The characteristics of the first generation of the Russian political emigration were still in the process of formation during Nikolai Turgenev’s most productive years abroad. Another important member of this generation, who made a different kind of contribution to this emerging phenomenon, was Ivan Gavrilovich Golovin. He was, as we have seen, subjected to severe criticism by both Annenkov and Herzen, who portrayed him as a petty, wasteful, indulgent, and opportunistic mediocrity. Their judgment has been carried forth into scholarship by Lemke, whose two articles on Golovin represent the only serious study of his career by a Russian historian in this century. Lemke concentrated on the unpublished correspondence between Golovin and various Russian officials (including Alexander II) regarding their desire for Golovin to return to Russia from his residence and his intention to do so; Lemke described little of Golovin’s writings, and his demeaning tone makes it difficult for any reader to take his subject seriously. None of the editions of the Bol’shaia encyclopedia has a single entry for Golovin, and thus he has been buried in historical oblivion in his own country. Outside Russia, he has fared better, there having been some recent interest in his life by scholars in France and Poland.

Ivan Golovin was born on his family’s estate in Tver gubernia on 9 September 1816 (O.S.), twenty-seven years after Turgenev and four years after Herzen. His father died when he was only two months old. He was the youngest of seven sons, his only sister having died in infancy. In his memoirs, he recalled the military ethos of Alexandrian Russia following Napoleon’s defeat by the tsar’s army. Golovin looked admiringly to his two eldest brothers, who were army officers; with seventeen years separating him from them,
however, they took little notice of him as a child. He was sent to several boarding schools for his early education, and at the age of sixteen enrolled in the diplomatic department of the University of Dorpat. Confused and aimless by his own admission, he led a typically privileged student's life dominated more by duels and drinking than by serious study. In 1835 he went abroad for further study and heard lectures in Berlin by Ranke, Ritter, and other prominent German professors of history and philosophy. He then returned to St. Petersburg after receiving his degree at Dorpat, the first Russian ever to be awarded a degree there.

In the summer of 1835, he traveled to Sweden, collecting material for his first book, *A Journey to Sweden in 1839*, which was published in 1840. This travelogue was to be the only book he ever published in his own country. He returned to Dorpat for a Master's degree and wrote a dissertation on political economy. He then went back to St. Petersburg to take up a state service post in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under Count Nesselrode; this was to be his last stay in Russia. Clearly dissatisfied with his position, Golovin applied for a promotion to another section in the Ministry. Nesselrode's response was the following: “I agree to find Golovin a better position, but on the condition that he take lessons in calligraphy for six weeks.” Golovin took this as a personal insult and as an obstruction in the path of his advancement in state service. More important, he had by this time begun to formulate his future in terms of writing. “But I was born to be a writer, not a scribe, and thus could not regret abandoning a career which demanded such servility, conceit, and, above all, deceit.” He expressed the motive behind his decision to leave service in another passage: “I thought I might be more useful to my country as an author than as a copyist, and accordingly withdrew from service.”

Thus, after serving eleven months at the rank of collegiate secretary, Golovin resigned. With no other position available, he decided to go to Europe in the fall of 1842 for reasons of improving his health. There is no indication of any serious medical problems and we know that Golovin was to live a very long time. However, the two most frequently stated reasons for seeking passports to travel abroad during the early 1840s were to improve one's health and to conduct international commercial transactions. Passports were issued for these reasons usually without any investigations, and Golovin was certainly aware of this when he put poor health on his passport application.
Settling in Paris, Golovin quickly turned to his new career as a political critic of the tsarist regime; his initial conflict with Nesselrode over the service post which he took so personally was transformed into a critique of the entire regime. He first published two transitional works that did not deal with Russia at all. One was an expanded version of his Dorpat thesis on political economy and the other was a brochure analyzing contemporary economic conceptions and theories, including those of the utopian socialists. These were then followed by two large books critical of Russia and by a pamphlet that has been considered “the first revolutionary brochure” in the history of the Russian emigration.

These works established Golovin as the leading critic of tsarist Russia, a reputation which won him support abroad but also brought him under surveillance by Russian agents. Even before his first emigre book on political economy was published, reports were being filed on Golovin from Paris by Iakov Tolstoi, who headed the Paris branch of the Russian political police abroad. In January 1843 Tolstoi wrote to Count Benckendorff, chief of the Third Section in St. Petersburg, that Ivan Golovin was preparing to publish a book on political economy which was full of “doctrines detrimental to our governing order.” He even quoted several passages to prove that Golovin’s intentions were “of an inappropriate spirit.”

