

# BRITISH RADICALS KNOWLEDGE OF, AND ATTITUDES TO RUSSIA 1900–1914

## PART I THE AUTOCRATIC SYSTEM

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This article concerns non-governmental British Radicals knowledge of, and attitudes to the autocratic nature of government in Russia during the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century preceding the 1914–1918 war. The reaction of the Radicals to improving Anglo-Russian political relations is the subject of a future article by this author. The attempt in both articles is to try and identify who British Radicals were where possible, and what they were able to know about the Russian Empire between about 1900 and 1914.<sup>1</sup>

### INTRODUCTION

Radicals abhorred the absolutism practiced by the Tsarist Government.<sup>2</sup> Such arbitrary government revolted them for it stifled the individual's freedom. Radicals were highly individualistic people, and as such, detested bureaucratic systems that consisted of people that hid behind officialdom and denied liberty. Russian autocracy consisted of not just the Tsar and his occasional ukases: it was a system of oppression maintained by many thousands of civil servants working in their own vested interests as much as those of their ruler. The Radicals were anti-Tsarist, not anti-Russian. Radicals wanted the Russian people to have democratic government, hence their rejoicing over the establishment of the Dumas. In Britain the Radicals disliked the Foreign Office because of its secrecy and its unaccountability to Parliament, respects in which the Foreign Office seemed to mirror the Russian bureaucratic machinery of government.<sup>3</sup>

### (I)

The Radicals were upset that a Liberal government should enter into an entente in 1907 ‘... with a regime which denied its subjects constitutional reform and which maintained its authority by means of secret police and arbitrary justice.’<sup>4</sup> Russia was not merely undemocratic but also positively anti-democratic. In Russia many political and religious groups were vigorously persecuted by the autocratic system. Anyone involved in socialist, anarchist, nihilist and

revolutionary activities could be jailed, without trial, often for long periods of time, in some cases for many years. Others were sentenced to internal exile in Siberia where they were compelled to work in mines or other labour tasks where the life expectancy was often brief. Quite apart from the physical ardour of such activities one must also remember the individuals' severance, often as part of the sentence, from their loved ones, their family and friends. Religious groups suffered just as much as political groups if they were considered a threat to the State. Such were the cases with the Stundists,<sup>5</sup> the Doukhoborts<sup>6</sup> of the Caucasus, and the Jews. Periodically pogroms were deliberately incited by the authorities so as to direct popular wrath away from the shortcomings of the bureaucratic system.

To keep the oppressive State apparatus in control, there existed the *Okhrana*<sup>7</sup> or secret police, who infiltrated all walks of life, even that of the Orthodox Church. The very secrecy of such activities as spying on one's fellow subjects was an abhorrence to British Radicals. Demonstrations or large public gatherings, aimed at either protesting against the regime or merely complaining about the low standard of living including the lack of food were regularly dispersed with great brutality. Often massacres ensued, for the soldiers were under orders to obey or suffer a variety of punishments themselves.

The rulers of Russia had practiced or accepted those ways of ruling the country from time immemorial, so that throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries British Radicals were well aware of a tradition of totally anti-democratic behaviour by the Tsars. In Russia, life was cheap. Violence bred violence, for many Russians considered the only way to remove such a system was to resort to revolutionary means rather than to seek redress through the paths of reform. Perhaps it could be argued, that the only way the Tsar's authority held sway over a vast area as the Russian Empire was by resorting to harsh measures. Certainly the British, who at that time had the largest empire that the world had ever seen, appeared to the Radicals to be able to indulge in repressive measures as witnessed in Ireland, India and South Africa.

What especially grieved the Radicals, was that the apparent official lawlessness of the autocracy was for export. With the illiberal regimes of the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires at least there seemed to be respect for foreign nationals who visited those domains. That was lacking in Russia. Indeed British officialdom recognized this reality, for Russia, Romania and the Ottoman Empire constituted the only areas of Europe where British subjects required passports.<sup>8</sup> There was a feeling that Russia was outside the bounds of civilized Europe.

## (II)

The arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of British subjects became a matter raised fairly regularly in the House of Commons. For example in March and July 1906 questions were asked about Mr. J.E. Geddes who was '... alleged to have been imprisoned and maltreated by the Russian military and civil authorities in Manchuria ...'.<sup>9</sup> Also in March of the same year Mr.

Charles Webb a resident in Russia, was the subject of investigation on account of '... his arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, and subsequent expulsion from the country ...'<sup>10</sup>. In July 1907 it was stated that Mr. T. Hutchinson of the staff of the Indo-European Telegraphs had been hit on the head in Odessa. In the House of Commons, the Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey was asked what action he proposed taking as Mr. Hutchinson '... obtained no satisfaction from the local police, ...'<sup>11</sup>.

Earlier, in February and March of 1907, questions were raised in the House about 21 years old Adolphus Joseph Tingle who was tried by court-martial and hanged at Warsaw for robbing a tram conductor. Of particular interest was the fact that Edward Grey in answering questions about Tingle claimed that 'The district is under martial law and the treatment he received was that which would have been meted out to any one else.'<sup>12</sup> Additionally the fact that he was a British subject carried no weight, for the Consul-General, Captain Murray, unsuccessfully petitioned for the sentence on Tingle to be commuted to banishment or something less severe than the death penalty. What must have irked the Radicals was Sir Edward Grey's distancing from the locksmith's fate, culminating on 12<sup>th</sup> March in his all-embracing statement that 'We have no right to claim for British subjects more favourable treatment than is accorded to the subjects of the country in which they reside.'<sup>13</sup> No doubt such a position was correct in international law but it was just the type of comment that gave evidence to the Radicals' claim that Grey lacked humanitarian feelings.

Likewise Grey's pragmatic and legalistic attitude was mirrored in the case of Nicholas W. Tchaikovsky, by birth a Russian, who nevertheless had lived in Britain for thirty years and had a home in Middlesex. Some of his family were British subjects.<sup>14</sup> On returning to Russia in the autumn of 1907 he was arbitrarily imprisoned in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul at St. Petersburg. After eight months imprisonment in the Russian capital his plight was raised for a second time in the House of Commons. Keir Hardie requested that Tchaikovsky be either brought to trial or released and permitted to return home. Grey, in reply, curtly repeated his position as stated in April of 1908 that 'Mr. Tchaikovsky is not a British subject, and the matter is therefore not one in which official action could be taken.'<sup>15</sup>

In March 1908 attention was drawn to the imprisonment in Odessa of a Mr. Luxenburg who was a naturalised British subject. His sister was reputed to be a well-known revolutionary and indeed he was charged by the Russian authorities with spreading revolutionary propaganda. At that time Odessa was declared to be in a state of siege. Following his release from custody he sought due compensation. After many references to this man's case in the House of Commons, it was not until November 1908 that Mr. McKinnon Wood,<sup>16</sup> the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was able to bring the matter to a conclusion. Despite the fact that Luxenburg had been mistakenly imprisoned, 'serious harm' caused to him, and the long delay in petitioning for compensation, McKinnon Wood's parliamentary reply was that the Russian Government would '... admit no responsibility as of right, but intimate that some compensation may be accorded in an unofficial manner, and as an act of grace.'<sup>17</sup> Happily for Mr. Luxenburg the Tsar

saw fit to give him 5,000 roubles,<sup>18</sup> as reported to the House of Commons in March 1909, one year after his initial arrest.

With the exception of Nicholas Tchaikovsky, all the aforementioned examples were of British subjects having problems with the oppressive regime in Russia, and even he was such a long-term resident in England that one finds it hard to understand the British official stance. The existence of the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907 did not seem to improve the situation regarding the treatment of British subjects suspected of acts contrary to the interests of the Tsarist autocracy.

In 1911–1912 the case of Miss Katie Malecka caught the prolonged attention of both the House of Commons and *The Times*. In April 1911 John Whitehouse<sup>19</sup> raised in parliament the fate of Miss Malecka who had been imprisoned in Warsaw. She was a music teacher resident in that city. The Russian authorities charged her with ‘conspiring against the Russian Government’ as she had become ‘a member of the [illegal] Polish Socialist party.’<sup>20</sup> On ‘entering Russia, she expressed herself very strongly on political matters.’<sup>21</sup> Anyway, Miss Malecka was tried and found guilty. She was sentenced on 10<sup>th</sup> May 1912 to four years penal servitude, involving the deprivation of all civil rights, to be followed by exile to Siberia for life.<sup>22</sup> The Tsar was petitioned to show clemency, which he subsequently granted, on condition that she be expelled from Russia. The issue had been protracted by the complication concerning Malecka’s nationality. She had been born in Britain and held a British passport and was therefore undoubtedly a British subject. Nevertheless, because her father had become a naturalised British subject, without the permission of the Russian authorities, she was also considered by those authorities to be a Russian subject while in any part of Russia.

Besides John Whitehouse, many other Radical MPs spoke on her behalf, such as Christopher Addison,<sup>23</sup> Ryland Adkins,<sup>24</sup> Noel Buxton,<sup>25</sup> Sir William Byles,<sup>26</sup> Edmund Harvey,<sup>27</sup> Joseph King,<sup>28</sup> Hugh Law,<sup>29</sup> H.F.B. Lynch,<sup>30</sup> Ramsay MacDonald,<sup>31</sup> Philip Morrell,<sup>32</sup> Arthur Ponsonby,<sup>33</sup> A. MacCallum Scott,<sup>34</sup> William Thorne<sup>35</sup> and Josiah Wedgwood.<sup>36</sup> They chose to use the issue to attack the apparent sluggishness of the Foreign Office.<sup>37</sup> They felt that the latter were subordinating British interests to the maintenance of the Anglo-Russian Entente. Additionally they disliked the lack of democracy, in that someone could be legally punished for merely holding and expressing Socialist beliefs. Finally, the sentence seemed extremely harsh, whether it be for a woman or not. Amongst the many implications involved, the Radicals felt irritated by the stand of Sir Edward Grey and the Foreign Office; they announced themselves shocked that a British subject could be treated thus by a foreign state and distressed by the apparent lack of humanitarian concern for the freedom and well-being of an individual.

### (III)

The Malecka case also cast light on the fate of the minority races within the Russian

Empire. The Russian authorities maintained that the severity of her crime was not to be underestimated, as she had belonged to an illegal organization that sought the independence of Poland from Russia. Indeed she had been asked

... whether she wanted to see Poland actually independent, [to which] she replied in the affirmative, but added that it was a dream. She never imagined that the expression of such a wish would be made the basis of a charge against her.<sup>38</sup>

British Radicals appreciated the plight of the Poles, the Finns, and those who lived in the Caucasus and in the Baltic Provinces within the autocratic empire, and the deliberate efforts at their Russification. The assimilation of those peoples was a slow process, based on the idea of favouring those who learnt the Russian language and made the greatest effort to adopt Russian culture. Those who resisted were severely repressed by the judicial and military systems. During the period 1900-1914 the autocratic system chose to direct its greatest attention to eliminating the few distinctive privileges that were left to the Finns. Consequently most writings by British Radicals about the oppression of the minority races tended to be about the Finns and surprisingly little about the Poles.

H.N. Brailsford<sup>39</sup> wrote in 1912 that 'The tragedy of Finland ... is that it is by race, by religion, by culture, and by its political traditions an integral part of free Europe.'<sup>40</sup> He maintained that, unlike the Poles, it had a representative constitution which the Tsarist autocracy was attempting to eliminate. Brailsford dated the commencement of the Russification policy in Finland to as recently as 1899. He maintained that by 1903 dictatorial powers had destroyed the people's liberties. The Russo-Japanese war and subsequent revolutionary upheavals gave a brief respite so that in 1905 autonomy was restored. A new constitution gave the Finns universal suffrage, for men and women alike, based on proportional representation. By June 1908, however, autocracy had re-asserted itself by the regulation that the Russian Cabinet should henceforth exercise the right to veto all Finnish legislation. The power of the autocracy was such that this new measure had neither the initial sanction of the Finnish Diet nor even of the Russian Duma itself. The Finnish Diet vainly protested and was consequently dissolved. By a bill of March 1910, the Russian Prime Minister P. Stolypin<sup>41</sup> declared that the Duma would forthwith deal with Finnish taxation for Imperial purposes, all military matters and the rights of Russian subjects in Finland; it would also consider education, the criminal law, freedom of the press, coinage, postage, railways, navigation and the right of free association. Even so, a Tsarist ukase could extend those controls. Brailsford described other changes in Finnish affairs and saw them as part of '... a slow process of partition and strangulation. Poland has endured it for more than a century. But in Finland the Russian bureaucracy is destroying not merely a nationality, but a community ...'<sup>42</sup>

H.W. Nevinson<sup>43</sup> registered his knowledge of changes in Finland in his journal. On 17<sup>th</sup>

December 1911 he recorded the fact that he attended an Anglo-Finnish<sup>44</sup> gathering at the home of Malmberg-Volkovsky<sup>45</sup> and that opponents of the Russian system were there such as Miss Travers<sup>46</sup> and 'A huge Finn [who] sang to a lyre, excellent in comedy & sweetness [while] Finn Reuter was there, cold & uncertain.'<sup>47</sup> In March 1912 Nevinson paid a visit to the '... Strand hotel to meet Capt Hultin the Finn, who was very genial & pleased to see [him.] But brought bad news of the country. ...'<sup>48</sup> Such typical emotional responses from a Radical contrast sharply with the highly pragmatic style of non-Radicals. Prime Minister Asquith, for example, in writing to J.A. Spender<sup>49</sup> in May 1910 at the time of Stolypin's new oppressive laws against Finland, compared the situation with Ireland:

I am talking to Benckendorff to-night, & he is seriously concerned as to the effect which the singularly silly manifesto of a lot of our M.P.'s on the Finnish question may have in Russia.

It is really as if half or more of the Duma had sent us a similar expression in favour of Home Rule.

Asquith expressed the hope that Spender would be able to write something which would balance or negate the British image portrayed by the MPs' manifesto.<sup>50</sup>

No less than 120 MPs signed the first of two memorials protesting against the autocratic moves to reduce Finnish independence. Those who signed came from all British political parties and included a long list of Radicals.<sup>51</sup> A separate memorial was signed by 43 Irish Nationalist MPs.<sup>52</sup>

Asquith's view, however, that the memorials would be tantamount to interfering in Russian internal affairs was upheld by one of the leading British authorities of the day on Russia, namely Bernard Pares.<sup>53</sup> He wrote in the reactionary *Novoye Vremya*,<sup>54</sup> regarding the two memorials, that

... while very many Britons regret the proposed Russian action in Finland, the great majority consider any interference in the internal affairs of Russia unwarranted, intolerable, and calculated only to aggravate the difficulties of Finland.<sup>55</sup>

This statement prompted the Radical writer G.H. Perris<sup>56</sup> to criticize Pares. Perris claimed that Pares ought not to have presumed to have spoken for 'the great majority' or set himself against so many MPs. He, Pares, was neither a member of the House of Commons nor of the Duma. Perris pointed out that the memorials were signed by those who sought

... no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of a foreign country, but with the sole aim of maintaining those conditions which are most favourable to the development and

strengthening of friendly relations and a good understanding between the Russian and British nations, which have so many interests in common.<sup>57</sup>

#### (IV)

Bernard Pares was not a Radical and the same could be stated of most of the British experts about Russia in the period 1900–1914. Those who also exhibited non-Radical tendencies were the *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent in Russia, E.J. Dillon,<sup>58</sup> in addition to Maurice Baring<sup>59</sup> and Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace.<sup>60</sup> The Radicals, amongst whom could be counted Hagberg Wright,<sup>61</sup> were in the minority yet again.

Likewise, when looking at the Radicals, it was the same few names that contributed to awareness about the minority races in Russia as seen in the publication *Free Russia*, which was the official organ of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom. David Soskice<sup>62</sup> and G.H. Perris were regular contributors. H.N. Brailsford, according to *Free Russia*, gave a special article about Poland to the *Morning Leader* in 1905.<sup>63</sup> In turn he was the subject of an article concerning his Passport Case in the August-October number of *Free Russia*.<sup>64</sup> The situation in the Caucasus received written comment by Luigi Villari<sup>65</sup> in the December 1905 issue,<sup>66</sup> and contributions from the *Manchester Guardian* in the August-October number.<sup>67</sup> In the case of the Caucasus, one could almost cynically take H.A.L. Fisher's<sup>68</sup> comment of 1897 to Gilbert Murray<sup>69</sup> and apply it to other parts of Eastern Europe and to Russia: 'Of course Russia wants Armenia without the Armenians.'<sup>70</sup>

Naturally a very important question is how did the Radicals know what was happening in Russia? What were their sources of information and how reliable were they? Very few people travelled to Russia for any reason. That huge, distant land had poor communications. It had for most of the year an inhospitable climate from the burning sands of central Asia to the freezing wastes of the north. The Gulf of Finland froze for months and thereby closed the sea route to the capital. For those travelling to Russia by train, one either travelled from Berlin to Warsaw and then into the interior, or else followed the line along the north German coast through Stettin and Danzig to the extremities of the German Empire from where, on crossing the frontier, one needed to take a carriage such as a troika across Courland to reach the capital of St. Petersburg.

Furthermore, the Russian language presented a major barrier to people from Western Europe for even the alphabet is different. Russian and its sister languages of Ukrainian, Polish, Bulgarian, Czech, Slovak and Serbo-Croatian were very little studied anywhere in the West, while Finnish is related only to Hungarian.

Another barrier to a British person understanding Russian culture was the religion. The Russian Orthodox Church had not experienced the effects of the Renaissance, the Reformation or the French Revolution.

When one adds the arbitrary character of autocratic government, as previously outlined,

it is not surprising that many British Radicals chose not to visit Russia. There were many, pleasanter places to travel to, nearer home.

The only people who went to Russia seemed to be intrepid businessmen and newspaper correspondents. Under the encouragement of Count Sergei de Witte,<sup>71</sup> the Russian Minister of Finance, industrialization was making progress, communications were improving (such as the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway 1891–1904), and foreign firms and capital, especially French, were beginning to invest in Russia. In 1901, for example, Sir Howard Vincent, MP for Sheffield,<sup>72</sup> asked the President of the Board of Trade in the House of Commons whether he was

... aware that some firms in Sheffield have been compelled by the Russian duties to erect factories in Russia to sell files and other goods in that empire, and [asked] if the Government proposes to take steps to check the migration of factories, capital, machinery, and skilled manufacturers from this country to ... Russia ... and other countries.<sup>73</sup>

He received a negative reply.

#### (V)

Of all the pre-1914 experts on Russia, Bernard Pares found most favour with those in authority in Britain. He translated many documents for Cabinet use. He paid annual visits to Russia in the years 1898–1899, 1904–1907 and became the first Professor of Russian in Britain, at Liverpool University. In 1907 Sir Charles Hardinge<sup>74</sup> wrote from the Foreign Office to Pares:

Any project which has for its object to make Englishmen and Russians understand and appreciate each other better and to stimulate and develop trade between the two countries cannot fail to meet with sympathy and encouragement on my part, and I fully realise how much remains to be done to attain these ends.

If British trade is to flourish in Russia, knowledge of that country and its people and language must be spread in the United Kingdom, and this can only be done by improving the present very inadequate facilities for Russian study and by supplying trustworthy information on all subjects concerning the country.

