Notes

1. The World of Emigration in Nineteenth-Century Europe

5. [O. V. Aptekman], “Iz istorii osvoboditel’nogo dvizhenia v Rossi. Pavel Borisovich Aksel’rod. Ego zhizn’, literaturniaia i prakticheskaia deiatel’nost’” (typed MS), Russian Archive, Columbia University, p. 154. Aptekman’s point was that because of the restrictions placed on political activity in Russia by the tsarist regime, Europe became “by necessity” the only milieu where such political education could take place. The same argument has been advanced more recently by Alexander Solzhenitsyn to prove the opposite conclusion. Whereas Aptekman was trying to show the importance and relevance for Russia of these developments abroad, Solzhenitsyn now argues that the Russian revolution was prepared abroad by Lenin and his supporters according to a European ideology and in complete disregard for Russia’s own history. See, inter alia, Solzhenitsyn’s interview with C. L. Sulzberger, New York Times, 7 March 1976.
6. Although there is no monographic study in any language devoted to the prerevolutionary emigration as a whole, some works have appeared which, though falling outside the chronological boundaries


12. The pioneering and still valuable study of the sociology of migration, particularly from the perspective of theory, is S. M. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul,


14. Tabori, p. 43.


18. For a recent discussion of Mazzini’s importance in this context, see Billington, pp. 149–51, 165. Billington also discusses some of Mazzini’s predecessors among the Italian exiles, such as Carlo Bianco and the followers of Buonarroti in Belgium during the early 1830s (ibid., pp. 168–69).

19. Ibid., p. 184. The League of Outlaws, which claimed a membership of about one hundred people, could also be translated as “the Exiles’ League” (*Bund for Geächteten*). See also A. Muller Lehning, “The International Association, 1855–59,” *International Review for Social History* 3 (1938): 194. This comprehensive article contains a wealth
of information on the socialist movements of this period, and includes much data on the various emigrations as well.

20. Also in Paris during the 1840s were Moses Hess, Heinrich Heine, Arnold Ruge, and many more German émigrés who were establishing their reputations as exiles from their homeland. On the German emigration in general, see Billington, pp. 261–79, and Lehning, pp. 192–200, both of which contain numerous references to the relevant literature on this subject.

21. See Peter Brock, “The Socialists of the Polish ‘Great Emigration,’” in Essays in Labour History, ed. Asa Briggs and John Saville (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 141. To gain a sense of this figure, the following comparison may be instructive: “Of the 4,380 political refugees who found themselves in England in 1853, according to the statistical data of the English government, 2,500 were Polish, 260 German and 1,000 French.” Lehning, p. 201.


25. For a good study of this response in France, see ibid., pp. 955–73. For the situation in England at this time, see Alvin R. Calman, Ledru-Rollin après 1848 et les proscrits Français en Angleterre (Paris: Rieder, 1921).

26. Herzen’s statements are quoted in Venturi, Studies in Free Russia, pp. 142–43.

27. On this controversy, see Lehning, pp. 208–9, and on the activities of the Commune revolutionnaire in general, see ibid., pp. 201–12.


29. For the most damning attack on Mazzini by the International Association, see Lehning, pp. 232–33.


33. See the recent analysis of these writings in Edward Acton, Alex-
ander Herzen and the Role of the Intellectual Revolutionary

34. One of the earliest and still eminently readable discussions of Herzen's relationships with Western exiles is Gershenzon's essay, "Gertsen i zapad," pp. 175–280. For a good treatment of the émigré circles around Herzen in Nice, see Venturi, Studies in Free Russia, pp. 148–76.

36. The quoted phrases are from ibid., p. 184.
37. Herzen, My Past and Thoughts, 2:684.
38. Ibid., p. 686.
39. As in the case of Karl Peter Heinzen; see ibid., pp. 688–93.
40. As with Saffi; see ibid., pp. 706–8.
41. Ibid., p. 733.
42. On this incident, see Venturi, Studies in Free Russia, pp. 158–61.
43. Herzen, My Past and Thoughts, 2:741–42. The kind of émigré Herzen had in mind in this analysis was Arnold Ruge, who was politically destroyed by the 1848 defeat. Herzen poignantly describes how the progressive Paris editor of the 1840s tried to regain his place in London a decade later by giving a series of lectures on contemporary German philosophical movements and their political implications. Ruge stood before an empty hall, a lonely, embittered, and forgotten man, delivering his prepared talks to only Herzen and Worcell, who comprised the audience. Afterwards, he reacted in anger and irrationally. Seeing nations instead of people before him, he said: “Poland and Russia have come, but Italy is not here; I shan't forgive Mazzini or Saffi for this when there's a new people's rising” (ibid., 3:1157).
45. Ibid., p. 1046.
46. Ibid., pp. 1023–24.
47. Ibid., p. 1044.
48. Ibid., p. 1140.
suggests in his memoir. When he wrote his memoir, he did not mention individuals in politics whom he knew, such as Charles Bradlough and Joseph Cowan, for reasons that still remain unclear. Partridge suggests that he feared compromising their reputations by writing of them in his memoir, but there may have been other reasons. Isaiah Berlin argues that in spite of Herzen's wide contacts within British society—which included dining with Robert Owen, Charles Darwin, and the Carlyles, among others—he never had truly close friends in London. England provided Herzen with the liberty to operate as a successful émigré writer and thinker, but he never felt at home there in the way he did in Nice, for example, where he clearly developed warmer relationships. See Isaiah Berlin, "Herzen and His Memoirs," Against the Current (New York: Viking Press, 1980), pp. 199–200.


52. Boborykin, "Nihilism in Russia," p. 126. All of the major studies of Herzen have discussed his vast influence. For a recent analysis of one of the lesser-known areas of Herzen's impact in Russia, see T. S. Vlasenko, "O revoliutsionnoi deiatel'nosti 'Biblioteki Kazanskikh studentov'," in Epokha Chernyshevskogo, ed. M. V. Nechkina (Moscow: Nauka, 1978), pp. 89–90.


55. Ibid., p. 165.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., p. 166.

58. Ibid., p. 173.

59. Ibid., p. 185.

60. Ibid., p. 176.

61. Ibid., p. 194.


63. Annenkov, Extraordinary Decade, p. 178.

64. Ibid., p. 183.


66. On Golovin, see ibid., 3:1397–1418.

67. Ibid., p. 1397.

68. Ibid., p. 1398.

69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., p. 1399.
71. Ibid., p. 1400.
74. Ibid., p. 169.

2. *N. I. Turgenev: The First Political Emigre*

NOTES TO PAGES 32–33


6. N. I. Turgenev, Opyt teorii nalogov (St. Petersburg, 1818).
9. Many of Turgenev's letters, particularly those written prior to his emigration, have been published in Arkhiv brat'ev Turgenevykh, ed. E. I. Tarasov, vols. 1–2 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademiia nauk, 1911–13) and vol. 3 (Petrograd: Gosudarstvennaiia tipografiia, 1921). V. M. Tarasova, in her articles on Turgenev's émigré years, was the first to make extensive use of the huge unpublished Turgenev correspondence for the years after 1824.
10. G. A. Kuklin, Materialy k izucheniiu istorii revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii (Geneva: Kuklin, 1905), p. 348. This work is the earliest to indicate Turgenev's significance as the first Russian émigré and also to devote serious attention to the Russian emigration as an integral part of the revolutionary movement. Chapter 5 is entitled “The Political Emigration under Nicholas I.” Miliukov mentions Turgenev in a similar manner in “N. I. Turgenev v Londone,” as does Tarasova in her articles.
11. At the beginning of this century, Semevskii called Turgenev's La Russie “the only study during the Nicholas era in which Russian political liberalism received sufficiently full expression” (“Nikolai

12. Turgenev lived abroad “extremely secluded and maintained relations with practically no one” (Shebunin, p. 105). According to another view, Turgenev lived abroad as a “solitary and embittered emigre . . . having broken off totally and completely with the Decembrists, and utterly alienated from Russia” (I. G. Bliumin, Introduction to N. I. Turgenev, _Opyt teorii nalogov_, 3rd ed. [Moscow: Gosizdat, 1937], p. xvi).


