov, and the first issue of the 'book' contains his notes on current events and other publications. The second issue consists of a single item, signed Petr Bobchinsky the younger, from Glu-poi, the 'Russian colony in Western China'.

Iz rodiny i na rodine
See S rodiny i na rodine

Iz materialov Iskry
See Iskra

Iz materialov Revoliutsionnoi Rossi
See Revoliutsionnaia Rossiia

Iskra  (The Spark)
1900-1905, Leipzig, then Munich, then London, then Geneva (from spring 1903), 112 issues. Published by Rossiiskaia sotsial'demokraticheskaia rabochaia partiia as their 'central organ'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 99; Harvard Collection microfilm, no 957, reel 27. Editorial board: Aksel'rod, Lenin, Martov, Plekhanov, Potresov, Zasulich (issues 1-45); Lenin and Plekhanov (issues 46-51); Plekhanov (issue 52); Aksel'rod, Martov Plekhanov, Potresov, Zasulich (issues 53-112, without Plekhanov for issues 101-112). Supplements accompanied nos. 9, 18, 22, 31, 35, 43, 44, 48, 52, 53, 56-60, 62-64, 67-70, 74, 77, 86, 89, 100, 101, 110, 112 (Carpenter: p89). The first issue was dated December 1900, but printing problems meant that it actually appeared in January 1901. The edition size was 8,000-10,000 copies per issue, and from issue 3 (spring 1903) 1-2 issues appeared per month. (Dement'ev III, p9)
Mottos: Proletarii vsekh stran soedinaietes'!
'Iz iskry vozgoritsia plamia' (answer of the Decembrists to Pushkin).
Contents include: news from Russia and abroad; articles; 'khronika rabochago dvizheniia'; party news; some secret documents.

The first item in the first issue (dated December 1900) is entitled 'Nasushchnye
zadachi nashego dvizhenia'. Social democracy is defined as the union of the workers' movement with socialism and the 'chief aim' of the journal is to encourage 'the political development and political organisation of the working class'. (p1) A broadside was published to announce the forthcoming title: although specifically social-democratic, it is addressed to 'all Russian comrades'. Some issues (whole or part) are known to have been reprinted within Russia: examples are known in Kishinev, Baku, Tomsk and Kharkov.

See particularly Bonch-Bruevich, Kak pechatalis' za granitsei ...; Dement'ev tll, p10; Ivanov, Pod'polnoe tipografi Leninskoi "Iskry"; Krupskaia Memories of Lenin, and others.

Iz materialov Iskry (Material from 'The Spark')
1905, Geneva, at least 2 issues, printed at 'Tipografiia partii'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 87; ILL - second issue only available on microfilm. Contents include: reports of social-democrats in Russia; reprints of some official documents, one dated 30 September 1904. There is no date or editorial matter.

Anderson 2931: Revoliutsionnye dni (o 9 ianv. 1905g.). Iz materialov Iskry, published by the RSDRP in Geneva, 1905.

Listok Iskry (Newsletter of 'The Spark')
Contents include: reports of revolutionary events in various towns; reports of party debates. This issue consists of a single sheet printed on both sides.

Prilozhenie (Supplement)
1905, no place of publication, at least 2 issues in the collection at BDIC, at the same shelfmark as Listok Iskry above.

The two issues available related to issues 101 (dated 1 June 1905) and 112 (dated 8 October 1905) of Iskra. They were printed on smaller pages than Listok Iskry, but had similar contents and may represent a continuation of the same title.
Istoricheskii sbornik Vol'noi russkoi tipografii v Londone

(Historical collection of the Free Russian Press in London)


The Predislovie to the first issue was written by Aleksandr Gertsen; the Free Russian Press will publish

documents and articles, acts and letters, IMPOSSIBLE to publish in Russia, despite the easing of the censorship [...] Our Sbornik will be limited to the last century and the present one, granting pre-Petrine Russia to its true owners - the Slavophiles and their learned rivals. ([piii])

The 'Predislovie' to the second issue includes thanks to the contributors for the material intended for the Sbornik which has been received at the Press, but comments on one item, printed in this issue, and supplied to the Press anonymously that 'we would very much like to know the source or author: if not for publication, then for ourselves' as the Third Section does not operate in London. (pxii)

Kalendar' Narodnoi voli  (Calendar of the People's Will)

1883, Geneva, one issue, printed at the 'Imprimerie russe'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 102; BL; Harvard microfilm.

Motto: Vivos voco! (on cover of reprint).

The 1898 edition is apparently a reprint of the 1883 edition, with no introduction or imprint: it merely states 'reproduit'. From the appearance, it is possible that the 1898 edition was a reprint from long-stored standing type. Carpenter also notes that although Lev Tikhomirov claimed to be the editor, V I Iokhel'son claimed to have compiled a large part of the Kalendar'. (p22) Anderson lists the reprint (2389). See the reference in 'Ot izdatelei' S rodiny i na rodine, issue 1.

Contents include: chronology of events in the revolutionary movement beginning with the Decembrists (no pagination); 'Istoriko-literaturnyi otdel', including the programme of the Ispolnitel'nyi komitet Narodnoi voli, biographies on Aleksandr II's assassins, an article on the current state of Russian socialism by P L Lavrov; 'Spravochnyi otdel' containing news from Russia (accounts of trials, prisoners and exiles).

The preface 'Ot izdatelei' requests contributions, and states that the editors hope 'with all its flaws' the Kalendar will 'provide a small service in the cause of the development of the party consciousness of Russian socialist revolutionaries' (piii). Publication was intended to be annual.
Kolokol (The Bell)
1857-1868, London then Geneva, nominally 245 issues, actually 226 issues, 52 of which are known to have had a second edition, up to 1 July 1867. There were 7 further issues: 1 (unnumbered) dated 1 August 1867, and issues 1-6 (5 and 6 are combined) dated 1 January - 15 May 1868. Published by the Free Russian Press, and edited by Aleksandr Gertsen and Nikolai Ogarev. All second editions were published by Nicholas Trubner, and printed at Zeno Swietoslawski’s press. The contents of the two editions were identical although the appearance (typeface and layout) varied (see E Rudnitskaia ‘Predislovie’ in vol one of the facsimile edition of Kolokol, ed M V Nechkina, pxvii-xxii). Ossorguine-Bakounine: 107 and 108; BL.

Subtitle: Pribavochnye listy k Poliarntoi zvezdy. Used until issue 117 (dated 22 December 1861) in the first edition and issue 93 (dated 1 March 1861) in the second edition. The subtitle of the 1868 publication was 'Russkoe pribavlenie'.

Motto: 'Vivos voco!'. (1868 publication: 'Zemlia i volia! Vivos voco!'.)

Published monthly from its first issue, dated 1 July 1857, until February 1858, and thereafter fortnightly on the first and fifteenth of each month. There were some combined issues, and some extra issues on the eighth or the twenty-second of the month if events warranted it. The highest number of issues in any one year was 35 in 1862: there were 29 issues in both 1860 and 1861, and 28 in 1859. The pagination is continuous throughout. Kolokol was banned in Berlin 1857, in Saxony, Naples, Rome, Frankfurt-am-Main in 1858. The move to Switzerland took place between issues 196 (dated 1 April 1865) and issue 197 (dated 25 May 1865).

Contents include: political articles; official documents; correspondence; a section entitled ‘Smes’ headed by the epigram ‘Through the visible laugh - the invisible tears!’.

This contained small news items and some of the accusations against officials and others, which, often took the form of a short paragraph beginning ‘Pravda-li?’, for example in the first issue

Is it true that the Minister of Finance Bok has become a known opponent of the emancipation of the serfs since he acquired more than a thousand living souls with speedy assistance from the tax-farmers? (issue 1, p8)

Other small items include acknowledgements of information received; notices ‘to friends in Russia’; notices of émigré activities and publications in the emigration.

The first issue begins with a ‘Predislovie’, signed 'Iskander’, explaining that Poliarnta zvezda appears too infrequently to report current events in Russia, which are now moving faster. The new publication will share the same ‘direction’:

Everywhere, in everything, always to be on the side of freedom - against coercion, on the side of reason - against prejudice, on the side of science -
against barbarity, on the side of developing peoples - against backward
governments. (p1)

The main demands set out in Poliarnaia zvezda are repeated:

- Freedom of speech without censorship!
- Emancipation of the serfs from the landowners!
- Freedom of the taxed estates from corporal punishment!

Kolokol will be devoted to all questions concerning Russia: 'And therefore we turn to all our fellow countrymen who share our love for Russia, and we ask them not only to listen to our bell but to ring it themselves!' (p1). The article describes the origins of the Free Russian Press, and the response to Poliarnaia zvezda.

Our speech, free Russian speech resounded in Russia, awakening some, frightening others, threatening others with exposure.

[...]
It resounds amongst the young generation, to whom we pass our work. [...] Without meeting, we look at the fresh array [of faces], coming to renew us and greet them in friendship. Theirs are the joyful holidays of freedom to which, by the ringing of bells, we call the living to the funeral of all that is decrepit, obsolete, disgraceful, servile, ignorant in Russia! (p3)

Kolokol suspended publication between 1 August 1867 and 1 January 1868. The first issue of 1868 begins with an article entitled 'O vykhode Kolokola na frantsuzskom iazyke', which states that 'It seems to us that at the moment, it is more useful to speak about Russia, than to converse with her'. (p1)

As far as our Russian speech is concerned, we have said nearly all we wished to say, and our words have not died without bearing fruit. We know how to recognise their echo and reverberation, into whatever sounds and features they are distorted. One of our greatest rewards consists precisely in the fact that WE ARE LESS NECESSARY.

We considered our activity necessary, not only when we first undertook free Russian speech - and were met with general applause - but also when public opinion was muddled - we stood firm. (p1)

See also La Cloche (1868-1869), in Appendix 3.

There is a large body of literature on Kolokol: see particularly the facsimile edition; monographs by Acton, Bazileva, Eidel'man, Malia and Pirumova.
Obshchee veche  (The General Assembly)
Contents include: articles (by Ogarev) for example 'Chto nado delat' narodu', 'Gonenie za veru'; articles from anonymous contributors in Russia. Issue 13, dated 15 March 1863 contains 'Slovo pravdy' by Ogarev which recommends readers to unite in one organization with the name Zemlia i volia to further the redistribution of all land to the peasants without payment, personal freedom and the convocation of a Zemskii sobor.

The first item in the first issue is a statement 'Ot izdatelei', noting that the views of Old Believers and other religious dissenters have not been heard in Kolokol.

Feeling this inadequacy, the publishers of Kolokol, with the collaboration of V I Kel'sieiev, have decided to open a new paper as an obshchee veche, in which all the sufferings, complaints, convictions of faith and everyday needs of the people itself will have their voice. The publishers invite everyone to Obshchee veche: Old Believers, traders and artisans, peasants and merchants, house-servants, soldiers and raznochintsy. Shower [on us] your complaints, declare your thoughts, needs, hopes and desires. The publishers will print everything that is possible and useful. (p 1)

The final page of the first issue includes a brief statement that articles on matters of faith will not be printed in Obshchee veche, although they may be printed by the Free Russian Press as pamphlets. This is repeated in the fifteenth issue (dated 1 May 1863).

Pod sud!  (On trial!)
1859-1861, London, 13 issues, published by the Free Russian Press as a supplement to Kolokol. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 197; BL
Contents include: details of crimes and abuses reported to the editors of Kolokol. Some cases were discussed partly in the pages of the parent and partly in the supplementary title. There is no editorial statement.

Kolokol  (The Bell)
1870, Geneva, 6 issues, edited by 'agenty russkago dela' (ie Sergei Nechaev), and all printed by Ludwig Cziemecki. Issues 1-4 have supplements in French, entitled Bulletin russe: supplement du Kolokol (La Cloche). Elpidin gives Ogarev as the editor with Nechaev, Zaitsev, Zhukovsky and others as collaborators. (p12) Ossorguine-Bakounine: 106; I.L.L. - photocopy.
Subtitle: organ russkago osvobozhdentia, osnovannyi A I Gertsenom (Iskanderom).
Motto: *Vivos voco!*

Contents include: statements on the 'Delo Nechaeva'; articles (some by Ogarev); correspondence; small news items. Issue 2 (dated 9 April 1870) contains a letter from Bakunin (pp12-13) criticising the lack of specific plans in the statement in the first issue.