Action followed immediately. In March 1843 the Russian chargé d’affaires in Paris informed Golovin that he was ordered to return to St. Petersburg by imperial decree. Golovin tried to stall, to appeal, and finally realized that he was faced with a most difficult choice: he would either have to return, or renounce his country. Another émigré, P. V. Dolgorukov, had been summoned from Paris at the same time. (Indeed, Tolstoi discusses both of them in his letters from Paris.) Dolgorukov decided to obey the order and was rewarded with a term of exile to Siberia. Golovin, when he learned of this, resolved not to subject himself to a similar fate. He not only refused to return but went ahead with the publication of his book in spite of efforts by the Russian government to prevent it. “I loved, and still love, my country as much as any man,” he wrote of this turning point three years later. “And because I loved it, I was desirous to contribute to the utmost of my power to efface the epithet of barbarism by which we [Russians] are stigmatized all over Europe.”

The stalemate ended in July 1844 when the Russian Senate confirmed Nicholas I’s order to sentence Golovin in absentia to
At the same time, Nicholas also issued a decree prohibiting Russians from going abroad before the age of twenty-five and imposed a heavy tax on foreign passports in order to discourage further emigration. Golovin was in this way declared persona non grata in his own country for planning to publish abroad thoughts considered by the Russian government to be dangerous and antithetical to the regime. He thus followed Nikolai Turgenev in becoming the second Russian émigré of the century, though they were shortly to be joined by Alexander Herzen, Michael Bakunin, and Nikolai Sazonov as the nascent Russian radical community abroad gradually expanded.

Golovin then joined a circle of émigrés from other countries who also had come to Paris to work for political causes prohibited by their governments. He collaborated with the German poet Georg Herwegh and James Fazy, who was soon to become president of the Swiss Confederation during the 1848 upheaval. Their intention was to establish an international journal of critical opinion, but the effort was unsuccessful. Golovin also met many French journalists and socialists, who helped him publish articles in the democratic French press. His most well known piece at this time was a memoir devoted to the poet Evgeny Abramovich Baratynskii, which appeared in the Journal des Debats on 16 September 1844.

In May 1845 Golovin's major book was published in French and English. With the appearance of his *Russia under the Autocrat*, Russian opposition opinion took a large leap forward. Golovin's *Russia* was the first study by a Russian to condemn the tyranny of Nicholas I and his entire regime, antedating the work of his more prominent compatriots Herzen and Bakunin. As a result of this book, Golovin occupied a unique position as the spokesman for an alternative Russia which the emerging émigré community was later to represent collectively. Nikolai Turgenev's *La Russie* (which had been completed earlier than Golovin's book but was not published until 1847) is perhaps the only work to which it might be compared, but Golovin's critique of Russia went far beyond Turgenev's.

In his preface to the book, Golovin placed himself in an unusual historical tradition. He identified his own situation with that of one of his ancestors, who had refused to return to Russia when summoned by Tsar Boris Godunov at the end of the sixteenth century. Choosing to remain in Lithuania, the earlier Golovin is quoted as having said he "would return to Russia when three proverbs have
ceased to be current in Russia: ‘Everything that is mine belongs to the tsar’; ‘near the tsar, near death’; ‘do not fear the judgment, fear the judge.’”¹⁷ Ivan Golovin then continues: “I am not the first, nor shall I be the last to deplore the servitude of Russia and to protest against its oppressors.”¹⁸

In addition to his emphasis on the notion of tsarist opposition in a historical context, Golovin also introduced another concept that was to become part of the ethos of the Russian emigration: “My happiness could not be complete without that of my fellow citizens. And as I could not expect to see this wish speedily recognized, and was unable efficiently to contribute towards it in my own country, I renounced it with the less regret, because I trusted that I might render it greater service in a foreign land.”¹⁹ In short, he essentially redefined the notion of state service. Having been raised in an age when state service was the primary career for men of his social class, he was excluded from that career in part because of his critical attitude toward the values and practices of the Russian bureaucratic officialdom. He therefore combined the old notion of service with his critical views to fashion this new perspective of serving Russia abroad by dedicating himself to opposing the existing regime.