14. See especially Tarasova’s articles and Oksmann’s article (“Pis’ma”) on the relationship between Herzen and Turgenev. Tarasov, who pays more attention to Turgenev’s articles than to his book _La Russie_, points to Turgenev’s criticism of the English political system and concentrates on his militant concern for the liberation of the Russian peasantry not as an isolated period of his activity but rather as the defining feature of his career.


16. Ibid., p. 61. Bakunin is, of course, referring here to the 1848 revolution.


20. Ibid., pp. 222–23.

21. For the published letters, see _Arkhiv brat’ev Turgenevykh_; the archival location of the unpublished letters can be found in Tarasova’s articles.


23. The book quickly sold out and a second printing was ordered in May 1819. In 1826, as a consequence of the government’s decision to prosecute Turgenev for his Decembrist involvement, all remaining copies of his book were confiscated and publication of further editions was forbidden. As a result, the book has become a bibliographic rarity. Since the revolution, it has been republished only once, in 1937, and has never been translated.
25. Ibid.
28. See Kuklin, p. 351.
29. One of his children, Petr Nikolaevich, became a well-known sculptor who, upon his death in 1913, bequeathed the enormous archive of his father to the Russian Academy of Sciences.
30. See Tarasova, "K voprosu," pp. 284–87. Tarasova sees these visits to Russia as crucial in revising earlier views on Turgenev as moderate politically and isolated from Russian reality. Her argument is that Turgenev turned toward a "moderate liberal position" only after 1864, i.e., after he ceased his active contacts with Russia (ibid., p. 294).
31. Miliukov, p. 78.
33. Ibid., p. 51.
34. Ibid., p. 53.
35. Ibid., pp. 48–49.
36. Ibid., pp. 57–58.
37. Ibid., pp. 59–60.
38. Ibid., p. 69.
39. Ibid., p. 70. Nikolai Turgenev was concerned about his brother Alexander, who had left London for Paris at this time, where he remained for several months before returning to Russia in September.
40. Ibid., pp. 70, 71.
41. Orlik, 1968, p. 86. A number of other Russians in Paris participated in the July Revolution, including S. D. Poltaratskii, M. M. Kiriakov, and M. A. Kologrivov, all of whom are discussed by Orlik.
42. Ibid., p. 88.
44. Oksman, p. 583.
46. "Viola en realite Jes seules victims qui sernot offertes en holocauste a la reforme!" (ibid., p. 242).
47. Ibid., p. 245.
48. Ibid., p. 248.
49. Ibid., p. 24.
50. Semevskii, p. 111.
51. The letter, written in 1843, is quoted by Semevskii (ibid.).
52. The article, "Pora!", appeared in Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik, 1858, pt. 2, bk. 1; quoted in Kuklin, p. 353.

53. For a detailed discussion of Turgenev's emancipation proposals, see his "Vopros osvobozhdenia i vopros upravleniia krest'ian," in Russkii zagranichnyi sbornik, 1859, pt. 3, bk. 1, pp. 1-110.

54. For these criticisms and for material on Turgenev's own emancipation experiments on his family estates, which he arranged during his trips to Russia in the late 1850s, see N. I. Turgenev, "Economic Results of the Emancipation of Serfs in Russia," Journal of Social Science, no. 1 (1869): 147-49; and Tarasova, "N. I. Turgenev v 1861," pp. 432-34.

55. The exact number remains a matter of some dispute. See Hollingsworth, "N. I. Turgenev"; and Tarasova, "Dekabrist N. I. Turgenev."


57. Letter dated 20 March 1861; see Oksman, p. 587.

58. Oksman, p. 586. This letter was also published in Fetisov's article in Pamiati dekabristov, 3:99-100.

59. See Fetisov's article in Pamiati dekabristov, 3:95. The letter is dated 1856, at the time of Alexander II's coronation.


63. Letter dated 16 April 1860, TsGALI, fond 501, opis' 1, ed. khran. 301, list 1. Many similar letters expressing support can be found in the Turgenev collection, fond 501, in this archive. See also Tarasova, "K voprosu," pp. 278-94.


66. TsGALI, fond 101, opis' 1, ed. khran. 287, listy 1-2.

3. I. G. Golovin: Emigre Individualism


6. Golovin, Russia under the Autocrat, 1:25.
7. TsGAOR, Otchet o deistviakh III Otdeleniia sobstvennoi ego imperatorskogo Velichestva kantseliarii i korpusa zhandarmov. These reports, compiled annually by the Third Section, include data on Russians going abroad. Virtually all are listed under "reasons of health."
10. Golovin, Russia under the Autocrat; idem, Types et caractères russes (Paris, 1847).
12. See TsGAOR, fond 109, opis' 1, ed. khran. 50, chast' 1/1843, listy 1–4; and Lemke, pt. 1, p. 27. All the materials from the police files used but not identified in citations by Lemke are in the TsGAOR dossier. Tolstoy managed to see parts of Golovin's manuscript before publication through literary acquaintances who had been asked to read it for evaluative purposes.
13. Golovin, Russia under the Autocrat, 1:9.
15. Golovin, Russia under the Autocrat, p. 27.
17. Golovin, Russia under the Autocrat, 1:iii.
18. Ibid., p. v.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., pp. 42–43.
21. Ibid., p. 75.
22. Ibid., p. 136.
23. Ibid., p. 138.
25. Ibid., p. 87.
27. Ibid., 2:320. Golovin's vivid and realistic descriptions of the Russian military campaigns against the Circassians in the Caucasus resemble a sketch of modern guerilla warfare.
29. Ibid., p. 99.
30. Some of the positive notices Golovin received in the French press are mentioned in his Zapiski, pp. 90–91.
31. Lemke, pt. 1, p. 33. Golovin inherited the equivalent of 40,000
francs at the time of the publication of his book on Nicholas I; the money came from his brothers in Russia as a result of a settlement on the family estate.


34. See Orlik, 1973, p. 263.


36. Bakalov, p. 195. Bakalov seems to have been unaware that Golovin's "Catechism" had been previously published as he erroneously indicates he is publishing it for the first time. For the earlier publication, see Kuklin, pp. 369–80.


38. Ibid., pp. 216–17.

39. Ibid., p. 217.

40. For the police and diplomatic documents, see ibid., pp. 197–203. Golovin admitted his authorship of the "Catechism" thirty years later in his *Russische Nihilismus* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 73. See also the discussion in Sliwowska, "Un émigré russe," p. 235, n. 1.


43. TsGAOR, III otdelenie, I ekspeditsiia, no. 15 (1851), list 30.


47. Sliwowska writes of this brochure the following: "The tone of this brochure is without doubt in harmony with that of Herzen's book, *From the Other Shore*. It is easy to see the common features, not only in their critique of bourgeois France of that time, but also in their method of arguing their cases. Of course, Herzen's literary talent is in no way to be compared with that of Golovin, who lacks both fervor and authentic emotion" (Sliwowska, "Un émigré russe," p. 236).

48. Ibid., p. 237.
NOTES TO PAGES 60–66

52. Ibid., pt. 1, p. 40.
53. Ibid., p. 41.
54. Ibid., pp. 43–44.
55. Ibid., p. 45.
58. Ibid., pt. 1, pp. 48, 49.
60. Ibid., p. 278.
62. See I. G. Golovin, “Chteniia ob ugodovnom prave,” Blagonamerenny, no. 12 (1862). Golovin’s journal is discussed in more detail in chapter 11 of the present volume.
63. See, for example, Golovin’s letter to L’Opinion nationale, 26 July 1866, where he strongly criticizes the tsar’s policies of driving Russians into exile merely because they express dissenting opinions. He hoped for a response, but none was forthcoming.
64. Golovin, Russische Nihilismus, p. 62. See also the discussion in Lemke, pt. 2, p. 282.
67. Sliwowska, “Un émigré russe,” p. 239.

4. N. I. Sazonov: Marx’s First Russian Follower

4. D. I. Riazanov (pseud. for D. I. Gol’dendakh), Karl Marks i russkie liudi sorokovykh godov (Petrograd: Izdanie Petrogradskogo Soveta, 1918). Riazanov discovered the correspondence between Sazonov and Marx and published the letters in his book. The letters have recently been republished in K. Marks, F. Engel’s i revoliutsionnaia Rossiia (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1967), pp. 146–55. The only other scholarly article on Sazonov prior to Riazanov’s book is B. Modzalevskii’s entry “N. I. Sazonov” in
Russkii biograficheskii slovar' (St. Petersburg: Demakov, 1904), 18:56–58. Sazonov appears in the recent works by Cadot and Sliwowska in a more positive light, but he remains entirely un­studied in the United States.