The first item in the first issue is a letter from Nikolai Ogarev 'Novoi redaktsii Kolokola', handing over control of the title to its new editors 'with the deep conviction that you take it with full devotion to the cause of Russian Freedom'. (p1) This is followed by an article 'K russkoi publike ot redaktsii', which promises that Kolokol is not to be a partisan organ, but is to remain open to all 'honest people, who truly desire reform and freedom in Russia' (p1), and rests on the conviction: that 'the current order is disastrous for Russia'. (p1) After describing the changes of Aleksandr II's reign, and a critical review of the part played by Gertsen the article concludes: 'We will extend our hand to anyone, who wishes, with us, to facilitate the destruction of the monarchy in Russia not only with words but with deeds'. (p4) The sixth issue contains a letter from Cziermecki, repudiating any editorial role: his links are purely typographical and he refers readers to Desiatiletie Vol'noe Russkoi Tipografii for an account of his work for the Free Russian Press.

See also: Daughter of a revolutionary, and other.

Letuchie listki  (Flying newsletter)
1862, published in Heidelberg by Bangel and Schmidt, printed in Darmstadt at 'Druck von C W Leske', 1 issue, edited by VI and N I Bakst. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 113; BL. Anderson lists the title twice: 2074 under the title Velikorus 1, 2, 3; and 2459 under the title Letuchie listki.

Contents include: texts of the three 'Velikorus' proclamations; Mikhailov's response to the first proclamation; Ogarev's reply to Mikhailov; Mikhailov's proclamation 'K molodomu pokoleniu'.

The editorial preface explains that these items are reprinted for those who do not have Kolokol available, because 'The significance of these leaflets for the current state of affairs in Russia is so important that their repetition does not require any apology'. (Title-page verso) The proclamations themselves are described by the editors as 'Letuchie listki'.

Letuchie listki  (Flying newsletter)

There are two articles 'Khristianstvo' and 'Zhenschina'. They are preceded by
a short statement 'Ot izdatelei' which explains that the contents will concern 'contemporary "undecided questions"', which are linked only by

the conviction, derived from life, that before taking practical decisions on private local questions it is more and more necessary to clarify those general formulae which express the freedom of human thought and life (p1).

The second 'extract' is written in support of women's emancipation and equal rights.

Letuchie listki (Flying newsletter)
Contents include: poems, articles; 'Vesti i slukhi' section; news of arrests and trials; secret official documents; correspondence. Most items are short.

The first issue begins with an untitled statement that the aim of the newsheet is to reproduce correspondence and items from the Western press which are not suitable for publication in pamphlet form. The first article in issue 14, dated 26 January 1895, entitled 'Pro domo sua', states that

The development of our little organ to the proportions and significance of a fighting organ of the Russian opposition against autocracy is our dream and the reason for our efforts and concerns, from the very beginning of our undertaking. (p1)

before making an appeal for financial support.

According to a note 'Ot redaktsii' in issue 15 (dated 9 February 1895), some copies were sent in a random way through the post. (p1) In issue 27 (dated 18 December 1895) there is another article entitled 'Pro domo sua': the editors established the journal to make the appeal: 'If there is a live being out in the field, cry out!' and continuing publication is due to the response. (p7)

Letuchii listok Revoliutsionnoi Rossii
See Revoliutsionnaia Rossii
Listki Svobodnago slova
See Svobodnoe slovo

Listok, izdavaemyi Kn Petrom Dolgorukovym
(Newsletter, published by Prince Petr Dolgorukov)
From issue 7, there is a note under the title of each issue, which states that 'Le Listok a l'honneur d'être prohibé, et dans l'empire de Russie, et dans la Russie occidentale, généralement connu sous le nom 'd'empire français' [sic].
Content: articles, mainly written by Dolgorukov and Leonid Bliummer; 'Smes' section; correspondence; 'Peterburgskie ocherki' appear from issue 5 onwards. Dolgorukov's attack on Bliummer is made in articles in the last four issues. Dolgorukov's affairs are prominent throughout.

The first issue begins with an article 'Ob izdanii lista' which is a lengthy description of Pravdivyi and Pravdoliubivy and their relationship. He also states:

I have founded in Brussels under my own name a Russian press, a small one, but belonging to me and consequently beyond the influence of the golden eloquence of the Petersburg government. At this press, as well as Listok, I am prepared to print Russian manuscripts sent to me (with the exception, naturally, of those which would be contrary to my convictions). (p2)

Dolgorukov announces his collaboration with Leonid Bliummer, who will publish short items sent to Dolgorukov in Svobodnoe slovo (see below). Issue eleven (dated 27 August 1863) includes an article entitled 'Chto vsego nuzhnee dla Rossii' in which Dolgorukov states his support for 'Constitutional monarchy in Russia and complete independence for Poland'. (p82)

The same issue contains 'Pis'mo k Imperatoru Aleksandru Nikolaevichu' in which Dolgorukov defends himself against an attack on him published in Golos. He asks:

why are the works of emigrants forbidden in Russia? If lies are printed in them, no-one will read them; if they have not agreed with the opinions of Your subjects, if they do not correspond with their needs, then they will find a very limited circle of readers; the same would follow if Your government accurately makes use of the TRUE SYMPATHY and GOODNESS of the Russian people. Then there would not exist for you the slightest occasion for the banning of the works of emigrants; nobody would read them. But it is not this way at all: in these works the truth is proclaimed; these works correspond with the aspirations and
desires of the Russian people: this is precisely what frightens You, Sovereign!
You reign over seventy million people, and tremble before a few printed sheets
of paper! (p82)

Further complaint about the position of the press in Russia is made in issue 19 (dated
28 April 1864) in 'O nyneshnem polozenii del':

The position of the Russian printed word is a hard one. Censorship exists not,
however, to guard the government against banned journals, nor against the
personal persecution by publishers. Justice in publishing matters does not exist:
absolute rule is complete and limitless (pp 145-146)

The rest of the article is a survey of the state of the Russian Empire.

Listok Iskry
See Iskra

Listok Krasnago Kresta  (Newsletter of the Red Cross)
1900, Geneva, at least 5 issues, printed at 'Tipografiia Soiuz Russikh Sots-
Demokratov'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 130; BDIC holds issues 4 and 5 (dated
March/May and June/September 1900).
Contents include: news of Siberian exiles, for whose assistance the Krasnyi krest was
established. Issue 5 contains an article describing the purpose of the Krasnyi krest
organisation and appealing for funds.

Listok Rabotnika
See Rabotnik (1896-1899)

Listok Rabochago dela
See Rabochee delo

Listok Sotsial'-demokrata [sic]
See Sotsial-demokrat
Materialy dlia istorii Russkogo Sotsial'no-revoliutsionnago dvizheniia
   See S rodiny i na rodine

Materialy postupivshie v red. 'Rabochago dela'
   See Biulleten' iz materialov Rabochago dela

Maiiskii listok Rabochago dela
   See Rabochee delo

Na rodine  (In the Homeland)
1882-1883, London then Geneva, 3 issues, published at 'Vol'naia Russkaia Tipografiia'.
Ossorguine-Bakounine: 146; BL.
Subtitle: Sbor v pol'zu Krasnago Kresta "Narodnoi voli".
Contents include: news of Narodnaia volia; financial accounts of Krasnyi krest (signed jointly by Vera Zasulich, Petr Lavrov and Nikolai Chaikovsky); lists of arrested activists; reprints of proclamations; memoirs; correspondence.

There is a statement 'Ot izdatelei' in the first issue, which explains that:

Narodnaia volia - now the sole organ of the social-revolutionary party published in the homeland and able to acquaint the public both with the progress of the revolutionary struggle, and with those obstacles and sufferings which those leading this struggle have to suffer - reaches foreign areas in a very limited number of copies, and is accessible to a small circle of readers. (p[2])

The contents of this first issue are from the most recent issues of Narodnaia volia (ie 8/9). The third issue contains the following announcement:

26 Russian political émigrés, residing in Geneva, present at a meeting on 21 November 1882, decided unanimously to announce:
that the newspaper Pravda, published in Geneva, is not their organ;
that the opinions expressed in this newspaper, well-known to them, are not those of any social-revolutionary circle in Russia or abroad;
that the ideas which it disseminates are not shared by the Geneva émigrés;
that, on the strength of this announcement, they do not answer for anything which can be published in Pravda.
Nabat  (The Tocsin)
1875-1881 (not published in 1880), Geneva then Brussels then London, 35 issues, published at 'Tipografiia zhurnala Nabat', edited by P Gretsko, P N Tkachev and G (ie Kaspar) Tursky and others. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 152: BL (five issues only, dated 1878, 1879 and 1881) and Harvard Microfilm Collection, reel 30, no 994. Carpenter (p93) states that there were nominally at least 35 issues: 23, some combined, are extant. Subtitle: organ russkih revoliutsionerov.

Contents include: articles on various themes of relevance to the revolutionary movement; correspondence; news from within the Russian Empire.

The first issue (dated November/December 1875) begins with an item entitled 'Itogi' which states that 'We are living through a crisis - a severe though salutary crisis; if we are to come out of it renewed and strengthened - we can hope for true victory in the near future' (p1). The same issue contains an article entitled 'Programma zhurnala' which states:

Preparing for revolution is not a revolutionary's job. Those who prepare for it are: exploiters, capitalist-landowners, priests, the police, officials, conservatives, liberals, progressives etc.

[...]
Revolutionaries do not prepare, but 'make' revolution.
Make it! (p2)

This is followed by 'Zadachi nashego zhurnala' which echoes the call in the first issue of Kolokol (1857-1868) 'To beat the tocsin, to summon to revolution - this means to show its inevitability [...] to explain practical means to create it, to define its primary aims' (p3).

The first article in the issue numbered '3, 4 & 5' in year four, dated 1879, entitled 'Chto zhe teper' delat?:' begins with the words 'In recent years our revolutionary movement has sometimes changed its character and its direction', and goes on to recommend the only possible way forward:

ORGANISATION AS A MEANS, TERRORISM, DISORGANISATION AND THE DESTRUCTION OF EXISTING GOVERNMENT POWER, AS THE CLOSEST, URGENT AIM - such must be at this moment the sole programme of action for all revolutionaries (without discrimination between factions) - such must be their mot d'ordre, the motto of their flag. 'And with this flag is victory!' (p10)

The first item in the issue dated 1878 states that Nabat will carry 'announcements, manifestos, proclamations, circulars and all sorts of instructions' from the Obshchestvo narodnago osvobozhdenia. (pv)

According to Burtsev, those responsible for Nabat also produced another title,
Rossiia v opasnosti but there is no other mention of its existence. (Za sto let, entry for 1877). There was an article of that title in Svoboda (1888-1889), issue 1, dated 15 January-February 1888, pp2-3, signed 'Tur'.

Nakanune  (On the eve)
Subtitle: sotsial'no-revoliutsionnoe obozrenie.
Contents include: articles critical of the government (many written by Serebriakov); reprinted documents; correspondence; regular appeals for biographical material. Some issues include a fel'eton. The celebrations organised by the London emigration in December 1900, in honour of the 75th anniversary of the Decembrist rising, are both advertised and reported (issues 24 dated December 1900; and 25, dated January 1901). Speakers included N Chaikovsky, P Kropotkin, F Volkovboy, Cherkezov.

The first item in the first issue is also entitled 'Nakanune'; it reviews the history of the struggle against tsarism, and appeals for unity amongst the opposition. The journal's title was chosen because 'Now we are again ON THE EVE of the struggle', the first 'eve' being at the beginning of the 1870s.

Just now, on the eve of the struggle, the press abroad can be of use in this matter by raising questions of the possibility of the joint fight of all factions against tsarism, about the means to conduct it, about potential comrades and allies, of both strength and direction, so that people who have something serious to say on these questions have somewhere to make their voices heard. And we open the pages of this publication to all more or less serious articles on this subject, written by members of any fraction without distinction.

We hope that as a result of our publication, others of a general character will appear. We stipulate again that we recognise all the importance of the partisan press. But it alone is not sufficient, a general press is also necessary. (p1)

Issue 36 contains a request for financial support which is repeated in the next and final issue.

Narodnaia rasprava  (The People's Reprisal)
Contents include: articles on political themes; news of radical activities within Russia.
The first article in the first issue has no title, but is headed by a short poem exhorting Russia to wake and rise up, signed by the 'Russian revolutionary committee'. The article begins with the statement 'A nationwide rising of the tortured Russian people is unavoidable and close!' (p1). The journal is 'not literary or scholarly' (p1) because there is no time left for such pastimes, and there is no enlightenment and education for the people, only exploitation. The writer favours a general revolution and agrees with the programme of the first issue of Narodnoe delo, 'but not with its moderate tone, with its literary forms and in general with all abstract-theoretical conditions' (p2). He also states:

Bakunin is right to persuade us to abandon the academies, universities and schools and go to the people. The point is HOW DO YOU GO TO THE PEOPLE, AND WHAT DO YOU DO THERE? Bakunin does not say a word about this, but this is now the main concern of all honest revolutionaries in Russia, who are not satisfied with words and, demanding deeds, require them not in vague, but in exact, definite advice. (p3)

Pamphlets, written by Nechaev, are recommended. The main aim of the publication is 'not criticism, but to inform all those who are of a like mind and our comrades scattered through Russia about methods and means of the advancing movement, about the facts, achievements of the revolutionary brotherhood.' (p3). Nechaev appeals to Bakunin, the editors of Kolokol and to 'the unknown author of the first issue of Narodnoe delo' to form one united body.