So far as I am competent to judge the means by which you propose to realise these aims are well fitted for their purpose, and the progress which you have already made is very gratifying; the principles of division of studies which your scheme embodies seems most practical, and I cordially wish you every success in your efforts. ...<sup>75</sup>

These words were offered in support of the idea of creating a School of Russian Studies at



Liverpool. Further official approval was conveyed to Pares over the ensuing years. In June 1908 F.M. [sic] Ponsonby<sup>76</sup> wrote on behalf of the King, who was at that time at Reval on board H.M.Y. *Victoria and Albert*, to thank him for pamphlets about the study of the Russian language at Liverpool University.<sup>77</sup> In October of the same year, the Faculty of Arts at Liverpool sought to fill the new post of Chair of Russian History, Language and Literature. In the Faculty's supporting statement an outline of Pares's career was given with the comment included that '... it may be stated that Sir Edward Grey has written to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts to say that he has every reason to believe in the fitness of Mr. Pares for the proposed Chair. ...'<sup>78</sup> In July 1909 Edward Grey congratulated Pares on the success of the visit of the Duma members to Britain thanking him for the original idea and the initial arrangements.<sup>79</sup> Six months later Edward Grey wrote to Mr. Lever<sup>80</sup> of the Executive Committee of Russian Studies to state '... that the objects of the Committee meet with my entire approval and that I think that any support which it may receive in achieving those objects cannot fail to improve further the relations between this country and Russia.'<sup>81</sup> Grey proceeded to point out briefly the connections and work done by the Committee, namely that it controlled the work of the School of Russian Studies at Liverpool University; that the General Committee extended over both Britain and Russia; and involved many leading politicians, newspaper editors, university representatives and Chambers of Commerce. Significantly it had handled the initial negotiations for the recent visit of Russian legislators to Britain. Grey then wrote to Bernard Pares a month later expressing the same sentiments to him.<sup>82</sup> Later in the year Grey wrote to Pares again praising the School's project of creating a fund for publishing articles and books about Russia. The Foreign Secretary claimed that '... I am of the opinion that it is of national advantage, and can properly claim individual or general support from any part of England.' He proceeded to claim that the proposed *Russian Review*<sup>83</sup>

... should be an effective way of spreading real knowledge of Russia in England ... [and] that this would be a real service, and would materially help to create better and closer relations, political and economic, between the two countries, founded upon sound public opinion. We shall be glad to take the Review at the Foreign Office.<sup>84</sup>

The final example to emphasize this point that Pares was receiving total official support, is from May 1911, when Arthur Nicolson<sup>85</sup> wrote to inform him that the King gave '... warm approval of a work which has for its object the provision of sound information on Russia for the English public.'<sup>86</sup> These instances of comment from the highest positions in the land regarding foreign affairs, show that from about the time of the creation of the Anglo-Russian Entente, the British Government wanted to take positive steps to improve relations between the two countries other than merely through ordinary diplomatic channels. Bernard Pares was in effect being used by the Liberal Government to further its political ends in its dealings with autocratic Russia.

Additionally, through Bernard Pares and the School of Russian Studies at Liverpool University, the public were to be informed as to matters to do with Russia so that closer ties could be established between the two countries.

The Russians were not slow to respond to use Pares as a channel through which to work. As early as 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1908 the Russian Consul in Liverpool, A. Miller,<sup>87</sup> wrote to Bernard Pares thanking him for his letter of the previous day, accepting the invitation to join the Committee of the Liverpool School of Russian Studies.<sup>88</sup>

Bernard Pares, as Secretary of the Anglo-Russian Committee<sup>89</sup> in London wrote a report on the projected visit of British people to Russia in response to the 1909 visit of the Russians to Britain. In the report, Pares claimed that a return visit of a purely commercial kind was not sought by the Russians before ‘... one which was representative of English public life in general.’<sup>90</sup> In a further letter from Pares, this time to the Archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>91</sup> he maintains that as ‘... the Emperor has picked the date, ... [he] has thus made himself responsible for the Invitation.’<sup>92</sup> This indicates that the British visit to Russia was to have approval at the highest level. In 1910 the British visit to Russia had been postponed from May, the month of the death of Edward VII, due to the political and constitutional preoccupations at home. Bernard Pares claimed that the Tsar was very interested in the signatures on the postponing letter and in drawing attention to several individual names stated ‘This is not only the English Parliament, it is the English public, the English people.’<sup>93</sup> That statement is exactly the impression that most Radicals wanted so much to avoid giving to the autocratic regime in Russia. Many Radicals would have detested those words! The visit took place during 23<sup>rd</sup> January–6<sup>th</sup> February 1912.

That Pares was known and taken notice of by Radicals cannot be doubted. For example, in April 1907 H.W. Nevinson records in his journal that he read Pares’s *Russia and Reform* just published.<sup>94</sup> Nevinson wrote reviews of it, for the *Daily Chronicle* on 11<sup>th</sup> April,<sup>95</sup> and also for the *Nation* three days later.<sup>96</sup> The day he handed in his *Nation* review, he spoke to Brailsford who ‘... rather praised Pares’s book’ and both Brailsford and his wife liked the descriptions of the Russian ‘Intelligence.’<sup>97</sup> Nearly two years later in 1909 G.M. Trevelyan<sup>98</sup> wrote to H.A.L. Fisher referring to Pares. The letter began by claiming that when Edward VII visited Russia ‘... the House of Commons discovered that it knew nothing at all about Russia.’ George, gave his brother Charles Trevelyan credit for forming a House of Commons Russian Committee ‘... to collect and disseminate facts about the internal condition of Russia.’<sup>99</sup> G.M. Trevelyan in the description of the Anglo-Russian Committee associated with Liverpool University admitted that people outside parliament were needed to join it ‘... who know most about Russia such as Bernard Pares.’ Trevelyan states:

We have secured the cooperation[sic] of Bernard Pares, whom you probably know of, a man of immense personal knowledge of Russia, ... We do not suppose that you know much about Russia, but the point is that except Pares and a few more hardly any one

in England does. We have trustworthy sources of knowledge, which Pares, Hagberg Wright and one or two more are well able to criticize and augment. ...

The point of Trevelyan's letter to Fisher was to ask the latter to join the Committee as his name would carry weight. Trevelyan mentioned that Pares, Gooch,<sup>100</sup> Ponsonby and himself '... will be among the most active members.' He claimed to be writing more or less the same letter to Gilbert Murray.<sup>101</sup>

One could question why Pares was choosing to associate with Radicals in this Committee but one must bear in mind that on occasions Radicals and non-Radicals did mix and co-operate. As with the Balkan Committee<sup>102</sup> that considered south-east European matters, committees consisted of both Radicals and non-Radicals because they shared a genuine sympathy and desire to alleviate the suffering of oppressed people. One did not have to be a Radical to have a conscience, though Radicals undoubtedly had much more sensitive ones. As Trevelyan's letter explains '... all take a keen interest in the development of constitutionalism and humane government in Russia ...'<sup>103</sup> regretting that some of the Press were concealing the horrors of what was happening in the Russian provinces. Trevelyan stated that despite the fact that Pares was '... strongly in favour of the Anglo-Russian entente, the King's visit etc, ... [he was] horrified at the way in which that policy has induced the English press to shut its eyes to the realities of the present regime there ...'<sup>104</sup>

## (VI)

Some thorough and determined Radicals wanted to boycott any relations with the autocratic regime, whereas other Radicals, and of course non-Radicals, felt that little was to be gained by such an approach as it would drive the Tsarist regime in on itself. Non-Radicals and moderate Radicals felt that there were the possibilities of influencing and consequently modifying the regime by communicating with it through such means as economic co-operation. The Russian Empire was heavily in debt to western countries at that time, but especially to France, for borrowing money to develop the industrialization process. The opinion was widespread in the more democratic West that economic co-operation, including any further loans, ought to be conditional on the Russian authorities treating their people more humanely.<sup>105</sup> Nevins felt that Russia should be subject to such conditions. In his journal for 18<sup>th</sup> July 1907 he wrote 'Saw Tcherkesoff [a Russian émigré] at 11 & had dispute about a proposal to make England's help conditional on Russia's guarantee of freedom to subject races. The help is already given without conditions. ...'<sup>106</sup>

Maurice Baring was also another non-Radical source of information about Russia for the Radicals. He was one of the 31 people who visited Russia in January and February 1912. In the travelling library that accompanied those visitors to Russia, besides volumes by Russian authors

such as Gogol, Turgeniev, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky and Chekhov, there were four titles by Baring, more than any other non-Russian writer.<sup>107</sup> Baring was totally unimpressed by the approach adopted by British Radicals towards Russia, maintaining in a somewhat superior way, that he knew the real situation in that country and that the British critics were misunderstanding the true nature of things there. He observed:

For instance, when not long ago in the House of Commons it was debated whether or no[sic] the King should pay a visit to the Emperor of Russia, and some one[sic] suggested that were the visit to be cancelled the immense majority of the Russian people would regard it as an insult, and that the Russian peasants bore no ill-will towards the Emperor, but rather complained of the results of a system of government, which in the last few years has undergone and is still undergoing radical change - when such arguments were brought forward some of the Labour Members nearly burst out with ironical cheers. Here, they thought, was the voice of officialdom, Torydom, and hypocrisy speaking.<sup>108</sup>

He claimed that if any of those Labour Members made speeches in Russian villages as they had done in the British parliament then '... they would swiftly be lynched.' Of course the peasants wanted reform and relief from bad government. For Baring the peasant '... is a Russian, and that is a thing which our enthusiastic Liberals entirely overlook, and they overlook it because they do not know what Russia is, or what a Russian is.' Baring claimed that Liberal critics of the situation in Russia were removed from the facts and 'soar in wide spaces of theory [and that] ... the ignorance of British Liberals on the subject makes me sick.'<sup>109</sup>

## (VII)

Apart from British people who visited Russia, the Radicals also obtained information about what was happening in that country from those who left the autocratic State to take up residence in Britain. The émigrés consisted, amongst others, of Nicholas Tchaikovsky,<sup>110</sup> Sergei Kravchinsky,<sup>111</sup> Prince Kropotkin,<sup>112</sup> Paul Vinogradoff<sup>113</sup> and Felix Volkovsky.<sup>114</sup>

Nicholas Tchaikovsky had escaped from Russia in 1871 to avoid the consequences of his having been found guilty of belonging to a 'treasonable society,' the purpose of which was to circulate legally acquired books among the intellectual and lower classes. Translations of Mill and Spencer were examples of the type of material for the distribution of which he could be sent to Siberia. Following 36 years of exile he quite naturally wished to take advantage of the new mood sweeping Russia in 1905, and in particular of the amnesty, which gave him the right to return without asking for official authorisation. He chose to enter Russia in 1907 under an assumed name and using someone else's passport. He was arrested on 11<sup>th</sup> November

and locked up in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. Many charges were levelled against him, including visiting in 1907 people in Moscow and elsewhere, who were considered by the authorities to be revolutionaries.<sup>115</sup>

N. Tchaikovsky's daughter, Barbare, wrote to John Burns,<sup>116</sup> the Radical minister at the Local Government Board, in December 1907, asking him to approach Edward Grey with a view to seeking reasonable prison treatment for her father.<sup>117</sup> The following day the 'International Arbitration & Peace Association'<sup>118</sup> also wrote to Burns about the same matter and with the same sentiment.<sup>119</sup> Memorials were prepared on his behalf from both sides of the Atlantic requesting that he be treated with due consideration to his age and his poor health. A British memorial consisted of ten pages of signatures. Lord Courtney<sup>120</sup> was amongst nine peers who signed it along with eleven bishops, four deans and more than forty MPs' amongst whom were Albert Spicer<sup>121</sup> and Charles Schwann.<sup>122</sup> Four pages of people involved in educational and scientific activities existed, accompanied by a page of judicial notaries. In religion and philanthropy, Dr. John Clifford,<sup>123</sup> R.J. Campbell<sup>124</sup> and George Cadbury<sup>125</sup> signed the memorial. *Free Russia* wrote that '... perhaps the completest list is that of literary men, dramatists and artists.'<sup>126</sup> H.G. Wells<sup>127</sup> and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle<sup>128</sup> were amongst them.

Of the letters to *The Times* about Tchaikovsky, one was from Gilbert Murray, who expressed the exasperation of many in his request that the prisoner ought to be brought to trial or released. He drew attention to the unwillingness of the Foreign Office to do anything, '... however friendly or informal ...'. What Radicals disliked so much, apart from the apparent lack of evidence in Tchaikovsky's case, which indicated his arbitrary arrest, was the prolonged suffering resulting from being kept in jail for months. This was a case where Radicals could declare their strong humanitarian feelings. The *Daily News* correspondent in the Russian capital wrote on 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1908:

"What people in England cannot understand," I said [to M. Makaroff, one of the Assistant Secretaries for Home Affairs] "is the detention of M. Tchaykovsky in the fortress for six months without trial. When will the trial take place?"<sup>129</sup>

On 4<sup>th</sup> June 1908 a second British memorial was submitted, this time to the Russian Prime Minister, Stolypin.<sup>130</sup>

Sergei Kravchinsky, otherwise better known simply as 'Stepniak', lived in Britain from 1884 until his death in a railway accident in December 1895. His mention is particularly necessary for he worked with Dr. R. Spence Watson, the latter finding the sponsorship that enabled the formation and continuation of the 'Society of Friends of Russian Freedom' dating from 1890. Their purpose lay in '... exposing the official injustice of the Tsarist government and of acquainting the British public with the plight of political, religious and ethnic dissenters within the Russian Empire.'<sup>131</sup> The Society's publication, which began in June 1890, was *Free Russia*.

Stepniak edited it until his death five years later.

The man who worked so closely with, and who succeeded him as Editor of *Free Russia* was Felix Volkhovsky. Indeed, *Free Russia* only survived his death in August 1914 by six months.<sup>132</sup> Besides his involvement in that publication, he also mingled with other revolutionaries to learn about and spread their ideas in Britain on behalf of those still suffering in Russia from the autocratic system. The mix of revolutionaries during this period can be appreciated from Volkhovsky's acquaintance with the Chinese revolutionary, Dr. Sun Yat-sen.<sup>133</sup> The latter gave Volkhovsky in 1897 a copy of his book *Kidnapped in London*, based on his confinement in the Chinese Legation in the British capital. The book also contained Sun's revolutionary thoughts about China at that time. As a result of the publicity surrounding the temporary imprisonment and subsequent release of Dr. Sun, his activities became known in Britain.<sup>134</sup>

Mention of Prince Kropotkin is necessary too, amongst the leading Russian émigrés in Britain, for his contact with British Radicals. He spent the period 1886–1917 living in Britain where he produced such works as *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* and *The Terror in Russia: An Appeal To The British Nation* in 1909. Like most émigré writings the latter work consists of long and detailed accounts of atrocities committed by the authorities in Russia on dissidents. But what is significant about this publication is that it was issued by 'The Parliamentary Russian Committee.' H.W. Nevinson was a Radical who read Kropotkin.<sup>135</sup> An example of actual contact between a Radical and Prince Kropotkin is contained in a couple of letters in 1909. On 17<sup>th</sup> September Kropotkin's daughter, Sasha, in the absence of her father, wrote to Arthur Ponsonby thanking the latter for his inviting her parents to lunch. She explains that her mother would have liked to come but '... is awfully busy - she is arranging for a Bazaar in aid of the Siberian Fund. - Bazaars are a recurrent nightmare with us!' Sasha asked to come instead of her mother and expressed a strong desire to meet Prince and Princess Bariatinsky.<sup>136</sup> The next day Kropotkin wrote to Ponsonby thanking him for the invitation and agreeing to meet him on the following Wednesday in the House of Commons. He likewise expressed pleasure at the prospects of meeting the Bariatinskys' '... whom I know already very well, indirectly, through Commons friends.'<sup>137</sup> In *The Pillars Of Society* by A.G. Gardiner,<sup>138</sup> Kropotkin is described as '... an Ajax defying the lightning of despotism, ...'<sup>139</sup>

The last Russian émigré of particular note in significantly influencing the Radicals was Paul Vinogradoff. He could also be said to have achieved the most 'respectable' position in English society of any of those named above. At the age of 33, on publication of his doctoral thesis, he was promoted to the rank of a full Professor of History at Moscow University. He had visited England for the first time when he was 30 years old in 1883–1884. Other visits to Britain and to western European countries followed for him to collect historical material. However, he wished to see Russian universities free from State control. He did not wish to be a State agent and felt it to be intolerable to submit reports on his students' views to the police. As many students held advanced or revolutionary views, disturbances frequently occurred. In 1901 Vinogradoff

attempted to mediate between the students and the University authorities by providing not only a bill dealing with students' organizations but also by establishing a professional committee free from government control, which would deal with the students' grievances. As the scheme failed to get the approval of either the University head or of the Minister of Public Education, Vinogradoff resigned his post. He came to England and in 1903 was elected to the Corpus Chair of Jurisprudence at Oxford which required him '... to lecture and give instruction in the History of Laws and the Comparative Jurisprudence of different nations ...'<sup>140</sup> Consequently, he was in close touch with H.A.L. Fisher who was an historian at Oxford at that time. Vinogradoff visited Russia on other occasions but found it not to his liking. In 1911 while on such a visit he heard that the Rector of the University of Moscow and two other officials had lost their Chairs. On 16<sup>th</sup> February he wrote 'Of course I do not wish to continue to be a professor in an institution the members of which may be dismissed at a moment's notice by the Government.'<sup>141</sup> Consequently, about 60 lecturers and professors resigned their positions rather than have police spies in their lecture rooms. When the Great War commenced he was 59 years old. Fisher wrote of his attitude that:

It was naturally a deep satisfaction to him to know that Russia was leagued with the democratic powers in the contest against Germany. What he desired for his own country was the establishment of the rule of law and constitutional freedom, blessings which he now expected to flow from such a war in such a cause and with such allies.<sup>142</sup>

During the World War he gave valuable assistance to the British Foreign Office with regard to Russian affairs, and was knighted in 1917.<sup>143</sup>

These Russian émigrés, with the exception of Paul Vinogradoff, had revolutionary tendencies. They also all contributed to *Free Russia*, the publication already mentioned in passing, as the organ of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom. The paper was issued monthly from its beginnings in 1890 until 1898, when it was decided that it would not appear in several issues during the summer months of July-October, but as a single issue. After 1898, each summer it varied in its output, but not at the rate of a single issue per month.

A measure of Radical involvement in *Free Russia* can be ascertained from examining the issues of the momentous year of 1905. In the February output the names of the 'General Committee Of The Friends Of Russian Freedom' were listed. Some well-known Radicals amongst them were The Countess of Carlisle,<sup>144</sup> W.P. Byles, J.E. Ellis,<sup>145</sup> L.T. Hobhouse,<sup>146</sup> Thomas Lough MP, Joshua Rowntree,<sup>147</sup> James Stuart MP,<sup>148</sup> Mrs. Graham Wallas<sup>149</sup> and H.J. Wilson. Additionally G.H. Perris and the Brailsfords were part of the Executive Committee.<sup>150</sup> Somewhat ominously the same issue began by the Honorary Treasurer, Dr. R. Spence Watson,<sup>151</sup> requesting that members donate more money.

Spread through the March, May and June 1905 issues were the lists of subscribers and the



amounts donated to the Russian Relief Fund. Of the 409 sums given, amounting to £886 0/-3d, only 20 came from individuals who could and did choose to donate £10 or more. It is interesting to see the names of so many Radicals amongst them.<sup>152</sup> They clearly saw the Fund as yet another deserving cause of humanitarian need.