12. See Zastenker, pp. 530–32.


15. V. P. Botkin to P. V. Annenkov, 26 November 1846, in P. V. Annenkov i ego dru'ia (St. Petersburg, 1892), p. 525.


18. Ibid., p. 81.


20. Ibid., pp. 349–50.

21. Ibid., p. 351.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., p. 352.

24. Ibid. The quote is from Henry VI, pt. 2, act 4, sc. 2.


26. Riazanov (pp. 21–28) discusses Sazonov’s radical journalism and activities during the 1848 revolution. See also Zastenker, p. 538.

27. Riazanov (pp. 28–29) suggests this, and also two possible later meetings between Marx and Sazonov in 1848 and 1849.

29. Ibid., p. 148.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., p. 149.

32. Ibid., p. 150.

33. Ibid., p. 151.

34. Ibid., p. 152. Sazonov also included details on printing expenses, honoraria for contributors, and the potential readership for the journal.

35. Ibid., p. 153.

36. Ibid., p. 154.

37. Ibid., p. 155. This last letter from Sazonov to Marx was included in Marx's pamphlet *Herr Vogt* (London, 1860), in which Marx rebutted Carl Vogt's criticism of his work. Vogt's attack on Marx was the "polemic" referred to by Sazonov in his letter.

38. Koz'min, p. 183. Zastenker (p. 527) takes a similar position. Interestingly, neither of these historians even mentions Riazanov's book, where the claim of Sazonov's Marxism was first made. They cite instead P. N. Sakulin, *Russkaia literatura i sotsializm* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1922), p. 253, in which Riazanov's thesis is repeated.


40. See Zastenker, pp. 532–39, for the letters of Sazonov to Herzen written in 1849.

41. Herzen to M. K. Reikhel', 20 June 1852, in "Pis'ma k M. K. Reikhel', 1850–52 gg.," *Literaturnoe nasledstvo* 61 (1953): 339. See also Herzen's letter to M. Hess, 29 May 1843, in which he explains his break with Sazonov in severe terms. He speaks of how Sazonov "wounded" him and of Sazonov's tendency to "spend a lot and work little" (Riazanov, pp. 43–44). On the affair between Herzen's wife and Herwegh, see Carr, pp. 47–121.

42. Sazonov to Herzen, 24 March 1852, quoted in Zastenker, pp. 540–41.

43. Sazonov to Herzen, 6 September 1852, ibid., p. 541.


45. Riazanov, pp. 45–46.

46. Ibid., pp. 46–47.

47. Ibid., p. 49.

48. Ibid., pp 49–50.

49. Ibid., p. 50.

50. See Sazonov's letter to Herzen, 20 August 1855, quoted in Zastenker, pp. 542–43.

52. Koz'min, p. 238.

53. Ibid., p. 225.

54. Ibid., p. 244.

55. Articles signed by Sazonov appeared in the following issues of *L'Athénéeu m français* during 1855: no. 8 (24 February), pp. 145–46; no. 26 (30 June), pp. 544–46; no. 31 (4 August), pp. 648–51; no. 32 (11 August), pp. 685–87. There are, in addition, many other essays and reviews by Sazonov, but since they are signed with pseudonyms, it is more difficult to establish authorship for them. According to a recent study, Sazonov also knew Baudelaire at this time, who mentions him approvingly in his correspondence; see Cadot, p. 34.

56. Modzalevskii, p. 58.

57. Zastenker, p. 527.


60. Ibid., no. 4 (28 January 1860).

61. Ibid., no. 16 (21 April 1860).

62. See Riazanov, p. 52.

63. See Sazonov's articles on Russia, “De l'émancipation des serfs en Russie,” in *Gazette du Nord*, no. 13 (31 December 1859), no. 1 (7 January 1860), no. 3 (21 January 1860), no. 4 (28 January 1860), no. 7 (18 February 1860), and no. 9 (3 March 1860).

64. Ibid., no. 9.


67. Published as *La Revolution et le monde russe* in 1860 in Paris.


69. Ibid., pp. 197, 200.

70. See Zastenker, pp. 544–45, n. 6. Sazonov responded angrily to this scandal in his article “A propos d'une soirée russe à Paris .”


72. Sazonov's review of Dolgorukov's *La Vérité sur la Russie* was published in *Gazette du Nord*, no. 16 (21 April 1860).
73. Letter dated 16 September 1855 from Hamburg, TsGALI, fond 1283, opis' 1, ed. khran. 1, list 1.
74. For the remainder of this correspondence, see ibid., listy 3–47.
75. TsGAOR, III otdel., III eksped., ed. khran. 425/1849, list 1.
76. Ibid., list 14.
78. Ibid., listy 50–51.
79. Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Chief of III Section, 27 September 1858, ibid., list 57.
80. Ministry of Foreign Affairs to III Section, 30 October 1858, ibid., list 58.
81. Ministry of Foreign Affairs to III Section, 8 March 1861, ibid., list 60.
82. Ibid.
83. Riazanov, p. 55.
84. Ibid., p. 56.

5. P. V. Dolgorukov: The Republican Prince


3. The Dolgorukov family occupies over eighty pages in the *Russkii biograficheskii slovar’* (St. Petersburg, 1905), 6:494–577. For the article on P. V. Dolgorukov, see pp. 554–55. The article on his father was written by Grand Prince Nikolai Mikhailovich.

4. Carr speculates that Dolgorukov was probably involved in homosexual relations at the time and that this may have been the cause of his demotion. See Carr, *The Romantic Exiles*, p. 276.

5. Hollingsworth, p. 449; Carr, p. 276; Bakhrushin, pp. 8–9.
6. In 1863 a pamphlet was published which claimed to have irrefutable evidence indicating Dolgorukov as the author of the lampoon. See A. Ammosov, Poslednye dni i konchina A. S. Pushkina (St. Petersburg, 1863). A Soviet scholar who subjected the original document to handwriting analysis concluded that Dolgorukov did indeed write the damaging lampoon. See P. E. Shchegolev, Duel i smert' Pushkina (Moscow: Zhurnal'no-gazetnoe ob'edinenie, 1936). See also M. I. Barsukov, "P. V. Dolgorukov o tsarskoii Rossii i o duele A. S. Pushkina s Dante'som," Zven'ia 1 (1932): 77–85.


8. Paris: Didot Frères, 1843. The title page indicates that proceeds from the sale of the book are "au profit des pauvres."

9. Iakov Tolstoi to Count Benckendorff, 22 January (3 February) 1843, TsGAOR, fond 109, opis' 1, delo 50, chast' 1/1843, listy 1–4.

10. Ibid., list 22 (Lemke, pt. 1, pp. 146–48).


12. Ibid., listy 46–51, 69–70, 94–95.

13. Ibid., listy 146–47. The letter is dated 4 April 1844.


15. Ibid., listy 295–295 verso. The letter, dated 2 February 1857, is to Prince Vasilii Andreevich Dolgorukov, a cousin, who had succeeded Benckendorff as chief of the Third Section.

16. Dictionnaire historique de la noblesse russe (Brussels, 1858).


18. Field, p. 262. On the prohibited Russian-language publications that were appearing in Europe at this time, see the excellent bibliography, S. N. Valk and B. P. Koz'min, Russkaia podpol'naia i zarubezhnaia pechat' (Moscow: Politkatorzhan, 1935).


23. Field, p. 264.


29. Ibid., listy 7–8. The letter is dated 3 (15) April 1860. Amplifying
this point elsewhere, Dolgorukov wrote: "Publicity is the médecine for Russia. . . . Publicity is the most efficacious remedy to extirpate the old abuses and to prevent the formation of new ones" (La Vérité sur la Russie [Paris, 1860], p. 2). Golovin, as we have seen, argued a similar position.