See also: Cochrane; Daughter of a revolutionary; Literaturnoe nasledstvo 63 pp702ff and 96 pp699ff; McClellan, Revolutionary exiles, especially chapter 4; Pomper Sergei Nechaev; and others.

Narodnoe delo  (The People's Cause)
1868-1870, Geneva, 2 volumes of several issues each, printed by Mikhail Elpidin (first issue), Anton Trusov (issues 2 -6) and at 'Tipografiia Narodnago dela' thereafter. Elpidin names the editorial board for the first issue as: Bakunin, Zhukovsky, Utin, S Zhemanov, Dr Shcherbakov, Olga Stepanova and himself. Bakunin and Zhukovsky were ejected during Elpidin's absence in Scandinavia organising distribution, at which point he also resigned. (pp19-21) Ossorguine-Bakounine: 158: BDIC (volume I only, dated 1868-1869).

Contents include: political articles; some news - the International is reported in most issues. Issue numbered 4/5/6 (dated May 1869) contains an appeal for material, and claims that, after the demise of Kolokol, and the failure of Sovremennost', the only free journal published in European emigration is Narodnoe delo, and thus the editors...
have no desire to act as censors, or restrict free speech. (p57)

The first article of the first issue is 'Neobkhodimoe ob'iasnenie' which begins with the words

We are publishing a Russian journal, as a consequence of which we will occupy ourselves chiefly with Russian questions. However, it does not follow from this that we remain indifferent to the political and social questions of Europe and all the rest of the world.

It is our belief that the essential and, to speak bluntly, the only question now lying at the foundation of all else is the very same, both in Russia as also in other countries: this is THE QUESTION OF THE LIBERATION OF THE MANY MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE FROM UNDER THE YOKE OF CAPITAL, INHERITED PROPERTY AND THE STATE (p1).

The writer goes on to assert his conviction that the 'business of revolution is everywhere one and the same, in exactly the same way as the business of reaction is one and the same'. (pp1-2) The journal is 'chiefly practical rather than theoretical', focusing on the Russian 'people's cause', and is aimed at 'people of GOOD WILL in Russia' (p 2).

We are the sworn enemies of the State and statehood, we repudiate our old and young jurists and political publicists, these poor imitators and admirers of Western bourgeois-state civilisation importantly discussing the interests of the people, in which in reality they have no interest whatsoever, which they do not know and do not want to know, but which must serve as suffering material for their scholastic experiments. (pp5-6)

Echoing the summons in the first issue of Kolokol (1857-1868), the editors 'call to the living, not to the dead' (the latter are to be buried) and the living are to be woken to participate in the people's cause: 'We invite all those who are of a like mind to us to gather again around a banner well-known to them, raised for the first time at the end of the fifties'. (p6) The following article is entitled 'Nasha programma', which begins with the words 'We desire the full intellectual, socio-economic and political emancipation of the people' (p6) and goes on to expound the demands under these three headings. Intellectual freedom is a prerequisite for the establishment of political and social freedom, and the writer supports atheism (religious beliefs being instruments of oppression, and of the demoralisation of the people). Socio-economic emancipation will include the abolition of hereditary property, equal rights for women, the abolition of marriage, identical upbringing for all children (independently of their natural parents) organised by the free society. The land is to belong to those who work it, and tools and capital to workers associations. The only equitable political structure is a free federation of workers, both agricultural and industrial, and political emancipation will require the destruction of the existing State.
There is an article by Nikolai Utin entitled 'Propaganda i organizatsiya: delo proshloie i delo nyneshnee' in issue 2/3 (dated October 1868). 'Organisation' and 'propaganda' were each ineffective without the other; propaganda can most effectively be undertaken at the present time by a journal published abroad, and he begs for support from the Russian people. (p51)

See also McClellan, Revolutionary exiles; Meijer, Knowledge and revolution; Miller, Russian revolutionary émigrés, pp169ff, 195-197.

Narodovolets (The Member of the People's Will)
1897 and 1903, London then Geneva, 4 issues, the first of which is 'Printed and published by V Bourtseff, also the editor. The edition size was 1,500 copies (Morozov: 2512). Ossorguine-Bakounine: 163: BL.
Subtitle: Sotsial'no-politicheskoe obozrenie.
Contents include: mainly historical articles.

The first issue begins with an untitled article signed 'Redaktsiia', which states that:

The name of our journal sufficiently clearly speaks of its programme. We are narodovol'tsy, not 'old' or 'young' but simple narodovol'tsy, narodovol'tsy tout court. We were narodovol'tsy when Narodnaia volia was at the apogee of its influence and when not to belong to it was considered almost shameful. We remained narodovol'tsy also, when weakened by the struggle and with blood flowing from its wounds inflicted both by its own and other hands, Narodnaia volia temporarily passed from the historical scene. (p1)

The article continues with a historical survey of Narodnaia volia, and states that 'Our fighting slogan will be - THE RESTORATION OF THE NARODNAIA VOLIA PARTY' (p12).

There is a statement on the final page of the first issue that the journal is for 'Russian socialist-revolutionaries', who are invited to participate in its pages. The third issue, dated 22 October 1897, begins with an untitled statement:

We are for the union of all opposition and revolutionary parties, but while this union will be possible in more or less wide limits, it is impossible to attain until the relations between existing revolutionary and opposition factions lose their present character of enmity, and the representatives of these tendencies more quickly recognise their closeness to each other. (p81)

Further elaboration of the programme of the journal is promised in future issues and the final issue reaffirms the principles already stated. The fourth issue, dated 1903, explains that the publication was interrupted because of Burtsev's arrest.
Nashe vremia (Our Times)
1896-1898, London, 3 issues, published by Obshchestvo Narodnago prava. The first issue in the collection at BDIC is dated 1896, and was printed by 'Al. Debski', has no cover and is untitled, but takes the same form as the later issues (a review of the year). The title on the title-page of the issue dated 1896 is: Pervyi god Nikolaia II (Khronika). The title of the first item in the issue dated 1897 is 'Vtoroi god Nikolaia II'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 167: BDIC.
Subtitle: sbornik svobodnoipechati.
Contents include: survey of the preceding year; lists of those arrested; news of strikes; news of other events and of people in government circles. The issue dated 1897 includes descriptions of the disaster at Khodynka field. The issue dated 1898 concentrates on the activities of the revolutionary movement, and publishes the manifesto of the RSDRP.

Nigilist' (The Nihilist)
Subtitle: zhurnal, posviashchennyi interesam svobody i nauki.
Contents include: some news of radical activists; most items were written by the editor. The first item in the first issue is a history of Sidoratsky's involvement in the revolutionary movement, but there is no programmatic statement. Unbegaun notes that Sidoratsky's 'oddities included his own orthography' (p43).

Obshchee vecher
See Kolokol (1857-1868)

Obshchee delo (The Common Cause)
1877-1890, Geneva, 112 issues: 1 and 2 printed at 'Tipografiia Rabotnik', 3-50 printed by A Trusov, 51-56 'Vol'naia russkaia tipografiia'; some issues had a second edition printed at the 'Imprimerie russe'. The dépôt principal is Mikhail Elpidin's address in Geneva. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 178: BL (issues 1-55, mainly of the second edition). Established by A Kh Khristoforov with the assistance of Mikhail Elpidin; N A Belogolovy became the editor from 1883. Elpidin gives three founders: himself, Khristoforov, and an anonymous figure 'NN'; he lists contributors including N A Belogolovy, V A Zaitsev, P F Alisov, Izgoev (ie N O Osipov), M I Veniukov, N M
Iadrintsev, M Dragomanov and others. (pp72-73) Edition size of 500 copies, one issue only, in both 1889 and 1890 (Morozov: 2517).

Subtitle: gazeta politicheskaiia i literaturnaiia.

Contents include: articles on political themes; attacks on government officials; official documents; news of the emigration (the obituary for Ogarev appears in issue 3).

The first article in the first issue is entitled 'Nashe proshedshee i nastoiashchee'. Its author considers the history of the revolutionary movement, beginning with the disappointments of the reforms of the 1860s. The author discusses the émigré press, quoting

[...] the beautiful words, spoken some years ago by the first initiator of Russian free speech: 'Free speech is a great thing; without free speech man is not free!' (Kolokol).

But we can say that there are already Russian free organs abroad. Yes, there are: but despite all our respect for the convictions and selflessness of their editors and collaborators, we must say all the same that these organs are not of 'society' but of individual parties and circles, representing in them sometimes even individual personalities. They are either occupied with the interests of the remote future, or with what to expect only in the future, taking it to be the present already. Thus their activity does not always provide an answer to the evils of the day, and their words entice some to sweep past the masses of society who are preoccupied with the anxieties and demands of the present. (p4)

Freedom of speech and action are necessary for the healthy development of Russian society. The authors are certain that there is a demand for free speech in Russia, and invite response from their readers. Obshchee delo was distributed in the army during Russo-Turkish War (Lev Tikhomirov, Neizdannye zapisil, p149).

See also: Belogolovy 'Obshchee delo i ego zakulisnyi redaktor' Literaturnoe nasledstvo 87, pp429-441; Elpidin, pp5-6; Khristoforov Obshchee delo. Istorii i kharakteristika izdania'.

Obshchina  (The Commune)

Subtitle: organ russkikh sotsialistov.

The first item is an unsigned article, beginning with the statement that 'Europe approaches a social crisis.' (p1) In discussing this, the author points out that the bulk of the members of the International are not workers but from 'surroundings in which one lives well' and are therefore leaders rather than the led.
The life of the impoverished worker, the suffering of the proletariat is known to them only by rumour. [...] Naturally therefore such leaders also content themselves with the theoretical development of their views on paper and in debate; real practical action frightens them, both in body and in mind. (p2)

The position within Russia is different because, according to the writer, the leaders have themselves emerged from the masses, and are severely practical. The article concludes with a section entitled 'Our aspirations': mass revolution to achieve freedom. A further item, entitled 'Nasha obshchaia-programma' [sic], demands equality, and there is a detailed description of the organisation of labour (in arteli) to achieve this. Other proposals include the communal upbringing of children, and the abolition of legal and religious institutions.

Obshchina (The Commune)
1878, Geneva, nominally 9 monthly issues, but actually 6, printed at 'Imprimerie du Rabotnik', except for the final issue which was printed at 'Tipografiia Rabotnika i Gromady'. Editorial board included Z Ralli, Cherkezov, S Kravchinsky, M Dragomanov, D Klements (Carpenter, p94). Its editors were followers of Bakunin (Demen'tev, t1, p589). Ossorguine-Bakounine: 181: BL.
Subtitle: Sotsial'no-revoliutsionnoe obozrenie.
Contents include: articles by members of the editorial board; news of revolutionary activists; correspondence.

The first article in the first issue is an unsigned, untitled historical survey of Russian radicalism, in which the author describes the khozhdenie v narod and the lessons that should be learned from it. He asserts that the Russian propagandists saw workers as first and foremost defenders of peasant interests The article concludes:

The labours of the propagandists who went to the people maintained a route for social-revolutionary propaganda among the Russian working population, having enlisted the first groups of persons from the people for the socialist party. For us, their heirs, it remains, supported by the elements of the social-revolutionary party already in existence among the people [...].
It is long, difficult but gratifying labour! (pp6-7)

The term 'party' must refer to a movement rather than to an organised party as existed later in the century.
Parizhskaia gazeta* (The Paris Newspaper)

Daily non-political newspaper aimed at providing information to Russian visitors to Paris. Leonardi was a correspondent of one of the St Petersburg boulevard newspapers. (Unbegaun: p38)

Pod sud!
See Kolokol (1857-1868)

Podpol'noe slovo (The Underground Word)
1866, Geneva, 2 issues, edited by Mikhail Elpidin, and published in editions of 1,000 copies (Kluge, p50, 201). Ossorguine-Bakounine: 198: BL.

The first issue is almost entirely devoted to an article entitled 'Karakozov i Muravev', and the second to 'Kazan' v osadnom polozhenii (1863-1865)'. The publisher's statement is printed in both issues:

Under this title a range of brochures and people's books will be issued. [...] However, as we consider the establishment of secret presses in Russia to be completely impossible, the publication of works of this kind abroad becomes an affair of the first importance. (p 1, issue 1)

The editor appeals for material for publication, and for funds. The title has much in common with a monographic series.