Besides contributing financially to *Free Russia* and to its appeals, the paper sometimes quoted Radicals speeches and activities. For example, in the January-April 1914 issue, an article appeared 'On Behalf of the Political Prisoners of Russia' which outlined an International Manifesto drawn up by Karl Liebknecht,<sup>153</sup> Member of the German Reichstag and signed by many Europeans. It lists some signatures from Austria, Denmark, England, France, Germany and Sweden. Of the 18 quoted names from Great Britain the following Radicals were named: Ramsay MacDonald MP, Josiah Wedgwood MP, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Gilbert Murray, H.W. Nevinson, Bertrand Russell,<sup>154</sup> G.M. Trevelyan, H.G. Wells, Hagberg Wright, T. Fisher Unwin<sup>155</sup> and Mrs. Cobden Unwin.<sup>156</sup> The Radicals wished to read about Russia, and so *Free Russia* was of interest to them, as they were handicapped from being unable to read the material in the original language. Consequently the Radicals obtained their information about the autocratic regime second-hand, hence the enhanced importance of those few people who could read Russian - E.J. Dillon, Bernard Pares and others. As H.A.L. Fisher wrote in July 1910: 'I am going through a course of Russian Revolutionary literature - in English of course (How Rosalind will despise me!) and feel I should like to have shot a Tsar or two. ...'<sup>157</sup>

The Radicals met and exchanged ideas with the Russian émigrés throughout the period 1900-1914. For example, H.N. Brailsford wrote to Gilbert Murray in 1904 that 'Today ... our house is the public address of the Russian revolutionary organisation!'<sup>158</sup> Enthusiasm for knowing about Russia was reflected in Nevinson's journal in January 1912 when he wrote that he 'Returned in [the] evening to meet the Soskices there [at the Brailsford's] & had coffee & discussed Russia for hours.'<sup>159</sup> And the next day his journal entry reads 'Went late to Russian discussion at Mrs. Mathessin, Hagberg Wright, Soskice, Reuter, Malmberg, Tchaikovsky[sic], & others. No great hope from it all. They wanted me to write a pamphlet, of course.'<sup>160</sup> Five months later, Barbare Tchaikovsky in writing to Arthur Ponsonby about the need for hospital treatment for Malatesta, referred to the MPs' Thomas Lough, Ramsay MacDonald and Josiah Wedgwood in the same letter with Mrs. Kropotkin. Barbare Tchaikovsky's letter to Ponsonby ends:

May I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to you not only now but for a long time past?

Your persistent protest against Russian brutality has caused you some social inconvenience but believe me your action is stored up in many an unknown heart for all time.<sup>161</sup>

The circulation of ideas about Russia from the émigrés, of course also occurred with non-



Radicals. G.W. Prothero,<sup>162</sup> in Oxford, recorded in his journal for a Sunday in May 1914 that having worked in the morning he ‘... walked to Iffley to lunch with Vinogradoffs at Court Place ... V. gave me information about Russia. ...’<sup>163</sup>

### (VIII)

The Radicals did not look askance at everything emanating from Russia. In keeping with their admiration for pacifism and aestheticism they greatly admired the ideas of Count Leo Tolstoy. For example, the Radical G.H. Perris wrote several books about Tolstoy and his ideas. The picture of the full-bearded, elderly man, dressed in peasant smock, and yet known to be one of Russia's greatest literary figures, appealed to the Radicals' sense of Romanticism. Additionally, the fact that the Russian government chose not to act against him, for fear of the widespread unpopularity that would ensue, gave the impression of an individual triumphing over the system. Tolstoy's emphasis on the liberty of the individual vis-à-vis State bureaucracy is well expressed in a paragraph from an article in *The Times* of 11<sup>th</sup> March 1905:

I regard not only the Russian Government, but all Governments, as intricate institutions, sanctioned by tradition and custom for the purpose of committing by violence and with impunity the most dreadful crimes of murder, robbery, intoxication, stultification, deprivation, exploitation of the people by the wealthy and powerful; and therefore I think that all the efforts of those who wish to improve social life should be directed to the liberation of themselves from Governments, whose evil, and above all, whose futility, is in our time becoming more and more obvious. This object is, in my opinion, attainable by one, and only one, unique means - the inner religiously moral perfecting of separate individuals.<sup>164</sup>

### APPENDIX

(from footnote 83)

### THE RUSSIAN REVIEW

In a draft, undated, fund-raising letter entitled ‘Suggested letter from Members of the Anglo-Russian Committee and others in support of the publication scheme of the School of Russian Studies [of Liverpool University]’ it was pointed out that Sir Ernest Cassel gave in memory of King Edward VII £200,000 for the promotion of better relations between England and Germany. The document then stated that ‘The similar work which can be done in the case of Russia is at least of equal national importance. It would be an equally fitting memorial of the late King,

who expressed great interest in this work, and was himself the greatest promoter of friendship between England and Russia.' Then followed the claim that only an 'adequate financial basis is required' in order that the planned work be carried out. A Publication Fund would be administered financially by the Executive Committee of the School of Russian Studies and used:

- '1. For the publication of books and translations on Russia
2. For issuing a "Russian Review".'

Following comments made about 1 above, indicating that the works would be intended for the English general public, it was stated:

The "Russian Review" is designed as a source of information for a special public, e.g., some Government Offices, Members of Parliament, Chambers of Commerce, Libraries and Universities, and Editors and writers of newspapers and periodicals. It will at first be quarterly; and in addition to contributions by the Members of the School [of Russian Studies at Liverpool University], it will contain articles by Russians of high standing, for instance, Mr. Homyakoff (Ex-President of the Duma), Mr. Alexeyenko (President of the Budget Committee of the Duma), several Members of the Duma, ... .

The Review, which will be published at 10/- yearly, must be able to count on the support of regular subscribers. The publication fund as a whole cannot be sustained without substantial donations or guarantees. In view of the amount of work to be done, it is very desirable that the School should as early as possible be able to capitalise a sum producing at least £400 a year. (Pares Papers 39, undated, but certainly written after 6<sup>th</sup> May 1910, pp. 1-3)

In a proof statement for publication regarding financial matters it was claimed that the *Review* would be 'bi-monthly, and later monthly; ...' and that '... it would contain: articles broadly political, or on subjects of economic, historical, or literary interest; ...' (Pares Papers 39, undated, but written in the year after the visit of some Duma members to England, p. 2). The ordering of the listed subjects is significant. The project was unashamedly of a politically-motivated nature. On the first page of the advert for the *Review* it was written: 'The English reader has had to derive his ideas about Russia either from casual and often very inaccurate newspaper correspondence, or from occasional works of a serious character, which do not give a perspective of Russia as a whole. It is only Russian literature and Russian music that have so far been at all adequately dealt with in England.' The postage paid, annual pre-paid subscription, was for 4 numbers of the *Review* to be issued quarterly at 96 pages each [B5 size]. (Pares Papers 39, undated, but prior to 1912 and the issuing of the First Number of the *Review* in that year, p. 1) And again, the primacy of political considerations was emphasized by the perceived subordination of economic aspects to politics: 'There will be a chronicle prepared with care from several sources, Russian and English, giving a perspective of the chief recent events. Particular attention will be devoted

to economic questions, which in Russia are very important both for themselves and as being the chief factors in the political progress of the country.’ (Pares Papers 39, undated, but prior to 1912 and the issuing of the First Number of the Review, p. 2) The contents of the First Number were advertised to be:

Looking back over Forty Years	Sir D.M. Wallace
The Imperial Duma and the Land Settlement	Sergius Shidlovsky [Member of the Imperial Duma]
Leo Tolstoy	Aylmer Maude
The Russian National Problem	Harold Williams
Local Finance Reform in Russia	A.I. Shingarev [Member of the Imperial Duma]
The New Land Settlement in Russia	Bernard Pares
Recent Financial and Trade Policy in Russia	W. Höffding
Chronicle (including a Summary of the Fourth Session of the Duma)	

From the beginning, the Editors of the *Review* were Bernard Pares, Maurice Baring, and Samuel N. Harper [American – son of the first President of Chicago University.] The publishers were Thomas Nelson and Sons of 35 & 36, Paternoster Row, London.

A draft, undated letter [written by Bernard Pares, with a view to inviting members of The Anglo-Russian Committee in London to attend a meeting in Lord Weardale’s house at 3, Carlton Gardens S.W. on 21<sup>st</sup> May 1914] stated that there was a need to secure ‘a stable financial basis for the continuance of the “Russian Review” and for the promotion and publication of English studies on Russia.’ Pares continued: ‘... it is at present conducted under financial conditions which it will be impossible to continue.’ (Pares Papers 39, p. 1) This was followed up after the 28<sup>th</sup> of the same month 1914, when the tenth quarterly Number was issued, with a written request for assistance from interested parties clearly indicating that the financial Achilles Heel was proving distinctly painful. ‘The accounts of the Russian Review have shown a deficit from the start of about £200 per annum. This deficit has so far been met by the Liverpool School of Russian Studies, but it is impossible that the School, with so many calls on its resources, should continue to meet this charge.’ A plea for subscriptions for the next three years is made, with the stated expectation that more permanent arrangements would be established by then. (Pares Papers 39, pp. 1–2).

Another undated document leads us to the understanding that to a certain extent this problem was not surprising, for the original idea of 96 pages per issue had been exceeded to the point of as many as 200 each. Members of the Duma had contributed along with three Presidents of the same:

three Vice-Presidents, four Chairman or Vice-Chairman of Committees, three party leaders and several other members;

Two successive Rectors of Moscow University and several distinguished Russian professors;

The Director of the State Archives and curators of other learned institutions;

Leading experts on Russian Studies, English, German and American.

Almost all the contributions had been given without remuneration. The political angle was pointedly made: 'It is suggested that, in view of the public interest in foreign policy and the Triple Entente, this information is not only useful but necessary.' Undoubtedly, the Radicals would have preferred to have had a reference to the maintenance of European peace, rather than this partisan attitude. Pares and the others at the School of Russian Studies at Liverpool were Foreign Office lackeys.

Indeed, with regards to the School, the staff had not been paid for half of each year for their translation and editing efforts. Apparently, the School had used funds that had been intended originally for University equipment. The annual cost of producing the *Review* was £20, to which was to be added £200 as the salary for the St. Petersburg Editor, Dr. Harold W. Williams (New Zealander, 1876–1928). [Also in St. Petersburg was an agent, Mrs. Sturek, who was paid annually £20. (Pares Papers 39 'STAFF OF THE "RUSSIAN REVIEW"').]. So that explained the deficit referred to above of £200. The Treasurer of the School, Mr. A.H. Milne, made it clear that adequate financial support had to be found outside the University if the *Review* was to continue after June. This document ends with the statement that the annual subscription 'will not meet the emergency. It is essential, if the Review is to be continued, that substantial guarantees for a period of five years or longer should be obtained, ...'. The appended signatures were the Chairman of the Anglo-Russian Committee in London; the Chairman of the School of Russian Studies of Liverpool University; the Senior Member of the same; and its Secretary, Bernard Pares. (Pares Papers 39, pp. 1–2). Why had the financial situation not been dealt with previously? The *Review* was being run in a most unbusiness-like fashion. Looking at the '... SALES, RECEIPTS, AND EXPENSES STATISTICS' (Pares Papers 39) for the first two years of output it is obvious that a financial imbalance was occurring. Of the 8 issues, only No. 2, that of April 1912, was leaning in the right direction. With all the other issues more copies were given away free than were sold. In a document entitled 'Copies of the "Russian Review" are sent to:' (Pares Papers 39) it was written 'Free copies are sent to all the leading English papers and periodicals.'

Of the contributions to the *Russian Review*, of Western writers, Pares led the way with four sole articles, that were in issues 1,3,5 and 8. Dr. H.W. Williams gave 3 (issues 1,5 and 10). Of East European contributors, and specifically representing Polish interests, Roman Dmowski, Leader of the Polish bloc in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duma gave 'The Political Evolution of Poland' (8,9 and 10). Only two others contributed as many as 3 articles, G.E. Afanasyev, previously of Kiev University (5,6 and 8); and of the corresponding members, Professor Peter Struve of the Polytechnicum in St.

Petersburg and Editor of *Russian Thought* (2,6 and 8). The rest of those interested in writing for the *Review* gave 2 or fewer. Pares's political articles were: 'The Peterhof Conference of 1905'; 'Conversations with Mr. Stolypin'; 'Onlookers at the Duma' (with F. Bennet, foreign correspondent in St. Petersburg); his sole-authored economic topic, 'The New Land Settlement in Russia'. Additionally, he also did solely 'Translations from Krylov' under the Literature section; as well as being co-author of verse renditions. (Pares Papers 39, 'STAFF OF THE "RUSSIAN REVIEW",' pp. 1-2; and also 'ARTICLES CONTRIBUTED TO THE RUSSIAN REVIEW [Nos. 1-10].', pp. 1-7).

The *Russian Review* ceased publication due to the lack of funds. In December 1916 '(3) Professor Pares estimates the cost of reviving the "Russian Review" at £500 a year; the whole would not fall on Liverpool but Liverpool should give or lead.' (Pares Papers 39, LIVERPOOL SCHOOL OF RUSSIAN STUDIES[.] REPORT of the Special Committee appointed to consider the financial requirements and future development of the School. p. 4). But by that time the War had changed so much. The same document had begun:

Until recently the Liverpool School of Russian Studies was the only School of Russian Studies in the [British] Empire. The possibilities of greatly extended relations with Russia created by the War and our alliance with that country, have given rise to a deep and widespread interest in Russian Studies in Great Britain. In a number of our great cities and University centres important schemes for the promotion of such studies have been set on foot. Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Glasgow, London, Cambridge, have recently sought the advice and assistance of the Mother School in Liverpool in connection with such schemes. We have lost without regret our unique position, but we should not abandon our leading position. This we shall do unless a great effort is made without delay.

Furthermore, Russia was militarily exhausted following the failure of the Brusilov offensive of the previous summer (June-September). Revolution was to occur in just two months hence, signalling the end of the Tsarist Empire and the beginning of the end of that State's involvement in the international conflict. It could be argued that the *Russian Review* had served its time and purpose.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> For a definition of the term 'British Radicals', see the articles listed at the end of the text of this publication.

<sup>2</sup> The author of this article is not to be associated in any way with the political viewpoints of the Radicals expressed herein.

The author of this article wishes to express profound gratitude to the University College London School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES) for having been granted access to the papers of B. Pares.

- <sup>3</sup> See for example: Sidney Low, 'The Foreign Office Autocracy' in *Fortnightly Review* (January 1912), pp. 1–10.
- <sup>4</sup> D. McLean, 'English Radicals, Russia, and the fate of Persia 1907–1913' in *English Historical Review*, Vol. 93, (April 1978), p. 339.
- <sup>5</sup> Protestant groups that originated in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in southern Russia. Influenced by German Baptists, Pietists, Mennonites and Spiritual Christians. As with all heretical sects their origins are associated with access to Bibles from the 'British and Foreign Bible Society'. Their name comes from the German *Stunde* ('hour') because of the practice of setting aside 60 minutes for bible study. Understandably, they do not keep *Ikons* in their homes. During the 1890s, thousands were exiled to the Caucasus and Siberia.
- <sup>6</sup> As with the Stundists they look to the Bible for their source of inspiration, and are also pacifists. Supposedly a Spiritual Christian group of southern Russian origin according to records dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, though some scholars think maybe even the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As they rejected the methods of the Tsarist Government, the Russian Orthodox Church - including its priests, icons and rituals, they were persecuted in the 1890s. During the years around the turn of the century about 7,500 migrated to western Canada.
- <sup>7</sup> 'The guard.' This is a modern abbreviation of 'The Department for Protecting the Public Security and Order' otherwise known simply as 'the guard department'. It was a secret police force in Tsarist times dating from 1881, though an earlier form had been created as early as 1866 following an assassination attempt on Alexander II. It was part of the police department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), aided by the Special Corps of Gendarmes. Its aim was to counter terrorism and left-wing revolutionary activity. It operated on an international scale, being especially interested in Russian revolutionaries abroad, most notably in Paris. Those it arrested were handed over to the Russian judicial system. It adopted a wide range of techniques, including police-run trade unions, the reading of private correspondence, covert operations, and using *agents provocateurs*, torture, etc.
- <sup>8</sup> *Hansard*, vol. 64, col. 1436, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1914.  
Fact spoken by Joseph King (1860–1943), Liberal MP for North Somerset, January 1910–1918 when retired. Then joined the Labour Party. Barrister. Author of *Electoral Reform: an inquiry into our system of Parliamentary representation* (1908); and with F. W. Raffety: *Our Electoral System: the demand for reform* (1912); and other works on political and foreign affairs.
- <sup>9</sup> *Hansard*, vol. 153, col. 83, 5<sup>th</sup> March 1906.
- <sup>10</sup> *ibid*, vol. 154, col. 860, 26<sup>th</sup> March 1906.
- <sup>11</sup> *ibid*, vol. 178, col. 916, 18<sup>th</sup> July 1907.
- <sup>12</sup> *ibid*, vol. 170, col. 965, 7<sup>th</sup> March 1907.
- <sup>13</sup> *ibid*, vol. 170, col. 1419, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1907.
- <sup>14</sup> Nicholas W. Tchaikovsky (1851–1926). He stated on the 1891 census at College Terrace in College Road, Harrow, Middlesex that he was a 'Professor of Russian', and then on the 1901 return 'Consulting Chemist'. According to the 1901 census he had two daughters and two sons – the females being born in the U.S.A., and one son born at Harrow, with the youngest in France. According to the 1901 census, he claimed British status for all his children, and American citizenship for himself and his wife.

Chemistry student at St. Petersburg University 1868–1872. Member of 'Circle of Tchaikovsky' – a radical student group holding revolutionary, socialistic views. Twice arrested. Circle's educational character evaporated in favour of revolutionary and terrorist inclinations. Left Russia in 1874 for the U.S.A. where for two years he unsuccessfully sought a communal political and religious orientation in Kansas. Then worked in a shipbuilding yard, and in a sugar factory near Philadelphia. Spent a year with the Shakers. Returned to Europe in 1879 and started living in England in 1880, where he renewed his participation in Russian

revolutionary activities, e.g. supplying revolutionary literature to Russia. During the 1905 upheavals in his motherland he went to the U.S.A. to lecture on the situation and raise funds for anti-Tsarist purposes. In 1907 he returned to Russia and not surprisingly was arrested and incarcerated in the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul in St. Petersburg. After having spent some months there he was bailed by his British and American friends for £5,000. In 1910 he was tried and released for lack of proof. He stayed in Russia where he showed great interest in co-operative organizations. During the First World War he worked for the Russian Red Cross supplying food to those in the conflict zone. Subsequently, he opposed the Bolsheviks, being particularly active in the Archangel region. He was sent to the Versailles Conference to represent the North Region of Russia and was a member of the 'Russian Political Delegation' until its conclusion in February 1921. He died at Harrow five years later, aged 75.

<sup>15</sup> *Hansard*, vol. 193, col. 1754, 30<sup>th</sup> July 1908.

<sup>16</sup> Thomas McKinnon Wood (1855–1927), one of the few Radicals who achieved high office during the period of Liberal Governments 1906–1915. Liberal MP for St. Rollox division of Glasgow 1906–1918 when defeated. Parliamentary Secretary to Board of Education, April–October 1908; Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs 1908–1911; Financial Secretary to Treasury 1911–1912; Secretary for Scotland 1912–1916; Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster and Financial Secretary to Treasury, July–December 1916; Privy Councillor 1911. Wrote articles in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and reviews.

<sup>17</sup> *Hansard*, vol. 196, col. 1400, 19<sup>th</sup> November 1908.

<sup>18</sup> i.e. £500. n.b. a quarter of Malecka's bail. See *The Times* 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1911, p. 8.

<sup>19</sup> John Howard Whitehouse (1873–1955), Liberal MP for mid Lanarkshire, January 1910–1918 when defeated. Parliamentary Private Secretary to Lloyd George 1913–1915. Lifelong interest in school education. Founder of Bembridge School 1919 of which he was Headmaster until 1954. Founder of the Ruskin Society of which he became President in 1932. Prolific writer: *Problems of a Scottish Provincial Town (Dunfermline)* (1905); *Report of an Enquiry into Working Boys' Homes in London* (et al., 1908); *Camping for Boys* (1911); *Problems of Boy Life* (edited, 1912); *A National System of Education* (1913); *Essays on Social and Political Questions* (1913); *Belgium in War: a record of personal experiences* (1915); *Educational and Social Experiments, conducted under the auspices of the Reform Trust* (1916); and many works about John Ruskin; etc.