33. Bakhrushin, p. 25.
34. This was announced in Kolokol, no. 121 (1 February 1862): 1012. In all, twenty-five issues of Budushchnost' were published.
35. Six issues of Pravdivyi and four of Le Véridique appeared.
36. Twenty-two issues of Listok were published.
37. P. V. Dolgorukov, La France sous le régime Bonapartiste, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1864). This book, which was highly critical of Louis Napoleon, won the admiration of Victor Hugo. Hugo, himself in exile at the time on the island of Guernsey and a prominent opponent of Napoleon III, received Dolgorukov for a four-day visit in May 1865. In the words of a Soviet scholar: "In Dolgorukov, Hugo found a new ally in his struggle against the despised emperor of France" (M. P. Alekseev, "Viktor Giugo i ego russkie znakomstva," Literaturnoe nasledstvo 31–32 [1937]: 838). Echoes of Dolgorukov's critique of Napoleon III from this book designed for his Russian readers can be found in his articles in Listok, no. 12 (1863) and no. 19 (1864).
38. Mistitled Mémoires du prince Pierre Dolgorukoff.
39. Dolgorukov to J. G. V. de Persigny, 31 July 1862, TsGALI, fond 1245, opis' 1, ed. khran. 7, list 1.
40. Ibid., listy 3–4.
41. Some of these essays have been reprinted in Dolgorukov, Peterburgskie ocherki.
42. On Gagarin, see Sliwowska, pp. 301–37.
43. Dolgorukov to I. Gagarin, 10 September 1860, TsGALI, fond 1245, opis' 1, ed. khran. 3, listy 29–30. In this letter, Dolgorukov also repeated his intention to publish in the coming year biographies of individuals in Russia “occupying important positions or having influence on affairs.” He intended to keep his “political biographies” above the level of matters dealing merely with “private life.” Ibid., list 30.
44. Dolgorukov to Gagarin, 4 June 1862, ibid., list 38.
45. Ibid., listy 41–43.
46. Ibid., listy 44. On the Heidelberg colony, see chapter 7 of the present volume.
47. Dolgorukov to Gagarin, 18 (6) January 1863, ibid., list 46.
49. Bakhrushin, p. 33. See also the critical evaluation of Dolgorukov at this time in G. N. Vyrubov, "Revoliutsionnyia vospominaniia (Gertsen, Bakunin, Lavrov)," *Vestnik Evropy*, 1913, no. 1: 57–58.
52. Bakhrushin, p. 36; Carr, p. 288.
57. Bakhrushin, pp. 53–54.
63. Ibid., pp. 171–98.
64. See ibid., pp. 139–70. It has been pointed out that Dolgorukov’s proposed voting and election procedures resemble the system of elections which was instituted in Russia after the 1905 revolution. See Bakhrushin, p. 76.
67. Starr (pp. 69–71) claims that among the Russians, Dolgorukov was the “least restrained disciple” of Odilon-Barrot and Regnault, and cites him as an example of Russian thinkers “importing a batch of ideological castoffs”—i.e., ideas already passé in France which Russians take back to St. Petersburg as the latest vogue.
68. *La Vérité*, p. 5.
70. Dolgorukov, *Des reformes*, p. 70.
71. Among the figures who appear in this series of critical essays called
“Petersburg Sketches” are Grand Prince Konstantin, M. N. Murav’ev, D. N. Bludov (chairman of the State Council), V. V. Panin (minister of justice), A. F. Golitsyn (member of the State Council), A. M. Gorchakov (vice-chancellor), and V. A. Dolgorukov (head of the Third Section). This series, which originally appeared in Dolgorukov’s journals, has been collected in Peterburgskie ochetki.

72. Carr, p. 275.
75. P. V. Dolgorukov to V. A. Dolgorukov, chief of the Third Section, 14 February 1867, quoted in Lemke, pt. 2, p. 191.

6. Perspectives on the First Generation

1. Two recent books that examine these currents during the reign of Nicholas I are Nicholas Riasanovsky, A Parting of Ways: Government and the Educated Public in Russia, 1801–1855 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); and Gleason, Young Russia, pp. 1–76.
2. Bakunin really lived through two separate émigré periods. The first, which chronologically corresponds to our discussion of the first generation, ended in 1849 when he was arrested during the Dresden uprising. The second follows his escape from Siberia. In 1861 he returned to Western Europe and remained deeply involved with both the revolutionary populist movement in Russia as well as with the struggle for control of the International Association of Workers until his death in 1876. On Bakunin’s first émigré period, see E. H. Carr, Michael Bakunin (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), pp. 97–204, which remains the most readable and comprehensive account of his life and thought in English. For a more recent treatment, which tends to be tendentious in demonstrating its thesis, see Arthur Mendel, Michael Bakunin: Roots of Apocalypse (New York: Praeger, 1981), pp. 148–239.


7. *The Origins of Collective Action Abroad*

1. On these developments, see Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, pp. 220–84.

2. The term refers to Dostoevsky's characterization of the polemic between the two preeminent nihilist journals during the early 1860s, Chernyshevskii's Sovremennik and Pisarev's Russkoe slovo. See B. P. Koz'min, "Raskol v nигилистах," *Iz istorii revoliutsionnoi mysli v Rossii* (Moscow: Akademiia nauk, 1961), pp. 20–67.


5. TsGAOR, III otdel., I eksped., 1863, delo 2.


7. B. P. Koz'min, "Gertsen, Ogarev i 'molodaia emigratsiia,'" *Iz istorii*, p. 493. One of the Russians involved in this effort, Novitskii, was denounced as an agent of the Russian police by Blummer and also by Dolgorukov (ibid., p. 494). Another colony member who was closely affiliated with the Herzen faction of the colony, A. F. Stuart, also was suspected of being an informer for the Third Section.

8. Examples of the extraordinary praise for Nozhin from his contemporaries can be found in the reminiscences of Lev Mechnikov and N.

9. See Rudnitskaia, Nozhin, pp. 60–64, on this meeting.


14. For Turgenev's response to Sluchevskii, see ibid., pp. 185–87.


19. N. A. Belogolovyi, Vospominaniiia (Moscow: Aleksandrov Press, 1898), p. 116. Criticism of Herzen in Russia was accelerating at the same moment within the ranks of the opposition. Zainchnevskii, for example, once a disciple of Herzen's, now turned against him. See Venturi, pp. 293–96.

20. A. I. Herzen, “1865,” Kolokol, no. 193 (1 January 1865): 1581. Although the article is signed by both Herzen and Ogarev, Herzen was the sole author. See E. L. Rudnitskaia, N. P. Ogarev v russkom revoliutsionnom dvizhenii (Moscow: Nauka, 1969), p. 356.


22. Utin to Herzen, 16 December 1864, ibid., p. 676.

23. Ibid., p. 675.
24. Ibid., p. 676.
26. Koz'min, “Gertsen, Ogarev i ‘molodaia emigratsiia,’” pp. 521–22. Herzen also mentioned his concerns about moving his press to the Continent as the younger émigrés wanted, in that general political conditions were unstable there. But his overriding concerns were his suspicion of the émigrés themselves and his fear of losing his independence in any cooperative venture with them.
32. Khudiakov's formative years are discussed in Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, pp. 338–42. See also Gleason, *Young Russia*, pp. 311–32.
35. On this episode, and for details on Khudiakov's later years, see Vilenskaia, *Khudiakov*, pp. 99–142.
36. Indeed, though no commentator seems to have noted it, if there is any parallel to Kel'siev inside Russia, it would most likely be Afanasy Shchapov. See Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, pp. 196–203, and Gleason, *Young Russia*, pp. 180–225, for discussions of Shchapov.
37. For a recent interpretation of Bakunin’s motives at this time, see the
introduction by Lawrence Orton in Howes and Orton, The Confes-
sion of Mikhail Bakunin, pp. 11–28.
38. See J. A. Duran, “L. A. Tikhomirov and the End of the Age of
Populism in Russia” (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1957); and
Abbot Gleason, “The Emigration and Apostasy of Leo Tikhomirov,”
40. Ibid., p. 1329.
41. Ibid., p. 1330.
42. Ibid., pp. 1331–32.
43. Ibid., p. 1332.
44. Ibid., p. 1333.
45. Ibid., p. 1334.
46. M. Klevenskii, “Ispoved’ V. I. Kel’sieva,” Literaturnoe nasledstvo
41–42 (1941): 256.
47. Quoted in Venturi, p. 114.
48. Ibid., p. 115.
49. Herzen published the pamphlet Narod i gosudarstvo in 1863, and
also published a letter by Mart’ianov in Kolokol, no. 132 (8 May
1862). Mart’ianov was arrested upon his voluntary return to Russia
in 1863 and was condemned to hard labor and exile in Siberia for
his association with Herzen and Kolokol. He died in Siberia in
1865. The best source material on this interesting and utterly
neglected individual dissenter can be found in M. K. Lemke,
Ocherki osvoboditel’nogo dvizhenia “shestidesiatykh godov” (St.
Petersburg: Popova, 1908), pp. 333–56. The Third Section’s un-
published file on Mart’ianov is in TsGAOR, fond 112, opis’ 1, ed.
khran. 35 and 36.
50. These talks are recorded by Kel’siev in his article “Iz razskazov ob
emigrantakh,” Zaria (St. Petersburg), 1869, no. 3:95–97.
51. Quoted in Klevenskii, p. 259.
52. Kel’siev “Iz razskazov,” p. 98.
54. Lemke, Ocherki, pp. 35, 111; Linkov, p. 266. A good memoir
account of Kel’siev’s stay in St. Petersburg is in Shelgunov, “Iz
55. Klevenskii, p. 312. Some doubt has been cast on the veracity and
accuracy of Kel’siev’s reporting of his talks with Nikolai Serno-
Solovevich. For this, see Linkov, p. 267.
56. Klevenskii, p. 325.
57. Lemke, Ocherki, pp. 37–38. This letter was intercepted by the
police and used as evidence against Serno. See TsGAOR, III otdel.,
I eksped., delo 230, chast’ 110 (1862), list 2.
58. Lemke, Ocherki, p. 33.
59. Ibid., p. 37. On Vasilii Kel'siev's brother, Ivan, and his criticism of Ogarev and Herzen, see Linkov, pp. 411–15.