Russia under the Autocrat is a two-volume, 645-page comprehensive criticism of the impact of autocratic rule upon the Russian Empire. Golovin also included material on resistance to despotism within Russia which had never before been discussed in a published work by a Russian. Perhaps the best example of this point can be seen in the chapter on Nicholas I’s accession to the throne, which contains a history of the Decembrist societies and their aborted rebellion on 14 December 1825. Golovin is strongly and unequivocally on the side of the conspirators. He ridicules the efforts of the Commission of Inquiry, which was appointed by Nicholas to investigate the affair, as a travesty to any sense of justice. For the “crime” of desiring to introduce a constitutional regime in Russia, the Decembrist leaders were executed by imperial order. “But who at that time had not drawn up some sketch according to his own notions [of a constitution]? There was not a man capable of thinking who had not the draft of a constitution in his pocket, in his desk, or in his head.”²⁰

The other historical event of significance in Nicholas’s early years on the throne, according to Golovin, was the unsuccessful Polish uprising of 1830–31. Here also Golovin stands squarely on the side of rebellion, defending the Poles who risked their lives to obtain freedom from Russian domination. Golovin writes that Nich-
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In the aftermath,olas's vengeance was severe: "Every species of punishment was inflicted [upon the Poles] and neither property nor the ties of family were respected."\textsuperscript{21}

Surveying the government and the social class structure in Russia, Golovin writes that "barbarism, tyranny and immorality are born and thrive in unworthy promiscuousness. . . . To study the melancholy effects of this combination of these three elements, we must go to Russia."\textsuperscript{22} The basic problem, in Golovin's view, lies in the exclusivity of the autocracy. Without any political alternatives, without any access to independent appeals on the judgment of the sovereign, Russia cannot escape from the shackles of Nicholas's despotism. Russia is a land of serfs and functionaries where "the virtues which accompany or flow from liberty are unknown."\textsuperscript{23} Nevertheless, Golovin believed that radical change was not imminent: "No revolution is possible in Russia, except in the palace, and only with the consent or by the command of the heirs to the crown themselves. . . . To judge by all appearances, one generation, if not two, must pass before there can be a revolution in Russia."\textsuperscript{24}

Yet, he believed that the situation in Russia was potentially volatile: "Revolutions have always taken kings by surprise. The great mass of the people is excessively inflammable; a spark coming perhaps even from the government itself will speedily kindle a conflagration."\textsuperscript{25} By this, Golovin had in mind the ever-expanding role of the police in Russia's internal affairs. "The distinctive characteristics of the Russian government," he wrote, "are despotism and rapacity. . . . The Emperor Nicholas is the declared enemy of liberty, and his entire policy is concentrated to persecute it to the utmost. He believes that liberty is equivalent to disorder."\textsuperscript{26} In proving his case, Golovin ranges over the gamut of Russian institutional life. In addition to his lengthy treatment of Nicholas, his court and government, Golovin devoted many chapters of his book to social class structure, industry and agriculture, the legal system, provincial administration, and aspects of Russian culture. He even discussed the conflicts in the Caucasus between Russian military imperialists and the Circassian tribes, who "defend most obstinately every foot of ground, and they are still far from acknowledging the superiority of Russian arms and civilization."\textsuperscript{27}

Although Golovin does not propose a concrete political alternative to the despotic authority exercised by the tsars, he indicates a strong faith in the liberating potentialities of public exposure and denunciation. Autocracy's power is preserved by its ability to keep
its citizens isolated and the outside world uninformed. In this way, Russia need not adhere to the civilized standards of Western Europe so long as secrecy continues to surround its practices of abuse and injustice. Golovin recommends subjecting Russia to the glare of international opinion as a means to begin to counteract the present situation. He is convinced that important influences emerge when representatives of separated societies become familiar with one another. Referring to the Marquis de Custine's descriptions of cruelty that he witnessed in Russia, Golovin writes: "Europeans have become cannibals by living among savages; let the Russians be allowed to become free with free men." Thus, he continues, "publicity is the salvation of the world, and would be that of Russia if it were allowed to penetrate there. Open the doors of the tribunals, and justice will take her seat there. Publish the acts of the government, and it will become better. . . . There is a tribunal at the bar of which we must appear, even during our life—it is the tribunal of public opinion; let the wicked tremble, and let the good rejoice!"