<sup>20</sup> 'Polish Socialist Party' was founded in Paris in 1892 holding a clear left-wing political agenda. In the following year the Party known as the 'Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania' split away from it. The latter Party was more revolutionary and communist than the former. The Polish Socialist Party was more nationalist and orientated towards Polish independence. From its inception the Polish Socialist Party strove for the fulfilment of a programme hostile to the Tsarist State, and for that matter to the interests of the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires. The aims were for an independent republic of Poland; freedom of the press, speech and assembly, amongst many other political, socio-economic, and fiscal things. Following the events of 1905, the active Polish Socialist Party membership rose from just a few hundred to a movement of about 60,000. As a result of a further split in the Party in 1906, the 'Revolutionary Faction' following Józef Piłsudski pursued more vigorously the nationalist and independence aims than the 'Left Faction' that allied itself with the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. The Revolutionary Faction achieved supremacy and renamed itself back again to that of the Polish Socialist Party. (In 1918, the Left Faction was to eventually merge with the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania to form the 'Communist Party of Poland')

<sup>21</sup> *Hansard*, vol. 24, col. 1774, 26<sup>th</sup> April 1911.

<sup>22</sup> *The Times*, 11<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> May 1912, p. 8.



- <sup>23</sup> Christopher Addison (1869–1951), Liberal MP for Hoxton division of Shoreditch, January 1910–for Shoreditch in December 1918–November 1922 when defeated. Labour MP for Swindon division of Wiltshire, May 1929–October 1931 when defeated; and then again October 1934–November 1935 when defeated. F.R.C.S. England. Lecturer specializing in Anatomy at Sheffield 1893–1901, Charing Cross Hospital 1901–1906, and at St. Bartholomew's Hospital 1906–1910. Hunterian Professor and Examiner in Anatomy to the Universities of Cambridge and London. Chairman of Board of Intermediate Medical Studies of the University of London. Secretary of Anatomical Society and Editor of *Quarterly Medical Journal*. His political career was launched as a result of the financial security coming from his first wife (m. 1902–died 1934). The period of his early political success, 1910–1917, was attributable to his relationship to Lloyd George. Parliamentary Secretary to Board of Education, August 1914–May 1915. Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of munitions, May 1915–December 1916. Minister of Munitions, December 1916–July 1917, when replaced by Winston Churchill. He later regretted this change – he was somewhat 'sidelined' to accept the new portfolio of heading the Ministry of Reconstruction. His greatest achievement in that role was to establish a permanent Ministry of Health. However due to calculated slowness and even indeed outright strong opposition from his own colleagues as well as Conservatives many ideas remained unrealized, including the 'homes for heroes' promised by the Government for ex-servicemen and their families. Privy Councillor 1916, etc. Prolific writer: *The Sheffield Medical Journal*, etc., (*The Quarterly Medical Journal*, vols. 8 & 9 edited by Addison) (1892, etc.); *Ellis's Demonstrations of Anatomy* (12<sup>th</sup> edition, revised and edited by Addison, 1905); *With the Abyssinians in Somaliland*, etc. (with James W. Jennings, 1905); *The Health of the People and how it can be improved*. From a speech delivered 6<sup>th</sup> February, 1914 (University of London Press: London 1914); etc.
- <sup>24</sup> William Ryland Dent Atkins (1862–1925), Liberal MP for Middleton division of Lancashire 1906–1918 and Prestwich division of Lancashire 1918–1923 when defeated. Barrister 1890; Recorder of Nottingham 1911, and of Birmingham 1920; JP and Deputy-Lieutenant for Northamptonshire.
- <sup>25</sup> Noel Edward Buxton (1869–1948), Liberal MP for Whitby division of North Riding of Yorkshire, June 1905–January 1906 when defeated; then for North Norfolk, January 1910–December 1918 when defeated. Labour MP 1922–June 1930 when created a Baron and changing name to Noel-Buxton. In 1902, with his brother Charles, H.N. Brailsford and Lord Bryce, founded the Balkan Committee of which he became Chairman. Founded the Macedonian Relief Committee 1903. Succeeded Lord Bryce as President of the Balkan Committee 1907. As a result of the Agadir crisis he joined Anglo-German Friendship Committee 1911. House of Commons Armenian Committee 1913. Helped form Liberal Foreign Affairs Committee having 70 members in dissatisfaction with Foreign Secretary Grey's attitude towards Germany and the Balkans. Following outbreak of 1914 War, Noel and Charles went to Romania to try to persuade Bulgaria to join Britain or at least remain neutral. In Bucharest they were both shot at by a Turk, and despite being wounded carried on with their eventually unsuccessful mission. Became a member of the Union of Democratic Control to which he donated generously. Joined Labour Party 1919. Condemned Peace of Versailles and Balkan Treaties as morally wrong and revengeful. Privy Councillor 1924. Prolific writer: *Temperance Reform* (with Walter Hoare 1901); *Macedonian Massacres* (with Victoria De Bunsen 1907); *Europe and the Turks* (1907, and 2<sup>nd</sup> edition revised with new material 1912); *With the Bulgarian Staff* (1913); *Travels and Politics in Armenia* (with one of his brothers, the Reverend Harold Buxton 1914); *The War and the Balkans* (with one of his brothers, Charles Roden Buxton 1915); etc.
- <sup>26</sup> William Pollard Byles (1839–1917), (Advanced) Radical MP for Shipley division of Yorkshire 1892–1895 when defeated; then for North Salford 1906–October 1917 when he died. Journalist – chief proprietor of *Bradford Observer*, which his father had founded.



- <sup>27</sup> Thomas Edmund Harvey (1875–1955), Liberal MP for West Leeds, January 1910–November 1918 when defeated; then for Dewsbury, December 1923–October 1924 when defeated; then as an Independent Progressive for Combined English Universities, March 1937–June 1945 when retired. Assistant in British Museum 1900–1904. Member of London County Council 1904–1907. Deputy Warden and Warden of Toynbee Hall 1904–1911. Parliamentary Private Secretary to Ellis Griffith 1912–1913; then to Charles Masterman when Financial Secretary to Treasury 1913–1914. A member of the Radical Foreign Affairs Committee. An ardent lifelong Quaker of convincing rhetoric, he opposed Grey's arguments for Britain's involvement in war in 1914. Spoke on behalf of conscientious objectors. Prolific writer: *The Rise of the Quakers* (1905); *Founder of the Society of Friends. The Journal of George Fox* (1911, edited from the MSS. by N. Penney, with introduction by Harvey); *A Wayfarer's Faith: aspects of the common basis of religious life* (1913); *A Guide to the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913* (by the solicitor John and S. Wormald, preface by Harvey, 1914); etc.
- <sup>28</sup> Joseph King (1860–1943), Liberal MP for North Somerset, January 1910–1918 when retired. Barrister 1889. Prolific writer: *Nesting Boxes for Birds* (being The Peasant Arts Pamphlet no. 1, 1899); *Guide to Switzerland*, etc. (Macmillan Guide Books, introduction by King, 1903); *The School Manager 1903. (The School Manager's Handbook, 1904–1905.) A handy guide for the management of public elementary schools, with the Education Act of 1902, etc.* (in two parts, 1903 and 1904); *Electoral Reform: an inquiry into our system of Parliamentary representation* (1908); *Our Electoral System: the demand for reform* (with F.W. Raffety, 1912); *Empire and Craftsmanship. One of the problems of the new Delhi* (1913); *Filius Nullius* [Nobody's Child] (1913); *The Russian Revolution. The first year.* (Union of Democratic Control pamphlet no. 26a, 1918); *Our Policy towards Russia. What it has been and what it might be* (Union of Democratic Control pamphlet no. 33a, 1919); *Why does Killing go on in Russia? A scathing exposure of the Allies' efforts to crush new Russia, etc.* (Reformers' Bookstall, 1919); etc.
- <sup>29</sup> Hugh Alexander Law (1872–1943), Nationalist MP for West Donegal 1902–1918 when retired. Served the secretariat of Ministry of Munitions 1915–1916; then in News Department of Foreign Office 1916–1918; then on Advisory Council of Ministry of Reconstruction 1918. A JP for County Donegal.
- <sup>30</sup> Henry Finnis Blossie Lynch (1862–1913), Liberal MP for Ripon division of Yorkshire 1906–January 1910 when defeated. Merchant. Publications: *Constantinople in 1887* (T.K. Lynch, edited by H.B. Lynch, 1895[?]); *Mountain Climbing* (1897); *Armenia. Travels and studies* (2 vols., 1901); *Russia, India and the Persian Gulf* (J.D. Rees Under Secretary to the Government of Madras, with speeches by Lynch, 1903); *The Future of British Relations with Persia* (1908); *Europe in Macedonia.* (Being 5 articles reprinted from the *Morning Post*, with additionally the leading article thereon by the *Morning Post*, 1908); *Railways in the Middle East* (1911); *The Importance of Persia, etc.* (1912).
- <sup>31</sup> James Ramsay MacDonald (1866–1937), Labour MP for Leicester 1906–1918; then for Aberavon division of Glamorganshire, November 1922–May 1929; then for Seaham division of County Durham, May 1929–October 1935 when defeated; then for Scottish Universities, January 1936–November 1937 when he died. Secretary to Labour Party 1906–1912; Chairman of Labour Party 1911–1914; Leader of Labour Party 1922–1931, from which then expelled; Leader of National Labour Party 1931–1937; Trustee of the Treasury, First Lord of Treasury, 1<sup>st</sup> Labour Prime Minister, and Foreign Secretary, January–November 1924; First Lord of Treasury, Prime Minister, June 1929–1935; Lord President of the Council, June 1935–May 1937; Privy Councillor 1924. Journalist – Editor of *The Socialist Review*. Prolific writer: *The New Charter: a programme of working class politics, etc.* (1892); *Southampton Parliamentary Election. Work and vote for J. R. Macdonald* [sic], etc. (MacDonald's address to the electors, 1895); *The People in Power* (1900); *The Zollverein and British Industry* (1903); *Notes on Organisation and the Law of Registration and Elections.* (with A. Henderson, 1904); *Women in the Printing*

*Trades: a sociological study* (ed. Macdonald[sic], 1904); *The Socialist Library* (ed. MacDonald, 1905); *Socialism and Society* (1905); *Socialism* (1907); *The New Unemployed Bill of the Labour Party* (1907); *Labour and the Empire* (1907); *Character and Democracy* (1907); *The House of Commons, its place in national history* (by J.H.B. Masterman, one of its Introductions by Macdonald[sic], 1908); *Socialism To-day*[sic] (1909); *Socialism and Government* (2 vols. 1909); *Tariff-ridden Germany. A visit of enquiry* (in *Daily News*, 1909); *Our Scots Noble Families* (by T. Johnston, Editor of the *Forward*, with Preface by Macdonald[sic], 1909); *The Awakening of India* (1910); *The Socialist Movement* (Home University Library, 1911); *Socialism and the Servile State. A debate between Messrs. H. Belloc and J.R. Macdonald [sic]*. (1911); *Margaret Ethel MacDonald, 1870–1911* (Biography of his late wife, 1911); *The Autobiography of a Working Woman* (by A. Popp, with Introductions, one of which by Macdonald[sic], 1912); *Mr. Chamberlain as a Social Reformer* [Life of Joseph Chamberlain] (1912); *Syndicalism. A critical examination* (1912); *The Social Unrest: its cause & solution* (1913); *The Fundamental Unity of India* (by R.K. Mookerji, with Introduction by Macdonald[sic], 1914); *Memoir of James Keir Hardie, M.P., and tributes to his work* (by three authors, one of which was Macdonald, 1915?); *The War and the Far East* (1915); *War and the Workers. A plea for democratic control* (Union of Democratic Control pamphlet no. 8, 1915); *National Defence: a study in militarism* (1917); etc.

<sup>32</sup> Philip Edward Morrell (1870–1943); Liberal MP for Henley division of Oxfordshire 1906–January 1910 when defeated; then for Burnley, December 1910–1918 when defeated. Member of solicitors firm *Philpot and Morrell of London and Oxford*.

<sup>33</sup> Arthur Augustus William Harry Ponsonby (1871–1946); Liberal MP for Stirling Burghs, May 1908–December 1918 when unsuccessfully contested Dunfermline Burghs as an Independent Democrat; then sat as Labour MP for Brightside division of Sheffield, November 1922–January 1930 when created Baron Ponsonby of Shulbrede. Page of Honour to Queen Victoria 1882–1887; diplomatic service at Constantinople 1894–1897, and Copenhagen 1897–1900; Foreign Office 1900–1902 when left because his radical suggestions for reforms proved unwelcome; Private Secretary to Henry Campbell-Bannerman, 1906–1908; Chairman of the Liberal Party's Foreign Affairs Group 1914; one of the founders of the Union of Democratic Control 1914; strong critic of Versailles Treaty; Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, January–November 1924; Parliamentary Under-Secretary Dominions Office, July–December 1929. Resigned from Labour Party 1940 on formation of National Government. Strong pacifistic tendencies. JP. Prolific writer: *The Camel and the Needle's Eye* (regarded as his most noteworthy writing concerning how 1.5m oppress the other 38m people in Britain, 2 vols. 1909–1910); *The Decline of Aristocracy* (1912); *Democracy and the Control of Foreign Affairs* (1912); *Democracy and Diplomacy: a plea for popular control of foreign policy* (1915); *Parliament and Foreign Policy* (Union of Democratic Control pamphlet no. 5, 1915, revised ed. known as *The Control of Foreign Policy*, U.D.C. pamphlet no. 5a, 1918); *Wars and Treaties, 1815–1914* (with wife Dorothea, 1917); *Rebels and Reformers: biographies for young people* (1917); *Peace Overtures and Their Rejection, December 1916–March 1918. (A Misrepresentation Exposed. Sequel to "Peace Overtures and Their Rejection.")* (with E. D. Morel, 2 parts, Union of Democratic Control pamphlets nos. 27a and 28a, 1918); etc.

<sup>34</sup> Alexander MacCallum Scott (1874–1928); Liberal MP for Bridgeton division of Glasgow, December 1910–November 1922 when defeated. Joined Labour Party 1924. Secretary of the League of Liberals against Aggression and Militarism 1900–1903; Barrister. Private Secretary to Lord Pentland, Secretary for Scotland 1909–1910; a founding executive member of the Liberal Foreign Affairs Group 1911; Member of Speaker's Committee on Electoral Reform 1916–1917; Parliamentary Private Secretary to Winston Churchill, Ministry of Munitions 1917–1919, and Secretary for War 1919. Made frequent visits to Russia and Finland. Prolific author: *Winston Spencer Churchill* (a biography, 1905); *The Truth about Tibet* (1905); *Through Finland to St.*

*Petersburg* (1908); *Licensing in Scandinavia* (1908); wrote in 1912 on behalf of National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage; *Winston Churchill in Peace and War* (1916); *Beyond the Baltic* (1925); *Suomi, the Land of the Finns* (1926); wrote political articles in *The Observer*, *The People's Journal*, and *Reynolds' News*; etc.

<sup>35</sup> William James Thorne (1857–1946); Labour MP for West Ham South, January 1906–December 1918; then for Plaistow division of West Ham, December 1918–June 1945 when retired. Founder, and General Secretary of National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers 1889–1934; Member of Trade Union Congress (TUC) Parliamentary Committee 1894–1933; President of Trade Union Congress 1912; Successfully amalgamated his Union with the National Union of General and Municipal Workers 1924. Privy Councillor 1945; JP. In 1917 was a Labour delegation member sent to Russia prior to the Bolshevik Revolution where he met Kerensky on occasions. On returning to Britain he narrated his experiences to Lloyd George and even George V.

<sup>36</sup> Josiah Clement Wedgwood (1872–1943); Liberal MP for Newcastle-under-Lyme 1906–April 1919; then for Labour, May 1919–1931; and then though still remaining in the Labour Party, sat as Independent Labour 1931–January 1942 when made Baron Wedgwood. Colonel (Temporary) General Service in Siberia 1918. Privy Councillor 1924. JP. Despite active service in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Boer War, and then during the First World War in Flanders, Gallipoli and in East Africa, was strongly supportive of conscientious objectors. He joined those who opposed Britain's involvement in the 1914 War by being a member of the Union of Democratic Control. Highly critical of the Versailles settlement. Wanted self-government for India.

<sup>37</sup> *Hansard*, vol. 27, col. 778, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1911; col. 951 and 1090, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1911; col. 1108, 5<sup>th</sup> July 1911.

<sup>38</sup> *The Times*, 10<sup>th</sup> May 1912, p. 5.

<sup>39</sup> Henry Noel Brailsford (1873–1958), Journalist, Editor, and author. Educated at Glasgow, Oxford and Berlin Universities. Taught at Glasgow University, then entered journalism becoming Sub-Editor of the *Scots Pictorial*, March 1897. Resigned to join Philhellenic Legion fighting with the Greeks against the Turks. Disillusioned. Wrote his experiences in his first book *The Broom of the War-God* (1898). Sent to Crete by C.P. Scott of *Manchester Guardian*. Failing to get a permanent position with the latter, moved to London to work for *Morning Leader*. During 1899–1909 worked for the latter paper and also the *Echo*, the *Tribune*, and the *Daily News*, all Liberal-leaning daily papers. Furthermore, regularly wrote for weekly *Speaker* and then the *Nation* during H.W. Massingham's Editorship 1907–1923. Nearly all his leader articles for the latter were about foreign affairs, especially Russian, Balkan and Egyptian matters. During the pre-1914 years he was involved in several groups active on behalf of foreign liberal movements. His membership of the Balkan Committee made him an obvious choice to head a British relief team to Macedonia 1903–1904 following the massacres perpetrated there by the Turks. Thereafter he wrote *Macedonia* (1906), his second book, which was a cultural-historical survey of the region. Meanwhile, while in London he associated with foreign revolutionaries. Of particular note was the fact that a Russian Social Revolutionary member procured from him British passports for the purpose of exiles to return to Russia in disguise. One such passport was later found in St. Petersburg on the body of a terrorist killed by his own bomb. After an official protest by the Russian Government, Brailsford was duly tried in July 1905 and found guilty of illegally obtaining the passports, whereupon he was fined £100. Thereafter, Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* distanced himself from Brailsford. His Balkan Committee membership ended, and not surprisingly he was refused permission to travel to Russia during the remaining years of the Tsarist regime. May 1907 saw him associated with the *Daily News* journalist Theodore Rothstein, a Russian Social Democratic individual, who sought his help for raising £500 for the return journey to Russia of party delegates following their conference in London. Lenin and Trotsky were amongst those people. With George Lansbury's help, Brailsford managed to extract from the soap manufacturer and philanthropist Joseph Fels the loan of £1,700 (which was not repaid until after the Bolshevik Revolution

of 1917). Brailsford was on friendly terms with other anti-Tsarist elements, such as David Soskice, later Kerensky's secretary. Also Miliukov, Felix Volkovsky the Social Revolutionary, and the anarchist Prince Peter Kropotkin. Brailsford belonged to the Friends of Russian Freedom, which was the most radical of the groups resisting official British support for the Tsarist Government. He was additionally supportive of the moderate Anglo-Russian Committee, made up chiefly of Liberal journalists. Brailsford moved increasingly to the political left under the influence of such contacts. He was totally opposed to the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907 which he believed would hinder constitutional progress in Russia and enable further Tsarist expansion in Persia. Hence he wrote his views in *The Fruits of Our Russian Alliance* (1912), published by the Anglo-Russian Committee. His pre-war book, *War of Steel and Gold* (1914), claimed amongst other things, that German ambitions should be accommodated. Brailsford opposed the 1914 War not on grounds of pacifism but on the basis that all the Great Powers were to blame. From its start, he was active in the Union of Democratic Control (UDC) which desired a negotiated peace and international post-war disarmament. Opposed the Versailles Settlement, foreseeing that such a vindictive outcome would result in economic collapse and German military re-awakening. Some other notable writings by him: *The Origins of the Great War* (1914); *Belgium and 'The Scrap of Paper'* (1915); *The Russian Workers' Republic* (1921); *Socialism for To-day* (1925); *How the Soviets Work* (1927); etc.