See also: Miller, Russian revolutionary émigrés p191, Senn, 'Mikhail Elpidin'; and articles by B P Koz'min in Krasnyi arkhiv.

Poliarnaia zvezda (The Pole Star)
1855-1862, 1868, London and Geneva (1868 only), 8 issues, the first 3 published by Iskander, the rest by Iskander and N Ogarev. Issue 7 appeared in two parts. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 200: BL.
Subtitle: tre't'noe obozrenie osvobozhdaiushcheisa Russi.
Contents include: articles on politics, history and literature; items banned in Russia, such as poems by Pushkin and others, and Belinsky's letter to Gogol'; extracts from Byloe i dumy. The political element is strongest in the earliest issues.

The first issue contains an editorial 'Vvedenie', which begins with the words
The Poliarnaia zvezda was hidden behind the clouds of Nikolai's reign. Nikolai has gone, and the Poliarnaia zvezda appears again [...] A Russian periodical publication, published without censorship, exclusively devoted to the question of Russian emancipation and the spreading in Russia of free ways of thinking, takes this title in order to show continuity of tradition, succession of labour, internal links and blood relationship. Russia has been strongly shaken by recent events. Whatever happens, she cannot return to stagnation; thought will be more active, new questions will emerge - surely they will not be lost, neglected? - We do not think so. Official Russia has a voice and finds defenders even in London. But young Russia, the Russia of the future does not even have the hope of one organ. We offer it to her. (piii)

After a review of events in Europe during and after the 1848 revolutions, there is an invitation to 'all literate people' in Russia to participate by sending literary works circulating in manuscript and other items for inclusion in the pages of this journal. This article is an exact reprint of the prospectus (dated 25 March/6 April 1855), announcing the forthcoming publication.

In the introductory article to the second issue (dated 1 January 1856) Gertsen wrote 'Is it not clear that in the first instance, our whole programme should be the demand for openness [glasnost'] and all banners should be subsumed in one - in the banner of FREEDOM FOR THE SERFS WITH LAND' (px). The second issue contains two letters, one describing the enthusiastic reception given to the first issue, and the other more temperate and critical, partly of typographical errors. (pp250-252)

The back covers generally have some advertising for other publications from the Free Russian Press and Trubner and Co. The final item in the first issue is the offer: 'To every purchaser of the Polar Star a copy of the National meeting of 27 February will be presented gratis'.

Pravda (The Truth)
1882-1883, Geneva, 20 issues. Issue 3 has 'Vol'naia russkaia tipografiia' in London as printer: issue 9 has 'Imprimerie russe' in Geneva, ie A Trusov (Morozov: 2528). The editorial address is Geneva, and I Klimov is named as 'otvetstvennyi redaktor' in issue 14. Ossorguine-Bakoumine: 204: BDIC (issues 2, 3, 5, 7-10, 14, 18); Harvard Collection microfilm, reel 35, number 1014 (issues 4, 11-13, 15-17, 19, 20). Subtitle: (issues 9-20): Ezhenedel'naia politicheskaia i literaturnaia gazeta. Contents include: articles on events in Russia (many by Vasily Sidoratsky); some issues contain 'Smes' and 'Khronika' sections; there is an invitation in the heading to submit any articles forbidden by the Russian censorship.

Elpidin names Sidoratsky, Cherkezov and the poet Grigor'ev (ps P Bezobrazov)
as collaborators on this title, and states that Klimov 'fished for collaborators where hunger and need were on the threshold' (p11). He also wrote of the polemics with Vol'noe slovo as 'a war between the chief spy and the authorised police agent' (p12), and suggests that there was to be a successor title, Svoboda, although the periodical of that name which was first published in 1888 was in fact unconnected (Elpidin: catalogue section).

The fifth issue (dated 1 October 1882), contains an article entitled '1 oktiabr', which forms the editors' political statement:

 [...] we openly say: THE MOTTO OF OUR GROUP IS FREEDOM. We are sure that there is no freedom without equality or equality without freedom. Freedom of thought only exists under the republican form of government. Social castes are unavoidable under a constitution, especially with a monarch. [...] It is our deepest conviction that the Russian government must change itself into an Eastern social republic without distinctions between old and young, without strong and weak, with political and economic equality. (p1)

The article discusses the arguments for and against a republic, and condemns Uvarov's principles of autocracy, orthodoxy and nationality.

The first item in the sixth issue (dated 10 October 1882), entitled 'Chego zhelaem?' announces that: 'Of course, our wishes are: the construction of human society on the most expedient basis for the universal improvement of nature.' (p1) This recommended structure is a federation of 'artel'-type organisations. (p2) The final issue (number 20, dated 13 February 1883) includes a statement that the title is to close permanently, with no reason given.

See note in Na rodine, for the resolution of the public meeting about this title.

Pravdivyi  (The Truthful One)
1862, Leipzig, 6 issues, edited by Kn Petr Dolgorukov and printed by Gerhard. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 206. BL holding has been destroyed, but the title was found on microfilm obtained through ILL. See also Pravdoliubivyi below.

Contents include: articles on Russian internal affairs; correspondence. The address of the Tver nobility is reprinted in the first issue. 'Pis'ma iz Peterburga' were later reprinted in Peterburgskie ocherki.

The first item in the first issue is addressed 'K chitateliam', and is signed by Dolgorukov. It describes his earlier journal Budushchnost' and reiterates his support for constitutional monarchy:

[In order for Russia to emerge from her present embarrassment, from her present internal disorder and humiliating weakness abroad, it is necessary that
legislative power be divided between the Sovereign, and two Dumy, one of which, the Zemskaiia duma must consist of members elected by the people of the Russian land. (p1)

Specific demands include: abolition of corporal punishment; equality before the law; freedom of conscience and independence of the clergy; abolition of the censorship and freedom of the press; freedom of movement; freedom from arbitrary arrest. Dolgorukov asserts that émigré Russian writers have a two-fold duty to discuss topics suppressed in Russia and to expose abuses by government officials and others, and requests contributions from readers. (p2) Issue six contains a note from the printer, Wolfgang Gerhard, 'Prince Petr Dolgorukov does not wish to submit himself to the laws of publishing and therefore will no longer be taking part in the publication of Pravdivyi' (p48). Gerhard promises to continue the journal as Pravdoliubivyi and requests contributions from readers with 'constitutionalist or monarchist ideals'. (p48)

Pravdoliubivyi (The Lover of Truth)
1862-1863, Leipzig, 12 issues, numbered 7-10 (1862) and 1-8 (1863), as a continuation of Pravdivyi (see above). Ossorguine-Bakounine: 207 BL holding has been destroyed, but title was found on microfilm obtained through ILL (issues 7-10, 1862 only). See also Dolgorukov's account in the first issue of Listok, izdavaemyi kn. P V Dolgorukovym.

The appearance of the masthead and layout are identical to that of the earlier publication. There is no new statement of editorial principles, although issue ten (dated 1 December 1862) includes a note 'K chitateliam' (also printed in French) promising fortnightly publication and stating that 'The direction of the journal is moderate-liberal, practical, a stranger to all influence apart from the influence of truth and love for the Fatherland' (p73).

Prilozhenie

See Iskra

and Rabochee delo

Prilozhenie k Revoliutsionnoi Rossi

See Revoliutsionnaia Rossiia
Progress (Progress)
Contents include: a translation of an article by Robert Owen, and the proceedings of the Polish socialist-revolutionary society Proletariat.

The first article in the first issue (dated 6 December 1891), entitled 'Russkaia gazeta na Amerikanskoii pochve', is unsigned. It surveys the previous ten years of the 'liberation movement', and states that there are 'true friends' of the Russian revolution in 'such a typical country of capitalism as America, among sixty million' men and women (p1).

Russian affairs must rely on the working masses also in America, and particularly on the hundreds of thousands of the Russian Jewish emigration, the vast majority of whom [...] belong to the labouring proletariat. (p1)

The author draws a parallel with Irish-Americans, drawn together by 'class interest and spiritual solidarity'. The current publication is to be a channel of expression for that unity, and for anyone who demands freedom from censorship in Russia. A portrait of the Governor of Illinois appears in issue 20/21 (dated 9-23 July 1893): he is honoured because he had stood up for the 'nihilists'.

The first item in the second issue (dated 13 December 1891) is entitled 'Po povodu nashei programmy', apparently published in response to requests from readers, having already appeared in German and English. Issue 16/17 (dated 7-22 May 1893) contains an announcement that Progress is an independent socialist organ 'serving ideas, not circles and personalities'. Karlowich describes this title as Marxist, although aiming to be non-partisan. (p42)

Rabotnik (The Worker)
1875-1876, Geneva, nominally 15 issues, in fact 13, issues 1-4 printed at 'Slavianskaia tipografiia', and the rest at 'Tipografiia Rabotnika'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 214: BL.
Subtitle: gazeta dlia rabochikh.
Dement'ev lists those responsible as Zhukovsky, Ralli, El'snits, Gol'dshtein, Morozov and Sablin, and describes them as 'Bakunin's followers' (11, p564).
Contents include: news from Russia (for example reports of strikes); reports on the activities of the International. The articles are written in fairly simple language.

The first item in the first issue is entitled 'Pochemu my pechataem gazetu', and
begins with the statement that 'Many newspapers and books are published in Russia', but continues:

All newspapers appearing in Russia are concerned with the affairs of the satisfied, and are printed for the Tsar, for landowners, for merchants, for bureaucrats. [...] They need to think about why and how those with sufficient can seize the wealth of the people; it is necessary to think how to escape from their impoverished situation. Why is there not one Russian newspaper concerned with this matter? It is not possible that in the whole of Russia there is no-one who is concerned with the affairs of the working people? This is not possible, there are such people; but the Tsar, the landowners and merchants will not permit anything to be printed in the cause of the workers. (p1)

This is followed by a discussion of the conditions of life in Russia, emphasising the difference between the estates or classes.

Rabotnik (The Worker)
1896-1899, Geneva, nominally 6 issues, actually 3, edited by Georgy Plekhanov, Pavel Akesl'rod and Vera Zasulich (Carpenter p97), printed by Soiuz Russkikh Sotsial'demokratov. 'Initiated' by Lenin: 2,000 copies of issue 3/4 were printed (Morozov: 2535). Ossoiguine-Bakounine: 215: BL.

Under Rabotnik (1896-1899) Morozov lists the edition size of the May 1896 issue as 1,000 copies, and of the May 1898 MAiskii listok as 3,000 copies. This may in fact refer to MAiskii listok "Rabochago dela" (see below).

Subtitle: neperiodicheskii sbornik.
Motto: Proletarii vsekh stran, soediniates!'

Each double issue is divided into two sections: the first contains articles on political theory; the second news and other items of general interest.

The first issue (dated 1896) includes an introductory article 'Ot izdatelei' written by Plekhanov on behalf of the editorial team. He describes the Russian working class as 'feverishly striving for education' (pvi) despite the obstacles to study.

It is to this new workers' Russia, which forms our joy, our pride and our hope that we dare to turn with our modest publication. We dedicate it as a whole to the interests of the working class. We do not thrust our views on our worker-readers. We do not take upon ourselves the role of instructors. We would only wish to bring whatever good is possible to those unfortunate but cheerful and brave toilers, who struggle in our distant and unhappy homeland for their economic and political freedom. (ppxiii-xiv)
Workers are invited to contribute and are exhorted to 'stand under the banner of social-democracy'. (pxiv) A note at the end of this first issue explains that the press of the Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda' has been transferred, on the initiative of the group, to the control of Soiuz russkikh sotsial'Demokratov. A note in the issue, numbered 3 and 4, and dated 1897, explains that the current title will contain 'exclusively articles of the nature of reviews' (p203) and that pamphlets and Listok Rabotnika will continue. Emigrants are requested to supply material for these newssheets, about the workers movement in their country of residence. (p203) The final issue (numbered five and six and dated 1899) concludes with a statement that control of the title is passing into other (unspecified) hands.

Frank Ortmann states, in his detailed discussion of the background to this title, that about 35% of items originated within Russia. (Revolutionäre im Exil, pp73-83)

Continued by Rabochee delo

Listok Rabotnika  (Newsletter of 'The Worker')  

Contents include: reports of unrest in Russia; news of meetings and events in the European workers' movement; reprints of official documents; stories; poems.

The first issue (dated November 1896) contains a statement 'Ot redaktsii', describing the growth of working-class interest in the propaganda of the social-democrats. See also Ortmann, Revolutionäre im Exil, pp79-83.