Golovin defined his own role in this context. By being abroad, "living with free men," as he had put it himself, "I perceive that I grow better." By writing critically of Russia, he hoped to expose the tyranny of the government to the world and thus to weaken its power. He knew he was taking risks by choosing this path, but believed he was serving a higher cause: "I love my country as much as any man, but I love mankind more; and should I even make enemies of my dearest friends, I shall not cease to oppose everything which is a violation of the universal and imperishable laws of social order."

*Russia under the Autocrat* catapulted Golovin into public prominence in Europe as the book received widespread reviews in the press. At the same time, pressure mounted against him. The French government was disturbed not only by the Russian government's persistent efforts to have Golovin extradited, but also by Golovin's controversial reputation. On the one hand, he seemed to be attracting excessive attention from the democratic and socialist left, which alarmed some members of Louis Philippe's administration. On the other hand, he also acquired an unsavory reputation as a *debauché* and philanderer who wasted the bulk of an inherited fortune on gambling and stock speculations. Ultimately, he was banished from France. He then went to England, where, in six weeks and with the help of the Tory leader Duddley C. Stuart, Golovin obtained a certificate of naturalized citizenship in 1846. This was a step which few Russian émigrés took.
In 1847 Golovin published his next work, *Types et caractères russes*, or, as it appeared in English, *A Russian Sketch-Book*. Here he moved into another genre of writing, a combination of the techniques of the short story and journalistic reportage. The book is divided into a number of sketches of Russian life which are fictionalized representations of problems faced by ordinary Russians. While the stories deal with a variety of fascinating situations and individuals, one tale concerning the experiences of a group of rebellious peasants is of particular interest. The story, called “A Revolt of the Peasants,” leaps beyond the depiction of Russian peasants as found in Radishchev and Ivan Turgenev in the same way that Golovin’s criticism of Nicholas I in *Russia* transcends all previous political criticism of the autocracy published by Russians. Indeed, the subject matter and the attitudes of its author in this story foreshadow the political radicalism and social realism that we find much later in the work of the populist Stepniak-Kravchinskii. The story concerns a landowner who rapes one of his peasant women and suffers a terrible retribution. Already near the breaking point as a result of terrible burdens performed for the master, the peasants are stirred to overt rebellion by the humiliating seduction. After setting the estate on fire, several of the peasants heave their hated master into the flames to his death. Golovin writes that the master’s merciless cruelty and contempt for his peasants “made them look upon his murder as an act of justice.” They then “took possession of his chateau without opposition on the part of the servants.” Finally, the revolutionary siege was brought to an end, and the three peasant leaders were condemned to death by firing squad. All other participants were flogged and “many banished to Siberia.” Still, the story closes with a sense of symbolic victory for the peasants. We are told that the surviving widow of the murdered landowner cannot return to her estate because fears from the revolt haunt her. The local priest is transferred to another locality (he too is identified with the established order), and the estate is left abandoned. Although the new order was defeated, restoration of the *status quo ante* also was blocked. This was clearly a new interpretive twist to the traditional tale of lord and peasant in *Russia*.32

Golovin’s involvement in the 1848 revolution is not entirely clear. We have only his account, with no objective corroboration. Nevertheless, we do know that he returned to France and participated in the upheaval that year, if not always in the somewhat heroic pose he presents in his memoirs.33 He believed he was the representative of revolutionary Russia in Europe as the *ancien régime* was
being extinguished. While such a reality is obviously questionable, what is significant is that Golovin certainly was one of the first Russians to conceive of such a role abroad. He did take part in a number of democratic clubs that sprang into existence after the February Revolution in Paris, published articles and open letters in the French press, and spoke publicly at political meetings, often for the cause of free Poland. Golovin belonged to a group called the Brotherhood of Peoples, and at its rally in November 1848 he spoke on behalf of Poland and against the tsar. He dreamed of a new political career in France as a result of the revolution, and intended to seek election to the National Assembly. How a Russian-born, English-naturalized citizen would have managed to sit in a French parliamentary body will never be known, for Golovin was eventually expelled once again from France following the consolidation of authority by Louis Napoleon. Golovin's identification with the democratic left was too threatening for the new regime. Also, his support for the Polish cause was viewed as contributing to a disruptive international situation.