<sup>40</sup> H.N. Brailsford, *The Fruits Of Our Russian Alliance* (1912), pp. 32–33.

<sup>41</sup> Pyotr Arkadyevich Stolypin (1862–1911), Entered Government service 1885; Marshal of the Kovno Governate 1889–1902; promoted 7 times to become a State Councillor in 1901; appointed youngest-ever Governor in Grodno 1902; appointed Governor of Saratov 1903; extremely successful in containing unrest in the area under his jurisdiction in 1905; as a result of which he was appointed Minister of the Interior, April 1906. Appointed Prime Minister, July 1906. Held both positions concurrently until his assassination in Kiev, September 1911. Dissolved Second Duma, June 1907, changing the voting structure to be more in favour of the nobility and wealthy. Consequently the Third Duma was more conservative and therefore more co-operative with the Government. Introduced land reform to try and pacify peasant unrest. Much opposition to him though, (even written directly to by Leo Tolstoy,) resulting in 10 assassination attempts, prior to the Kiev outcome. A new court system of martial law was introduced to deal with opposition resulting in the arrest and speedier trial of accused. Hostile to Rasputin. Stolypin resigned from Duma, March 1911, after the failure of a land reform bill in which he had proposed spreading his system to the south-western provinces of Russia. His legacy, though greatly debated by historians, has been that his land reforms were resulting in a more productive direction, for in 1912 Russia's grain exports exceeded by 30% those of Argentina, the U.S.A. and Canada combined. In December 2012, a monument to him was erected in Moscow, situated near the building where the Russian Cabinet convenes.

<sup>42</sup> H.N. Brailsford, *The Fruits Of Our Russian Alliance* (1912), p. 38.

<sup>43</sup> Henry Woodd Nevinson (1856–1941), Journalist, war correspondent, author, essayist, humanist, and social activist. Studied at Oxford and Jena. Involved with Rev. Samuel Barnett's Toynbee Hall in the slums of London's East End. Friendship with Russian anarchist Prince Peter Kropotkin 1891–. Fought in Crete with the Greeks against the Turks, 1897. There acted as war correspondent for the London *Daily Chronicle* whose Editor was the Radical H.W. Massingham. On returning to Britain recruited to the newspaper's staff where he eventually became in 1899 the Editor of its literary section. Spent three months in Spain during the Cuban War 1898. Visited Ireland. Went on behalf of the paper to South Africa just before war broke out in October 1899. Interviewed most of the Boer leaders. Besieged in Ladysmith during the 118 day siege where he nearly died of fever. Predicted prolonged Boer guerrilla tactics. Horrified at methods of British

retaliation. Employment terminated in June 1903 on grounds of 'staff reductions'. Just before leaving the paper was invited to join newly-established Balkan Committee that was to investigate and report on the recent uprising of Bulgarians in Macedonia against the Turks. Went there in October with Brailsford who was to become a lifelong friend. Subsequently spent much of 1904 in Britain raising money for those suffering in Macedonia. Spent five months in Portuguese African colonies of Angola and islands investigating the slave trade sustaining the cocoa plantations, December 1904–mid 1905. While there he suffered an attempt to poison him and also contracted tropical disease. As a result of his efforts and those of the Anti-Slavery Society in 1914 leading British chocolate manufacturers boycotted their Portuguese sources. *Daily Chronicle* sent him to Russia in November 1905 to cover the revolutionary unrest. In St. Petersburg made friends with Anarchists, Social Democrats, and Social Revolutionists. Interviewed Tolstoy while planning to go south to Georgia. Tolstoy told him that what was happening was not a revolution but the end of the 'age of empires', which included that in Russia where there was no 'community of heart or thought between Russia, Finland, Poland, the Caucasus and all our other States and races'. Nevinson saw peasant villages and the terrible conditions therein. As a result of a strike the train to Georgia was delayed so that he witnessed the violence of Christmas week in Moscow. He visited Kiev and Odessa where there had been pogroms against the Jews. On returning to St. Petersburg met and admired Paul Miliukov leader of the Constitutional Democrat Party. Toured the Baltic provinces. After a short time back in Britain was back in the Russian capital reporting for the *Westminster Gazette* on the newly-formed Duma, May 1906. He felt that the Tsarist regime was determined to block reforms and so on returning to Britain joined other Radicals to try to persuade the Government to deny co-operation with Russia. Returned to Russia for the *Daily Chronicle* and *Harper's* with a manifesto signed by 120 British MPs in support of the members of the dissolved Duma. Nevinson publicly left the Liberal Party because of the Government's 'understanding with the bloodthirsty Tsardom'. Now that he was known to the Russian authorities he turned his attention to India. Tour of the subcontinent October 1907–1908. On returning to Britain joined the staff of the newly-founded *Nation* also under the Editorship of Massingham as the *Daily Chronicle* had been. Nevinson was employed by Massingham for the duration of the latter's Editorship - that is until 1923. During that time he wrote many articles, some being published in book form. Nevinson was also appointed a leader-writer for the leading London Liberal paper the *Daily News* edited by the Radical A.G. Gardiner, June 1908. Sent to Spain to report on the rebellion in Barcelona, after which to North Africa for the Spanish war against the Moroccans. Frictions with Gardiner over the issue of force feeding of women's suffrage members led to his resignation along with Brailsford from the *Daily News*, October 1909. From 1910 onwards centred his interests on Ireland which he visited twice in 1912, and on Europe. Visited the Balkans for 9 months on behalf of the *Daily Chronicle* reporting on the war between Bulgaria and Turkey, and the dispute of Albania and Greece. In 1914 visited Ireland twice and then in late July sent to Berlin by the *Daily News*, from where he escaped on 6<sup>th</sup> August in the British Ambassador's train. Once the initial ban on war correspondents was lifted, he reported on war matters such as the Dardanelles Campaign for the *Manchester Guardian*. Some of his major writings: *A Sketch of Herder and his Times* (1884); *Life of Friedrich Schiller* (1889); *Neighbours of Ours* (1895) - a book of East End of London stories; *Ladysmith, the Diary of a Siege* (1900); *Plea of Pan* (1901); *Between the Acts* (1904) - a book of travels and stories; *A Modern Slavery* (1906) - exposé of cocoa slave trade; *The Dawn in Russia* (1906); *The New Spirit in India* (1908); *Essays in Freedom* (1909); *Essays in Rebellion* (1913); and *Essays in Freedom and Rebellion* (1921); *Changes and Chances* (1923); *More Changes and Chances* (1925); and *Last Changes, Last Chances* (1928) these last three being autobiographical and subsequently abridged in one volume as *Fire of Life* (1935); etc.

<sup>44</sup> The Anglo-Finnish Society held its first meeting on Sunday, 17<sup>th</sup> December 1911, at 77, Holland Park Avenue,

London. The Radical MP Llewellyn Atherley-Jones chaired the meeting. Nevinson was a founding member along with MP Alexander MacCallum Scott, Edward Westermarck, Aino Malmberg, and Rosalind Travers. Scott was elected President. The chief instigators of the Society were the Honorary Secretaries Malmberg and Travers. Malmberg advertised herself as '... the Finnish translator of the works of Rudyard Kipling, Bernard Shaw, Hall Caine and Olive Schreiner ... and a leader of Finland's struggle for liberty'. Travers had relatives in Finland and associated with British left-wing politicians. A *Morning Post* report of the initial meeting stated that as well as speeches, Finnish music was heard. Malmberg stated that the Finns didn't have guns or an army with which to fight for independence, so they could only emanate a knowledge of themselves and through that gain the sympathy of Europe. Travers expressed condemnation at the rumoured Russian idea of opening gin shops in the Finnish countryside. She maintained that most Finns believed in prohibition. A pamphlet for general circulation read:

We desire to found a Society for the convenience of those English people who are interested in Finland and for the various Finns living in this country who are concerned about the welfare of their native land. There appears to be a curious sympathy between Britain and the people of this remote corner of Europe.

Britain is Finland's largest customer ... British economic and sociological writings have much influence upon this alert and progressive race. Moreover, the number of books that have been published here during the last few years are proof of a strong and widespread interest in that country, and those writers who maintained the general sympathy for Finland during the 'bad times' have not lost touch with her since.

We propose therefore, to coordinate [sic] all this diffused interest by means of a Society whose objects shall be (1) to bring together those English people who feel an active sympathy with Finland (2) to unite the Finns now living in this country regardless of their political differences (3) to maintain an impartial record of current Finnish events in some journal (4) to collect a library of general information upon Finland and to act as an unofficial bureau of knowledge concerning the same.

The number of members is unknown. The annual subscription was certainly high at a guinea. The Society had no capital and little income. In July 1912 Malmberg indicated that 15–18 members of the Society intended to visit Finland. At more-or-less the same time a 4–8 pages long bulletin was inaugurated having a circulation of 1,500, most of them for outside the Society's membership. The British Radical paper *The Nation* referred to the Society in July 1913. Though some wanted to minimize politicising the Society, which according to its constitution was to refrain from involvement in political campaigning, others such as Malmberg were strident in expressing their views. She particularly disliked Russophile intellectuals like Professor Bernard Pares. She wrote to another member of the Society, 26<sup>th</sup> April 1913, of an encounter with Pares: 'He was nervous and shaky and assured me a hundred times that he was perfectly impartial'. Malmberg worked in vain to establish a Finnish Parliamentary Committee. Travers was less active - a fact that Malmberg resented. In May 1913 a new Honorary Secretary was elected. The Society ceased on the outbreak of war in 1914.

<sup>45</sup> Aino Malmberg (1866–1933), Finnish writer and politician. Graduated Helsinki 1886. Worked as an English teacher in various schools, then at Finnish Business Institute 1898–1908. Because of her being active in the nationalist movement seeking independence from Russia, and also involvement in the 1905 upheavals, was exiled in 1910. Lived in London where her home attracted exiles not only from Finland but also other countries. Represented the Independent Labour Party at the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Second International in



- Copenhagen 1910. She was a pacifist during the First World War and returned to Finland once it became independent in 1917. Thereafter she paid attention to the lot of the peasantry. A pre-war writing of hers: 'The Political Situation of Finland' in *The Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 2, No. 1, (July 1911), pp. 45–53.
- <sup>46</sup> Rosalind Caroline Travers (1875–1923), Became H(enry) M(ayers) Hyndman's second wife 1914. Some writings: *The Two Arcadias* (1905); *Thyrsis And Fausta, And Other Plays And Poems* (1907); *Letters From Finland August, 1908–March, 1909* (1911); *The Last Years of H. M. Hyndman* (1924).
- <sup>47</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> December 1911, Nevins Journals, MS Eng. Misc. e617/1, p. 29. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- <sup>48</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> March 1912, Nevins Journals, MS Eng. Misc. e617/1, p. 77.
- <sup>49</sup> J(ohn) A(lfred) Spender (1862–1942), Journalist, Editor, and author. Leader-writer for *The Echo* for 5 months 1886. Uncle offered him Editorship of Hull's daily *Eastern Morning News*. Spender brought the struggling paper to profitability only to see his uncle sell it 4 years later in February 1891. Spender returned to London to work as a freelance writer for several papers. He wrote a book about old age pensions that found favour with John Morley. Received offer to become Assistant Editor from E.T. Cook, Editor of the Liberal evening paper the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Only in position for a month as the paper was sold and its staffing changed due to an alteration in its political allegiance. Quickly re-employed by Cook when as Editor the latter began the new evening Liberal paper *The Westminster Gazette* January 1893. Cook was Editor until 1896 when he left to take over *The Daily News*. Spender, who was only 33 years old, succeeded him in becoming Editor of *The Westminster Gazette*. In November 1921 the paper was changed from being an evening to a morning one as a result of falling circulation and revenue. Spender resigned February 1922. This ended his journalistic career and he devoted himself to being an author of nonfictional works. His writings of special importance: *The State and Pensions in Old Age* (1892); *The Life of The Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman* (2 vols., 1924); *The Public Life* (2 vols., 1925); *Life, Journalism and Politics* (2 vols., 1927); *Life of Herbert Henry Asquith, Lord Oxford and Asquith* (with Cyril Asquith, 2 vols., 1932); etc. n.b. The author of this article does not consider him to have been a British Radical as he sought to be and kept very much in favour with the Establishment.
- <sup>50</sup> Asquith to Spender, 13<sup>th</sup> May 1910, Spender Papers, Vol. III. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 46,388. F. 95.
- <sup>51</sup> For example, W. Abraham, C. Addison, P. Alden, J.A. Baker, T. Burt, C.R. Buxton, N. Buxton, W.P. Byles, G.P. Collins, Keir Hardie, A. Henderson, Silvester Horne, T. Lough, Murray Macdonald, Ramsay MacDonald, J. Martin, Arthur Ponsonby, J.M. Robertson, Lees-Smith, G. Toulmin, Josiah Wedgwood and H.J. Wilson.
- <sup>52</sup> *Free Russia*, July 1910, pp. 6–7.
- <sup>53</sup> Bernard Pares, Professor, Sir, KBE (1867–1949), Historian, writer. First visited Russia 1898 at more-or-less the same time he was appointed an extension lecturer at Cambridge. Wrote and researched on Russian history and literature, so appointed Reader in Russian History at the newly-established Liverpool University 1906. Same year, made close contact with leading members of the Duma. Personal association with many leading Russian liberals led to his book *Russia and Reform* (1907). Chair at Liverpool 1908–1917. Organized a delegation's visit to Britain of members of the Third Duma, 1909. With outbreak of 1914 War was appointed official observer to the Russian army and later seconded to the British Embassy in St. Petersburg (Petrograd). Supported the Provisional Government and gave regular lectures to the White troops in Siberia. For his services to Anglo-Russian relations, KBE, 1919. Communists banned him from entering Russia until 1935. Director of newly-founded School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London University, 1919–1939. n.b. The author of this article does not consider him to have been a British Radical as he sought to be and kept very much in favour with the Establishment.
- <sup>54</sup> *Novoye Vremya* was a St. Petersburg newspaper 1868–1917. Until 1869 it appeared 5 times a week, but thereafter every day. From 1881 there were morning and evening editions. A weekly illustrated supplement

was added in 1891. It began as a liberal paper, but following a change of publisher in 1876 became wholeheartedly supportive of the Government. Its anti-Semitic and conservative articles made it one of the country's most popular papers reaching 60,000 copies. Important figures wrote for it, including Anton Chekhov. The salaries and working conditions of the journalists were raised to become better than in other parts of the Russian newspaper world. The Russian liberal intelligentsia ignored it and the Bolsheviks hated it, Lenin closing it down the very next day following the October Revolution.

<sup>55</sup> *Free Russia*, July 1910, p. 8.

<sup>56</sup> George Herbert Perris (1866–1920), Writer and speaker especially on international affairs. Journalist from 1883. Editor *Hull Express* 1885. Ten years on editorial staff of *The Speaker*. Editor of *Concord* 1898–1906. One of the founders and Honorary Secretary of Anglo-German (1905) and Anglo-Russian (1906) Friendship Committees. Foreign Editor of the *Tribune* 1906–1907, and of *Daily News* 1908–1910. Originator and Assistant Editor of 'Home University Library' 1912–1914. War correspondent of *Daily Chronicle* in France 1914–1918. Some writings: *The Eastern Crisis of 1897 and British Policy in the Near East* (1897); *Leo Tolstoy, the Grand Mujik* (1898); *A History of the Peace Conference at the Hague* (1899); *Further Memoirs of Marie Bashkirtseff* (1901); *The Life and Teaching of Tolstoy* (1901); *Blood and Gold in South Africa: An Answer to Dr. Conan Doyle* (1902); *The Protectionist Peril: an Examination of Mr Chamberlain's Proposals* (1903); *Leo Tolstoy* (1903); *Russia in Revolution* (1905); *Vladimir Korolenko* (1906); *A Short History of War and Peace* (in Home University Library series, 1911); *Our Foreign Policy and Sir Edward Grey's Failure* (1912); *Germany and the German Emperor* (1912); *The Industrial History of Modern England* (1914); etc. See biography: Robert Gomme's *George Herbert Perris 1866–1920* subtitled *The Life and Times of a Radical* (2003).

<sup>57</sup> *Free Russia*, July 1910, p. 8.

<sup>58</sup> Emile Joseph Dillon (1854–1933), Journalist, author, and linguist. Fascinated by Oriental languages, he was a great traveller. Russian correspondent for *Daily Telegraph* 1887–1914. Friend of statesman Sergei Witte whom he accompanied to the Portsmouth Peace Conference in the U.S.A. 1905. Reported on Dreyfus trial 1899; Boxer Rebellion 1905; and at Versailles 1919. Holder of three doctorates: in Philosophy (Leipzig); in Oriental Languages and Literature (Catholic University of Leuven); and in Comparative Philology (Kharkov). Of his writings: *The Sceptics of the Old Testament: Job – Koheleth – Agur* (1895); *Maxim Gorky: His Life and Writings* (1902); *The Original Poem of Job* (1905); *A Scrap of Paper: The Inner History of German Diplomacy and Her Scheme of World-Wide Conquest* (1914); *The Eclipse of Russia* (1918); *The Peace Conference* (1919); *Russia Today and Yesterday: An Impartial View of Soviet Russia* (1929); *Count Leo Tolstoy: A New Portrait* (1934); and English translations of some works by Tolstoy; etc. n.b. The author of this article does not consider him to have been a British Radical as he held such pro-Russian governmental sympathies and strong anti-German attitudes.

<sup>59</sup> Maurice Baring, OBE, (1874–1945), A member of the Baring banking family. Travel writer, war correspondent, novelist, essayist, translator and poet. After an unsuccessful start in a diplomatic career, travelled widely, especially in Russia, amongst other things, reporting on the Russo-Japanese War for the London *Morning Post*. Well-known socially, including to some of the Cambridge Apostles. He was a member of The Coterie - a fashionable and famous set of English aristocrats and intellectuals of the 1910s, well publicized in magazines and papers, known for their extravagant parties. Closely associated to the literary group of the Radicals G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc. Baring who had been an agnostic, converted to Catholicism 1909. The strength of his religious conviction was emphatically stated to the Catholic Belloc. Prolific writer: *The Black Prince and Other Poems* (1903); *With the Russians in Manchuria* (1905); *Forget-me-Not and Lily of the Valley* (1905); *Sonnets and Short Poems* (1906); *Russian Essays and Stories* (1908); *Orpheus in Mayfair and Other Stories*



(1909); *Dead Letters* (1910); *The Glass Mender and Other Stories* (1910); *Letters from the Near East* (1913); *Lost Diaries* (being fictional extracts from diaries of notable people, 1913); *Round the World in any Number of Days* (1914); *The Mainsprings of Russia* (1914); *The Puppet Show of Memory* (autobiographical, 1922); *The Oxford Book of Russian Verse* (published by Clarendon, ed. by Baring, 1924); etc. n.b. The author of this article does not consider him to have been a British Radical as he sought to be and kept very much in favour with the Establishment.