Rabochea mysli'  (Workers' Thought)  
1897-1902, St Petersburg, Warsaw and Berlin, 16 issues, printed at 'Tipografiia Rabochei mysli'. The heading sometimes includes 'St-Peterburgskii soiuz Bor'by za osvobozhdenie rabochago klassa - Komitet Rossiiskoi Sotsial'-demokraticheskoi Rabochei Partii'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 219: BL (issues 4-11).

Contents include: letters; reports of workers' activities; Khronika; 'fel'eton'. Issue 8 (dated February 1900) contains a letter from a supporter complaining that the language of the newspaper is too complex for its intended readership: the editors' response that the writer's language is no more accessible than their own. (p7) Some issues include a Prilozhenie, for example issue 9 (dated September 1900) has a supplement containing a report on the proceedings of the Fifth International Socialist Congress.
'Ob"tavlenie', in issue 7 (dated July 1899) explains that the periodical is devoted to questions of the ways to improve the lot of the working class, and appeals for money and manuscripts, from both activists in Russia and political emigrants.

Rabochee delo  (The Workers' Cause)  
1899-1902, Geneva, published by the RSDRP, printed at the 'Tipografiia Soiuza'. Edited by B N Krichevsky, A S Martynov [Pikker], P Teplov, V Ivanshin (Carpenter p96). Zaleski describes it as 12 issues in 9, and as belonging to the 'tendance économiste' (p134). Ossorguine-Bakounine: 220: BL (issues 1-5)  
Subtitle: Organ soiuza russkikh sotsial'demokratov.  
Motto: Proletarii vsekh stran, soediniat's.'  
Contents include: correspondence, reprints of official documents; revolutionary proclamations; news of revolutionary activists and their work; articles.  
The first issue (BL copy has no cover or title-page) begins with an article from the editors headed by the slogan 'The social emancipation of the working class is impossible without its political emancipation'. It includes a statement that the 'Union of Russian Social-Democrats abroad is set in the soil of international socialism, in the ideological and practical workers' party, of which it is a part'. (p1) 'The journal is to be 'a fighting social-democratic organ which satisfies the demands of the Russian workers' movement' (p8), and has  
as its main objective the satisfaction of the persistent demands of our workers' movement for conscious propagandists and agitators, which has independently appraised the incidents of life in Russia and will make use of their experience of the workers' movement in Western Europe and Russia for more successful activity amongst the working masses. (p9)  
The editors also promise to publish pamphlet literature to support these aims. Carpenter records a pamphlet of sixteen pages (no place, no publisher, no date) which also has the title Rabochee delo. (p52)  
See also Frank Ortmann, Revolutionäre im Exil, for this and the supplementary titles, (pp133-139 and p190).  
Continues Rabotnik (1896-1898)  

Biulleten' iz materialov Rabochago dela  
(Bulletin from the contents of 'The Workers' Cause')  
1900-1902, Geneva, at least 35 issues, some reproduced from handwriting, some
typewritten, some printed. The printed issues were published in Geneva by Soiuz Russkikh Sotsial'demokratov. Each printed issue is headed RSDRP. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 22: BDIC.

The title varies: for example Biulleten' iz materialov redaksii Rabochago dela (Ossorguine-Bakounine 22); Biulleten' Soiuza russkikh sotsial'-demokratov, also entitled Materialy postupivshie v red. 'Rabochago dela' (Morozov: 2466) may also refer to this title.

Motto: *Proletarii vsekh stran soediniaites'!*.

Contents include: news of strikes and arrests etc. Many issues include the request 'We ask all who reproduce information from these bulletins to indicate the source'.

There is no editorial statement in the issues available (issues 1-3, 5, 7, 10 which are hand- or typewritten, and issues 22, 25-28, 30, 32, 33, 35 which are printed).

**Listok Rabochago dela**  
(Newsletter of 'The Workers' Cause')
1900-1901, Geneva, 8 issues, published by RSDRP. The first 2 issues were published as Maiskii listok Rabochago dela (see below). Ossorguine-Bakounine: 136: Harvard Collection microfilm reel 30 number 982.

Motto: *Proletarii vsekh stran, soediniaites'!*

Contents include: news from Russia; reports of party matters; some secret documents; memoirs; obituaries of radical activists; articles on aspects of socialism.

The first issue includes a statement from the editors that the new title will publish news Russian and European thereby freeing space in the pages of Rabochee delo itself.

**Maiskii listok 'Rabochago dela'
(May Newsletter of 'The Workers' Cause')
1897-1900, Geneva [?], 3 issues (for May Day in 1897, 1899 and 1900), published by Soiuz Russkikh Sotsial'demokratov. The title of the first issue is Maiskii listok.

Ossorguine-Bakounine: 136: BDIC.

Motto: *Proletarii vsekh stran, soediniaites'!*

Contents include: descriptions of May Day celebrations in various places throughout Europe.

The aim of the leaflet is to incite Russian workers to follow their counterparts in western Europe and celebrate 1 May. Other demands are: a ten-hour day, freedom of speech and assembly, the right to strike, the right to form unions.
Prilozhenie k No [...] Rabochago dela
(Supplement to issue [...] of 'The Workers' Cause')
1899, Geneva, printed at 'Tipografiia Soiuza'. BL (bound with Rabochee delo).

There are two pamphlets with this title, both 16 pages long. Each consists of a single item: the first is entitled 'Bor'ba Vitebskikh rabochikh za lushchuiu zhizn' and the second 'Chemu uchit Nikol'skaiia stachka (korrespondentsiia iz Orekhov-Zueva)'.

Rabochee znamia (The Workers' Banner)
1898-1901, Belostok then London, 3 issues, published by the RSDRP. According to the list of 'our publications' (last page, second issue) 800 copies of the first issue were printed, and 3,000 of the second. Ossorguiine-Bakounine: 221: BDIC (issue 2 only, dated March 1900).

Subtitle: organ russkoi sotsial'-demokraticheskoi partii.
Motto: Proletarii vsekh stran, soediniates'!

Contents include: articles on the nature of autocracy; reports on the emigration; news of the workers' movement.

The first item in the second issue is a statement Ot izdatelei welcoming the participation of local organisations in Kiev and other areas of southern Russia in the current issue. An article, entitled Iz-za chego my boremsia?' describes the programme:

'We' struggle because of the unfairness and inequalities of society.

Revolutsionnaia Rossiiia (Revolutionary Russia)
1900-1905, Kuokkala, then Tomsk, then Geneva, then London, then (from issue 7) Paris, 77[?] issues, published by Partiia sotsialistov-revolutsionerov'. Ossorguiine-Bakounine: 233: BL (issues 4-76); Harvard Collection microfilm reel 38 number 1032 (issues 1-3).
Carpenter p97: semi-monthly during 1903, otherwise irregular. Issue 1, dated 1900, issue 2 dated 1901, issue 3 dated January 1903; supplements to issues 53, 67, 72; issue 77 'apparently never issued, but among the pamphlets [in the Harvard Collection] are 3
pamphlets identified as being from no. 77.'

Contents include: articles (some on current events); news, mainly from within Russia. Issue 59 (dated 10 February 1905) contains an open letter from Father Gapon to the socialist parties of Russia.

The first item in the first issue (dated 1900) is 'Ot redaksii': it begins:

Political freedom - freedom of speech, association, unions, participation in legislation and government of the country - [...] this is our primary aim which, as a result of the force of surrounding conditions, pushes decisions on basic questions of the reconstruction of our social life into the background, because they are rendered for the present unessential.

[...]
The struggle for political freedom can and should be led in the name [...] of the interests of the masses of industrial workers who, at every step, meet refusal to satisfy their bare needs and cruel reprisals aided by bayonets and bullets, as the answer to their legitimate demands; in the name of the interests of the many millions of peasants who groan under the yoke of bureaucratic tyranny which supports the cultural, intellectual stratum, and realise all the abomination of the current order of things; in the name of the oppressed people of Finland, Poland and others like them. (p1)

The final page of the same issue invites contributions from readers, including news of official misdemeanors, copies of secret documents, news of strikes, rural and student unrest and other items which cannot be published in Russia. (p14)

The copy of the second issue (dated 1901) microfilmed for the Harvard Collection is handwritten, and has a note that it has been copied from the printed original by a circle of revolutionary youth. The third issue (dated January 1902) contains an announcement that, after the merger of Soiuz sotsialistov-revolutsionerov and Partiia sotsialistov-revolutsionerov, Revoliutsionnaia Rossia has become the official organ of the new party, and is to appear monthly. The 'theoretical' organ of the party will be Vestnik russkoi revoliutsii. (p1)

The fourth issue (dated February 1902) includes a note, entitled 'Otvet Zare' which repudiates the criticisms which have been published in that title. Relations between the social-democratic and the socialist-revolutionary parties are further discussed in a later issue (issue sixteen dated 15 January 1903).

Iz materialov 'Revoliutsionnoi Rossii'*

(From the contents of 'Revolutionary Russia')

Letuchii listok Revoliutsionnoi Rossii
(Flying newsletter of 'Revolutionary Russia')
Ossorguine-Bakounine: 118: BL issue 4 (dated 28 July 1904) only.
According to Carpenter (p 91), place of publication was St Petersburg.
Motto: Vbor'be obretesh' ty pravo svoe.
Contents include: articles; news from Russia and the emigration; proclamations
addressed to workers and peasants.

Prilozhenie k No[...] Revoliutsionnoi Rossii
(Supplement to issue [...] of 'Revolutionary Russia')
1900-1905, Kuokkala, then Tomsk, then Geneva, then London, 75[?] issues, published
by Partiia sotsialistov revoliutsionerov, printed at Tipografiia sotsialistov-
Motto: Vbor'be obretesh' ty pravo svoe!
Contents include: mainly replies to items published in Iskra, without editorial comment.

Revoliutsionnye dni
See Iz materialov Iskry

Rossiia v opasnosti
See Nabat

Russkaia vyshhaia shkola v Parizhe
(The Russian Higher School in Paris: Annual Report)
1900-?, Paris, the annual report published by the school. The report dated May 1903
covers the academic year 1901-1902, described as its first. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 236
records the start date as 1900, but gives no details of numbers of issues. Anderson
2960. The sole issue available was that dated May 1903 (photocopy).
Contents include: texts of three lectures delivered by M M Kovalevskii and one by Iu S
Gambarov (General Secretary of the institution); lists of courses offered; lists of
students.
Carpenter lists a lecture at the school, given by A V Amfiteatrov, on 'Iskusstvo i
russkaia sovremennost', published in 1905. (p4)

This title apparently consisted mainly of reports of events within the local Russian Jewish community. In the first issue the editor stated that the journal would present 'important' news from Russia as well as America, and would serve the interests of the Russian colony, particularly its unification. See Karlowich.

Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik (The Russian Foreign Collection) 1858-1862, Paris, Berlin and London, 5 volumes, each divided into tetradi. There is no named editor, but the main publisher, A Franck in Paris, may have had editorial control: the other publishers were A Asher [sic] in Berlin, and N Trubner in London. The printer was Gustav Behr in Leipzig. (According to Dolgorukov, Gerhard, the printer with whom he had a difference over the publication of Pravdivyi, had taken over the firm of Franck in 1862. See Listok, issue 1, p1). Ossorguine-Bakounine: 236: BL.

Contents include: each Tetradi consists of a single item. Subjects covered included historical essays, political reform and religion. Many of the items are anonymous, but one (V/i dated 22 May 1861) on the position of peasantry, and another (V/ii dated 21 September 1861) more general essay, are signed by Nikolai Turgenev.

The aims of the journal are stated in the unsigned 'Predislovie' to the first issue (dated 1858). The writer begins by criticising journals already available: a Russian publishing house has been established on the banks of the Thames, and its success is undeniable. On the European continent, in countries adjacent to England and France, a newspaper, in which there is more art than refinement and which, apparently, is printed for the sole benefit of Russia, speaks without alteration on her behalf. But neither the one nor the other attempt is satisfactory for a significant number of thinkers: the first because it has recourse to abuse and mockery - not very laudable weapons; the second because it uses flattery and servility - weapons that are already backward. [...] Russia needs a polemic of another kind, not profitable and not quarrelsome, one nobly independent, temperate in its claims and opinions, courteous to all, even enemies. [...] It is time to open such a field, where every champion can contend freely, if they fight FOR TRUTH AND FOR THEIR HOMELAND. The present Russkii sbornik will serve as such a field. And so in two words: free speech and love of one's homeland, but reasonable freedom and sincere love - this is our programme. (piv)

At the end of the first and some of the other Tetradi there is a note from A Franck, saying that he will not print items which oppose
Christian dogma, nor moral principles, nor the rule of law, which is so dear to
the hearts of Russians, which they express to her crowned representative more
willingly now that they find in him a monarch wishing to govern his subjects
with justice alone.