62. Ibid., p. 332.


64. Kel'siev's wife worked for A. A. Kraevskii, the editor of Otechestvennye zapiski and Golos, earning 2,000 rubles a year, until Kel'siev, obviously threatened by her abilities and success, forced her to stop. See A. V. Nikitenko, Dnevnik, 3 vols. (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1956), 3:215.

65. Ibid., p. 105. Although the “Confession” was rejected for publication, Kel'siev did publish a memoir, Perezhitoe i peredumannoe (St. Petersburg: Golovin, 1868), in which he included much of the same material.

66. Nikitenko, p. 133.

67. Ibid., p. 148.

68. Klevenskii, p. 258. See also the bibliography of Kel'siev's works, pp. 262–64.


72. Linkov, p. 411.

73. See Kel'siev's letters in Ryndziunskii, pp. 219–58.

74. Linkov, pp. 411–12.

75. Ibid., p. 413.

76. Ryndziunskii, p. 232.


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8. A. A. Serno-Solov'evich: Beyond Herzen


2. Ibid., p. 237.


5. Ibid., p. 264.


7. Serno reflected on these feverish days and nights of rebellious activity in a letter to Natalia Tuchkova-Ogareva (1865). See Koz'min, "Aleksandr Serno-Solov'evich: Materialy dlja biografii," p. 739.


14. TsGALI, fond 1065, opis' 4, ed. khran. 72.


18. Ibid., p. 712.

19. (Vevey, 1867).

20. The article appeared in three parts in *Kolokol*: no 230 (1 December 1866), no. 231–32 (1 January 1867), and no. 233–34 (1 February 1867).

21. Ibid.

22. All quotations in this section are from portions of Serno's essay as reproduced in Lemke, "A. A. Serno-Solov'evich," p. 270.

23. Ibid. p. 271.

24. Koz'min, "Aleksandr Serno-Solov'evich," p. 702. Not all émigrés were in agreement with Serno's critique (Gulevich, Merchinskii, and Mechnikov, among others), but they were in a dwindling minority. See Koz'min, *Iz istorii*, pp. 548–49.

25. *Sovremennost'* was edited by Nikoladze and L. I. Mechnikov.
27. A. A. Serno-Solov'evich, *Mikolka-Publitist* (Geneva, 1868). This brochure is an extremely rare item. The copy used here was found in the Lenin Library in Moscow.
28. Ibid., pp. 4–5.
29. Ibid., p. 9.
30. Ibid., p. 11.
33. Ibid., p. 8.
35. Serno-Solov'evich, “Piatnadtsat' neopublikovannykh pisem,” p. 391; see also p. 395.
36. Koz'min has attempted to identify at least one of these articles as Serno's after conducting a textual and stylistic comparative analysis with Serno's other published writings. See Koz'min, “A. A. Serno-Solov'evich i I Internatsionale,” pp. 96–98.
37. According to one historian, Serno here was struggling to combine aspects of Russian populist socialism with European conceptions of economic materialism. See Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 280.
38. Ibid., p. 281.
42. Ibid., p. 164.
43. Ibid., p. 165.
44. See Koz'min, “A. A. Serno-Solov'evich i I Internatsionale,” pp. 114–17.
45. Ibid., p. 120.
47. Koz'min, “Aleksandr Serno-Solov'evich,” p. 701. In letters to Natalia Tuchkova-Ogareva (August 1865, ibid., p. 736), and M. V. Ivashova-Trubnikova (December 1868, “Piatnadtsat' neopublikovannykh pisem,” p. 397), Serno continually asked about his son, whom Shelgunova had taken with her when she returned to Russia. He told Tuchkova-Ogareva that he “cries every day” over his lost, loved son, who was born in 1864. See Koz'min, “Aleksandr Serno-Solov'evich,” p. 737.
49. Ibid., pp. 701, 703–4.
52. Ibid., p. 726.

9. On the Eve: Toward the Development of Ideology


3. Although Sokolov recorded his birth as 1832 in his "Avtobiografiia" (Svoboda [Paris], no. 1 [1889]), the archives show his date of birth to be 1835. See Leikina-Svirskiaia, p. 140.

4. Kuznetsov suggests that Sokolov was influenced by the progressive administrative policies of Count N. N. Murav'ev-Amurskii during Sokolov's visit to Eastern Siberia as part of the trip to China. Kuznetsov compares this to Peter Kropotkin's experience there (pp. 254–56).

5. This discussion is based on the portion of Sokolov's autobiography which is included in Kuznetsov, pp. 250–59. This portion was not part of the previously published section of Sokolov's memoir, "Avtobiografiia."


7. Some of Sokolov's best pieces in Russkoe slovo were published in his Ekonomicheskie voprosy i zhurnal'noe delo (St. Petersburg: Golovin, 1866). See also the discussion in Kuznetsov, pp. 259–70.


10. Leikina-Svirskaya, 146.
12. Ibid., p. 274.
13. Ibid.
15. Leikina-Svirskaya, p. 146. These terms were first discussed in this context by O. V. Aptekman in his memoir-history, *Obshchestvo “Zemlia i Volia” 70-kh godov*, 2nd ed. (Moscow-Petrograd: Gosizdat, 1924), pp. 90–91. The book was originally written in 1882.
17. St. Petersburg: Golovin, 1866.
18. The connection of this book to *Les Refractaires* (Paris, 1866), by Jules Valles, and the question of Sokolov’s joint authorship with Zaitsev, are discussed in Leikina-Svirskaya, p. 151, and in Kuznetsov, pp. 287–89.
22. In addition to the materials cited below, upon which this discussion is based, there are some scattered Mechnikov materials listed in the text and notes in A. K. Lishina, “Russkii garibal’diets L. I. Mechnikov,” in *Rossiia i Italiia*, ed. S. D. Skazkin (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), pp. 167–73. Lenin seems not to have ever noticed Mechnikov’s activities, even though Plekhanov praised him. In the absence of any biography or bibliography by either Soviet or Western scholars, Mechnikov’s place in Russian revolutionary history has yet to be established.
25. For a more detailed discussion of Mechnikov’s Italian campaign, see ibid., pp. 177–85.
Kovalevskii, L. P. Shelgunova, A. A. Cherkesov, V. I. Bakst, and A. F. Stuart, each of whom recorded a position for or against Herzen's policy on Kolokol's editorial orientation. See also B. P. Koz'min, "Predstaviteli' molodoi emigratsii,'" Literaturnoe nasledstvo 61 (1953): 271–78.

29. For these, see Koz'min, "L. I. Mechnikov," p. 390; and M. Klevenskii, "Gertsen-izdatel' ego sotrudniki," Literaturnoe nasledstvo 41–42 (1941): 599.