<sup>60</sup> Donald Mackenzie Wallace, Sir, KCIE, KCVO (1841–1919); Journalist, Editor, writer. Accepted a private invitation to visit Russia to study the Ossetes, a people of Iranian descent living in the Caucasus. Wallace was in Russia during early 1870–late 1875. His interest changed from his original intention to studying about the Russians. On returning to Great Britain in 1876 he set about writing a two-volumed work about Russia, published in 1877. This was very timely as it appeared just before the Russo-Turkish War began. His book was a very great success, being translated into many languages. Due to this was his appointment as foreign correspondent to *The Times* in St. Petersburg 1877–1878. Then sent to the Congress of Berlin, June and July 1878. In Constantinople 1878–1884, where he studied the Balkan problems. Special mission to Egypt. After travelling extensively in the Middle East, he was chosen as the political officer of the Tsarevich Nicholas in the Indian tour 1890–1891, for which he received the Order of St. Stanislaus 1<sup>st</sup> class. Subsequently Private Secretary to Lords Dufferin and Lansdowne in India. He was attached to Nicholas II during the latter's visit to Great Britain 1909. At various times aided the British monarchy during the reigns of Edward VII and George V. n.b. The author of this article does not consider him to have been a British Radical as he sought to be and kept very much in favour with the Establishment.

<sup>61</sup> (Charles Theodore) Hagberg Wright (1862–1940); Secretary and Librarian of the London Library 1893–death 1940. Publicly active, often in political debates. Interests ranged from colonization of Africa to translation of Leo Tolstoy. A liberal Russophile involved in Russian radical politics. With the London library he concentrated on acquiring works in the fields of literature and the social sciences, almost to the exclusion of other areas of knowledge. As with his previous 3-years work at the National Library of Ireland, he catalogued what was in the London Library. The founding member of the African Society 1901. Enormous admiration for Tolstoy and in order to celebrate latter's 80<sup>th</sup> birthday, Wright became the initiator and secretary of the British committee of an international arrangement, whereby he personally visited Russia in 1908 to hand over a letter signed by more than 700 U.K. admirers. To put this into context, one has to understand that Tolstoy was so out of favour in his homeland that the authorities had banned any birthday celebrations in Russia. Later, Wright provided legal support to Tolstoy's secretary Vladimir Chertkov and his dependents on their emigrating to Great Britain. Wright also welcomed Maxim Gorky, Vladimir Nabokov, and Alexey Tolstoy to London and introduced them to English authors and publishers. Wright was an important member of the Anglo-Russian Committee, which regularly advertised in Britain about Russian political discord. Before the 1914 War he was actively engaged in radical Russian politics, e.g. in 1908 he, Nevinson and Kropotkin campaigned to raise money for the intention of facilitating the escape of the Russian revolutionary Maria Spiridonova (1884–1941) who was serving a life sentence in Siberia. She had murdered a police official 1906. She refused the offer to escape and stayed put. During 1914–1918, Wright contributed humanitarian aid to Russian soldiers and academics.

<sup>62</sup> David Vladimirovitch Soskice (1866–1941); Russian émigré. Several times arrested and imprisoned in Russia before escaping from the country 1893. Involved in anti-Russian activities, mostly in Switzerland and France 1893–1898. Emigrated to England 1898 where he joined the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom and from the summer of 1904 co-edited the mouthpiece of that organization, *Free Russia*. This paper issued a manifesto

in support of people in Russia who felt oppressed by the regime. Funds were raised and sent to that country for the 'victims'. The priest who had led the crowds in their demonstration to the Winter Palace on Bloody Sunday, Georgii Gapon, escaped to England in 1905 and secretly lived mostly in Soskice's home, but also at that of G.H. Perris. During his time in Britain, Soskice earned his living by business, practising law, and writing. Soskice and Perris jointly wrote a book under Gapon's guidance *The Story of My Life* 1905. Soskice became the *Tribune* correspondent for Russia 1906 as Perris acted as Foreign Editor. (This Liberal paper, existed January 1906–February 1908). Secretary of St. Petersburg branch of Anglo-Russian Friendship Committee. Spoke with members of the Independent Labour Party in Trafalgar Square, 25<sup>th</sup> July 1909, against the proposed visit of the Tsar to Britain in August.

<sup>63</sup> *Free Russia*, March 1905, p. 42.

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.*, Aug.-Oct., 1905, p. 102.

<sup>65</sup> Luigi Villari (1876–1959), Italian historian, traveller and diplomat. Worked for the Italian Foreign Office, being Italy's Vice-Consul in New Orleans (1906), Philadelphia (1907), and Boston (1907–1910). Later a newspaper correspondent. Writings: *Italian Life in Town and Country* (1902); *The Republic of Ragusa: an Episode of the Turkish Conquest* (1904); *The Balkan Question: the Present Condition of the Balkans and of European Responsibilities* (1905); *Russia Under the Great Shadow* (1905); *Fire and Sword in the Caucasus* (1906); contributed more than 30 articles to the 11<sup>th</sup> edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1911 relating to Italian history; etc.

<sup>66</sup> *Free Russia*, December 1905, pp. 131–132.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, Aug.-Oct. 1905, pp. 97–98.

<sup>68</sup> Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher OM, FRS, (1865–1940); Historian, educator, Liberal politician. Tutor in modern history at Oxford. One of the Joint Editors, along with Greek scholar Professor Gilbert Murray and Professor J. Arthur Thomson the scientist, of The Home University Library. A member of Royal Commission on Public Services in India 1912–1915. Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University 1913–1917. Elected MP for Sheffield Hallam December 1916–1918 and for Combined English Universities 1918–1926. Appointed President of the Board of Education 1916–1922 during which he oversaw the Education Act 1918 whereby it became compulsory for children up to 14 years old to attend school. Privy Councillor 1916. Appointed first Chairman of the Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors in England and Wales 1939. Of his writings: *The Medieval Empire* (1898); *Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship: Germany* (1903); *The History of England, from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII, 1485–1547* (1906); *Bonapartism; Six Lectures Delivered in the University of London* (1908); *The Republican Tradition in Europe* (1911); *Napoleon* (1912); *The Value of Small States* (Oxford Pamphlets, No. 17, 1914); *James Bryce, Viscount Bryce of Dechmont, O.M.* (biography, 1927); *History of Europe* (3 vols. 1935); etc.

<sup>69</sup> (George) Gilbert (Aimé) Murray, OM, (1866–1957), Professor of Greek at Glasgow University 1889–1899. Elected Fellow of New College, Oxford 1905. Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford 1908–1936. FBA 1910. One of the Joint Editors (1910–1957), along with the Oxford historian H.A.L. Fisher and Professor J. Arthur Thomson the scientist, of The Home University Library. Of his numerous writings and translations: *The Place of Greek in Education* (inaugural lecture at Glasgow University, 6<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1889); *A History of Ancient Greek Literature* (1897); *The Exploitation of Inferior Races in ancient and modern times: an imperial labour question with a historical parallel* (1900); *Rise of the Greek Epic* (1907); *The Early Greek Epic* (1908); *Four Stages of Greek Religion* (1912, increased to *Five Stages* in 1925); *Euripides and his Age* (1913); *How can War ever be right?* (Oxford Pamphlets, 1914); *Thoughts on the War* (Oxford Pamphlets, 1914); *The Foreign Policy of Sir Edward Grey, 1906–1915* (1915); etc. n.b. The author of this article claims that Murray exhibited many ideas associated with the British

Radicals before the outbreak of War in 1914 but was becoming increasingly an Establishment figure. Once War commenced he fell into line with the Establishment, he chose to side with those Radicals who favoured the continuation of the British effort rather than those who placed greatest emphasis on re-establishing peace.

<sup>70</sup> Fisher to Murray, 25<sup>th</sup> March 1897, Fisher Papers, MS Fisher 54. F. 89, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>71</sup> Sergei Yulyevich Witte [also known as Sergius Witte] (1849–1915); Developed efficient methods of transportation of troops and war materials on the Odessa Railways during the Russo-Turkish War 1877–1878. During his time in the Finance Ministry he served as the Russian Director of Railway Affairs 1889–1891, overseeing an impressive programme of railway construction. He aimed at nationalization of the railways. As an adherent to the economic theories of Friedrich List, advocated the need for customs barriers to protect the country from foreign competition in order to foster a strong domestic economy. The new customs law of 1891 greatly aided the process of industrialization towards the end of the century. Alexander III appointed Witte acting Minister of Ways and Communications 1892, thus giving him control of Russia's railways. As tariff reform was enacted by Witte, the economy of the railways improved immensely. Minister of Finances 1892–1903, the department of which oversaw commercial and industrial activity in the Empire (until 1905). It was during this time that he sped-up the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway. Signed a 10 year commercial treaty with Germany, most favourable to Russia 1894. Created a monopoly on alcohol 1895, which turned out to be very lucrative for the State. Major currency reform placed the Rouble on the gold standard, leading to increased investment and a major inflow of foreign capital. Along with other reforms the economy grew well, so that in 1900 manufacturing industry was developing six times faster than in the preceding decade. Opposed to Russian imperial designs of expansion in the Far East. Notionally a promotion, he was removed from his position by his enemies, to act in the somewhat powerless role of Chairman of the Committee of Ministers 1903–1905. Led the negotiating team that signed the Treaty of Portsmouth (U.S.A.) ending the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. As the arrangements appeared more favourable than had been expected, Witte was ennobled as a Count. He petitioned Nicholas II for political reforms to stave off growing agitation in the country, initially partially fulfilled by the reluctant Tsar. Witte argued that the Tsarist regime could only be saved from revolution by the transformation of the country into a 'modern industrial society' in which civil liberties would be guaranteed. 1<sup>st</sup> Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Empire 1905–1906 [i.e. Prime Minister] . Loosing influence with the Tsar, and frustrated in his aims by dissensions in his Cabinet, he resigned. Remained a member of the State Council, but never again had an administrative position in government. Ostracized by the Establishment. Strongly opposed to Russia becoming involved in war in 1914.

<sup>72</sup> (Charles Edward) Howard Vincent, Colonel, DL [also known as C.E. Howard Vincent] (1849–1908); Soldier, barrister, police official, and Conservative politician. Lieutenant in 23<sup>rd</sup> Foot (later Royal Welch Fusiliers) 1871. *Daily Telegraph* correspondent in Berlin 1871. Went to Russia to learn the language and study the country's military organization. Enrolled as pupil barrister (Inner Temple) 1873. Travelled to Turkey where he became acquainted with the politics of the Near East. Again to Russia 1873–1874. Appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of 40<sup>th</sup> Middlesex Rifle Volunteer Corps, then resigning 1878. During the Russo-Turkish War 1877–1878 he was sent by *Daily Telegraph* with the intention of reporting on the Russian army. However, refused permission to accompany that force into action because the Russians knew he spoke their language and were suspicious of him having Turkish sympathies. Heavily involved in police work as Director of Criminal Investigation of the Metropolitan Police 1878–1884. Appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Queen's Westminster Volunteers 1884–1904. For police work awarded CB 1885. Knighted 1896. For being British delegate in Rome on anarchists, KCMG 1898. Elected Conservative MP for Sheffield Central 1885–death 1908. First MP to rally public to oppose immigration and make it a campaign issue. Held many other appointments as well.

<sup>73</sup> *Hansard*, vol. 91, col. 712, 21<sup>st</sup> March 1901.

<sup>74</sup> Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and formerly His Majesty's Ambassador in St. Petersburg.

<sup>75</sup> Pares Papers 39, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1907. See footnote 2, SSEES.

<sup>76</sup> Not to be confused with Arthur Augustus William Harry Ponsonby (1871–1946), in 1930 created 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Ponsonby of Shulbrede, who despite his Establishment background was very much a Radical, see footnote 33 above. Arthur was the youngest of 5 children of Major-General the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Frederick Ponsonby, GCB (1825–1895), who had been Queen Victoria's Private Secretary during 1870–1895. The person referred to in the above text, writing on behalf of King Edward VII, was a courtier who held various posts, including being Assistant Private Secretary to the sovereign 1895–1914, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Frederick Edward Grey Ponsonby, KCB KCVO, later GCB GCVO (1867–1935), in 1935 created 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Sysonby of Womersley in the County of Surrey. He was the 4<sup>th</sup> child of Henry Ponsonby, and therefore more-or-less three-and-a-half years older than his Radical sibling, Arthur. Frederick Ponsonby's godparents were the Emperor Frederick III and Victoria, the Empress Frederick of Germany. Frederick Ponsonby's literary legacy: *Letters of the Empress Frederick* (ed. 1928); *Sidelights on Queen Victoria* (1930); and *Recollections of Three Reigns* (autobiographical, edited and posthumously published 1951).

<sup>77</sup> Pares Papers 39, 10<sup>th</sup> June 1908.

<sup>78</sup> *ibid*, 26<sup>th</sup> October 1908, p. 3.

<sup>79</sup> Pares Papers 59A, 11<sup>th</sup> July 1909.

<sup>80</sup> William Hesketh Lever (1851–1925); Industrialist, known for founding with his younger brother the soap and cleaning firm of Lever Brothers 1885. Sunlight Soap, Lux and Lifebuoy were all his creation. Keen for an expansion of the British Empire in Africa and Asia from where so much palm oil came in order to help manufacture his products. Famously said: "I know half my advertising isn't working, I just don't know which half." Liberal MP for Wirral 1906–1910. Created a Baronet 1911, then Baron 1917, and 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Leverhulme 1922. With regards to his financial contribution to the School of Russian Studies at Liverpool University, he wrote to A.H. Milne, one of the Treasurers: '... I promised Prof. Pares to give £100 a year for five years towards the carrying on of this work, which I now confirm.' (Pares Papers 39, 10<sup>th</sup> February 1910). To have some idea of how much this was: Even when the Chair of Russian had first been proposed by the Faculty of Arts at Liverpool University, suggesting that the Reader Bernard Pares fill the post, article (3) read: 'That the emolument attaching to the Chair be not less than £400 per annum, together with a one-third share of the fees.' (Pares Papers 39, 26<sup>th</sup> October 1908). Just a year after Lever's generous gift, the Faculty of Arts set out to offer a Lectureship (Class C) in Russian Law and Institutions requiring a residence of two terms in each academic year with a salary of just £250 annually. (Pares Papers 39, 11<sup>th</sup> February 1911).

After the successful visit of Duma members to Liverpool, when it came to a proposed return visit to Russia of British-interested parties the following was written: 'Now it is proposed to take a party to Russia in May next [i.e. 1910], ... The Party will be essentially commercial and we shall meet commercial people. I am going to the Foreign Office this week about it. They already know about the idea and like it.' W.H. Lever's name was amongst those in the letter. (Alfred L. Jones (1845–1909) businessman and shipping owner to Sir Christopher Furness (1852–1912) also businessman and shipping owner. Pares Papers 39, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1909). Jones wrote to Pares to state that Lever was, amongst others, '... very enthusiastic about the trip and, whether I go or not, I think it is very likely that they will go.' (Pares Papers 39, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1909). As life and luck would have it, Jones was dead in less than two months and Furness had just three years more to live. As for Lever, his parliamentary career was soon to be curtailed, as he lost his seat to a Conservative in 3–4 months time during

the first General Election of 1910.

<sup>81</sup> Pares Papers 39, 8<sup>th</sup> January 1910, on paper headed 'Foreign Office.'

<sup>82</sup> Pares Papers 39, 10<sup>th</sup> February 1910, on paper headed 'Foreign Office.'

<sup>83</sup> See APPENDIX.

<sup>84</sup> Pares Papers 39, 14<sup>th</sup> December 1910, on paper headed 'Foreign Office.'

<sup>85</sup> Arthur Nicolson, Sir (1849–1928); 11<sup>th</sup> Baronet 1899–1916, when made 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Carnock. British diplomat and politician. Worked in the Foreign Office 1870–1874; diplomatic career in British Embassy in Berlin 1874–1876, Peking 1876–1878, Chargé d'Affaires at Athens 1884–1885, Teheran 1885–1888, Consul-General at Budapest 1888–1893, at Embassy in Constantinople 1894, Minister at Tangiers 1895–1904, British Ambassador to Spain in Madrid 1904–1905, and British Ambassador to Russia in St. Petersburg 1906–1910. After that he was appointed Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs 1910–1916.

<sup>86</sup> Pares Papers 39, 26<sup>th</sup> May 1911.

<sup>87</sup> A. Miller; subsequently Russian Consul in Tabriz, Persia.

<sup>88</sup> Pares Papers 58A, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1908.

<sup>89</sup> According to an undated proof (Pares 39): The Anglo-Russian Committee resulted from the preliminary work, and subsequent visit of Professor Vinogradoff of Oxford University to Liverpool on 4<sup>th</sup> November 1906. The Lord Mayor, Dr. Richard Caton, inaugurated it in the Town Hall on 19<sup>th</sup> November 1907. That brought about the creation of the Department of Russian Studies in the University. The Committee's membership rapidly expanded in England and Russia. The Committee was fundamental in the preliminary negotiations for the visit of the Duma to England. The object of the Committee was proclaimed to be to open up Russia to English study, and thereby assist in drawing closer the intellectual and economic ties between the two countries. The methods were to further the introduction of the study of Russia into English universities; to create good Russian libraries; the interchange of students and of visits of various kinds; and the raising of the standard of information on Russia by the publication of serious books and translations, and if possible of a Journal for circulation amongst its members. The Committee had the explicit backing of Sir Charles Hardinge of the Foreign Office whose accompanying letter could be freely used. No subscription was necessary to belong to the Committee. 48 names of leading local personalities in Liverpool associated themselves by membership of the Committee, of whom 12 were on the Executive Committee. Pares was its General Secretary. 12 were addressed as living in London, one being an Executive Member. 5 resided in Oxford, (one being Vinogradoff); while in Cambridge there were 8. Manchester had 3 names, one of which was an Executive Member. There were single members at Leeds, Sheffield, Macclesfield, and at Glasgow. In Russia at St. Petersburg, membership totalled 24; while there were 5 in Moscow, 4 in Warsaw, 12 others associated with Russia or in its immediate sphere of influence in Persia. Otherwise, one name was of a Professor in Paris; and another of the American S.N. Harper of the University of Columbia New York.

<sup>90</sup> Pares Papers 61, undated 'Report of the Secretary on the projected visit to Russia,' p. 1.

<sup>91</sup> Randall Thomas Davidson, (1848–1930), KCVO 1902, PC 1903, GCVO 1904. Born Edinburgh, parents being Scottish Presbyterians. Well-liked by Queen Victoria. Dean of Windsor 1883–1891, Bishop of Rochester 1891–1895, Bishop of Winchester 1895–1903. Archbishop of Canterbury 1903–1928, being first such to retire, rather than die in office. He was the longest holder of the Archbishopric since the Reformation for which service he was awarded the Royal Victorian Chain. 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Davidson of Lambeth 1928–1930.

<sup>92</sup> Pares Papers 61, undated.

<sup>93</sup> Pares Papers 61, undated. In a circular letter to those invited to be part of the visiting party to Russia.

<sup>94</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> March 1907, Nevins Journals, MS Eng. Misc. e614/1, p. 32.

<sup>95</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> April 1907, Nevins Journals, MS Eng. Misc. e614/1, p. 36.

<sup>96</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> April 1907, Nevins Journals, MS Eng. Misc. e614/1, p. 37.

<sup>97</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> April 1907, Nevins Journals, MS Eng. Misc. e614/1, p. 38. The word 'Intelligence' was used by Bernard Pares to refer to that section of Russian society otherwise known by Maurice Baring as 'Intelligentsia.'

<sup>98</sup> George Macaulay Trevelyan (1876–1962), British historian. Regius Professor of Modern History, Cambridge University 1927–1940. Amongst his many writings, the following pre-Great War ones are particularly relevant with regards nationalistic aspirations for liberty: *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic* (1907), *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (1909), *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy* (1911). See David Cannadine's biography: *G.M. Trevelyan: A Life in History* (1998).