In the summer of 1849, before leaving Paris, Golovin published a brochure entitled “The Catechism of the Russian People.” Once again he broke new ground as he switched to yet another genre of writing—the revolutionary manifesto. For the first time, an émigré Russian openly preached “subversion of tsarist power by force.” Obviously influenced by the events in Paris, Golovin advocated the tactics of the barricade struggle and direct confrontation with the forces of autocracy. In the preface to his brochure, he sets forth the role of the revolutionary émigré in unmistakably clear terms. In Russia, he writes, those who sought change found only persecution. Because of the “fanatical animosity of the tsarist regime, we have gone abroad to carry on our work, to countries which recognize the sufferings in Russia and where support can be obtained.” We shall bring Russia’s cause “before the court of enlightened Europe.” Even though official Russia “regards us as dead,” he implores his readers “to listen to us so that the dead may reveal the truth.”

Set in the form of a Socratic dialogue of questions and answers, the brochure is divided into four topics: the tsar, the gentry, the soldiers, and the government. The orientation is clearly antitsarist as Golovin proposes a republican form of government for Russia. The initiative for this movement for change must come from the intelligent and the well-born people,” who understand that “the first
enemy of Russia is the tsar.” Golovin continues: “Revolutions are not so difficult as you presume. One person muses about it, a second acts, and the people will gradually come to join the initiator.” The weapons for the coming struggle can be found “among the soldiers, in the arsenals, in the shops, in the homes of private citizens.” The revolt will begin in the cities, but “the countryside will be with us.”

The last line of the brochure is a response to the question of whether some compromise with the tsar is not possible. The answer is unequivocal: “He is unredeemable, stained by the blood of sacrifices.” Finally, Golovin warns that “a bad peace,” by which he meant accepting servitude under autocracy, “is worse than a good war”—i.e., a struggle for liberation.

The Russian government’s response to this inflammatory brochure was swift and predictable. The Russian chargé d’affaires, Kiselev, went to the French police to determine who the anonymous author was and to have further printing and distribution cut off immediately. The French police were very cooperative as they helped the Russians establish the identity of the brochure’s author, prevented publication of further editions, and ordered all unsold copies confiscated. Golovin’s brochure was thus fully recognized by the Russian authorities for its revolutionary language. As one scholar has stated, “[The] Catechism [is] the first work of this kind later destined to be propagated among the Russian people, opening their eyes to the true nature of tsarism and inciting them to overthrow the reigning dynasty in the name of a republican order.”

The Russian authorities began to take reprisals as well against anyone suspected of affiliation with Golovin or his writings. Some copies of Golovin’s books were smuggled into Russia, but most were confiscated from travelers returning to the country from Europe. Vasilii Vysotskii, a captain in the General Staff, was arrested at the border because of police reports that he had been in touch with Golovin while abroad; the officer received a sentence of six years in prison and was forbidden to leave Russia ever again. Also, among the evidence submitted to prove cause for the sentencing of Herzen to exile in absentia was his contact with Golovin.

This was the zenith of Golovin’s career as the pioneer of the Russian émigré opposition movement. After his expulsion from France in 1849, his life took on a confused, disoriented pattern. He wandered from country to country, an exile without moorings. First he went to Geneva, where Fazy, now head of the Swiss confederation, invited him to accept a university teaching position. The job
carried the condition that Golovin could not engage in political activity; he refused. Then, in 1851, he traveled to Nice, where he briefly collaborated on a journal, *Carillon*, designed for tourists interested in scandals of high society. Golovin’s contribution was a feuilleton entitled “Les Prussiens, les Russiens, et les autres chiens à Nice.” It was during this period that he was on cordial terms with Herzen, having met with him first in Paris during the 1848 revolution and again in Geneva and Nice. From Nice he journeyed to Belgium, from which he was expelled, and then he went on to Turin. There, in 1852, he published a series called “Portraits et équisses russes” in Cavour’s *Le Journal de Turin*, and also a brochure, *La France et L’Angleterre comparées*. The latter, dedicated to Richard Cobden, contained a strong denunciation of the police regime of Napoleonic France.

Forced to leave Turin as a result of diplomatic pressure (this time from the Austrian ambassador, who may have been acting with the Russian government), Golovin returned to London, where he attempted once more to launch a new journal. He wrote to Victor Hugo about his project; the journal would be called *La Revue internationale* and it would serve as “an intellectual center for representatives of various nations.” When this did not materialize, Golovin began work on a book which he called *L’Oncle Tom blanc, ou l’esclavage en Russie*; this too was never realized. He did finish a book on Russia in 1854 in which he criticized Nicholas I’s foreign policy regarding Turkey. Here he argued for the right of each nation to an independent existence, and warned against Russia’s imperialistic designs on the provinces of the decaying Ottoman Empire.