30. In one instance Herzen wrote of the émigrés that he had little respect for most of them in terms of their political and literary abilities, but he did admit that "Mechnikov knows how to write" (quoted in Koz'min, "L. I. Mechnikov," p. 390).


32. On this period of Mechnikov's career, see Lishina and Lishin, esp. pp. 471–507.

33. Published as La Civilisation et les grands fleures historiques (Paris, 1889).

34. The only published part of Mechnikov's memoirs was his "M. A. Bakunin v Italii v 1864 godu," Istoricheskii vestnik 67 (March 1897): 807–34.

35. See the archival documents published in Lishina and Lishin, pp. 478–96.


37. On Peter Ballad's "pocket press," see Koz'min, Iz istorii, pp. 273, 276, 277; and Venturi, Roots of Revolution, pp. 251, 298.

38. The letter is in Kolokol, no. 144 (8 September 1862), p. 1196. See also Klevenskii, p. 591. For the police file on Zhukovskii's activities, see TsGAOR, fond III otdel., I eksped., ed. khran. 230, chast' 58 (1862), listy 3, 33.


41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., pp. 137–38.

43. See Ogarev's articles in issues 237, 239, and 240 of Kolokol (March–May 1867).

44. Koz'min, Iz istorii, pp. 542–43.

45. The content of Narodnoe delo is discussed in chapter 11, in the section on the émigré press in the 1860s (see pp. 195–98).
46. Deich, p. 18. Much of the present discussion of Zhukovskii's personality is taken from Deich's chapter on him (pp. 17–23).

47. Feliks Kuznetsov, the only Soviet scholar to have written anything of substance on Zaitsev, introduced his subject by asking, "Who is V. A. Zaitsev?" and admitted that very few people actually knew anything about him. See Kuznetsov, p. 142. One collection of Zaitsev's many articles was published, but a promised second volume never appeared, and the volume that was published is a bibliographic rarity. See V. A. Zaitsev, Izbrannye sochineniia (Moscow: Politkatorzhan, 1934), with its introductory essay by B. P. Koz'min. The only other published accounts of Zaitsev's life and activities are A. Khristoforov's obituary for Zaitsev in Obshchee delo, no. 47 (1882); and his wife's memoir, M. Z. [Mariia Zaitseva], "V. A. Zaitsev za granitsei," Minuvshie gody, 1908, no. 11:81–110.

48. Zaitsev's early years are treated by Khristoforov, and by Kuznetsov, pp. 147–48.

49. This linkage has been suggested and documented with evidence by Kuznetsov, pp. 148–60.

50. Shelgunov, Vospominaniiia, p. 191. For a good discussion of Zaitsev's articles in Russkoe slovo, see Kuznetsov, pp. 163–97. Thirty-one of these articles are collected in Zaitsev, Izbrannye sochineniia, pp. 51–461.

51. Blagosvetlov later became an important figure in the emigration. See Kuznetsov's extensive chapter on his career (pp. 8–141).

52. See Kuznetsov, pp. 198 et seq.

53. B. P. Koz'min, "Iz istorii intelligentsii 60-kh godov," Krasnyi arkhiv 52 (1932): 285. The police file on this aspect of Zaitsev's career, prior to his emigration, is in TsGAOR, III otdel., I eksped., delo 100, chast' 14 (1866–69).

54. M. Z., "Zaitsev," p. 84.

55. Ibid., pp. 85–86.

56. For a bibliography of these articles, see Kuznetsov, p. 220.

57. M.Z., "Zaitsev," p. 84.

58. Ibid., p. 85.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Nekrasov rejected this article when he saw it and scolded Zaitsev for maligning "such struggling servants of freedom, the republic, and the people as Jules Favre, Jules Simon, and Ernest Pickard" (ibid., pp. 85–86).

62. The full title of Zaitsev and Iakobi's article is "O polozhenii rabochikh v zapadnoi evrope s obshchestvenno-gigienicheskoi tochki zreniia." It was published in the September 1870 volume of the Arkhiv sudebnoi meditsiny i obshchestvennoi gigieny, bk. 3, pp. 160–216. See the discussion of this project, which resulted in a

63. Very little is known about Zaitsev’s role in forming the Italian section of the International, though mention of it appears in the relevant studies. See, e.g., S. D. Skazkin, ed., Rossiia i Italiia (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), pp. 218–19; and McClellan, Revolutionary Exiles, p. 198.

64. M.Z., “Zaitsev,” p. 89. Kuznetsov, following the interpretation of the leading historian of anarchism, Max Nettlau, argues that Zaitsev never was an anarchist revolutionary, in spite of his closeness to Bakunin at this time. See Kuznetsov, p. 221.

65. For a discussion of some of these articles, see Kuznetsov, pp. 227–37. On the journal and its editors, see B. P. Koz’mín, “Iz istorii russkoi nelegal’noi pressy. Gazeta Obshchee delo (1877–1890),” Istoricheskie sbornik 3 (1934): 163–218. There is also an anonymous article on Herzen which one scholar has attributed to Zaitsev, but this is still undocumented. See. B. P. Koz’mín, “Anonimnaiia broshiura o Gertsene 1870 g.,” Literaturnoe nasledstvo 41–42 (1941): 164–72.


10. N. I. Utin: Emigré Internationalism


2. McClellan, Revolutionary Exiles, p. 14. The same author states that Bakunin “considered [Utin] a mere annoyance easy to eliminate when the occasion demanded” (p. 248) and, also echoing Bakunin, calls Utin “an insignificant little man” (p. 85).

3. Ibid., p. 84.


6. L. F. Panteleev (Iz vospominanii proshlogo [Moscow: Academia, 1934], p. 281) mentions that Utin was twenty-one years old in the winter of 1861–62. The year 1845 is given as Utin's date of birth by Klevenskii (“Gertsen-izdatel’ i ego sotrudniki,” Literaturnoe nasledstvo 41–42 [1941–42]: 612) and also by Koz’mín (Deiateli revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 240), but clearly this is erroneous; we know that Utin was enrolled at St. Petersburg
University in 1858, and he would have been only thirteen at that time according to this calculation.


8. Boris Utin was a liberal publicist on the board of Vestnik Evropy; Evgenii Utin became a well-known lawyer and also contributed to Vestnik Evropy; Iakov Utin worked in the Ministry of Justice and published specialized papers on judicial affairs; even Utin's sister followed this path by marrying the historian and publicist M. M. Stasiulevich, who edited Vestnik Evropy.


10. See Utin's somewhat romanticized account of this plunge into the world of student tovarishchestvo in Narodnoe delo (Geneva), nos. 2–3 (1868): 29. The facts of Utin's participation in these student organizations have been corroborated in Panteleev, Vospominaniiia, p. 180.

11. Panteleev, Iz vospominanii proshlogo, p. 74. The commission, chaired by K. D. Kavelin, was abolished by the government in the spring of 1861 before it could accomplish its purpose.

12. Ibid., pp. 102–3.


21. Utin to Ogarev, 22 June 1864, ibid., p. 657. Herzen had rejected an article by Utin for publication in Kolokol in November 1863, which stung Utin's pride, but this was certainly not the major cause of his break with Herzen. In fact, Herzen had already published an article by Utin on Chernyshevskii in Kolokol, no. 189 (15 September
1864), and was discussing the possibility of future contributions with him. See Klevenskii, "Gertsen-izdatel'," pp. 612–13, for Utin's other writings in *Kolokol*.


24. Ibid., p. 58.

25. Utin wrote for *Vestnik Evropy* during the years 1867–71 under various pseudonyms. It will be recalled that his brother-in-law, Stasiulevich, was the editor at this time (see note 8 above).


27. See Utin's letter to A. Trusov (May–June 1869), ibid., pp. 687–90.


29. This claim is made by Korochkin, p. 62, although the published correspondence between Utin and Marx does not begin until the spring of 1871.


31. For a discussion of Utin's ideas in *Narodnoe delo* during these years (1868–70), see Korochkin, pp. 107–27, on which the present discussion is based.


33. *K. Marks, F. Engels i revoliutsionnaia Rossiia*, pp. 168–70. One may legitimately wonder why a Russian émigré in Geneva was asking permission from a German émigré in London to be the representative of the Russian working class in an organization that few of these workers had as yet even heard of.