<sup>99</sup> Charles Philips Trevelyan (1870–1958), Sir. Liberal MP for Elland division of Yorkshire 1899–1918; then Labour MP for Newcastle-upon-Tyne Central division, Nov. 1922–Oct. 1931 when defeated as Independent Labour candidate. Educated Trinity College, Cambridge. Charity Commissioner 1906–1908. Parliamentary Secretary to Board of Education 1908–1914. Resigned from the Cabinet in protest at forthcoming war with Germany. During the Great War wrote for the UDC, notably *The Case for Negotiation* (London, 1916). Regarded as very pro-German - even to the point of being considered by some as to be a traitor. Privy Councillor 1924. Succeeded as 3<sup>rd</sup> Bart., 1928. See biography by A.J.A. Morris *C.P. Trevelyan: Portrait of a Radical* (Belfast, 1977).

n.b. The Parliamentary Russian Committee (P.R.C.) was formed as a result of King Edward VII's visit to Reval during the summer, 1908. Charles Trevelyan was the Committee's inspiration. The idea was to inform MPs and the public about all-things Russian. Bulletins, edited by Felix Volkovsky and David Soskice of *Free Russia*, were issued to subscribers. For example, *The Terror in Russia* by Kropotkin was published, 1909. In the early part of that same year, the Committee was increased with Courtney as President. Amongst the extra names were Brailsford, Hobhouse, Ramsay MacDonald, Nevins and Pares. The latter-named was looked to as being the most informed about Russian affairs. The Committee helped to build resistance to the visit of the Tsar to Great Britain in early 1909 by ensuring a parliamentary debate. However, in November of the same year, the enlarged Committee was unable to survive disagreements over the issuing of a pamphlet about Finland. The real reason underlying the Committee's demise was down to factional arguments between those supporting Courtney's approach and those who wanted to be more active. (See Ron Grant's 'British Radicals and Socialists and their Attitudes to Russia: c. 1890–1917' on Internet, Ph.D., Glasgow University 1984. pp. 195–196.)

<sup>100</sup> George Peabody Gooch (1873–1968), Liberal MP for Bath 1906–1910. Educated at King's College (London) and Trinity College (Cambridge). Married in 1903 (Sophie Gabriele Emilie Marie) Else Schön (1880–1958), an art student from Saxony, daughter of Julius Schön of Berlin. Private Secretary to J. Bryce, when latter was Chief Secretary for Ireland. Historian. President of Historical Association 1922–25. President of National Peace Council 1933–36. During the 1914–1918 War wrote for the UDC *The Races of Austria-Hungary* (pamphlet no. 23a). Not satisfied with the Versailles outcome, wishing for revision. Believed that no one single country was to blame for the War, but all carried some responsibility. Nevertheless, commissioned by the Government to publish with Co-Editor Harold Temperley most of the British 1898–1914 diplomatic archives bearing on the origins of the conflict, *British Documents on the Origins of the War* (12 vols., London, 1926–1938).

<sup>101</sup> G.M. Trevelyan to Fisher, 18<sup>th</sup> January 1909, Fisher Papers, 59. F. 87–88.

<sup>102</sup> Initiated by the brothers Noel and Charles Buxton in the summer of 1902 to educate people to the state of affairs then existing in Macedonia. Membership: 1903–1904 85; 1905 83; 1906 87; 1907 95; 1909 102; 1910 95; these figures not counting foreign correspondents and associated individuals. Those involved with the



Committee included MPs, clergymen, business figures, journalists, and writers. The common position held was that the Ottoman Empire had repeatedly failed to reform itself into progressing the well-being and prosperity of the Christian subjects it controlled in the Balkans. Furthermore, that State had repeatedly carried out atrocities against those same peoples, e.g. Constantinople 1821, Bulgaria 1876, Crete 1898, and Macedonia 1903. (The Radicals and others were also aware of outrages perpetrated in Asian parts of the Ottoman realm. The Committee had no reason to believe that the situation would improve, as was to be underlined by the failure of the Young Turks movement to achieve reform, 1908 onwards).

<sup>103</sup> G.M. Trevelyan to Fisher, 18<sup>th</sup> January 1909, Fisher Papers, 59. F. 87.

<sup>104</sup> G.M. Trevelyan to Fisher, 18<sup>th</sup> January 1909, Fisher Papers, 59. F. 87–88.

<sup>105</sup> This is similar to the policy of detente in the 1970s', where better treatment of Soviet dissidents and freedom from oppressive measures for the Jews and others, was linked to grain sales from the U.S.A. to the U.S.S.R.

<sup>106</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> July 1907, Nevinson Journals, MS Eng. Misc. e614/2, p. 2.

<sup>107</sup> Nevinson, had read and written on Pares's *Russia and Reform* in April 1907, and had done likewise the following month to Maurice Baring's *A Year In Russia*. See: 22<sup>nd</sup>–23<sup>rd</sup> May 1907, Nevinson Journals, MS Eng. Misc. e614/1, p. 55.

<sup>108</sup> Maurice Baring, *Russian Essays And Stories* (1908), p. xi.

<sup>109</sup> *ibid*, pp. xii–xiii.

<sup>110</sup> See footnote 14 above.

<sup>111</sup> Sergei Mikhailovich Stepniak-Kravchinsky (1851–1895), Revolutionary and murderer. Known in London's revolutionary circles as 'Stepniak'. Born in Kherson Governate to an army doctor and noblewoman. Attended Military academy and artillery school before joining the army. Reached rank of second lieutenant. Resigned commission 1871. His revolutionary ideas arose from his liberal education and his childhood contact with peasants. Sought to secretly infect the latter with democratic feelings, for which he was arrested in 1874. Escaped. Adopted more extreme position in his resistance to the Tsarist regime. However, went to Balkans in 1874, and two years later joined the rising against the Turks in Bosnia. Wrote a work on guerrilla warfare based on his experiences there. In 1877 joined the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta (1853–1932) in a short-lived, localized rebellion in the province of Benevento. Returned to Russia 1878, joining the organization 'Land and Liberty' in which he helped co-edit the journal. Believed that individual acts of terrorism would persuade the Tsar to introduce political reforms. In St. Petersburg, murdered General Nikolai Mezentsov chief of Gendarme Corps and head of Russia's secret police, 1878. Though in danger, only left Russia in 1880. After residency in Switzerland, came to London 1884. In that city he had two years previously published his book *Underground Russia*, so he was already known of there. Established with Dr. R. Spence Watson (footnote 151) the 'Society of Friends of Russian Freedom' during the winter of 1889–1890, and the Russia Free Press. He was also an Editor for the Society's propaganda publication *Free Russia*. Wrote other works on Russian life and its peasantry, including on Nihilism. Gradually mellowed from belief in achieving reforms through violent means to accepting an approach through constitutional methods, as eventually expressed in his final book *King Stork and King Log*. Killed near where he lived in an accident at a railway crossing at Chiswick, London in 1895.

<sup>112</sup> Peter Alexeyevich Kropotkin (1842–1921), Prince. Anarchist, philosopher, and scientist. Born Moscow into second-highest rank of Russian aristocracy. His father was a Prince in Smolensk and his mother the daughter of a Cossack General. Because of his liking for republican ideas he did not wish to be referred to as 'Prince' from about the age of 12. At 14, he was enrolled in the Corps of Pages in St. Petersburg, 1857. This consisted of 150 boys of the nobility who were mostly associated with the court, who were educated in a military school

that had special rights, but which also acted as an institution attached to the Imperial household. As he grew older he developed an interest in the condition of the peasantry. He was very pleased with Alexander II's emancipation of the serfs, 1861. Nevertheless, he read widely, paying special attention to French history and the writings of the encyclopaedists. In 1862, promoted from the Corps of Pages to the army. In 1864 accepted position in a geographical expedition crossing North Manchuria from Transbaikalia to the Amur River. Undertook another expedition up the River Sungari into the heart of Manchuria. These expeditions produced good scientific results. In 1866 began reading works of anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, as well as political thinkers such as John Stuart Mill and Alexander Herzen. These, along with his observations of Siberian peasants resulted in him declaring himself to be an anarchist, 1872. On resigning his army commission in 1867 his father disinherited him. Did further scientific work, even in Finland and Sweden. Visited Switzerland 1872 and became a member of the International Workingmen's Association. On returning to Russia was introduced by a friend to the Circle of Tchaikovsky, which had been founded in that year. Meanwhile he maintained his position within the Russian Geographical Society to act as a cover while he spread revolutionary propaganda amongst peasants. Arrested and imprisoned for subversive political activity, 1874. In 1876, just before his trial, he was moved to a low-security prison in St. Petersburg from which he escaped. Went by ship to England. After time in Switzerland, moved to Paris where he helped start the socialist movement, then back to Switzerland. Expelled from that country soon after the murder of Alexander II, 1881. After a time in London he was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment in France, eventually being released in 1886. Settled in England from then for the years preceding the Great War. He developed contacts with other émigrés; leading socialists such as William Morris and George Bernard Shaw; and British Radicals. In 1917, after the February Revolution he returned to Russia hopeful of a brighter future, but was nevertheless disillusioned by the Bolshevik Revolution later in that same year. He claimed to want a revolution based on libertarian methods, not authoritarian ones as carried out by the communists. Of his beliefs, he maintained the greater importance of human co-operation over that of competition. Of his writings: *In Russian and French Prisons* (1887); *The Conquest of Bread* (1892); *Fields, Factories and Workshops: or Industry Combined with Agriculture and Brain Work with Manual Work* (1898); *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (1899); *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (1902); *The Great French Revolution, 1789-1793* (1909); etc.

<sup>113</sup>Paul Gavrilovitch Vinogradoff (1854-1925), Sir. Historian and medievalist. Born Kostroma and educated at Moscow University where he studied history, graduating 1875. Scholarship to continue studies in Berlin under Theodor Mommsen and Heinrich Brunner. Became Professor of History at the University of Moscow. Came into conflict with the authorities and left Russia. Settled in England where he continued to study the socio-economic conditions of early England. Appointed Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford 1903, and became a Fellow of the British Academy 1905. Naturalized as a British subject along with his children, 1918. Some important pre-War works: *The Origins of Feudal Relations in Lombard Italy* (1880); *Villainage in England* (1892); *The Growth of the Manor* (1905); *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (1908); *Roman Law in Medieval Europe* (1909); *Essays in Legal History Read Before the International Congress of Historical Studies, held in London in 1913* (1913), etc.

<sup>114</sup>Felix Vadimovich Volkhovsky (1846-1914), Revolutionary, journalist and writer. Involved in radical student politics in St. Petersburg in the 1860s. Co-founded 'One Rouble Society' 1867 dedicated to propaganda and educational work for the peasants. Arrested several times, then moved to Odessa 1873 where he organized a group associated with the 'Circle of Tchaikovsky'. (Of his associates, Andrei Zhelyabov, was later one of the principal organizers of the murder of Tsar Alexander II.) Arrested again 1874. Defendant at the 1878 'Trial of the 193'. Had been involved in 'Land and Liberty' and when that split in 1879, in 'The People's Will'. Exiled to



Siberia, but escaped from there 1889, reaching the U.S.A. Then, made his way to Western Europe and settled in London. Worked for the 'Free Russia Press' and was a close friend and collaborator with Stepniak. Indeed, the latter was on his way to see Volkhovsky in 1895 when he was killed in the train accident. Volkhovsky took over Stepniak's editorial responsibilities with *Free Russia*. Subsequently contributed articles to British and American papers and wrote pamphlets for those in the West who were interested in such anti-Tsarist regime output. He was involved in the 'Society of Friends of Russian Freedom' and after the turn of the century joined the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. He was extremely well-connected with those of like-mind in Russia and in Western European countries such as France and Germany. He facilitated cross-generational understanding of various shades of reformist and revolutionary tendencies.

<sup>115</sup> *Free Russia*, Jan.-March 1908, pp. 8–9.

<sup>116</sup> John Burns (1858–1943), Liberal MP for Battersea 1892–1918. Trained as a mechanical engineer. Member of Council of the Workmen's Peace Society; of the executive of the Social Democratic Federation during the 1880s; and of the executive of the Amalgamated Engineers' trade union. Was a leader in the London docks strike of 1889. Elected to London County Council 1889–1907. Privy Councillor 1905. President of the Local Government Board, Dec. 1905–March 1914. President of the Board of Trade, March–August 1914 when he resigned over the Cabinet decision for the outbreak of war.

<sup>117</sup> Tchaikovsky, B. to Burns, 17<sup>th</sup> December 1907, Burns Papers, Vol. XIX, Br. Mus. Add. Ms. 46,299, F. 361–362.

<sup>118</sup> The IAPA was founded 1880 in London to promote arbitration and peace instead of armed conflicts and force. It tolerated defensive war and claimed to be international. It aimed to become a tribunal that would publish findings on disputes between countries. Its journal was *Concord*.

<sup>119</sup> L. Frederick Green to Burns, 18<sup>th</sup> December 1907, Burns Papers, Vol. XIX, Br. Mus. Add. Ms. 46,299, F. 363–364.

<sup>120</sup> Leonard Henry Courtney (1832–1918), Lord, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Courtney of Penwith 1906. Liberal MP for Liskeard 1876–1885, for Bodmin division of Cornwall 1885–1900. Professor of Political Economy at University College London 1872–1875, Examiner in Constitutional History in University of London 1873–1875. Under-Secretary of State for Home Department 1880–1881. Colonial Under-Secretary 1881–1882. Financial Secretary to the Treasury 1882–1884 when resigned in order to advocate Proportional Representation as opposed to single seat system of the Redistribution Bill. Chairman of Ways and Means (Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons) 1886–1893. Privy Councillor 1889. Opposed Gladstone's Home Rule Bill 1886, and yet was pro-Boer. After Boer War of 1899–1902, came to accept the idea of Irish Home Rule. President of the House of Commons Parliamentary Russian Committee 1909. Considered Edward Grey's foreign policy to be deliberately anti-German. Following the Agadir crisis of 1911 assumed Presidency of the Foreign Policy Committee seeking to express Radicals desire for greater parliamentary and public control over foreign policy. In accepting that position it is fair to say that he had become the leader of the Radicals outside Parliament. However, his absence of dynamism coupled with limited public support led to the ineffectiveness of that Committee as a pressure group. Frequent contributor to periodical press in London; to *The Times*; and the *Nineteenth Century*. Wrote: *The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom and its Outgrowths* (1901); *Diary of a Church-goer* (1904), etc. See: G.P. Gooch's *Life of Lord Courtney* (1920).

<sup>121</sup> Albert Spicer (1847–1934), Sir. Created Baronet 1906. Liberal MP for Monmouth Boroughs 1892–1900, then for Central Hackney 1906–1918 when he retired. Educated Heidelberg. On death of father 1888, co-inherited paper-making company with brother James, turning it into the largest and most productive of its kind in the world. President of London Chamber of Commerce, 1907–1910. Member of Commercial Intelligence Advisory Committee of the Board of Trade, 1907–1917. Privy Councillor 1912. Retired at end of 1924 from paper business of Spicers Limited. Following in his well-known Congregationalist father's footsteps, Albert was

involved in many religiously-orientated endeavours, e.g. being the first lay Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. Writings: Some pamphlets on social questions.

<sup>122</sup> Charles Ernest Schwann (1844–1929), Sir. Created Baronet 1906. Liberal MP for North Manchester 1886–1918. Father had moved from Frankfurt to do business in Huddersfield. Charles became a Manchester merchant - eventually Chairman of Manchester Chamber of Commerce. Privy Councillor 1911. Considered to be an 'Advanced Radical' Liberal who favoured land reform; temperance reform; disestablishment; free trade, etc. By royal License changed surname to 'Swann' 1913.

<sup>123</sup> John Clifford (1836–1923), Baptist preacher, propagandist, writer, and holder of politically Liberal stance. Became powerful influence in Nonconformist movement. President of the London Baptist Association 1879, of the Baptist Union 1888 and 1899, and of the National Council of Evangelical Churches in 1898. Major campaigner against the Boer War 1899, being on the South Africa Conciliation Committee Executive. President of the Stop the War Committee. Critical of British treatment of the Boers, and of the Union of South Africa's negotiated terms because of the unequal treatment of the majority blacks. Main political effort however was from 1903 onwards in his advocacy of passive resistance to the Balfour Education Act 1902. He believed in denying tax contribution for the purposes of the Act which he thought supported denominational religious teaching in schools. Clifford as leader of this movement could be said to have played a significant part in the defeat of the government in January 1906. The succeeding Liberal Government, to Clifford's chagrin, was nevertheless unable to enact a new education measure due to the complexities of the issue. Eventually a compromise was reached in which denominationalists would have a voice. Gradually passive resistance lost its appeal. Clifford was appointed Companion of Honour, 1921. Great number of writings: sermons e.g. *Is life worth living?* (1880), pamphlets on education, 99 books and pamphlets, editorial work, and a huge correspondence.

<sup>124</sup> Reginald John Campbell (1867–1956), Registered at birth, and entered on first marriage certificate of 1889 as John Wesley Campbell. Congregationalist, then Anglican. Educated University College in Nottingham after which he taught in Ashton, Cheshire from 1888. The headmaster there introduced him to the Oxford Philosophy of Dean Paget. Campbell was subsequently confirmed in the Church of England and began preparation for the ministry. Went to Christ Church Oxford graduating 1895 with Honours in School of Modern History and Political Science. By matriculation he was commonly known as Reginald John Campbell. He had gone to Oxford with the intention of becoming a clergyman, but due to the strength of his Scottish and Irish Nonconformist background he abandoned the idea so as to take work in a Congregational ministry, like his paternal grandfather. Commenced Congregational ministry in Brighton 1895. His preaching, attracted large crowds. Invited to assist in preaching at the City Temple in Holborn 1902. Following the incumbent's death in November of that year, Campbell was chosen as successor and installed as minister in May 1903. Campbell was both politically and theologically radical. Large crowds to hear him preach, and widespread fame for a dozen years, becoming one of the recognized leaders of Nonconformity. Controversy over his critical comments about British working men 1904. Controversy over his Biblical criticism in his preaching which questioned the ascription of books and the origins of the text. This approach, upheld by some of his friends came to be known as 'The New Theology'. Wrote a book about it with the same title (1907). Further controversy arose over his belief that Socialism was the practical form of Christianity. Invited to become the Labour Party candidate for Cardiff. Elected to Executive of the Fabian Society 1908, of which he never attended a single meeting. More controversy followed with his declaration to the Theosophical Society in London that he believed in reincarnation 1911. Invited the eldest son of the founder of the Bahá'í Faith to publicly speak in the City Temple in October of the same year. Following a tour of the trenches in 1915, he was so deeply affected that he underwent a personal crisis leading him to reconsider his spiritual position

and thereafter move ever closer to the Church of England. This personal journey was documented in his publication *A Spiritual Pilgrimage* (1916). Prolific writer.

<sup>125</sup> George Cadbury (1839–1922), Quaker, who founded Cadbury's cocoa and chocolate company. Philanthropist, especially in the Birmingham and Worcestershire areas. Life-long Liberal. Supported Gladstone's Irish Home Rule proposal, 1886. With his elder brother Richard (d. 1899), established the village of Bournville in order to enhance the quality of life of the company's employees. George enacted a series of welfare benefits for his workers. Bought *Daily News* in 1901 to oppose the Boer War which he saw as a manifestation of British imperialism; also using the newspaper to advocate for old age pensions and against sweatshop labour.

<sup>126</sup> *Free Russia*, Jan.-March 1908, p. 10.

<sup>127</sup> Herbert George Wells (1866–1947), Author, especially remembered for his works of science fiction. 116 books, huge number of articles and essays. Amongst his most famous pre-First World War works: *The Time Machine* (1895); *The Island of Dr. Moreau* (1896); *The War of the Worlds* (1898); *Kipps: The Story of a Simple Soul* (1905) [reputedly his favourite work; inspiration during the 1960s for stage and cinema musical *Half a Sixpence*]; *In the Days of the Comet* (1906); *Tono-Bungay* (1909); *The History of Mr. Polly* (1910); *The New Machiavelli* (1911); *The World Set Free* (1913), etc. He interacted with British Radicals and had a significant impact on their social views. Hoped that the War and subsequent Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 would lead to a new world order having his approval. Visited Lenin and gave the latter guidance on how to proceed, interpretations of his reception being at variance.