In 1855, Golovin crossed the Atlantic for a tour of America. He spent nine months traveling from region to region, and reported his impressions first in a series of articles in the *New York Tribune* and then in a book, *Stars and Stripes*. In his preface to this book, Golovin made his mood quite clear when he wrote, “The exile is nowhere at home and his stay is bitter everywhere.” His account of life in the United States is a critical one, and there is indeed a bitter edge to the tone of his writing. He finds little of redeeming virtue in the New World. Compared to de Tocqueville’s far more illuminating perceptions, one is tempted to say that Golovin did not—or perhaps could not—see American society with real objectivity. The exile had wandered too far.

Back in London, his sense of homelessness reemerged and dominated his writings in sometimes contradictory ways. At this
time, he married Alexandra Hesse, the daughter of a lieutenant general in the Russian army, who soon bore him a child. She was concerned about her husband's unwelcome status in Russia, and the marriage was clearly strained from the start over this problem. His financial situation continued to be unstable. In addition to an earlier inheritance of 70,000 francs, he received another 9,000 rubles in 1855. Seven years later, despite his sporadic but continuing income from his writings, his wife wrote in a letter that his finances had disappeared “in various speculations. At the present moment, my child and I are deprived of all means.” Fearing for the future, she applied for a passport to return to Russia on her own because “I have absolutely nothing on which to live abroad.” She was granted her request; Golovin agreed to a separation and she left him for her homeland.

During these years, Golovin began to correspond with Emperor Alexander II about the possibility and conditions of his own return to Russia. These letters to Alexander II and other Russian officials, which he began to write soon after the tsar's coronation, gravitate between uncompromising assertions of independence and subservient dependence regarding his relationship to the crown. Just as Alexander II's accession had produced a wave of optimism in Russian society about the prospects for peasant emancipation and other reforms, it also awakened longings for roots among émigrés like Nikolai Turgenev and particularly Golovin. These feelings were expressed in Golovin's earliest letter to the tsar, written on 18 March 1855. Here he virtually begged for permission to return to his homeland, although he was careful to mention that he expected the permission to include amnesty and the restoration of his civil rights. He closed this letter by saying, “The hopes of my whole life have been placed upon you.”

This was followed by a letter to Gorchakov, the new Russian chargé d'affaires in Paris, in which Golovin noted that he had “never raised a weapon against Russia” and pointed out that “love for the fatherland cannot be extinguished even in the heart of the most caustic and bitter exile and writer.” Still fearing that he might be arrested if he set foot on Russian soil, he wrote in another letter that “16 years of exile life abroad [have] made me unfit for such a life of exile in Russia.” The letters continued, and at times expressed greater desperation. In April 1857 he stated he was renouncing his English citizenship and pleaded for, at the very least, “the hope that I will no longer be counted among the exiles.” Curiously, Golovin
was granted an amnesty with permission to return to Russia, but it was made conditional upon his returning to state service. This he could not accept, and he refused the entire offer. As late as 1877, Golovin telegraphed the tsar as follows: “Sire, permit me to spend my last days in Russia.” None of these communications apparently were ever answered.

At the other end of the spectrum, Golovin frequently informed Alexander II of the conditions he would accept if he returned, and on occasion advised the tsar on various reform proposals which the Russian administration was studying. He made it quite clear, for example, that he wanted permission to publish his writings in Russia without censorship. He also indicated that this should not be a privilege for him, but ought to be a condition for all citizens of the country. The abolition of censorship, together with the other reforms planned by Alexander II, would make Russia a land with “space for free people, who do not have to submit to surveillance and who are not locked up in exile.” He also wrote a letter to P. A. Valuev, Minister of Interior, in which he suggested, in bold style, a wide-ranging series of reforms concerning the reorganization of the legal system and the role of the police and the army in Russia. “I have recently assumed for myself the role of peace mediator between the government and the people, and I must state that dissatisfaction grows according to the lack of fulfillment of expectations. Without radical changes, you will not prevent the emerging crisis. The longer [you ward off] bankruptcy by stitching things together, the more terrible will the bankruptcy be. The tsar did not listen to the gentry, and now the peasants do not hear him. Beyond the edge of the abyss lies the plunge.” In 1866, he wrote a sharp letter to the tsar complaining that the Russian government and the Russian embassies abroad were dominated by Germans to such an extent that one could reasonably assume that “your Majesty is really not a Romanov but a Holstein-Gottorp. . . . The true Russian is to be found in exile.”