Issue II/iv includes an 'Ob"avlenie' restating these principles. (p[i]) A Franck is the
person to whom all correspondence is addressed and who is the signatory for these
statements.

See also article by E L Rudnitskaia in Revoliutsionnnaia situatsia v Rossii,
pp356-364.

Russkii listok*  (The Russian Newsletter)
1892, New York, 4 issues, published and edited by George Moses Price. Karlowich
pp53-54, 118-128, 299. Intended as a trial run for Russkiia novosti.
Subtitle; periodicheskoe izdanie.

The publisher felt that there was a need for a Russian newspaper, there being no
other at the time (ignoring Spravochnyi listok, see below) to explain American
customs and laws to the approximately 200,000 'Russian' immigrants, ie those from the
Russian Empire. The journal was not specifically Marxist or socialist, although
sympathetic to the Russian revolutionary movement, and assumed that its readers
intended to settle in America.

Continued as Russkiia novosti

Russkii Parizhanin*  (The Russian Parisian)
Ossorguine-Bakounine, 242: no location, refers to Unbegaun.
Contents include: news of the Russian colony; correspondence from Russia; 'socio-
political news'.

Unbegaun, pp37-38: 'politiko-literaturnaia obshchestvennaia gazeta'
(February 1892-July 1893) edited by E D Dmitriev, at the time the President of the
Union of the Foreign Press in Paris. To establish the newspaper he had to set up a
Russian press on the premises of the press where Le temps (10 Rue de Faubourg,
Montmartre) was printed. Weekly at first, then fortnightly; closed because of lack of
funds. E D Dmitriev founded another weekly Echoes de Russie at the end of 1893,
which contained articles in French and Russian, and which lasted only a few issues
(Unbegaun p38). There are no other references.
Russkii rabochii  (The Russian Worker)

Subtitles: 'Izdanie Soiuza russkikh sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov'
'Neperiodicheskoe izdanie Soiuza russkikh sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov'.
Motto: Vse za odnogo - odin za vsekh!
Contents include: news; articles; correspondence.

The first article in the first issue is headed 'Pochemu i dlia kogo my izdaem gazetu?', and begins with the words:

We have many newspapers in Russia. Of them there are few which are honestly and intelligently concerned with the working people, their impoverished position and their real interests. But there is not one newspaper which would speak of the demands of the working people. Meanwhile the working people constitute more than nine tenths of all Russia: that is nearly the whole population of Russia, if the small groups of rich idlers are not counted, are working people. (p1)

The author elaborates on the miseries of the working people and states that the aim of the journal is 'to bring a swift end to the silence of the people' under oppression (p1), emphasising the importance of free speech. The next article 'Chto delat' russkomu rabochemu?' states three basic demands: popular sovereignty (Narodnaia volia); an elected assembly (Zemskii sobor) and free speech (Vol'noe slovo).

Ob"iavlenie ob izdanii gazety 'Russkii rabochii'
(Advertisement for publication of the newspaper 'Russian Worker')
No place, no publisher, no date, signed Redaktsiia Russkago Rabochago. BL.
The aims of Russkii rabochii will be:

propaganda of revolutionary socialism among THE MASSES of workers living in Russia.
We [...] do not demand of our readers any other knowledge save that of literacy. Indirectly even the mass of illiterate workers may manage to use our
The editors summon the workers into an organised struggle against their oppressors (both employers and the Tsar), and intend to acquaint them with development in the workers' movement elsewhere in Europe. They promise to eschew polemics but state explicitly that they share the programme of the Union of Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries. The political and economic organisation of the working people in both town and country are considered to be necessary preconditions for socialism. There is an appeal for financial and written contributions to the publication, and for help with distribution.

Russkiia novosti* (Russian News)

The aim was to provide news and comment from a non-partisan standpoint, the guiding principles being 'truth and independence' (Karlowich p54).

Continues Russkii listok

Russko-amerikanskii vestnik

Russko-amerikanskii vestnik i spravochnyi listok

See Spravochnyi listok

Russko-frantsuzskii vestnik* (The Russo-French Herald)
1893-[1914], Nice, [26 vols or 461 issues]. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 245.

Subtitles: Organ russkoi kolonii na iuge Frantsii.
Gazeta ezhenedel'naia politicheskaia obshchestvennaia i literaturnaia.

The text was in Russian and French.

S rodiny i na rodine (Out of the Homeland, and Within the Homeland)
1893-1896, Geneva, 7 issues, printed and published as a supplement to the pamphlet series Materialy dlia istorii russkago sotsial'no-revolutsionnago dvizheniia, by the Gruppa starykh narodovol'tsev (Carpenter p40). Ossorguine-Bakounine: 248: BDIC.
Contents include: news of the revolutionary movement in Russia; two main sections, 'Khronika revoliutsionnoi bor'by' and 'Chto delaetsia na rodine' (sometimes also described as 'revoliutsionnoe obozrenie'); correspondence; other small pieces.

The first issue begins with a statement 'Ot izdatelei', which describes the publication as a forum for the exchange of ideas and news, between socialist-revolutionaries in Russia and those in emigration. The editors request news from their readers and announce the planned second issue of Kalendar Narodnoi voli (see under that title for details of the reprint produced in 1898).

The prospectus for this publication (under the title Iz rodinu i na rodine) has been published in Lavrov - gody emigrantsii, VII ed Sapir, pp465-467: a document advertising the pamphlet series Materialy dlia istorii russkago sotsial'no-revoliutsionnago dvizhenia is also reproduced (pp468-471). The typesetters were to be unpaid volunteers and distribution was to be amongst workers, peasants, students officers, and soldiers: the aim was to support the struggle against autocracy on the basis of socialism. The prospectus is signed by Lavrov, Serebriakov and Rusanov.

S-Peterburgskii rabochii listok (The St Petersburg Workers' Newsletter)
1897, St Petersburg then Geneva, 2 issues, published as 'Izdanie neperiodicheskoe Sotuza bor'by za osvobozhdenie rabochago klassa'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 247: BL (second issue only, dated September 1897).
Issue 1 was 'mimeographed' in an edition of 300-400 copies; issue 2 published in an edition size of 3,000 (Morozov: 2523). The editor was B Gorev (Zaleski p136).
Motto: Proletarii vsakh stran, soediniat'se!

The newsletter is devoted to news of the workers' movement in Russia, and the second issue contains no editorial matter. The first article is an examination of the significance of three anniversaries: the 36th anniversary of the Emancipation edict; the sixteenth anniversary of the assassination of Aleksandr II; the eighth anniversary of the establishment of the workers' holiday on 19 April/1 May.

Samoupravlenie (Self-government)
1887-1889, Geneva, 4 issues, with no stated publisher. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 249: BL.
Issues 1 and 3 were printed at the Obshchee delo press, numbers 2 and 4 on the Ukrainian press (Morozov: 2549).
Subtitle: organ sotsialistov-revolutsionerov.
Contents include: articles, some historical; news of the revolutionary movement. The fourth issue (dated April 1888) contains a report on Lev Tikhomirov's return to St
Petersburg.

The first item in the first issue (dated December 1887) has no title, and discusses the Russian situation claiming that the country is sick and the sickness approaches a crisis. The editors are 'socialist-federalists', and make specific demands: a permanent legislative assembly of people's representatives; local self-government; universal suffrage; freedom of speech, conscience, press, association, assembly; the nationalisation of land; workers control of factories; wider availability of state credit.

Svoboda (Freedom)

Five issues of a new series were published September 1872 - June 1873. Issue 1 was reprinted in Progress issue 8, 1892 (Morozov: 2552). Subtitle: Prostaia rech'.

The fifth issue contains an article on the unhappiness of émigré life, and part of Goncharenko's memoirs, which state that he was a typesetter at the Free Russian Press in 1862-1863. This conflicts with the advertisement on the final page for the printing house 'established in San Francisco, November 6th 1857, by Agapius Goncharenko'. There is a 'Smes' section, and the final column consists of advertisements, all of which are in English.

The item addressed to 'Russo-American brothers' states that Svoboda was established 'in order to prepare you to understand the blessed establishment of our Republic after your own foundation of a Russian Republic, Russian America, the State of Alaska'. (p4) To help there is a translation of the constitution of the United States of America.

Svoboda (Freedom)
1888-1889, Geneva, nominally 16 issues (actually 10), edited by S Kniazhnin and K Tursky (from issues 11/12, 1888). Ossorguine-Bakounine: 253: BL (issues 6/7, 8/9/10 and 15 of god pervyi and issue one of god vtoroi); Harvard Collection microfilm, reel 40 item 1049 (issues 1-2, 3, 4, 5, 11-12, 13-14).

Subtitle: politicheskii organ russkoi intelligentsii.
Contents include: correspondence from Russia and from émigrés; news; articles, often literary criticism; a 'Pravda-li?' section; a fel'eton.

The untitled first item in the first issue, dated 15 January-February 1888, begins with a statement of the intention to publish Svoboda fortnightly, and to elaborate 'the
political *credo* of the intellectual section of Russian society'. (p1) The article 'Ot redaktsii' discusses the position of the Russian intelligentsia, which 'has no arena of practical activity open to it' (p1), and the difficulties of life in Russia, before looking forward to a future of 'lawful order and national well-being, freedom and justice.' (p2). The next article in this issue is entitled 'Rossiia v opasnosti' and is signed 'Tur.' (p2-3)

The third issue (dated 15 February 1888) begins with a statement from the editors responding to readers who approve the general nature of the publication, but criticise its lack of programme. The editors do not wish to expound principles in high-sounding but empty phrases, but desire 'the emancipation of the country from the absolutism which is disastrous for it'. (p1) An editorial statement in issue 11-12 (dated September/October 1888) sets out a minimum programme which includes: immediate elections; an amnesty for political prisoners; freedom of movement, association, speech, the press. Readers are referred to the revolutionary press of the last seven years for confirmation. (pp1-2) An article in issue 6-7 (dated May and June 1888) entitled 'Tsarizm i Rossiia' refers to the reign of Aleksandr II as a golden age of reform, and attacks Aleksandr III and his ministers for refusing further reforms. (pp1-2) See also Elpidin, pp15-17.

**Svobodnaia mysl** (Free Thought)
Contents include: poems; short biographical pieces; comment on news from Russia; advertisements (all are for Sidoratsky's other activities, for example lessons in mathematics). There is no editorial statement of aims.

**Svobodnaia mysl** (Free Thought)
1899-1901, Onex near Geneva then Paris, 21 issues, published by the *Shveitsarskii otdel redaktsii* Svobodnago slova, edited by Pavel Biriukov, and distributed by Mikhail Elpidin, printed at 'Imprimerie Ukranienne'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 255: BL.
The planned contents are described in an article entitled 'Svobodnoe slovo i Svobodnaia mysl' in the first issue (dated August 1899). These are to include: editorial articles; articles on 'special questions' such as freedom of the press, and the meaning of sovereignty; news of 'state, church and economic events', particularly from Russia; news of the religious and social movements; literary and artistic criticism; moral advice and answers to readers' queries. (p15) The contents do fit into these categories, although not all categories appear in each issue. News of the Dukhobors appears
regularly.

The 'profession de foi' is stated in 'Ot shveitsarskago redaktsii Svobodnago slova', published in the first issue, to be that of Svobodnoe slovo, which has not been superseded by the new title, although they did in fact merge later. This statement is followed by an article entitled 'Mysl' i svoboda', in which the importance of 'free thought' is emphasised as a precondition for all other forms of liberation: 'Freedom of thought is a law of life'. (p2)

Merged with Svobodnoe slovo (1898-1905)

Svobodnaia Rossiia  (Free Russia)
1889, Geneva, 3 issues, edited by Vladimir Burtsev and Deborgorii-Mokrievich, printed at the 'Imprimerie Ukrainienne'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 256: BL.
Demen'tev records Mikhail Dragomanov and Esper Serebriakov as participants (p684).
Contents include: political and historical articles; memoirs.

The first words of the 'Programma zhurnala', in the first issue (dated February 1889), are 'Political freedom - in these two words lies the programme of our organ. We understand political freedom to be personal rights and self-government'. (p1) These concepts are elaborated in the rest of the article, which calls for a Zemskii sobor, and hopes to unite 'revolutionaries' and 'society' in the struggle against autocracy. An article entitled 'Opyt politicheskoi programmy Svobodnoi Rossi' in the third issue (dated May 1889) further elaborates these principles and the means to achieve them. (pp1ff)

Svobodnoe slovo  (The Free Word)
1862-1863, Berlin then Brussels, 9 issues, edited by Leonid Blümer, printed in Berlin by Ferdinand Schneider. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 259: BL.
Contents include: political articles; descriptions of life in Russia; book reviews; 'Slukhi'. 'Adress Tverskago dvorianstva' is printed in the second issue.