34. The letters are dated 24 July and 9 December 1870. See ibid., pp. 172–80, 181–84.

35. This letter is dated 17 April 1871. See ibid., p. 188.


40. Quoted in McClellan, p. 240.

41. Ibid.

42. Quoted from the minutes of the London conference by Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 785, n. 45.

43. P. L. Lavrov, *Narodniki-propagandisty* (St. Petersburg: Anderson,
1907), p. 28. Perhaps he recalled the examples of Kel'siev before
and of Tikhomirov later.

11. The Russian Emigré Press: In the Shadows of Kolokol

1. On the literally hundreds of periodicals that appeared in Paris
during 1848, see George Duveau, 1848: The Making of a Revolu-
tion (New York: Random House, 1967), and Priscilla Robertson,

2. B. C. Sciacchitano, “The Exile World of Alexander Herzen” (Ph.D.

3. Ibid., p. 130. According to James Billington’s recent study of
revolutionary movements in Western Europe, Herzen was actively
involved for a short time in October 1849 with Proudhon’s La Voix
du peuple, an involvement that was mediated by Sazonov, who
knew both Herzen and Proudhon. “And Herzen, baptized in
revolutionary journalism on Proudhon’s publications of the revolu-
tionary era [i.e., 1848–49], transferred this tradition to Russia,
found in 1857 in London the first illegal revolutionary periodical
in Russian history: Kolokol” (Billington, Fire in the Minds of Men,
pp. 320–21).

nasledstvo 41-42 (1941): 572. It is not certain who his “friends”
were, but Herzen corresponded with M. K. Reikhel about these
matters during the early 1850s, as Klevenskii points out.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p. 574.


8. For a detailed analysis of the impact of Poliarnaia zvezda as well as
a listing of the large number of anonymous contributors and their
publications in Herzen’s journal, see N. Ia. Eidel’man, Tainye
korrespondentny “Poliarnoi zvezdy” (Moscow: Mys‘, 1966).

9. For an illuminating discussion of these negotiations, see V. A.
Chernykh, “Iz istorii vol’noi russkoi pechati: A. I. Gertsen i N.
Trubner. Pervyi period sotrudnichestva,” in Epokha Cherny-


12. For an alphabetical listing of most of these contributors, see
Eidel’man, “Nachalo izdaniia Kolokola, i ego pervye korresponden-
ty,” in Revolutsionnaia situatsiia v Rossii v 1859–1861 gg., ed. M.
V. Nechkina (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), pp. 173–95. At the height of
its popularity, Herzen’s newspaper was printed in editions of
between 2,000 and 3,000 copies. However, because the issues were
passed around from hand to hand, many thousands more people must be counted among the paper's readership. See Gleason, *Young Russia*, pp. 83–98, for a recent discussion of the influence of Herzen's paper in Russia.


14. Ibid., no. 2 (1859): 68–80. Because it is signed "L," it is possible that Golovin did not write it, but he certainly would not have published it in his journal if he had not agreed with it.

15. Ibid., no. 6 (1860) and no. 7 (1860). To my knowledge, this essay is the first serious, detailed study of the French Revolution between 1789 and 1799 by a Russian émigré.


17. Ibid., no. 10 (1861): i–viii.

18. Ibid., no. 12 (1861).

19. After twenty-five issues with this title in 1861, Dolgorukov changed the journal's name first to *Pravdivyi* (*Le Véridique*) and then to *Listok*, which lasted for twenty-two issues through 1864.

20. This discussion is based on the material in *Budushchnost*, no. 1 (15 September 1860): 1–3. Some of Dolgorukov's journal articles are reprinted in Dolgorukov, *Peterburgskie ocherki*.


23. Eight issues of *Svobodnoe slovo* appeared in 1862, published in Berlin by Ferdinand Schneider. The pagination is consecutive from issue to issue, with a total of 589 pages in the entire volume for 1862.


25. Ibid., p. 62.


27. Ibid., p. 64.


32. Ibid., pp. 170–78.


34. "Sovremennoe polozhenie russkogo pravitel'stva," ibid., pp. 231–50. On another occasion, discussing the 1830 Polish uprising, Blummer
admitted that revolutionary upheaval was justified. When the regime prevents all other avenues of peaceful change, bloodshed by the people in the name of freedom must be supported; such was the case in Poland, he concludes. See “Pol’skaia revoliutsiia, 1830–31 gg.,” ibid., pp. 389–411.

35. “Kto narod i kto nenarod? Otnoshenie politicheskikh partii k nashemu krest’ianstvu,” ibid., pp. 449–75. The reference to Kavelin was to his book *Dvorianstvo i osvobozhdenie krest’ian* (Moscow, 1862). For Dolgorukov, Blummer cited his *Des reformes en Russie* (1862). The socialist works Blummer mentioned in his article included the works of Herzen and Ogarev, and the pamphlet *Molodaia Rossia* by Zaichnevskii (1861).


37. Dolgorukov to I. S. Gagarin, 31 (19) October 1862, TsGALI, fond 1245, opis’ 1, ed. khran. 3.

38. See, e.g., the police reports on Vladimirov and Konstantinov in TsGAOR, fond 109, I eksped., delo 222 (1866), listy 174 and 280.

39. TsGAOR, fond 112, opis’ 1, ed. khran. 70, 71. In one of the few discussions of Blummer’s political ideas, a Soviet historian has quoted evidence to indicate that Blummer cooperated with the Third Section against the émigrés. The same historian testifies to the popularity of Blummer’s liberalism among Russians. See N. G. Sladkevich, *Ocherki istorii obshchestvennoi mysli Rossii v kontse 50-kh nachale 60-kh gg. XIX v* (Leningrad: Izdat. universiteta, 1962), pp. 118–21.

40. *Letuchie listki*, no. 1 (Heidelberg: Bangel and Schmitt, 1862), includes, in addition to the three *Velikoruss* documents, two responses reprinted from *Kolokol*, and Mikhailov’s “K molodomu pokoleniu,”

41. On these activities, see Vilenskaia, *Revoliutsionnoe podpol’e v Rossii*, pp. 369–80.

42. Elpidin, it should be noted, neglects to point out that peasants standing near Karakozov were responsible for wrestling him to the ground and holding him until the police arrived. “Fools,” Karakozov was quoted as shouting at the peasants, “I did this for you.” See Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 347.

43. The first issues of *Polnol’noe slovo*, no. 1 (July 1866, 48 pp.) and no. 2 (August 1866, 40 pp.), were published in Geneva by Elpidin. Elpidin remained active in émigré politics for decades, and according to some accounts of later émigrés, was believed to have been employed as an agent of the Okhrana.

44. Herzen to Ogarev, 26 February 1867, quoted in Klevenskii, “Gertsen-izdatei!,” p. 567. See also Herzen’s letters to G. N.

45. "Very Dangerous!" *Kolokol*, no. 44 (1 June 1859): 363–64.


47. *Kolokol*, no. 110 (1 November 1861): 917.


49. Klevenskii, "Gertsen-izdate!," p. 577. Herzen tried a French-language version of *Kolokol* in 1868 as well as several other related publications, but none succeeded. On the publication history of Herzen's final years, see ibid., pp. 577–80.


52. See the discussion in Lishina and Lishin, "Lev Mechnikov," p. 464.


54. See the discussion of Serno's *Mikolka-Publitsist*, pages 142–43 above.

55. See the articles "Russkaia emigra tsia" and "Dva pokoleniia" *Sovremennost*, 1868, no. 6. See also Lishina and Lishin, pp. 464, 465.


57. Ibid., 1868, no. 2:26.

58. See the discussion in Lishina and Lishin, p. 464. In this article, the authors strain to place Mechnikov's philosophically materialistic writings in *Sovremennost* not only in a Chernyshevskian framework, which is quite plausible, but also in a Marxist one, which is less so. See especially pp. 466–67.


60. Ibid., pp. 4–5.


62. See the discussion of Utin, pages 170–73 above.


64. Ibid., p. 2.

65. Ibid., pp. 3–4. It should be noted that in addition to the change in ideology, there was a severe reduction in the size of the journal. In its Bakuninist phase, the average issue had between 25 and 60 pages; in its Marxist period, the issues contained only 4 pages, with the exception of the last, which had 8 pages. The format also
changed from journal-size pages to larger, newspaper-size pages during 1870 under Utin.