Golovin’s last effort to stabilize his career and regain prominence as a radical publicist and writer was centered on a journal he established in 1859 after many previous unsuccessful attempts. The historical moment he chose to found his journal, Blagoname- rennyi, was an important one. Herzen’s Poliarnaia zvezda had already been in existence for three years, and a new polarization of radical opinion was beginning to emerge. A more militant social movement was forming, with goals and conceptions far beyond
those which Golovin was prepared to accept. He was, in short, about to be surpassed by political reality at the very time he decided to make a sustained venture into émigré opposition journalism. As one historian has put it, “If, in the preceding period it sufficed simply to declare one’s opposition to the despotism of Nicholas I in order to be considered a progressive, henceforth it became necessary to pay a much higher—often an excessive—price for that [opposition].”

The journal was indeed moderate. In a rare explicit reference to political categories, Golovin admitted in one of his editorial essays that he was not among the advocates of a republic for Russia, though he did not make his reasons clear. Revolution, which he had once defended so passionately in his 1849 “Catechism,” had disappeared from his political vocabulary, with the exception of a brief reference in which he indicated his discomfort with the concept. In this particular instance, he defined revolution awkwardly as the consequence of discontent with “rapid changes in laws” and indicated that he considered “tolerance a superior form of politics.” Golovin appeared to be directing himself in a confused manner to issues that were of secondary importance to the new generation in Russia. Without the insight, commitment and coherence of Herzen’s *Kolokol* abroad and Chernyshevskii’s *Sovremmenik* at home, his readership declined sharply.

After the collapse of his journal, Golovin continued to publish articles, brochures, and letters to newspapers denouncing autocracy in Russia, but he was engaged more and more in a monologue. The Russian government faced far greater dangers during Golovin’s last years, dangers from which he, incidentally, seemed quite removed. There is little in his last works about the major opposition currents of the 1870s, like the Paris Commune in Europe or the populist movement in Russia. Instead, in his final book, *Russische Nihilismus*—a kind of memoir supplement to his earlier *Zapiski*—he returned to a past period of his life in an effort to salvage the remnants of his reputation, which Herzen had so viciously attacked in *My Past and Thoughts*. Yet even this effort to reconstruct and reinterpret his former relationship with Herzen and Bakunin fell largely on deaf ears. It is important to note in this regard that the book was published in German, and was never translated into Russian or any other language. Unlike his previous books, there is no evidence that this one was widely read.

Golovin tried to remind his readers in *Russische Nihilismus* that there had been a time when he, Herzen, Bakunin, and other
leading émigrés worked together on behalf of Russian and Polish freedom. Speaking of their involvement on a political committee in 1848, Golovin referred to the bilingual pun on his and Herzen's names when he stated that they were "the head (голова) and heart (сердце), if not of all Russians, then at least of the Russian émigrés." Nevertheless, however much he tried to point out the justness of his own efforts, no one in 1880 was prepared to believe his criticism of Herzen; his taking to task the man who epitomized the Russian revolutionary emigration sounded like the wounded and embittered voice of the vanquished. Golovin admitted that Herzen was "a great propagandist," but that his influence paled before Pushkin's "Ode to Freedom." He also said he disagreed with Herzen's joining "dvorianstvo and communism," that Herzen too squandered money (a charge Herzen had leveled against Golovin), that Herzen had been personally cruel to Golovin in rejecting the latter's attempts to help Herzen and contribute to his Russian Free Press, and that Herzen "frequently parted from the truth."  

Golovin died on 4 June 1890 in complete obscurity and isolation. According to one scholar, his chief contribution lies merely in the fact that "he familiarized, as much as was possible within his power, Russia and the tsarist government with Western Europe." Another historian has written what is in fact a far more fitting evaluation of Golovin's career: "He was one of the first Russians who had the courage to rebel against the regime of Nicholas I and to expose him to those, especially, who maintained illusions about him, or who, quite simply, did not know everything that was happening in Russia. This is why, in spite of his personal faults, Golovin deserves to be rescued from oblivion."