The first item in the first issue (dated 1862), entitled 'Prospekt', notes that recently 'Russian thought hindered by the Russian censor has naturally sought a free outlet'. Kolokol and Budushchnost' are specifically mentioned but

it seems to us that still, despite the variety of its organs, not all its nuances have independent expression. We [...] are sure that for true freedom of speech it is still essential to have deliberation, restraint, manifesting itself in respect even for its accursed enemy. [...] We have not seen until now such expressions of Russian thought, and we want to fill the gap we have observed with our own publication. (pp1-2)
The writer states his principles to be those of J S Mill as expressed in On liberty.

The first item in the first issue of Listok, izdavaemyi Kn. P V Dolgorukovym (dated November 1862) includes the announcement 'Leonid Petrovich Blummer, having published the first eight issues of his remarkable publication Svobodnoe slovo in Berlin, has now moved to Brussels, where he will continue his publication' (p2)' The journal was to be printed on Dolgorukov's own press, and its programme was to remain as before. Only one more issue appeared. See also Miller, Russian revolutionary émigrés, pp184-190.

Svobodnoe slovo (The Free Word)
1898-1905, 20 issues (1-2 in 1898-1899, and 1-17/18 in 1901-1905), Purleigh, Essex, then Onex near Geneva, then Christchurch, Hampshire. Edited by Pavel Biriukov and Vladimir Chertkov. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 258: BL (issues 1-18 1901-1905 only). Edition size, 1,500 copies (Morozov: 2559). Zaleski notes 103 issues up to 1905. The gap 1899-1900 was apparently filled by Svobodnaia mysli'.
Subtitle: Byvshee Svobodnaia mysli / periodicheskoe obozrenie.
Contents include: news, particularly of the Dukhobors and of Tolstoy: political articles. Some issues have a 'Prilozhenie' containing short works by Tolstoy. Issue 17/18 (dated May-September 1905) announces what the publishers trust will be a temporary break in publication, because of financial difficulties. Publication of Listki Svobodnago slova is to continue. (col 47)

The first item in issue 1 (dated [October-December 1901]) is addressed to the readers and states that the programme will not change and appeals for assistance from sympathisers. (p1)

Incorporates Svobodnaia mysli (1899-1901)

Listki Svobodnago slova (The Newsletter of 'The Free Word')
1898-1902, Purleigh Essex, then Christchurch Hampshire, nominally 25 issues (numeration erratic) edited by V Chertkov, who is also the publisher until issue 4/5/7, after which the publisher is Izdatel'stvo Svobodnago slova. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 122: BL.
Motto: Ne v sile Bog, a v pravde.
Contents include: news of events in Russia and Europe; reports about Tolstoy and the Dukhobors. The closure of the firm Posrednik is noted in the third issue (dated 1899). Some issues are given over to individual works.
The statement at the beginning of the first issue (dated November 1898) 'Ot redaktsii' identifies the programme of this title with that of Svobodnoe slovo. Sympathisers are invited to contribute, both in writing and with funds. An article, 'Obrashchenie k chitateliam', at the end of the first issue states the aim to be publishing 'news of events in Russia which, because of the conditions of censorship, cannot be spread openly in Russia' (p61), in particular evidence of mistreatment and persecution of schismatics. Issue 23 contains a statement that publication is likely to cease because of lack of funds. (p63)

Slavianskaia zaria (The Slav Dawn)
Contents include: news from other periodicals; sections entitled 'Khronika' and 'Istoricheskie ocherki'; articles on Russia and on the Slav peoples of the Austrian Empire.

The first item in the fourth issue (dated 1/13 September 1867) is an article entitled 'Natsional'noe edinstvo' promoting 'the idea of using the Russian language as a means of mutual intercourse amongst the people of different Slavic tribes' particularly in the scientific field. (p103) There was no editorial statement in the issues available: the first 10 pages of the first issue were missing.

Slavianskii al'manakh* (The Slav Almanac)

Slavianskii vek* (The Slav Century)
1900-1904, Vienna, 92 issues, edited by D N Vergun. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 265: BL given as a location, but the holding had been destroyed. Alternative title: Vseslavianskii vek.

Slavianskii mir (The Slav World)
1872, Prague, printed at 'Tipografiia I S Skreishovsky'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 266: microfilm (year 1 issues 2 and 4, together with 3 issues entirely in Czech for 1872).
Issues: Year 1 - 4[?] knigi; also 3 issues in Czech (rok 1).
Subtitle: Zhurnal kultury, politiki i narodnago khozaistva (kniga 2)
Parallel title: Slovansky svet.

Contents include: reports on cultural events (theatrical performances in Dubrovnik, for example); articles on political themes. The issues available do not contain any editorial statement.

Sovremennik  (The Contemporary)

Subtitle: ezhemesiachnoe politicheskoe izdanie posviashchennoe tekushchim russkim delam.

The first issue (dated April 1897) consists largely of 2 items, the first from the editors 'instead of a foreword' and the other an open letter to Russian liberals. The other issues follow a similar pattern. The editorial statement announces that:

We do not make any promises, we are not concerned with any limited programme, we open our pages to all those who suffer, in whatever way, from autocracy [...]. We are absolutely certain that the cause of progress and freedom has not only not died in Russia, but is gradually increasing. (p6)

The third issue contains a note from the editors, saying that despite correspondence reproaching them for 'vagueness and fogginess' (p 20) they will not bow to pressure to label themselves. They are the enemies of autocracy, of all forms of centralisation, and of all attempts to place general above individual rights. They wish to remain non-partisan, above faction and schism.

Sovremennost'*  (Contemporary Life)
1868, Geneva, 7 or 8 issues, edited by L I Mechnikov and N Ia Nikoladze, published by Mikhail Elpidin. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 268 (signalé par Kluge); Burtsev 1868; Kluge pp50 and 204 (edited by Elpidin); issues 3-7 printed at Imprimerie russe de Londres (Morozov: 2561); edited by Elpidin (Zaleski p44).


It was published in 1868 edited by Mechnikov and Nikoladze. Its purpose was 'to be both a review and a reflection of contemporary life, and to present to readers a portrait not merely of aspirations and ideals, but the actual situation of things and the course of social action in Russia and Europe'. The editors were critical of Bakunin and Proudhon as well as of 'liberal and reformist solutions'. 'Never before in an émigré
periodical had such an open commitment been expressed in favor of the seizure of state power by the masses'. The editors also attacked Narodnoe delo's 'initial anarchist orientation'. (Miller, Russian revolutionary émigrés, pp193 ff)

Sotsialist  (The Socialist)
1889, Geneva, 1 issue, published with the participation of Petr Lavrov, Georgy Plekhanov, Pavel Aksel'rod. Unbegaun gives Paris as the place of publication (p47). Ossorguine-Bakounine: 270: BL.
Subtitle: politcheskoe sotsial'no-revolutsionnoe obozrenie vykhodit periodicheski'.
Contents include: articles by Plekhanov, Aksel'rod and Tarasov; correspondence from Russia; a bibliography of Plekhanov's works; chronicle of the revolutionary struggle.

The first article is entitled 'Programma Sotsialista', and emphasises that 'the concerns of the Russian socialist-revolutionaries are in general the same as those of socialists of all countries'. Social revolution can only be achieved by and for the organised working class itself; therefore the main concern of the socialist-revolutionaries is to establish a socialist workers' party with a definite programme. Specific demands are: freedom of assembly, of the press, of speech, of conscience and of association; universal electoral rights. Economic requirements are agrarian reform, taxation of income, factory legislation and state assistance to industrial and agricultural co-operatives. 'Considered the first Russian Marxist paper.' (Carpenter p99)

Sotsial'-demokrat  (The Social Democrat)
Issue 1 in 1888 was published by Gruppa "Osvobozhdenie truda", edited by Pavel Aksel'rod and Georgy Plekhanov.
Subtitle: literaturno-politicheskii sbornik.
Motto Proletarii vsekh stran, soedinaietes'!
Contents of the first issue: political articles by the Group and others; obituaries and reviews. There is a note from the editors (pp1-2) stating that the next issue will be dependent on the assistance and support of sympathisers and the title is based on the principles of social-democracy.
Issue 1 from 1890, published in London at the 'Tipografiia Sotsial'-demokrata', with Stepniak's address given for correspondence. The other issues in this sequence were published in Geneva.
Subtitle: trekhmesiachnoe literaturno-politicheskoe obozrenie.
Contents include: similar to first issue.
The first issue of this sequence has an article 'Ob izdani literaturno-politicheskago obozrenia Sotsial' Demokrat' by V Alekseev which makes explicit the link with the earlier issue and reaffirms support for the principles of social-democracy.

It is scarcely necessary to add that in our opinion the most significant of all Russian social questions is that of the struggle against our Asiatic despotism, which is not only crushing all that is alive inside the country but also threatens the cause of progress throughout Europe. (piii)

The final issue includes an admission that publication is in fact irregular, and promises further issues.

Listok Sotsial'-demokrata (The Newsletter of 'The Social Democrat')
1890, Geneva, 1 issue headed Novaia drama v Sibiri. The editor was N Alekseev, and it was published as a supplement to Sotsial'-Demokrat. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 138: BDIC.

The whole issue is devoted to a 'drama': the punishment meted out to a political prisoner named Koval'skaia on the orders of Governor-General Baron Korf (of Jakutsk), because she did not stand up in his (Korf's) presence, and the resulting unrest among the prisoners. There is a statement 'Ot redaktsii' explaining that the newsletter was published because of the importance of the news and further issues would appear on an irregular basis when there was similar news to report. The newsletter is specifically directed at the Russian working class.

Soiuz* (The Union)
1893, Paris, 4 or 5 issues.
Unbegaun: published weekly in Paris in 1893, 4 or 5 issues (p38). Burtsev 1893: describes it as 'hectographed'. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 276 (signalé par Unbegaun).

Spravochnyi listok* (The Information Sheet)
Title changes: August and September 1893: Russko-amerikanskii vestnik i spravochnyi listok; September to November 1893 Russko-amerikanskii vestnik; December 1983 Vestnik and Russko-amerikanskii vestnik.

The title was apparently concerned with the life of Russians settling in America.
It was non-partisan although sympathetic to the Russian revolutionary movement, and it ignored the existence of Russkii listok.

**Strela** (The Arrow)
Contents include: short articles on political subjects. None are signed, except for the poem 'Novyi god' in the second issue, which is signed 'N N'.

The first item in the first issue is untitled and anonymous. In it the editor refuses to take a specific political view but gives his main aim as

> the general good in the future, and not to exhaust the resources of goodwill for future generations, not to tie down the freedom of the present and not to waste the basis of morality without which there is no salvation in this or another world. [...] We are ready to listen to all, but we will act according to our own understanding. (p1)

The author bemoans the lack of political life in Russia, and hopes that 'From glasnost', Russia must expect a recovery from all ailments and the reconstruction of all blessings'. (p1)

**Chernyi peredel** (Black Repartition)
Subtitle: *organ sotsialistov-federalistov*.
Motto: *Zemlia i volia*.
Contents include: political articles, mainly untitled; news from both Russia and the emigration.

The first item in the first issue (dated 15 January 1880) 'Ot redaktsii' notes that the split

> in the editorial board of *Zemlia i volia* [...] expressed itself in two separate streams penetrating within the populist-revolutionary party. Which of these better corresponds with the spirit of the motto of this party - land and freedom - which of the two new publications departs from its fundamental programme - cannot be expounded in the few lines below. We limit ourselves, therefore, to the remark that 'Land and freedom' remains as before our practical fighting slogan, as these two words most fully and broadly express the people's demands, aspirations and ideals. (p1)
The editors write that the present publication supports federal organisation of the whole structure of society as the best means to ensure the development of the people, and that the Russian social-revolutionary party cannot ignore the position of scientific socialism, which must serve for it as a criterion for the estimation of various aspects and forms of popular life. (p1)

The publication is aimed at 'mainly educated [intelligentye] readers (in which we include also a part of the urban workforce)'. (p1) The second issue (dated September 1880) contains an announcement that it is being published abroad because the circle sympathetic to the editorial group have not succeed in 'acquiring their own organ on their home ground'.
Bor’ba (The Struggle)
Burtsev, 1896, March: 'listok svobodnoi pechat' of eleven pages was published. No place of publication given: possibly clandestine. No other references found.

Delo (The Cause)
Zaleski, p40: *édité par Blagosvetlov à l'étranger. Mensuel. 1867-1883.* Delo was a legally published journal with radical sympathies, edited by Blagosvetlov. Balmuth, Censorship in Russia, 1865-1905, pp64-65.

Golos (The Voice)
1872, NY. Published by the mutual aid organisation 'Russkii kruzhok', at 329 Pearl Street, New York. The operators of the press were arrested for printing forged 50 cent notes. Okuntsev, Russkaia emigratsiia, p205.