Specifically, *Vpered!*, *Rabotnik*, *Obshchina*, and *Vestnik narodnoi voli* reflect the characteristics that first appeared in *Narodnoe delo* and *Sovremennost'*. This became even more true for the Marxist organs of the late 1890s and after. On the Russian radical press, see G. A. Kuklin, *Itoji revoliutsionnogo dvizhenia v Rossii* (Geneva: Kuklin, 1903).

67. See especially *Obshchee delo*, edited by N. A. Belogolovyi during the 1880s. This journal, which reflects the currents that predominated during the earlier period of émigré journalistic individualism, had the distinction of surviving longer (1877–90) than any other nineteenth-century Russian émigré organ, including Herzen's *Kolokol*. This same minority tendency can also be seen in the pages of *Krasnoe znamia*, edited by Alexander Amfiteatrov at the time of the 1905 revolution, a lone voice of individualism in an age of editorial collectivism and revolutionary ideology in the émigré press.

12. The Emigration and Revolution


4. Ibid., p. 12. Prior to his emigration, Herzen was arrested by the authorities in Moscow in 1834 and was sentenced to “administrative exile” in the Ural town of Viatka. He was not permitted to return to Moscow until 1842.

5. See, e.g., the account by E. V. Evropeus in B. P. Koz'min, “K istorii emigratsii 1860-kh godov,” *Krasnyi arkhiv* 6, no. 49 (1931): 151. To another friend, Herzen confessed at this time that if he had a choice between emigration and exile, he would choose the latter. He also said that anyone in Russia contemplating emigrating should be warned how “terrible a thing it is for a Russian . . . it is neither his
life nor death but something worse than death. . . . I know of nothing on earth more miserable, more aimless, than the situation of the Russian émigré.” See N. A. Belogolovyi, Vospominaniia (Moscow: Aleksandrov Press, 1898), p. 541.


7. P. L. Lavrov, German Aleksandrovich Lopatin (Petrograd: Kolos, 1919). Lavrov was describing conditions abroad in 1870, the year of Herzen’s death.

8. Vasilii Kel’siev, Perezhitoe i peredumannoe. Vospominaniia (St. Petersburg: Golovin, 1868), pp. 319, 392, 394. Melancholy, depression, and nostalgia for Russia are frequent themes in émigré memoirs. See also the account of Evgenii Gizhitskii abroad in N. N. Modestov, “Kak on stal emigrantom (iz epokhu 60-kh godov),” Trudy Orenburgskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii, vol. 35 (1917): 123–38. Gizhitskii used the emotion-laden word toska to describe his feelings of loneliness and isolation abroad.


11. On the plan to free Chernyshevskii, see Venturi, Roots of Revolution, p. 182.


13. For the detailed reports on connections between the revolutionary activity of the early 1870s in Russia and the émigré centers in Europe that were compiled for the tsarist government, see Istoriia sotsial’no-revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia, 1861–1887 (St. Petersburg: Tipografia Ministerstva vnutrennykh del, 1887), particularly chap. 10, “Russkaia emigratsiia v Shveitsarii, 1870–74 gg.”

14. K. A. ——v, “Shutovstvo russkoi emigratsii,” p. 4. It should be noted that this article contained extensive quotations from Bakunin’s censored writings, and thereby provided many Russians with the opportunity of becoming directly acquainted with his ideas for the first time.
15. "Russkie emigranty," *Moskovskie vedomosti*, no. 14 (18 January 1873): 4. Given the very large circulation of this paper at the time, it can reasonably be assumed that this article had a wide readership, particularly in view of the increased interest in the émigrés in Europe as a result of the Nechaev affair, the recalling of the students in Switzerland back to Russia, and news of the Russian émigrés' participation in the First International.


17. For a discussion of the Russian political émigré community in Germany at this time, see Williams, *Culture in Exile*, pp. 28–33.

18. Lenin's retrospective tributes to the Russian emigration for its "indispensable contribution to the revolutionary struggle" are discussed in Kiperman, *Raznochinskaia revoliutsionnaia emigratsia*, pp. 145–46. The impact of Lenin's émigré existence on the formulation of his ideas and on his behavior as a party leader has yet to be examined in any systematic manner, though there are indications in some recent work that this interrelationship is being taken seriously in the Soviet Union. See, in particular, E. Ia. Zazerskii and A. V. Liubarskii, *Lenin: Emigratsiia i Rossiia* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1975).

A related problem is the role of the emigration in the formation of the main opposition political parties in Russia. In particular, the Kadets under Miliukov and Struve, the Socialist Revolutionaries under Chernov, the anarchists under Kropotkin, and the Social Democrats (Menshevik and Bolshevik factions), to name the most prominent, all coalesced abroad, where they published their writings and developed many of their major strategies and tactics in emigration. Among the many studies which either explicitly or implicitly tie together the émigré press and the rise of Russian radical political parties abroad, see the following: S. Galia, "Early Russian Constitutionalism, *Vol'noe slovo*, and the 'Zemstvo Union'," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 22, no. 1 (1974): 35–55; V. Zasulich, "*Vol'noe slovo* i emigratsiia," *Vospominania* (Moscow: Politkatorzhan, 1931), pp. 99–112; James Duran, Jr., "L. A. Tikhomirov and the End of the Age of Populism in Russia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1957); Donald Senese, "S. M. Kravchinskii and the National Front against Autocracy," *Slavic Review* 34, no. 3 (1975), esp. pp. 518–20; and Gary Hamburg,


20. Archives nationales (Paris), F7.12339, no. 416 (1840). These files include reports from the Prefet de Police to the Ministry of the Interior on the surveillance of the activities of certain Russians in France.

21. See, e.g., TsGAOR, "Otchet o deistviakh III otedeleniia sobstvennoi ego imperatorskogo Velichesta kantseliarii i korpusa zhandarmov za 1855 g.,", listy 4–27.

22. A summary example of these tables is as follows: For the year 1856, of the 6,036 Russians who went abroad, 2,390 were gentry, 2,936 were "men of commerce and industry," 326 were scholars and artists, and 384 were servants (TsGAOR, "Otchet za 1856," list 142). In 1857 the number of Russians who went abroad was 15,102, in 1858 it was 17,243, and in 1863 it was 28,048. Each year the total number rises, the proportion of gentry to the general total declines, and the absolute number of students, meshchanin, and peasants increases. For later figures, see Rikhter, "Emigratsiia"; and Gustave Chandèze, *De l'Intervention des pouvoirs publics dans l'émigration et l'immigration au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Imp. Paul Dupont, 1898), pp. 185–94.


27. Istoriiia sovet'no-revolutsionnogo dvizheniiia, 1861–1887, chap. 10.
29. See pp. 29–30 of the present volume.
30. These quotations are from Venturi, Studies in Free Russia, pp. 148, 175, and 180.
31. The phrase is Akhmatova’s and is quoted most recently in Ronald Hingley, Nightingale Fever: Russian Poets in Revolution (New York: Knopf, 1981), p. xiii.
32. The constitutionalism of these émigrés differs considerably from the more state-oriented constitutionalism of Russians like Kavelin, Chicherin, and their followers inside Russia. See Sladkevich, Ocherki, pp. 112–18; and V. A. Kitaev, Ot frondy k okhranitel’stvu. Iz istorii russkoi liberal’noi mysli 50–60-kh godov XIX veka (Moscow: Mys’, 1972).
33. Two other categories, early death of parents and the influence of older siblings, turn up in a number of cases among the émigrés, but not enough to determine a clear trend.
34. See the discussion in Cadot, pp. 73–80. One émigré in the early 1870s reported on the existence of what he called poluemigranty, literally “half-émigrés,” but better translated as either “temporary” or “partial” émigrés. The term referred to Russian visitors to Europe, the dabblers in politics abroad, those who could return to their homeland without fear of reprisal after a brief sojourn in the émigré milieu. Marx once expressed amazement at these “half-émigrés” from Russia “who lived abroad, call themselves émigrés, speak only furtively to one another, are fearful at every step of compromising themselves, and then return home to Russia and live there, as they did before, in a most comfortable manner.” See “Russkie emigranty,” Moskovskiia vedomosti, 16 January 1873, p. 5. The author of this unsigned article is believed to have been E. K. Gizhitskii. On this problem, see Koz’min, “Gertsen, Ogarev i ‘molodaia emigratsiia,’” p. 484, n. 1.
38. Ibid.