<sup>128</sup> Arthur Ignatius Conan Doyle (1859–1930), Sir. By early training, Conan Doyle was a physician. Prolific author, best known for creating fictional detective Sherlock Holmes, first appearing at Christmas 1887. In November 1891 wrote to his mother of his desire to kill-off the character Holmes - rebuked by her. Wrote 7 historical novels which he and many critics regarded as his best works, 1888–1906. Resurrected Holmes due to the public outcry of the latter's apparent demise. The literary explanation was put to the public in *The Adventure of the Empty House* (1903). Meanwhile he had written *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1901). The last of the 56 short Holmes stories was published in 1927. Of his many pre-First World War works of particular note is *The Lost World* (1912) in which appears another of his fictional characters, Professor Challenger. Conan Doyle was supportive of the British efforts in South Africa at the time of the Boer War, himself being a volunteer doctor in the Langman Field Hospital at Bloemfontein, March-June 1900. Supported the Radical journalist E.D. Morel in the campaign for reform of the Congo Free State, issuing a pamphlet about the horrors there, *The Crime of the Congo* (1909). Could not accept the pacifist stance in the First World War.

<sup>129</sup> *Daily News*, 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1908.

<sup>130</sup> *Free Russia*, April-June 1908, p. 8.

*The Times* 10<sup>th</sup> June 1908.

Some Radicals who signed it were: L.A. Atherley-Jones, Henry Cotton, Lord Courtney, G.P. Gooch, T. Hart-Davies, C.E. Mallet, Philip Morrell, Harry Nuttall, J.M. Robertson, Franklin Thomasson, W.J. Thorne, Charles Trevelyan, J.H. Yoxall, etc.

<sup>131</sup> Donald Senese, 'Felix Volkhovsky in London, 1890–1917' in John Slatter (ed.), *From the Other Shore: Russian Political Emigrants in Britain, 1880–1917* (1984), p. 71.

<sup>132</sup> Clearly, above all else, it would be regarded as unacceptable to criticize an ally, however unpalatable the internal workings of the regime might be, hence the cessation of the publication.

<sup>133</sup> Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), Chinese revolutionary. Following the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, Sun was elected Provisional President of the Republic of China on 29<sup>th</sup> December of that year.

<sup>134</sup> Sun Wen, *Yen-Chiu Chung-Shan Hsien-Sheng Ti Shih-Liao Yu Shih-Hsueh* (Symposium on Sun Yat-sen

Studies) (1975), p. 385. Information discovered by Susan Hansen in that book, and subsequently most kindly translated from the Chinese by Dr. Lee Yuen-ting M.A., (Sheffield), M.ED., (Sheffield), Ph.D. (SOAS).

<sup>135</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> April 1907, Nevinston Journals, MS Eng. Misc. e614/1, p. 36.

<sup>136</sup> Kropotkin, S. to Ponsonby, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1909, Ponsonby Papers. MS. Eng. Hist. c658. F. 106–107. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>137</sup> Kropotkin, Prince to Ponsonby, 18<sup>th</sup> September 1909, Ponsonby Papers. MS Eng. Hist. c658. F. 108–109.

<sup>138</sup> Alfred George Gardiner (1865–1946), Journalist and author. Worked first for the *Chelmsford Chronicle* and *Bournemouth Directory*, then the *Northern Daily Telegraph* from 1887. Moves to the appointment of Editor of *Blackburn Weekly Telegraph* 1899. T.P. Ritzema, who had founded the *Northern Daily Telegraph* 1886, on becoming General Manager of the *Daily News* 1902 under the new ownership of the paper by George Cadbury, wanted an Editor. He chose Gardiner who was just 36. Allied with the rising political tide, the *Daily News* soon became one of the leading Liberal papers of the time increasing its circulation from 80,000 in February 1902 when he took charge, to 151,000 in 1907, and then to 400,000 in 1909. He employed a succession of outstanding leader-writers and contributors, such Radicals as: H.W. Massingham, C.F.G. Masterman, H.W. Nevinston, R.C.K. Ensor, H.N. Brailsford, and G.K. Chesterton. He supported the decision for war in 1914, but was subsequently heavily critical of the Versailles settlement 1919. Gardiner remained in position until he resigned 1919. Of his pre-War authorial works: *Prophets, Priests and Kings* (1908); and *The Pillars Of Society* (1913), both containing some of his approximate 150 sketches of leading contemporary characters. Of particular importance, see Stephen Koss: *Fleet Street Radical: A.G. Gardiner and the Daily News* (1973).

<sup>139</sup> A.G. Gardiner, *The Pillars Of Society* (1916 edition), p. 60.

The characters in the book are not in alphabetical order. Kropotkin is the seventh sketch of the total of thirty-seven.

<sup>140</sup> Louise Vinogradoff, *The Collected Papers of Paul Vinogradoff* (1928), p. 31. This being in the 'Memoir' written in the front of the work by H.A.L. Fisher.

<sup>141</sup> *ibid*, p. 46. This being in the 'Memoir' written in the front of the work by H.A.L. Fisher.

<sup>142</sup> *ibid*, p. 57. This being in the 'Memoir' written in the front of the work by H.A.L. Fisher.

<sup>143</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 12<sup>th</sup> Edition, Vol. 32. (1922), p. 927.

<sup>144</sup> Rosalind Frances Howard (1845–1921), Countess of Carlisle. Married in 1864 painter George Howard, who became an active Liberal MP from 1879. Though conforming to the social etiquette of the time, when women of such rank did not openly speak in public of political issues, she adopted a much more radical left-wing stance than her husband. Denounced Gladstone's invasion of Egypt 1882. Supported Irish Home Rule 1886, thus furthering herself from her husband. Husband George succeeded his uncle as 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle 1889, thereafter she being titled as 'Countess'. Strong and active supporter of temperance movement, becoming Vice-President of the U.K. Alliance, and then President of the North of England Temperance League 1892. Elected President of British Women's Temperance Association 1903–her death, and President of World's Woman's Christian Temperance Association 1906–her death. Despite a common belief in the rejection of alcohol, because of their personal and political disagreements husband and wife lived in separate properties that they owned, she especially in her favourite home of Naworth Castle. Became a member of Women's Liberal Federation 1890 persuading it to endorse suffrage for all women. Presided over that Federation 1894–1902 and 1906–1915. Nevertheless, distanced herself from the suffragettes' violent approach. Opposed Boer War, but clearly in favour of the 1914 struggle. She was a supporter of Asquith, despite his unwillingness to promote prohibition or women's suffrage. By the time of her husband's death (1911), because of her autocratic nature, she had become estranged from most of her children and friends. She resented the involvement of the

lower classes in political affairs. She was known as *The Radical Countess*.

<sup>145</sup> John Edward Ellis (1841–1910), Liberal MP for Rushcliffe division of Nottinghamshire 1885–death. Under-Secretary of State to India Office 1905–1906. Privy Councillor 1906. One of the ‘temporary’ Chairman of Committees of the House appointed by the Speaker. Educated at Friends’ School, Kendal; eventually being regarded the leading Quaker Radical in Parliament since John Bright’s time. (His wife was Maria Rowntree, sister of Joshua, the Scarborough Quaker businessman and politician). Supported Irish Home Rule; opposed to the South African War 1899–1902 to the point of being regarded as pro-Boer. Pacifism led him to become President of the Peace Congress for 1907. An influential personage in the Anglo-German religious peace movement. Spoke out against the spiralling Anglo-German naval arms race. Active in matters regarding the temperance movement, and the advancement of adult education. See: Arthur Tilney Bassett’s *The Life of the Rt. Hon. John Edward Ellis* (1914), even though the work does not throw any significant light on Ellis’s attitudes towards Russia.

<sup>146</sup> Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse (1864–1929), Liberal political theorist who was a major exponent of the New Liberalism at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Sociologist. Oxford academic of philosophy, first major output being *The Theory of Knowledge* (1896). Very disappointed with the book’s reception, deciding to leave Oxford at the earliest opportunity. Invited by C.P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* to work as a leader writer, which he accepted, 1897–1902. Paper highly critical of the Government during the Boer War. Hobhouse left *Manchester Guardian* to spend more time writing philosophy. Sudden financial problems in 1903 led him to accept a position as Secretary of the Free Trade Union, position held until 1905. Founder and Editor of the *Sociological Review*. Then Political Editor of the new Liberal daily paper *The Tribune*, resigning January 1907 over the desire of the proprietor to alter the nature of the journal. Appointed to newly-created Chair in Sociology at the London School of Economics, the first of its kind in the U.K., holding it until his death. Nevertheless, still involved in political journalism, writing for the *Contemporary Review*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Nation*. He attended the weekly staff meetings of the latter, thus helping to influence the editorial policy of what was regarded as the most influential journal of pre-War Radical Liberal opinion. Strong exponent since his Oxford period of women’s suffrage. Fully in demand of old age pensions scheme, sickness and unemployment insurance measures, as well as a State-guaranteed minimum standard of living. His book *Liberalism* (1911) expounded his views on the New Liberalism in the strongest possible way. In the same year, helped found the Foreign Policy Committee, which consisted of Radicals who were anxious that the Government’s anti-German stance was leading to war. Hobhouse became Chairman of the Committee. In July 1914 he wanted Great Britain to be neutral, even joining the British Neutrality Committee. On Germany’s invasion of Belgium, changed his attitude to support the struggle. Would not join the Union of Democratic Control which wanted a negotiated peace to terminate the war. He even ignored the advice of his pacifist sister, Emily. By 1917 however, he was writing in the *Manchester Guardian*, urging Lloyd George’s Government to make a new statement of war aims sufficiently moderate that a peace without victory might be possible. Unlike many Radicals in the inter-World War period, did not join the Labour Party. Of his major works, other than those referred to above, the following are of particular note: *Mind in Evolution* (1901); *Democracy and Reaction* (1904); *Morals in Evolution: a study in comparative ethics* (2 vols. 1906); *Social Evolution and Political Theory* (1911); and *Development and Purpose* (1913).

<sup>147</sup> Joshua Rowntree (1844–1915), Liberal MP for Scarborough 1886–1892. Prominent Quaker. His sister Maria married J.E. Ellis (1841–1910), see footnote 145 above. Wrote amongst other things: *Applied Christianity and War. An address*. (c. 1904).

<sup>148</sup> James Stuart (1843–1913), Liberal MP for Hackney 1884–1885, then Hoxton division of Shoreditch 1885–1900,

then Sunderland 1906–Jan. 1910. Privy Councillor 1909. Professor of Mechanism and Applied Mechanics at Cambridge 1875–1889. Lord Rector of St. Andrew's University 1898–1901. Founder of system of University Extension Teaching. Member of London County Council. Supporter of women's suffrage. In *Vanity Fair's* caricature of him for 5<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1899 '... he is a wicked Radical, ...'. Wrote various books and pamphlets on educational and scientific topics, also: *Reminiscences* (1912).

<sup>149</sup>Mrs. Graham Wallas (née Ada Radford) (1859–1934), Teacher at Wimbledon High School for one year. Writer of pieces in *The Yellow Book* and *Westminster Gazette*. Married Graham Wallas (1858–1932) in 1897. (He was a member of the Fabian Society 1886–1904; appointed a university extension lecturer 1890, lecturing at the recently-created London School of Economics 1895–1923. Educationalist, who apart from other things wished to entirely remove ecclesiastical influence from the educational system; social psychologist; and writer.). Ada contributed poems to brother Ernest's *Songs in the Whirlwind* 1898. Published *Before the Bluestockings* which consisted of biographies, and her early memories in *Daguerreotypes* (both works 1929).

<sup>150</sup>*Free Russia*, February 1905, p. 14.

<sup>151</sup>Robert Spence Watson (1837–1911), Dr., Solicitor. Quaker and pacifist. In favour of Irish Home Rule. Secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1862–1893, his efforts helping to establish the largest independent library outside London. One of the founders of the National Liberal Federation 1877, and its President 1890–1902. Helped to found Durham College of Science 1871, that later became part of Newcastle University. Fundamental in establishing the Newcastle Free Public Library. President of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom 1890–1911 – that is from the year of the Society's foundation until that of his death. Wrote a great deal for the Society's propaganda publication *Free Russia*. Various writings on local and international topics, but of note: *The history of English rule and policy in South Africa* (1879); *A Visit to Wazan* (1880, reputedly being the first Christian European to enter that Moroccan holy city); and *The National Liberal Federation: From Its Commencement to the General Election of 1906* (1907); etc.

<sup>152</sup>F.W. Pethick-Lawrence gave by far the largest single contribution from an individual - £50, the next biggest sums being of £25. Wilfred S. Blunt gave two separate amounts of £10 and £20, while £10 came from 'anon (per H.N. Brailsford)'. Mrs. Bernard Shaw gave £10, Canon Scott Holland £5, Lady Trevelyan £5, G.M. Trevelyan £2, L.T. Hobhouse £1, Mrs. Wallas £1, Rev. F.B. Meyer 10/-6d, D.M. Mason 10/-, Henry Vivian 10/-, Mrs. Hobhouse 5/-, Mrs. de Bunsen 10/-, etc. *Free Russia*, March, May and June 1905 issues, pp. 33–34, 71, 84 respectively.

<sup>153</sup>Karl Liebknecht (1871–1919), German socialist. Lawyer, who occasionally had cause to defend others of like-mind who were charged with offences such as smuggling left-wing propaganda into Russia. Joined Marxist Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) 1900 (which his father had co-founded with August Bebel). President of Socialist Youth International 1907–1910. Anti-militarist, advocating infiltrating the military with a greater number of Social Democrats. Arrested and imprisoned for writing *Militarismus und Antimilitarismus* (Militarism and Antimilitarism, 1907). Elected to Prussian Parliament 1908, even though still in prison. Active member of the Second International and a founder of Socialist Youth International. Elected to Reichstag as a Social Democrat, a member of the SPD's left wing, 1912. Outspokenly opposed Germany's involvement in the First World War. With Rosa Luxemburg and others formed the Spartacus League at the end of 1914. Arrested and sent to the Eastern Front, only being allowed to return to Germany in October 1915 due to failing health. Arrested for participation in a Spartacus-inspired anti-war demonstration in Berlin, 1<sup>st</sup> May 1916 – initially sentenced to two-and-a-half years imprisonment, increased to four years one month. Released due to an amnesty of political prisoners Oct. 1918. Resumed leadership with Luxemburg of Spartacus League. Declared a Free Socialist Republic, 9<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1918. Involved in founding the Communist Party of Germany (KPD),



1<sup>st</sup> Jan. 1919. With Luxemburg (and others) was involved in the Spartacus uprising in Berlin, the two of them being executed on 15<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1919.

<sup>154</sup> Bertrand Arthur William Russell (1872–1970), 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl Russell. One of the 20<sup>th</sup> century's greatest philosophers. First World War pacifist. Elected to Trinity Fellowship, Cambridge 1895, on basis of a dissertation published as *An Essay on the Foundations of Geometry* (1897, being his first philosophical book). Had published his first book the previous year, based on observations during a German trip with his wife *German Social Democracy*. Then, *A Critical Exposition of the Philosophy of Leibniz* (1900). Wrote first draft of *The Principles of Mathematics* (first draft by 1900, but published 1930). Elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, 1908. *Principia Mathematica* (3 vols. 1910–1913). Appointed for a 5-year lectureship at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1910. Elected President of the Aristotelian Society, 1911. *The Problems of Philosophy* (1912, written for the Home University Library). Opposed to the 1914 War, joining the pacifist No-Conscription Fellowship, 1915. For authoring a leaflet defending a conscientious objector he was fined £100, 1916, and lost his lectureship at Cambridge. Best political book *Principles of Social Reconstruction* written during War years (1916). For writing an article in *The Tribunal* entitled 'The German Peace Offer' (3<sup>rd</sup> Jan. 1918), in which he claimed that American troops stationed in the U.K. could be employed to act as strike-breakers, he was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment. Whilst in jail wrote *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy* (1919). Re-instated at Cambridge, November 1919, only to resign from the post in 1921. Nobel Prize in Literature, 1950. First President of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), 1958. See his reminiscences in *Portraits from Memory* (1956); *My Philosophical Development* (1959); and *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell* (3 vols. 1967, 1968 and 1969).

<sup>155</sup> Thomas Fisher Unwin (1848–1935), Publisher who founded T. Fisher Unwin, 1882. Jointly founded The Publishers Association, 1896.

<sup>156</sup> Emma Jane Catherine Cobden (1851–1947), Wife of publisher Thomas Fisher Unwin, married 1892–his death in 1935. Known as 'Jane Cobden', and then after marriage 'Cobden Unwin'. A daughter of the Victorian Radical MP and statesman Richard Cobden. Supported Home Rule for Ireland. Elected to newly-created London County Council 1889, subsequently being prevented from serving as a councillor because of legal challenges. Ardent supporter of women's suffrage. Anti-imperialist, opposed to Boer War. Active in Liberal political matters during the Edwardian era. Lobbied Prime Minister Campbell-Bannerman on behalf of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom seeking for amendments to the Hague Convention, 1907. Supported the cause of indigenous groups within the British Empire.

<sup>157</sup> Fisher to Murray, 14<sup>th</sup> July 1910, Fisher Papers, 54. F. 180–181.

<sup>158</sup> Brailsford to Murray, August 1904, Gilbert Murray Papers, MSS Gilbert Murray 124. Reel 42. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>159</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> January 1912, Nevins Journals, MS Eng. Misc. e617/1, p. 43.

<sup>160</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> January 1912, Nevins Journals, MS Eng. Misc. e617/1, p. 44.

<sup>161</sup> Tchaykovsky, B. to Ponsonby, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1912, Ponsonby Papers 1911–1913. MS Eng. Hist. c659. F. 68–69. As far back as 1881 Malatesta had visited London and attended an Anarchist Congress in July of that year. He earned a living as a mechanic and as an ice cream seller. (Italian anarchists were considered dangerous - they murdered Elisabeth, Empress of Austria in 1898 in Switzerland and Italy's King Umberto I in July 1900.) For about 40 years Malatesta came and went periodically to and from London in his years of exile from his native Italy. By 1910 Malatesta had come to London and had opened an electrical workshop in Islington. In 1912, Malatesta was sentenced to imprisonment for three months as a result of a criminal libel (defamation) charge. The recommendation was also for his eventual deportation. However, the latter order was dropped as a result



of the reaction from the Radical press and workers organizations.

<sup>162</sup>George Walter Prothero (1848–1922), KBE. Historian, academic, and writer. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, as a history lecturer 1876–1894. First Professor of Modern History at Edinburgh University 1894–1899. Succeeded his brother as Editor of political periodical *Quarterly Review* 1899–1922. Editor of *Cambridge Historical Series* which consisted of a set of historical books about the history of various European countries and elsewhere, published by Cambridge University Press from 1894. Co-edited *Cambridge Modern History* 1901–1912. President of Royal Historical Society 1901–1905. During the Great War acted as Historical Advisor to the Foreign Office, in which position he attended the Paris Peace Conference 1919. Of his writings: *Select Statutes and other Documents Illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I* (1894); *The British History Reader* (1898); *Peace Handbooks* being a series of short works about various countries or regions concerning territorial, ethnic, and economic matters, prepared for the British delegation to the Paris Peace Conference 1919 (1920). n.b. The author of this article does not consider him to have been a British Radical as he sought to be and kept very much in favour with the Establishment.

<sup>163</sup>10<sup>th</sup> May 1914, G. W. Prothero Papers. Misc. 77/11. 23<sup>rd</sup> Sept. 1912–9<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1916, p. 53. King's college Library, Cambridge.

<sup>164</sup>*The Times*, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1905, 'The Crisis in Russia.'

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