Listok Narodnoi voli (Newsletter of The People's Will)
Originally clandestinely published in St Petersburg on Letuchaia tipografiia 'Narodnoi voli'. Ossorguine-Bakounine (item: 139): lists this title as part of the contents of the collection Literatura partii Narodnoi voli Paris 1905 (in the BL). Dement'ev (p612) and Zaleski (p41) do not give a place of publication. Morozov lists:

2499 Listok Narodnoi voli. Revoliutsionnaia khronika. 1881 no 1 22 July (Kopiia) Geneve; izd. Gruppy rus. emigrantov, impr. russe [A Trusova] [1881-1882?]

The second foreign edition apparently consisted of 500 copies.

Novogodniy zhurnal sotsial-demokraticheskago obshchestva
(New-Year Journal of the Social-Democratic Society)
Karlowich, We fall and rise, p311: in New York, 1899, published by the Russian
Social-Democratic Society of New York, edited by Sergei M Ingerman, and advertised in Russkaia zhizn' v Amerike (no 3 1898 December 10, 6); also referred to as Ezhegodnik by Vilchur (in Russkie v Amerike). See Ezhegodnik in the main list, above.

Oborona  (Defence)
Leipzig, edited by Ivan Golovin. Listed in G A Kuklin, Materialy k izucheniiu revoliutsionnago dvizheniia v Rossii, t1, 382-384 (bibliography of Golovin's publications, section V). The year of publication and the number of issues not known. Kuklin also describes Golovin as responsible for a 'zhurnal'chik' in Nice in 1849 (Carillon, which included a series of articles entitled 'Les Prussiens, les Russiens et les autres chiens à Nice') and also for the Journal de Turin in 1851. An article in this latter title led to his expulsion from Piedmont (Kuklin, op cit, 366).

Ob"iavlenie o russkikh knigakh N Triubnera i K-nii
(N Trubner and Co: Advertisement for Russian books)

Pravda  (The Truth)
Burtsev: 1867 'in Austria', with Mikhail Dragomanov listed amongst the contributors. However, in 1867 Dragomanov was at Kiev University, where he successfully defended his thesis in 1869, going abroad in 1870. In his memoirs ('Avtobiografija M P Dragomanova' published in Byloe 1906 no6, 182-213), Dragomanov mentions writing articles for publication in the 'Galician review Pravda (in Ukrainian)' in 1873 and 1875 (p195). In 1867 he was involved in the publication of 'sborniki ukainskoi narodnoi slovesnosti' in Russia (p188). Dragomanov did not apparently work on Pravda (1882-1883).

Rabochii s krest'ianami  (The worker with the peasants)
Rabochii golos  (The Workers' Voice)
Published in London by the Zagranichnyi komitet Bunda. Ossorguine-Bakounine: 225: BL.
Subtitle 'sotsial'demokraticheskaia rabochnaia gazeta. Organ Vseobshchago evreiskago rabochago soiuza v Litve, Pol'she i Rossii'.
Motto: Sila rabochikh v edinenii. - Rabochie vsekh stran, soediniat's'.
The only issue to appear in Russian was number 25, dated December 1901 (held in BL), a 'Jubilee issue' published also in Yiddish and Polish. At the head of the title is the exhortation 'Proshchi, [sic] rasprostranaiate 'Arbeiterstimme'.
The other issues were published in German as Die Arbeiterstimme (1897-1905).

Rossiia v opasnosti!  (Russia in danger)
Burtsev: 1877, 'a newspaper published during the Russo-Turkish War by the Nabat group'. No other references found. An article entitled 'Rossiia v opasnosti', and signed 'Tur.' (possibly Kaspar Tursky) appeared in the first issue (pp2-3) of Svoboda (1888-1889).
APPENDIX II

TITLES LISTED BY YEAR OF FIRST PUBLICATION

1855-1868 Poliarnaia zvezda
1856-1860 Golosa iz Rossii
1857-1868 Kolokol
1858-1859 Strela
1858-1862 Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik
1859-1862 Blagonamerennyi
1859-1861 Istoricheski sbornik Vol'noi russkii tipografii
1859-1861 Pod sud!
1860-1861 Budushchnost'
1862 Vest'
1862 Letuchie listki
1862-1864 Listok izdavaemyi Kn Petrom Dolgorukovym
1862-1864 Obshchee veche
1862 Pravdivyi
1862-1863 Pravdoliubivyi
1862-1863 Svobodnoe slovo
1864 Evropeets
1866 Pod'polnoe slovo
1867-1868 Slavianskaia zaria
1868 Letuchie listki
1868-1870 Narodnoe delo
1868-1873 Svoboda
1868 Sovremennosti*
1869-1870 Narodnaia rasprava
1870 Kolokol
1870 Obshchina
1872 Slavianskii mir
1873-1877 Vpered! (sbornik)
1875-1876 Vpered! (gazeta)
1875-1881 Nabat
1875-1876 Rabotnik
1876-1890 Vestnik Pravdy
1877-1890 Obshchee delo
1878 Obshchina
1879 Slavianskii almanakh*
1880-1881 Zerno
1880-1881 Chernyi peredel'
1881-1883 Vol'noe slovo
1882-1883 Na rodine
1882-1883 Pravda
1883-1886 Vestnik Narodnoi voli
1883 Kalendar Narodnoi voli
1883 Nigilist'
1887-1889 Samoupravlenie
1888-1889 Bor'ba*
1888-1889 Svoboda
1888 Svobodnaia mysli'
1888-1892 Sotsial'-demokrat
1889 Znamia*
1889 Svobodnaia Rossiia
1889 Sotsialist
1890 Listok sotsial'-demokrata
1891-1893 Progress
1892 Russkii listok*
1892-1893 Russkii parizhanin*
1892-1893 Spravochnyi listok*
1893-1899 Letuchie listki
1893 Russkiia novosti*
1893-[1914] Russko-frantsuzskii vestnik*
1893-1896 S rodiny i na rodine
1893 Soiuz*
1894-1899 Russkii rabochii
1894 Svobodnaia Rossiia*

1896-1898 Listok Rabotnika
1896-1898 Nashe vremiia
1896-1899 Rabotnik

1897-? Avtomonno-demokraticheskaia konstitutsiia
1897-1900 Maiskii listok Rabochago dela
1897-1903 Narodovolets
1897-1902 Rabochaia mysli'
1897 S-Peterburgskii rabochii listok
1897 Sovremennik

1898 Bratskii listok
1898/1889 Ezhegodnik
1898-1902 Listki Svobodnago slova
1898-1901 Rabochee znamia
1898-1899 Russkaia zhizn' v Amerike*
1898-1905 Svobodnoe slovo

1899-1902 Nakanune
1899 Prilozhenie k No [...] Rabochago dela
1899-1902 Rabochee delo
1899-1901 Svobodnaia mysli'

1900-1904 Byloe
1900-1902 Biulleten' iz materialov Rabochago dela
1900 Iz zapisnoi knigi sotsial'-demokrata
1900-1905 Iskra
1900 Listok Krasnago kresta
1900-1901 Listok Rabochago dela
1900 Parizhskaia gazeta*
1900-1905 Prilozhenie (Revoliutsionnaia Rossiia)
1900-1905 Revoliutsionnaia Rossiia
1900-? Russkaia Vysshaia Shkola v Parizhe
1900-1904 Slavianskii vek*

1901-1904 Letuchii listok (Revoliutsionnaia Rossiia supplement)
1902-1903 Iz materialov Revoliutsionnoi Rossii*
1905 Iz materialov Iskry
1905 Listok Iskry
1905 Prilozhenie (Iskra)
APPENDIX III

SELECTIVE LIST OF PERIODICALS IN LANGUAGES OTHER THAN RUSSIAN

NOTE
This list contains titles referred to in the text, and a few titles closely related to the Russian-language periodicals.

A tout venant je crache, ili Bog ne vydast - svin'ia ne s''est*
Published from 20 - 24 May by those who supported Gertsen's views in debates amongst the student colony.

Alaska Herald
The first issue was apparently published on 1 March 1868. The word 'svoboda' appears at the head of the title, around a map of Siberia and Alaska.
Contents: news of explorations etc; gossip; stories. Some issues contain the Sermon on the Mount in Russian; issue 136 includes the Russian alphabet for beginners.
The articles are wholly in English, but some advertisements are in both English and Russian.

Anglo-Russian
Motto: 'Looking forward to the time

When the War-Drum throbs no longer, and the Battle Flags are furled
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.'
The first item in the first issue (dated 1 July 1897) is entitled 'Our objectives': they are to remove those misunderstandings which at present divide two such great nations as the English and the Russians into antagonistic camps [...] to the detriment of their mutual interests, and the interests of the world at large (p1)
The editor supports freedom of speech and conscience, and any legitimate measures to 'raise the Russian people from their terrible state of ignorance, degradation and poverty'.

See also From the other shore, 53-62.

Die Arbeiterstimme

See Rabochii golos, 1897-1905, in 'Dubia'.

La Cloche

1862-1864, Brussels, 35 issues, edited by Leon Fontaine. Zaleski (p40) gives the dates of publication as 1862-1867. BL (Colindale)

Contents: selected items from Kolokol.
The first issue contains a letter of support from Gertsen. The final issue (number 35, dated 15 January 1863) promises the next issue for 25 January 1863, and contains a number of items 'à continuer'.

La Cloche

1868-1869, Geneva, nominally 15 issues plus a supplement in February 1869, printed at 'Imprimerie de Londres', edited by N Ogarev and A Gertsen. BL.

Subtitle: Revue du développement social politique et littéraire en Russie.

Motto: Terre et liberté! Vivos voco!

There is a statement in the first issue that although the language of the publication has changed, the principles of the publishers have not. The main aim is to acquaint Europeans with Russia and Russian problems.

Darkest Russia

1891-1893, London, 15 issues, published by the Russo-Jewish Committee. BL

A statement in the first issue declares that the aim of the journal is to bring 'to the knowledge of the civilised world authentic facts relating to Russia's persecution of her Jewish and other Nonconformist subjects.' (p1) Later issues contain letters from English supporters, including Gladstone.
Le Franco-Russe*
1889, Paris published by A Rafalovich.
Unbegaun (pp38-9): a daily newspaper in French devoted to Russian matters. A Rafalovich was a former correspondent of Journal de St-Péterbourg and a financial attaché at the Russian Embassy.

Free Russia*
See From the other shore, especially pp72-77.

Frei Russland* [sic]
1891-1893, Zurich, 11 issues. The German organ of the 'Friends of Russian Freedom'. Zaleski p129; also in BL catalogue.

Le Nihilisme
Subtitle: Journal mensuel dévoué aux intérêts de la Liberté et de la Science.
The first article is entitled 'La Russie' which consists of short exclamatory statements such as 'Il y a en Russie 100 millions de bêtes au lieu de 100 millions de citoyens!!!!' and 'La Russie est la tache du monde!!!!!' All items are signed either BS or Basile Sidoratsky.

Russia and the United States Correspondent (later Russia modern [sic] and the United States Correspondent)
Subtitle: a diplomatical and literary weekly polyglot newspaper.
Contents: articles in English, French and German; letters; 'fel'eton'; gossip.
The first item in the first issue is in English, and is entitled 'Our credo':

Seeing that revolutions always fail by having promised too much, we recommend moderation, and we are homoeapathists [sic] in politics. [...] We will approve of the abolition of capital punishment, revindicate [sic] the revision of the legislature and procedure, and advocate the legal
emancipation of women.
Independent in our conviction Russia and the United States correspondent will be neither the organ of a party nor a power. (p1)

The fifth issue (dated 13 September 1856) includes an article entitled 'Journalism: to the English press'.

Russische Züstände*

Russischer Verfassungsstaat*

See Avtonomno-demokraticheskaia konstitutsiiia (1897-) in Appendix I.

Slovansky svet*
1872, Prague, in Czech and Russian.

See Slavianskii mir in Appendix 1.

Le Véridique
1862-1864, Brussels then London, 5 issues, edited by P V Dolgorukov. BL
Contents: reprints of items from Pravdivyi and Listok. The later issues have the following statement on the title-page verso 'Le Véridique a l'honneur d'être prohibé et dans l'empire de Russie, et dans la Russie occidentale, généralement connue sous le nom d'empire français.'
The first item in the first issue, 'Avant-propos', consists of the history of Dolgorukov's publishing activities and a political statement. Demands include: two legislative chambers, the abolition of corporal punishment and censorship, equality before the law, public jury trial and religious tolerance. Volume 5, issue 2 (of about 130 pages) is entirely devoted to 'L'insurrection polonaise'.

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